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news

INSTITUTE FOR POLICY RESEARCH

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The Road to College

Low-cost interventions can increase access, success

Only about half of low-income high school seniors go to college the fall after they graduate, compared with nearly 85 percent of high-income seniors. When they do, more than half enroll in two-year colleges, even though better outcomes are more often associated with four-year degrees. Many do not apply to four-year colleges, as recent research shows, often stumped by seemingly negligible barriers, such as a lack of information.

L.K. Nordby



From l.: Bridget Terry Long, Sarah Turner, and James Rosenbaum take questions.

“We know that the value of higher education has never been more important than it is today, and the challenges associated with success are also high and daunting,” said IPR Director **David Figlio** in welcoming the nearly 100 staffers, researchers, academics, and journalists to IPR’s May 6 policy research briefing on Capitol Hill. He also thanked the briefing’s two congressional

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Two-Generation Initiatives to Create Opportunity

IPR briefing discusses national model, local pilot project



G. Lemieux

Illinois State Representative Robyn Gabel asks the panel a question during IPR’s policy research briefing on two-generation solutions held at Evanston Township High School.

At IPR’s April 16 policy research briefing, the first it has held in Evanston, nearly 130 parents, students, faculty, and community members, including Evanston’s mayor and a state lawmaker, came to the local high school to hear four experts broach a topic of great concern to Evanston and communities across the nation: how to provide greater opportunities

for low-income families by furthering education for parents and their children.

In the 21st-century global economy, full-time, low-skilled jobs that can support a family have steadily disappeared, said IPR developmental psychologist **Lindsay Chase-Lansdale** in framing the discussion. To compete for better

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New Database to Help Education Researchers

The Online Intraclass Correlation Database, a new resource for those interested in creating better cluster-randomized experiments, is now accessible from the IPR website. Created by a team led by **Larry Hedges**, an IPR statistician and education researcher, the database launched in June. Its development was supported by the Institute of Education Sciences in the Department of Education and the National Science Foundation.

“Up to this point, people just guessed about how much variance there was between schools and school districts and other covariates,” Hedges said. “Now,

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Cook Accepts National Science Foundation Post

IPR social policy expert **Fay Lomax Cook** has been tapped by the National Science Foundation (NSF) as an assistant director to head its Directorate for Social, Behavioral, and Economic Sciences (SBE),



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effective in September. Cook will become a key member of NSF’s senior management and policy team, while leading SBE and its staff of 119 and managing a \$270 million budget. Cook will remain on the

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Recent Faculty Recognition

Awards and Honors

Economist **Jonathan Guryan** was named to the Purpose Economy 100 in February for his research on prize-linked savings accounts. Celebrating new economy “pioneers,” the list also includes Melinda Gates, Wendy Kopp, and Al Gore.

The International Leadership Association (ILA) selected IPR psychologist **Alice Eagly** for its Leadership Legacy Life Achievement Award. The award, which honors individuals who have contributed in significant and diverse ways to the field of leadership studies, was presented at the ILA’s annual global conference in November 2013. Eagly holds the James Padilla Chair in Arts and Sciences.

P. Reese



Greg Miller

IPR health psychologist **Greg Miller** was elected president of the Academy of Behavioral Medicine Research in April. He will assume the office in spring 2015.

IPR Director and education economist **David Figlio** was voted as president-elect of the Association for Education Finance and Policy at its conference in March, and will take up the position in 2015–16. He is Orrington Lunt Professor of Education and Social Policy and of Economics.

James Druckman, IPR associate director and political scientist, received the 2014 Walder Award for Research Excellence, awarded by Northwestern University Provost Daniel Linzer, in May. Druckman is Payson S. Wild Professor of Political Science.

In January, **Seth Stein**, an IPR associate and earth/planetary scientist, received the 2014 Price Medal from the U.K. Royal Astronomical Society for his groundbreaking achievements in plate tectonics, seismology, and space geodesy. He is William Deering Professor of Earth and Planetary Science.

Grants

Social psychologist **Thomas D. Cook** received a grant from the Institute of Education Sciences (IES) to evaluate an early math intervention for high-need students. He also received a three-year grant, from IES’ National Center for Education Statistics, to run a series of workshops for education researchers on how to design and implement quasi-experiments. Cook holds the Joan and Sarepta Harrison Chair in Ethics and Justice.

To analyze preferences for redistribution in the market, sociologist **Leslie McCall** is working with colleagues at Sweden’s Umea University to add 10 new questions to the General Social Survey in the United States and the International Social Survey in Sweden. The questions will probe views by respondents in each country on the balance between state and market policies in addressing broad economic and social issues. The project is supported by a Russell Sage Foundation grant.

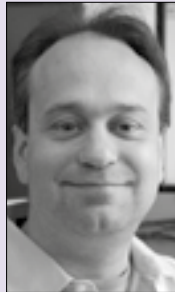


Leslie McCall

P. Reese

Freese Named to Lindgren Chair of Sociology

P. Reese



Jeremy Freese

IPR sociologist **Jeremy Freese** has been named to the Ethel and John Lindgren Chair of Sociology by the Board of Trustees of Northwestern University. Freese came to Northwestern and IPR in 2007 from the University of Wisconsin–Madison. His research covers topics that connect biological, psychological, and social processes, including an important stream that evaluates

different prospective contributions of evolutionary psychological and behavioral genetics to social science. He is co-principal investigator of the online data platform Time-Sharing Experiments for the Social Sciences. Freese is the recipient of several awards and honors, including a two-year Robert Wood Johnson Scholars Fellowship at Harvard University. He received his PhD in sociology from Indiana University in 2000.

The National Science Foundation awarded economist **Kirabo Jackson** a grant to study how school finance reforms affect the distribution of spending, academic achievement, and adult outcomes.

In work supported by the National Institutes of Health (NIH) National Institute on Minority Health and Health Disparities, biological anthropologists **Thomas McDade** and **Christopher Kuzawa**, with medical social sciences professor and IPR associate **Frank Penedo**, will continue to examine how the burden of financial debt can affect a person’s health.

McDade and **Miller** have received an award from the NIH’s Eunice Kennedy Shriver National Institute of Child Health and Human Development to investigate the pathways linking social disparities, inflammation, and health across generations.

The Department of Agriculture is supporting a study by economist **Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach** that will trace how individuals and families who face substantial barriers to borrowing are able to access credit and what they buy at the supermarket to better understand how household liquidity can affect food insecurity. She also received a Spencer Foundation grant to study how school finance reform can affect the distribution of student achievement.

Political scientist and crime researcher **Wesley G. Skogan** received an award from the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation to launch the Chicago Community Survey, which will probe the relationship between police and Chicago residents.



Kirabo Jackson

S. Drey

(Continued on page 3)

Chicago Forum Focuses on Police and Public

Speakers at IPR-led event discuss aspects of procedural justice

IPR political scientist **Wesley G. Skogan**, an expert on crime and policing, hosted the Chicago Forum on Procedural Justice and Legitimacy in Policing on March 21–22. The conference focused on the internal operations of police organizations and the relationships between the police and the public.

The forum, which received funding from the Joyce Foundation, featured researchers and police administrators from all over the country and the world. International guests traveled from Argentina, Belgium, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom. It aimed to shed light on the relationships between police, crime, and communities.

Chicago Police Superintendent **Garry McCarthy** spoke briefly to the attendees at the beginning of the workshop, linking the role of procedural justice within police departments to the public. When police feel respected and validated within the department, they, in turn, treat the public better. Because of that, “the internal legitimacy of the department is the single most important thing we do,” he said.

In opening Friday’s program on internal procedural justice to increase officer compliance, Skogan noted, “Police chiefs don’t get fired because crime stats go up—the two big problems that police chiefs have to worry about bringing them down



Wesley G. Skogan (r.) welcomes Chicago Police Superintendent Garry McCarthy to the workshop.

are police misconduct and corruption.”

Skogan shared results from an experiment he conducted in conjunction with a Chicago police training academy workshop on procedural justice. They show that officers held a more favorable view about procedural justice after the workshop, especially in getting citizens to participate. The long-term effects were small, likely due to a number of factors, including the difficulty in

monitoring post-workshop behavior, and the very limited time devoted to the workshop. The second day’s panels focused on using procedural justice to align the relationship between the police and the public.

“Legal standards and procedural justice standards are not necessarily incompatible, but the police focus on legality, whereas the public doesn’t think about legality, the public cares about how they are treated,” Skogan said.

Tracey Meares, Walton Hale Hamilton Professor of Law at Yale University, presented research showing that people’s perceptions of how well they were treated by an officer drive the assessment of the “rightfulness” of police actions, completely independent of whether the officer’s actions were lawful.

Wesley G. Skogan is professor of political science and an IPR fellow.

Recent Faculty Recognition

(Continued from page 2)

Media Coverage

P. Reese



Lori Beaman

An *Economist* article asked who among the poor really benefits from microcredit, citing a working paper co-authored by economist **Lori Beaman**. The randomized study tracked microloans and grants in 200 rural villages in Mali, showing borrowers were more productive farmers than nonborrowers, June 20.

Sociologist **Leslie McCall** was quoted by NBC News on how people perceive the cause of poverty—specifically whether it is considered to be the individual’s fault or that of structural problems—changes during bad and good economic times, June 20.

Biological anthropologist **Thomas McDade** spoke to *Forbes* about a study he co-authored with psychobiologist **Emma Adam** and others, showing that levels of high financial debt are linked to higher blood pressure and stress levels and to reports of poorer mental and physical health among young

adults, June 13. In *The Telegraph* (U.K.), McDade discussed another study, previously an IPR working paper. It showed that lower birth weights and shorter breast-feeding durations indicate an increased risk for heart and metabolic diseases later in life, April 23.

Economist **Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach** penned a piece for the *Christian Science Monitor* on how restrictions to using SNAP benefits to buy soda could damage the safety net. While obesity is a major threat, she explained, the government has better options for more effective reforms, June 7.

Developmental psychologist **Lindsay Chase-Lansdale**’s research on the two-generation approach—a program that provides educational opportunities to both children and parents in low-income families—was featured in a *Washington Post* article on new ways to fight poverty, May 7.

New York Times columnist Thomas Edsall asks whether Republicans should focus on outreach to African-Americans and Hispanics or focus on white turnout. His piece featured psychologist **Jennifer Richeson**’s work on attitudes toward growing populations of U.S. minorities and their influence on whites’ political views, May 20.

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IPR RESEARCH NOTES

Gender Stereotypes of Women as Leaders



R. Eagly

Alice Eagly

In 2016, it is highly likely that at least one of the candidates for president or vice president will be a woman. Several high-profile companies and organizations have recently named, or even fired, women as their heads, from GM to *The New York Times*. Are women finally breaking through the proverbial “glass ceiling?”

“It’s complicated,” answers IPR social psychologist **Alice Eagly**, an internationally recognized researcher on gender and leadership. She recently described an ongoing project that reveals good news, bad news, and mixed results for what researchers are finding, what people are thinking, and what pundits are saying.

Research on the topic is uncovering subtle but important differences in how men and women lead, with women displaying slightly more of the leader behaviors found effective by researchers. Some management studies find women are rated more favorably than men on various aspects of management competency. The public also seems to favor seeing more women in leadership roles: In polls, 60 percent or more of respondents agree that a country would be better off if more women were in power.

Despite talk about more women as CEOs and elected officials, Eagly said long-held stereotypes of gender and leadership continue to reinforce perceptions that women do not lead as

effectively. Gender stereotypes depict men as dominant, assertive, and “take charge.” Women are seen as nice, friendly, and sensitive. Leaders are perceived as self-confident, assertive, taking charge, solving problems, and inspiring people.

Thus, gender stereotypes of men match well with those held for leaders—not so for women. This “think–manager/ think–male” phenomenon, examined by Eagly and others, demonstrates that both men and women tend to equate leadership mainly with male traits, generating doubts when it comes to envisioning women as leaders. Women leaders also face contrasting pressures from the female gender role and leadership roles, creating “a double bind between being tough versus being nice,” Eagly said. “And women get into a lot of trouble when they are not ‘nice.’”

To fix this role “incongruity,” Eagly suggests people must regard leadership as requiring both feminine and masculine traits—and women would have to add “assertive,” culturally masculine qualities to their repertoire. Eagly argues these trends are present. Expectations for leaders already reflect more feminine qualities, and women now manifest more ambition and assertiveness than in the past—all the while retaining their feminine qualities. If these trends persist, women and men should eventually have equal access to leadership roles.

Alice Eagly is James Padilla Chair of Arts and Sciences, professor of psychology, and an IPR fellow.

Comparing French and U.S. Socioeconomic Segregation



P. Reese

Lincoln Quillian

A new working paper by IPR sociologist **Lincoln Quillian** and his colleague Hugues Lagrange of Sciences Po in Paris finds that socioeconomic segregation in large U.S. cities is much higher than in French ones of the same size. They also reveal that half or more of the difference between the two could be due to greater levels of U.S. income inequality.

Quillian and Lagrange used recent data from the American Community Survey, the French Census, and data from the French Ministry of Finance to identify those cities with a metropolitan population of more than 1 million—counting four French and 51 U.S. cities. They then compared the averages of both countries and created a paired sample. Based on major industries, metropolitan population, and geography, they matched Paris with New York, Marseille with New Orleans, Lyon with Denver, and Lille with Raleigh.

In measuring the levels of socioeconomic segregation in these cities, the two researchers find U.S. cities are more segregated than French ones on all three measures tested: income, employment status, and education level. (The smaller French neighborhood units tend to produce higher segregation rates,

indicating that the difference in socioeconomic segregation between the two countries is likely greater than estimated here.) The researchers also find the share of neighborhood income differences that can be explained by racial or ethnic composition is similar in the two countries. This suggests that racial segregation cannot account for the greater socioeconomic segregation in the United States.

Quillian and Lagrange, who are part of a wider research collaboration between IPR and Sciences Po faculty, believe such international comparisons are important because they “place each country in a broader context that increases understanding as to whether the level of socioeconomic variation is unusual.”

This is of particular concern in the United States as socioeconomic segregation has greatly increased here over the past 30 years. Their additional aims in comparing the two countries are to help researchers apply rigorous models from one country to the other—and to show how differences in national policies might play a role in addressing segregation.

Lincoln Quillian is professor of sociology, an IPR fellow, and chair of IPR’s program on Urban Policy and Community Development. The related IPR working paper (WP-13-24) is available online at www.ipr.northwestern.edu/publications/papers/index.html.

IPR RESEARCH NOTES

Partisan Outcomes and Policy Divide



P. Reese

Laurel Harbridge

To explain congressional difficulty in passing spending bills, conventional wisdom points to a partisan divide—Democrats want to increase funding and Republicans want to make cuts. But when both sides ultimately construct a budget and pass appropriation bills to fund government, how will these two partisan goals be combined? Will a divided government lead to more big-spending cuts than in years when Democrats controlled the budgetary process?

A recent analysis of U.S. budgetary changes by IPR political scientist **Laurel Harbridge** and Sarah Anderson of the University of California, Santa Barbara sheds light on this question. It reveals that Democrats actually make larger spending cuts than Republicans, and that this occurs even when they have unified control of government. This puzzling pattern can be explained by what Harbridge and Anderson call “motivated information processing.”

In an article in *American Politics Research*, the two researchers analyze U.S. budgetary spending using data from 1955–2002 to explore how and why party control, congressional turnover, and budgetary constraints affect spending, including the start or elimination of programs and year-to-year funding changes. They argue that in an information-rich world, policymakers are bombarded with so much information

they cannot process it all. In response, they fall prey to their partisan biases and engage in motivated reasoning. This leads to selectively ignoring information that runs counter to their partisan predispositions.

When one party controls the presidency, House, and Senate, this selective intake of information influences the policymaking process, leading Democrats to increase spending and Republicans to decrease it. As a consequence, the party must later make corrections to balance prior decisions.

“This is usually in response to an obvious signal from the world around them, or to correct a series of partisan policies that have resulted in spending that is seen as too low or too high,” Harbridge said.

The co-authors find that motivated information processing can lead the parties to make counterintuitive spending choices with surprising frequency after pursuing their partisan goals. When Democrats needed to counteract prior increases in spending, for example, they often made large cuts to the budget.

Harbridge and Anderson also observe that the effects of motivated information processing are strongest on issues closely aligned with the parties and during off-election years.

Laurel Harbridge is assistant professor of political science and an IPR fellow. The article appeared in the journal American Politics Research 42(4): 700–28 and was also an IPR working paper.

Young Dads Have High Risk of Depression, Too



Courtesy of C. Garfield

Craig Garfield

Depression can hit young fathers hard—with symptoms increasing dramatically during some of the most important years of their children’s lives, according to a recent study published in *Pediatrics*.

Depressive symptoms increased on average by 68 percent over the first five years of fatherhood for these young men, who were around 25 when they became fathers and lived with their children.

This study, supported by the National Institute for Child Health and Human Development, is the first to identify when young fathers are at an increased risk of developing depressive symptoms. Pediatrician **Craig Garfield**, an IPR associate and the lead author, said the results are significant and could lead to more effective interventions and treatment for young fathers.

“It’s not just new moms who need to be screened for depression, dads are at risk, too,” Garfield said. “Parental depression has a detrimental effect on kids, especially during the first key years of parent-infant attachment. We need to do a better job of helping young dads transition through that time period.”

Previous research has shown depressed dads will use more corporal punishment, reading and interacting less. They

are more likely to be stressed and neglect their children. Compared with the children of nondepressed dads, these children are at greater risk for poor language and reading development, behavioral problems, and conduct disorders.

Garfield and his team used data on a nationally representative sample of 10,623 young men enrolled in the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health (Add Health), following them in several waves over nearly 20 years and scoring depressive symptoms at each wave through young adulthood. In the most recent wave, 33 percent had become fathers.

The majority of these fathers lived with their children. Those who did not had a less dramatic increase in depressive symptom scores in early fatherhood, the study finds. Instead, these nonresidential fathers’ depression symptom scores were elevated before fatherhood and start to decrease in early fatherhood, though this sample is smaller in number. Fathers living with their children had lower scores for depression symptoms before fatherhood that, on average, dramatically increased after their child’s birth and into early fatherhood.

Craig Garfield is an associate professor in pediatrics and medical social sciences in the Feinberg School of Medicine and an IPR associate. Article adapted from a Northwestern News release.

FACULTY SPOTLIGHT: Christopher Kuzawa

From Prehistoric Remains to Human Evolution

“You are what you eat,” the old adage goes. But IPR biological anthropologist **Christopher Kuzawa** is showing through his research that it is not just what you eat—but what your mother ate and what your grandmother ate—that more completely defines your weight at birth, your development as a child, and your health as an adult.

“My research straddles questions that lie at the intersection of the social and biological sciences, and has both applied and theoretical components,” Kuzawa said of his expansive research agenda. Broadly, this translates into studying how a person’s physical and social environment meshes with his or her basic biological functions such as eating, growing up, and having sex, and how this, in turn, affects a person’s development and health, as well as its impact on human variation and evolution.

The root of his interest in anthropology stems from an initial curiosity in archeology and studying the skeletal remains of the Hohokam of Pueblo Grande, a prehistoric Native American group who lived in what is now the U.S. Southwest.

“During my training in skeletal biology, I discovered that there is a great deal more that can be learned from studying living people,” he said, “and my interests quickly shifted to my current focus on human biology.”

This has led Kuzawa to study the developmental origins of disease, brain energetics, male reproductive ecology, and human evolution, among other topics. These interests have also been fueled by his work on the Cebu Longitudinal Health and Nutrition Survey in the Philippines.

The Cebu Survey and Biomarkers

In the 1990s, Kuzawa had become interested in testing British epidemiologist David Barker’s Fetal Origins Hypothesis, which postulates that cardiovascular disease (CVD) traces back to undernutrition in the womb. Kuzawa surmised that if this was correct, then such a pattern would show up as a high risk for CVD in adults who, decades ago, came into the world as malnourished, low birth-weight babies. He set out to study this pattern by implementing the first biomarker collection in the Cebu Survey in 1998.

Such an undertaking proved challenging because Cebu City encompasses nearly three million people who inhabit a wide range of settings from rural to urban, he recalled. It took a full year to complete the first round of collecting blood and saliva samples in about one-third of the sample. By 2005, Kuzawa and his team were able to collect biomarkers in addition to DNA for the entire sample of 3,600 mothers and their children. To date, the Cebu Survey has collected three decades of data on each of the study participants.

Evolution, Fatherhood, and Brain Energetics

Kuzawa also aims to explain how hormones help coordinate human development and behavior. This has led to a substantial body of work on, among other topics, how testosterone influences male mating and fatherhood. A new father himself, he has authored 14 journal articles on the topic with colleagues including Lee Gettler, a former doctoral student, and IPR fellow Thomas McDade.

A study published in *PNAS* in 2010 investigated how rapid weight gain in newborn boys up to six months predicts their height, muscle mass and sexual behavior as young adults, and a 2011 *PNAS* article examined the role of testosterone in male caregiving. In this study, Kuzawa and his co-authors show that a man’s testosterone levels drop precipitously following the birth of a child, likely to encourage caregiving. This was the first longitudinal study to confirm a causal relationship between fatherhood and the hormone. This responsiveness could help explain why human fathers care directly for their children, whereas no other member of the great ape family—the closest in genetic makeup to humans—does.

An additional area where Kuzawa is leading the effort to document how humans have evolved is in examining the human body’s pattern of energy use, and in particular, the costs of human brain development.

“Humans managed to pull off an interesting trick,” Kuzawa noted. “Although we evolved a large and energetically costly brain, our body’s resting energy expenditure is the same as predicted for a mammal of our size. How was this achieved?”

He is part of a collaborative effort supported by the National Science Foundation that is using positron emission tomography (PET) with magnetic resonance imaging (MRI) data to help answer this question by quantifying the energy costs of the human brain and how they change with age. In a forthcoming paper, his team reports that human brain energy peaks during childhood, which they argue helps explain why human growth is so slow in childhood: Human brain development is so costly that it requires slower growth to conserve energy.

With his wide-ranging interests in human biology and health, Kuzawa values the opportunity to interact with IPR researchers from other fields at Northwestern.

“I firmly believe that a better understanding of our biology, including what makes us tick and how we evolved, is crucial for informed policy decisions aimed at improving human health and well-being,” he said.

Christopher Kuzawa is professor of anthropology and an IPR fellow.



Christopher Kuzawa

FACULTY SPOTLIGHT: Celeste Watkins-Hayes

Illuminating Discussions of Inequality

From the pages of social science journals to some of the Internet's most widely respected news sources, IPR sociologist and African American studies researcher **Celeste Watkins-Hayes** works to further the conversation about social and economic inequality.

Watkins-Hayes, who joined Northwestern and IPR in 2003 after receiving her PhD in sociology from Harvard, pairs her award-winning research on urban poverty, social policy, HIV and AIDS, formal organizations, and issues of race, class, and gender, with a commitment to contributing to the public dialogue.

"I'm at this marriage of empirical scholarship and more reflective writing, and I think that they play off of each other really nicely," she said. "At its best, a professor's work can offer useful, illuminating, and vital contributions to discussions of the most important issues of the day."

Health, Hardship, and Renewal

Watkins-Hayes is principal investigator of the Health, Hardship, and Renewal Study (HHR), which explores the economic and social experiences of a racially, ethnically, and socioeconomically diverse group of Chicago-area women living with HIV.

"The broader question is, 'How do economic strategies and the social relationships that undergird economic survival strategies shape health experiences?'" she said. The HHR study looks at the women's relationship to government and nonprofit services, social support, employment opportunities, and other factors to "tell a story about how those things shape their ability to manage their HIV."

While Watkins-Hayes acknowledges HIV is no longer a "death sentence" in this country, the crisis is far from over. The public generally underestimates the challenges a person with the disease faces once medical survival is achieved. Past this point, lack of research into the economic survival of HIV-positive women is what motivated her to create the study.

"Many of the people affected in this country are also disadvantaged economically," she said, "so I'm trying to figure out how do you manage such a serious and high-maintenance health issue while you're also thinking about economic survival?"

In 2009, Watkins-Hayes received two highly regarded research awards to conduct HHR, a Robert Wood Johnson Foundation Health Investigator Award and a National Science Foundation Early CAREER Award. HHR distinguishes itself not just for its contributions to academic scholarship, but also to the wider community: Watkins-Hayes shares study results with the public via HHR's website and other outlets, and she led the creation of HHR's Community Advisory Board to stimulate community feedback and information sharing.



Celeste Watkins-Hayes

"The thing I'm most proud of is that the study is academically and empirically rigorous, and at the same time, it has a very clear set of real world implications and it has a real commitment to the community," Watkins-Hayes said.

In reviewing some of the HHR study's findings, she continued, "It's telling a broader story about inequality and how people who are at an economic disadvantage are more vulnerable to serious health issues, how HIV is not random, and how we can think about ending epidemics not only through medical solutions but through social solutions."

Bureaucracy and Welfare Reform

In conducting the HHR study, Watkins-Hayes built upon her previous work into how street-level bureaucrats shape the way low-income families receive services under welfare reform. Conducted in Massachusetts, her research detailed the inner workings of a poverty relief agency after welfare reform.

Her 2009 book, *The New Welfare Bureaucrats: Entanglements of Race, Class, and Policy Reform* (University of Chicago Press), describes how welfare bureaucrats moved from being check-writers to welfare-to-work caseworkers, often with no additional training or caseload reduction. On one hand, the agencies stress treating clients holistically and

meeting their needs systematically. On the other, caseworkers are typically evaluated on how much paperwork they process and fraud they detect. Her research suggested ways to improve the system—and thus families' outcomes—by employing different types of evaluation, providing advanced training and more resources, and shrinking caseloads to better assist families.

A Public Voice

After taking part in a media fellowship, Watkins-Hayes has written several opinion pieces for *The New York Times*, *Al Jazeera*, and others in the past year, addressing many issues.

For *The Atlantic*, Watkins-Hayes wrote about the 2013 Supreme Court decision striking down a law that required organizations accepting federal funds for HIV/AIDS to explicitly condemn sex work, and another about the widespread practice of paying domestic workers under the table, which prevents them from accessing resources later on.

"It's a different kind of writing and a different kind of voice," she said.

While it is grounded in her empirical work, this writing also allows her to air her point of view with the public and attempt "to move the needle on inequality conversations."

Celeste Watkins-Hayes is associate professor of African American Studies and sociology and an IPR fellow.

FACULTY SPOTLIGHT: Lincoln Quillian

Place, Prejudice, and Perception

Hyde Park, home to the prestigious University of Chicago, is a diverse academic enclave tucked in the middle of Chicago's South Side and among some of the nation's most segregated neighborhoods. It was in this juxtaposition of settings, leafy academia with concrete jungle, that IPR sociologist **Lincoln Quillian** became interested in pursuing the study of urban sociology as an undergraduate student there in the late 1980s.

"The neighborhood was quite a departure from my upbringing in suburban California," Quillian recalled.

Already interested in studying poverty—an interest passed on to him by his mother, a social worker—Quillian was also exposed to the pioneering research of prominent University of Chicago scholars in race and segregation, in particular, William Julius Wilson and Douglas Massey, both faculty at that time.

Quillian's interests would lead him down a scholarly path to doctoral studies at Harvard and then positions at the University of Wisconsin–Madison and now IPR and Northwestern. His research examines complex issues of race, ethnicity, social stratification, and segregation, with a distinct emphasis on looking at how these often intertwined matters can influence perceptions and prejudices. Along the way, his work has begun to shed light on how we think about race and segregation.

Residential Segregation

Quillian's recent research has focused on the causes and consequences of segregation in American cities, examining the topic from racial, ethnic, and socioeconomic angles. "Residential segregation is an important mechanism that creates inequality and a structure of disadvantages. It also affects attitudes people have about each other in a long-term way," he said.

In a 2012 *American Sociological Review* (ASR) article, Quillian questioned a prevailing theory of how spatially concentrated poverty is a consequence of racial residential segregation. While previous research looked at racial segregation and economic segregation within a race, Quillian wondered why these did not explain certain anomalies, such as why middle-class blacks lived in higher tracts of concentrated poverty than whites who earned less.

"It turns out there's a third form [of segregation] that comparatively is pretty important," he said. "It is the segregation of high-income members of other race groups from black and Hispanic neighborhoods."

Other-race neighbors of blacks and Hispanics were disproportionately poor. This helps to explain why Hispanics, who live in far less segregated neighborhoods than blacks, do not experience significantly less poverty concentration. It also



Lincoln Quillian

indicates that reducing neighborhood racial segregation alone cannot reduce concentrated poverty.

Quillian is also expanding this line of research, examining neighborhood and socioeconomic segregation in comparable French and American cities. With Hugues Lagrange of Sciences Po, Quillian found much higher rates of socioeconomic segregation—measured by income, employment status, and education level—in the United States. They estimated that at least half of this could be the result of higher U.S. income inequality (see p. 4).

Perceptions of Victimization

Another of Quillian's highly cited studies in a 2001 *Social Psychology Quarterly* links how people estimate their risk of becoming a crime victim to their perceptions of their neighborhoods.

Quillian and Harvard's Devah Pager matched survey response data by zip code to local demographic data. Though respondents accurately predicted their risk for losing a job or losing healthcare—when it came to crime, the racial makeup of their neighborhood strongly influenced their perceived risk. Whites overestimated their risk twice as much in predominantly black zip codes as in areas with smaller black populations.

"People vastly overestimate their risk of being a victim of a crime," Quillian said, "and a neighborhood's racial composition cues perception, independent of actual crime rates in that area."

The observed bias, he went on, confirms a "systematic distortion," where respondents rely on stereotypes to gauge risk rather than more pertinent information.

Prejudice and Perceived Group Threat

One of Quillian's most well-known studies is a 1995 ASR article that continues to resonate. It examined anti-immigrant and racial prejudice in 12 European countries. He found increased hostile attitudes by the majority racial or ethnic group toward minority groups when these subordinate groups constituted a proportionally larger part of a nation's population and economic conditions were worse. "The results were troubling and very constant," Quillian said. Subsequent studies have confirmed similar patterns here and elsewhere.

As many debate if the election of our first black president and slowly declining racial segregation means we have reached a postracial era, Quillian's research continues to chip away at deeply held perceptions, prejudices, and stereotypes, shining new light on how we might approach and understand, and perhaps even solve, some of these deep-rooted, complex issues.

Lincoln Quillian is professor of sociology and an IPR fellow. He leads IPR's Urban Policy and Community Development Program.

FACULTY SPOTLIGHT: Anthony Chen

Clarifying Historical Origins to Ratchet Down Debates

The reactions to the April 2014 Supreme Court decision upholding Michigan's constitutional amendment on affirmative action have ranged from elated to outraged. The intense fervor evident on both sides suggests that affirmative action is just the kind of contentious issue where IPR sociologist **Anthony Chen** hopes his research can interject "more clarity and sober-mindedness" into public discourse.

Chen, who studies affirmative action policies and programs, points out that understanding the historical origins of such policies can help people see them more clearly and situate them in their proper context.

"This way, when people discuss views and opinions about what's happening today, they're really guided by an examination of what the policies are," Chen said, "as opposed to what they hear people say the policies are—or what they hear on Fox News or MSNBC."

He is currently working on a book about the origins of affirmative action in college admissions, which follows his first book on the origins of affirmative action policies in employment. Chen, who joined Northwestern and IPR in 2010 from the University of Michigan's faculty, began working on these issues during his doctoral program at the University of California, Berkeley, where he received his PhD.

Race and Affirmative Action in College Admissions

Chen's forthcoming book, *Beyond Bakke*, takes its tentative title from the landmark 1978 Supreme Court decision upholding certain types of affirmative action. In their archival research on the project, Chen and his co-author, Lisa Stulberg of New York University, have unearthed some unexpected findings that challenge the conventional wisdom.

Previous work might give one the impression that affirmative action policies arose initially out of the social upheaval of the late 1960s—students protesting on campuses and riots exploding in American cities.

"That's not quite right," Chen clarified. "It's part of the story, but it's not why the earliest programs were instituted in the first place."

Through careful analysis of university documents, including memos and correspondence from top administrators, the two researchers date the earliest affirmative action programs to the early 1960s, well before Northern campuses or cities began experiencing any unrest.

These programs were launched by college administrators—who were white men of both Republican and Democratic persuasion—in what amounted to a kind of "Northern response



Anthony Chen

to the Southern civil rights movement," Chen said.

Inspired by Martin Luther King, Jr. and the civil rights movement, he said, they took a hard look at their own institutions and basically asked themselves, "Well, how are we doing? We're not doing so well if we look more like Ole Miss than we want to. Why is that? And is there anything we can do to change that?"

In the intervening years, affirmative action has continued to provoke discord. Each successive Supreme Court decision, such as the 2013 *Fisher v. University of Texas* decision, continually provides new fodder for debate.

"There's a lot of heat around the debate, but it gets in the way of seeing clearly exactly what policies we're talking about,

exactly what those policies do, exactly why those policies are put into place, and exactly what consequences those policies have," Chen explained.

Fair Employment Practices and Affirmative Action Policies

In his first book, the award-winning *The Fifth Freedom: Jobs, Politics, and Civil Rights in the United States, 1941–1972* (Princeton University Press, 2009), Chen took a similar approach in focusing on affirmative action policies in employment.

Beginning in the 1940s, decades before "affirmative action," state and federal lawmakers debated fair employment practices (FEP) legislation, which prohibited discrimination in employment and created robust government agencies to enforce the law. Ultimately, some states adopted such laws, but Congress never really did.

Building on research by others, Chen noticed numerous and widespread instances in which the debate around FEP policies seemed very similar to those surrounding affirmative action policies.

"If you look at later affirmative action laws, they look very different, but FEP laws attracted highly comparable criticisms, including concerns about reverse discrimination and quotas," Chen said. "One of the policy implications of this research is that whenever you introduce strong civil rights policies of any kind, they're going to elicit severe opprobrium, even if there's really no reason for it."

Chen hopes that his research on affirmative action in employment and in college admissions will help "clarify where these policies really come from and why they were put into place, encouraging more level-headed conversation around it today."

Anthony Chen is associate professor of sociology and an IPR fellow.

What's in a (Hurricane) Name?

Closer analysis reveals problems with study methodology, results

By Jeremy Freese

Recently, a lot of media attention was focused on a study supposedly showing that “female hurricanes are deadlier than male hurricanes.” The idea is that people do not take hurricanes named after women as seriously, and so do less to protect themselves when warned about a hurricane named (say) “Bonnie” versus one named “Andrew.”

Given that gender biases are real, the basic idea sounds at least plausible.

Unfortunately, the “hurricane-names study” is a doomed one, providing no evidence about whether its clever hypothesis might be true. After analyzing the same data, I have identified four key problems:

First, it is simply not true that more people die in hurricanes named after women. There is no statistical difference in the number of deaths resulting from hurricanes with “female” versus “male” names.

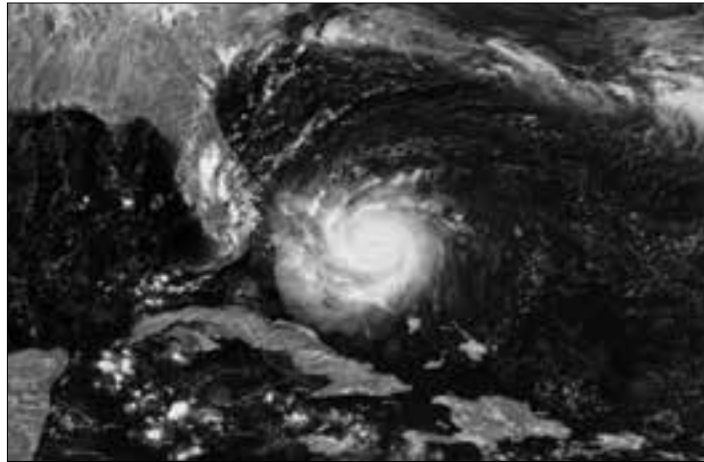
Second, the study's real claim is that the more severe a hurricane is, the more people it kills, and this rate of increase is bigger for “female” hurricanes. However, the authors' own results do not even show this.

They measure a hurricane's severity in two ways: How much property damage the hurricane causes in dollars, and how strong the hurricane is in meteorological terms, based on its atmospheric pressure. (Lower atmospheric pressure typically means stronger winds and more potent hurricanes.)

The paper, however, only discusses the results for monetary damages, which do fit their theory. You have to look up the fine print in the study's notes to find the results for atmospheric pressure—and these are completely the opposite: “Male” hurricanes are more deadly.

Third, if we follow the authors and just focus on monetary damages, we also find a big problem posed by Hurricane Andrew in 1992. It caused an estimated \$25 billion in damages, which at the time was unprecedented, but having taken 66 lives, it was nowhere close to being the deadliest.

Had Andrew been the second hurricane that season instead of the first, it would have been named “Bonnie.” The authors' own statistical results predict that “Bonnie” would have killed 23,000 people instead of Andrew's 66. Even Katrina, the deadliest U.S. hurricane of the past eight decades, only killed approximately 1,200 people in 2005. It's hard to believe that 20,000 Floridians owe their lives to a hurricane having been called Andrew instead of Bonnie.



Hurricane Andrew reaches its peak as it approaches the Florida coastline on August 23, 1992.

Now consider Hurricane Diane, which in 1955 caused three times more deaths than Andrew, but with less than a quarter of the economic damage. The study's results predict that more than 90 percent of those who died during Diane would have survived had it been given a manly name like “Andrew.”

Fourth, perhaps Andrew and Diane are just extreme cases. What about all the other hurricanes? That's just it: Remove Andrew and Diane from the data set and

the findings disappear. The study results depend completely on Andrew and Diane, and their wild predictions about how many deaths would have been lost or saved if only the names had been different.

The regrettable reality is that even if one does think a hurricane's name really might affect some people's behavior in ways that sometimes kills people, there simply have not been enough U.S. hurricanes to detect this statistically. Only if you believe hurricane names have gigantic effects—bigger than the difference between a Category 1 and Category 4 hurricane—could there be enough data to tell whether “female” hurricanes or “male” hurricanes are more deadly, or if no difference exists.

This problem is what makes the study truly a preventable disaster. The problem was compounded by an overly dramatic press release by the lead author's university. The media didn't just stumble across this study; rather, they took the press release from a well-known institution at face value and ran with it. Little surprise that a line from the press release that the research was “proof positive” and “the first to demonstrate that gender stereotypes can have deadly consequences” was often translated by reporters and editors as “sexism kills.”

We, academics, often blame the media for extreme presentations of scientists' work. Yet we should have little patience for extreme presentations of scientists' work that the scientists' own employers distribute to the media. We should examine such studies with special scrutiny.

Studies about what kills real people in real natural disasters deserve far more care.

Jeremy Freese is Ethel and John Lindgren Professor of Sociology and an IPR fellow. He is also co-principal investigator of Time-Sharing Experiments for the Social Sciences and contributes to Scatterplot, a social sciences blog. The study “Female Hurricanes Are Deadlier than Male Hurricanes” is at www.pnas.org/content/early/2014/05/29/11402786111.

Can Upward Mobility Cost You Your Health?

IPR psychologists reveal surprising findings about success and health

By Gregory Miller, Edith Chen, and Gene Brody

Americans love a good rags-to-riches story. Even in an age of soaring inequality, we like to think that people can still make it big here if they work hard and stay out of trouble. The socioeconomic reality of most of the last four decades—stagnant wages, soaring income and wealth inequality, and reduced equality of opportunity—have dented, but not destroyed, the appeal of the American dream. Those who do climb the ladder, against the odds, often pay a little-known price: Success at school and in the workplace can exact a toll on the body that may have long-term repercussions for health.

Among American children there are wide socioeconomic gaps on many dimensions of well-being: school achievement, mental health, drug use, teenage pregnancy, and incarceration, to name a few. Despite the risks that lower-income children face, we also know that a significant minority beat the odds. They perform well in school, avoid drugs, and go to college.

Psychologists refer to these children as resilient because they achieve positive outcomes in adverse circumstances. They do so, in part, by cultivating a kind of determined persistence. Often with nurturing from a parent, relative, or mentor, they set goals for the future, work diligently toward them, navigate setbacks, stay focused on the long term, and resist temptations that might knock them off the ladder to success.

Several years ago, we began studying these resilient young people, trying to find out if their success stories also translated into physical health benefits. We reasoned that if disadvantaged children were succeeding academically and emotionally, they might also be protected from health problems more common in lower-income youth. As it turned out, the exact opposite was true. These young people were achieving success: doing well academically, staying out of trouble, making friends, and developing a positive sense of self. Underneath, however, their physical health was deteriorating.

Our first hints of this pattern came from a study of 489 rural African American young people in Georgia. Most came from families who were working but poor. In 2010, their average family income was about \$12,000 a year; about half lived below the poverty line. We found a subgroup of resilient children who, despite these obstacles, were rated, at age 11, by their teachers as being diligent, focused, patient, academically successful, and strong in social skills.

We followed these young people to age 19 and studied their mental and physical health, focusing on depression, drug use, aggression, and criminal behavior. As in past studies, those who were rated positively at age 11 had relatively few of these problems at 19. When we looked beneath the surface, though, these apparently resilient young people were not faring well. Compared with others in the study, they were more obese, had higher blood pressure, and produced more stress hormones. Remarkably, their health was even worse than peers who, at age 11, had been rated by teachers as aggressive, difficult, and isolated. They were at substantial risk for developing diabetes or hypertension down the line.

We continued studying these youth as they transitioned into adulthood. Perhaps not surprisingly, the lower-income youth who made it to college used fewer drugs and drank less alcohol. To be academically competitive with their classmates, they had to stay focused on their schoolwork. As in the first study, though, their resilience was only skin deep. At age 20, the lower-income college kids had greater obesity, higher blood pressure, and more stress hormones than those not going to college. (Their health was also worse than that of peers in more affluent, educated neighborhoods.)

These patterns mesh with other social science findings, which suggest that upward mobility does not always provide the expected “return on investment” when it comes to health. If we look at the life expectancy associated with a college education, blacks gain about four fewer years from bachelor’s degrees than do whites. In fact, black college graduates have shorter life expectancies than white high school graduates.

What is it about upward mobility that undermines the health of these young Americans? In our studies, most participants are the first in their families to attend college. They feel tremendous internal pressure to succeed, so as to ensure their parents’ sacrifices have been worthwhile. Many feel socially isolated and disconnected from peers from different backgrounds. They may encounter racism and discrimination.

Some young people respond to the pressure by doubling down on character strengths that have served them well, cultivating an even more determined persistence to succeed. This strategy, however, can backfire when it comes to health. Behaving diligently all of the time leaves people feeling exhausted and sapped of willpower. Worn out from having their noses to the grindstone all the time, they may let their health fall by the wayside, neglecting sleep and exercise, and like many of us, overindulging in comfort foods.

What can we do to mitigate these negative health effects? To start, schools and colleges that serve lower-income students could provide health education, screenings, and checkups in their curricula. This would allow us to detect and address incipient health problems before becoming serious. Second, schools and clinics could offer stress management programs, targeting lower-income, higher-achieving youth, to help them balance the competing demands on their minds and bodies.

Finally, we could develop programs to help these young people blow off steam in productive ways. Of course, much more could be done: investments in primary education to provide opportunities and preparedness for college and to face less social isolation, discrimination, and alienation. For now, policymakers should do everything they can so that those young people who overcome so much to live the American dream have the health to enjoy the fruits of their efforts.

Gregory Miller and Edith Chen are professors of psychology and IPR fellows. Gene Brody is a professor at the University of Georgia. This opinion piece originally appeared in The New York Times.

Recent Faculty Books



Authoritarian Origins of Democratic Party Systems in Africa

By Rachel Beatty Riedl, Cambridge University Press, 2014, 286 pp.

Despite seemingly similar political and economic conditions, African countries have experienced very different forms of democratic competition over time. In *Authoritarian Origins of Democratic Party Systems in Africa*, political scientist and IPR associate **Rachel Beatty Riedl** sets out to explain the existence of differential democratic party systems in Africa through an understanding of their earlier authoritarian origins. She points to early periods of democratic openings as an opportunity for authoritarian incumbents to shape the rules of the democratic system so as to maintain support and consolidate power. With individual incumbents acting within and against unique constraints and receiving differing levels of support from the public during periods of democratic transition, African nations have attained varying levels of party system institutionalization. Despite that nearly two dozen African nations have maintained some form of the democratic party system since the early 1990s, she shows that unique democratic transitions and differing forms of party organization and competitive strategies have lent themselves to distinct forms of democratic competition in Africa.



Media Technologies: Essays on Communication, Materiality, and Society

Edited by Tarleton Gillespie, Pablo Boczkowski, and Kirsten Foot, MIT Press, 2014, 344 pp.

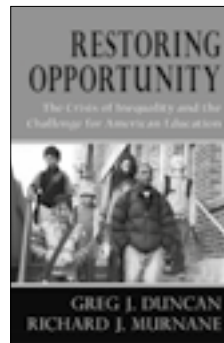
For many years, scholarship on media technologies has assumed that such technologies are simultaneously distinct from sociocultural practices and highly determinant of social life. Recent research, however, describes media technologies in relation to the social, cultural, and political practices surrounding them. *Media Technologies*, for which technologist and IPR associate **Pablo Boczkowski** is both an editor and a contributor, brings together communication, media, and science and technology scholars to challenge the view of such technologies as being simplistic and deterministic entities. Instead, their essays show how media technologies act as complex sociomaterial phenomena. From a discussion of the relationship between materiality and mediation to a recognition that media technologies are always in motion, Boczkowski and the contributors approach the topic in a new way, lending these technologies the complexity they deserve. In doing so, the authors show how individuals and technologies interact and evolve—with the minute, unobserved actions of many keeping media technologies alive and thriving.



Roadside MBA: Back Road Lessons for Entrepreneurs, Executives and Small Business Owners

By Michael Mazzeo, Paul Oyer, and Scott Schaefer, Business Plus Press, 2014, 304 pp.

Business textbooks and business case studies often focus on large companies, such as GE, Microsoft, or Pepsi, as examples of organizations with best and worst business practices. Yet management and strategy professor and IPR associate **Michael Mazzeo** and his colleagues challenge this large-scale perspective in their recent book, *Roadside MBA*. They focus instead on small businesses across the country for important lessons in commerce. By traveling across the United States and talking to the owners of approximately 120 small businesses, the researchers uncovered lessons for even the largest corporations. Common business strategies, such as product differentiation, brand management, and pricing, all came up in their discussions with small business owners, underscoring the potential for studying small business practices.



Restoring Opportunity: The Crisis of Inequality and the Challenge for American Education

By Greg Duncan and Richard Murnane, Harvard Education Press and Russell Sage Foundation, 2014, 200 pp.

Education has the power to combat inequity starting at an early age, especially during times of increasing socioeconomic inequality. Recent research, however, reveals a number of social and economic factors have made it more difficult for schools to narrow the persistent gaps between low- and high-income students. *Restoring Opportunity*, co-authored by IPR faculty affiliate **Greg Duncan**, synthesizes current research and offers examples of successful educational initiatives. By pointing to effective, evidence-based programs targeting children from prekindergarten through high school, Duncan and his co-author demonstrate that quality instruction and effective education can narrow socioeconomic gaps. The book also suggests a new research-based agenda for education reform.

Recent IPR Working Papers

PERFORMANCE MEASUREMENT AND REWARDS

Reducing Moral Hazard in Employment Relationships: Experimental Evidence on Managerial Control and Performance Pay (WP-14-06)

by Kirabo Jackson (IPR/Human Development and Social Policy), Northwestern University; and Henry Schneider, Cornell University

Moral hazard is endemic to employment relationships and firms often use performance pay and managerial control to address this problem. While performance pay has received much empirical attention, managerial control has not. Jackson and Schneider analyze data from a managerial-control field experiment in which an auto-repair firm provided detailed checklists to mechanics and monitored their use. Revenue was 20 percent higher under the experiment. They compare this effect with that of quasi-experimental increases in mechanic commission rates. The managerial-control effect is equivalent to that of a 10 percent commission increase. They find evidence of complementarities between the two, suggesting benefits from an all-of-the-above approach. They also find evidence of incentive gaming under performance pay.

URBAN POLICY AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Socioeconomic Segregation in Large Cities in France and the United States (WP-13-24)

by Lincoln Quillian (IPR/Sociology), Northwestern University; and Hugues Lagrange, Sciences Po

The co-authors calculate measures of the level of socioeconomic segregation in large metropolitan areas (cities and their surrounding suburbs) in the United States and France. They define “large” metropolitan areas as city-suburb combinations with a population of greater than 1 million. They use tract data from the American Community Survey (2006–10) and data from the French Census of 2008 and the French Ministry of Finance. The results reveal a significantly higher level of socioeconomic segregation in large American cities over that in French ones. American cities are more segregated than French cities on all three measures considered here, income, employment, and education. This finding holds with measures that account for different distributions of income, unemployment, and education across the two countries. The researchers also find (1) a strong pattern of low-income neighborhoods in central cities, and high-income neighborhoods in suburbs in the United States, but not in France; (2) that high-income individuals are the most segregated group in both countries; (3) that the shares of neighborhood income differences that can be explained by neighborhood race-ethnic composition are similar in France and in the United States, suggesting that racial segregation cannot account for much of the higher level of U.S. socioeconomic segregation.

EDUCATION POLICY

The (Surprising) Efficacy of Academic and Behavioral Intervention with Disadvantaged Youth from a Randomized Experiment in Chicago (WP-14-03)

by Philip Cook, Duke University; Kenneth Dodge, Duke University; George Farkas, University of California, Irvine; Roland Fryer, Harvard University; Jonathan Guryan (IPR/Human Development and Social Policy), Northwestern University; Jens Ludwig, University of Chicago; Susan Mayer, University of Chicago; Harold Pollack, University of Chicago; and Laurence Steinberg, Temple University

There is growing concern that improving the academic skills of disadvantaged youth is too difficult and costly, so policymakers should instead focus either on vocationally oriented instruction for teens or else on early childhood education. Yet this conclusion might be premature given that so few previous interventions have targeted a potential fundamental barrier to school success: “mismatch” between what schools deliver and the needs of disadvantaged youth who have fallen behind in their academic or nonacademic development. This paper reports on a randomized controlled trial of a two-pronged intervention that provides disadvantaged youth with nonacademic supports that try to teach youth social-cognitive skills based on the principles of cognitive behavioral therapy (CBT), and intensive individualized academic remediation. The study sample consists of 106 male ninth and tenth graders in a public high school on the South Side of Chicago, of whom 95 percent are black and 99 percent are free or reduced price lunch eligible. Participation increased math test scores by 0.65 of a control group standard deviation (SD) and by 0.48 SD in the national distribution; it increased math grades by 0.67 SD, and seems to have increased expected graduation rates by 14 percentage points (46 percent). While some questions remain about the intervention, given these effects and a cost per participant of around \$4,400 (with a range from \$3,000 to \$6,000), this intervention seems to yield larger gains in adolescent outcomes per dollar spent than many other intervention strategies.

(Continued on page 14)

Recent IPR Working Papers *(Continued from page 13)*

The Impacts of Expanding Access to High-Quality Preschool Education (WP-14-01)

by *Elizabeth Cascio, Dartmouth College; and Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach (IPR/Human Development and Social Policy), Northwestern University*

President Barack Obama's "Preschool for All" initiative calls for dramatic increases in the number of 4-year-olds enrolled in public preschool programs and in the quality of these programs nationwide. The proposed program shares many characteristics with the universal preschools that have been offered in Georgia and Oklahoma since the 1990s. This study draws together data from multiple sources to estimate the impacts of these "model" state programs on preschool enrollment and a broad set of family and child outcomes. The authors find that the state programs have increased the preschool enrollment rates of children from lower- and higher-income families alike. For lower-income families, the findings also suggest that the programs have increased the chances that mothers work, the amount of time mothers and children spend together on activities such as reading, and children's test performance as late as eighth grade. For higher-income families, however, they find that the programs have shifted children from private to public preschools, resulting in less of an impact on overall enrollment but a reduction in childcare expenses, and have had no positive effect on children's later test scores.

CHILD, ADOLESCENT, AND FAMILY STUDIES

Shocking Behavior: Random Wealth in Antebellum Georgia and Human Capital Across Generations (WP-14-07)

by *Hoyt Bleakley, University of Chicago; and Joseph Ferrie (IPR/Economics), Northwestern University*

Does the lack of wealth constrain parents' investments in the human capital of their descendants? Bleakley and Ferrie conduct a 50-year follow-up of an episode in which such constraints would have been plausibly relaxed by a random allocation of wealth to families. They track descendants of those eligible to win in Georgia's Cherokee Land Lottery of 1832, which had nearly universal participation among adult white males. Winners received close to the median level of wealth—a large financial windfall orthogonal to parents' underlying characteristics that might have also affected their children's human capital. Though winners had slightly more children than nonwinners, they did not send them to school more. Sons of winners do not have better adult outcomes (wealth, income, literacy) than the sons of nonwinners, and winners' grandchildren do not have higher literacy or school attendance than nonwinners' grandchildren. This suggests only a limited role for family financial resources in the transmission of human capital across generations and a potentially more important role for other factors that persist through family lines.

The Role of Immigrant Children in Their Parents' Assimilation in the United States, 1850–2010 (WP-14-04)

by *Ilyana Kuziemko, Columbia University; and Joseph Ferrie (IPR/Economics), Northwestern University*

The presence of children in immigrant households can influence their parents' assimilation through either human capital transfers from children to parents (parents learning from their children) or the assistance children can provide in navigating economic life in the destination country (parents leaning on their children). Kuziemko and Ferrie examine the relationship between the presence of children in U.S. immigrant households and the human capital acquisition of their immigrant parents from 1850–2010. They first show that immigrants who arrived in the Great Migration of the late-19th and early-20th centuries were substantially less likely to arrive with children than more recent immigrants. They then show that assimilation appears slower for more recent cohorts than for those who arrived during the Great Migration, though in both eras cohort quality declines over time. Finally, the authors show that the immigrant children of the earlier immigrants were associated with more assimilation (less "leaning" and more "learning") than the children of more recent immigrants.

POLITICS, INSTITUTIONS, AND PUBLIC POLICY

What Do U.S. Billionaires Want from Government? (WP-14-05)

by *Benjamin Page (IPR/Political Science), and Jason Seawright, Northwestern University*

While there is substantial evidence that the very wealthy in the United States have unusual political power, it is much less clear which issues drive billionaires' political participation or whether they have distinctive policy preferences relative to the general public. This paper describes research in progress to characterize the public political face of the wealthiest Americans by discovering and coding their policy-relevant statements in the news media. Initial findings suggest that billionaires are especially vocal on issues that distinctively affect them, such as the estate tax. However, the findings also suggest that some engage in "stealth politics" by spending significant money to advance political objectives without ever publicly making a case for those objectives.

Communicating Uncertainty in Official Economic Statistics (WP-14-08)

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

Federal statistical agencies in the United States and analogous agencies elsewhere commonly report official economic statistics as point estimates, without accompanying measures of error. Users of the statistics might incorrectly view them as error-free or might incorrectly conjecture error magnitudes. This paper urges agencies to mitigate misinterpretation of official statistics by communicating uncertainty to the public. Sampling error can be measured using established statistical principles. The challenge is to satisfactorily measure the various forms of nonsampling error. The researcher finds it useful to distinguish transitory statistical uncertainty, permanent statistical uncertainty, and conceptual uncertainty. The working paper illustrates how each arises as the U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis periodically revises GDP estimates, the U.S. Census Bureau generates household income statistics from surveys with nonresponse, and the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics seasonally adjusts employment statistics.

Party Nomination Rules and Campaign Participation (WP-14-02)

by *Georgia Kernell (IPR/Political Science), Northwestern University*

This study examines how political party organizations shape campaign participation in advanced industrialized parliamentary democracies. In some parties, members directly nominate candidates for their party's nomination. In others, selection is the sole responsibility of the party elite. Two countervailing arguments are presented: One stating that member participation will increase incentives to get involved in campaigns; the other contending that democratic nominations expose internal party divisions and depress participation. The author also argues that a party's ideology, size, incumbency, and heterogeneity may influence participation. The hypotheses are tested using cross-national election surveys and original candidate selection data. Participation is measured in two ways: campaign activity and political persuasion. The results suggest that partisans are more likely to participate when elites, rather than members, select candidates. In addition, small and left-leaning parties are found to be more successful at mobilizing their core supporters, as are those parties currently in government.

Presidents as Agents of Change (WP-13-22)

by *Daniel Galvin (IPR/Political Science), Northwestern University*

Presidents have long been seen as operating within a political environment that is intractable and highly resistant to change. Recent historical-institutional research, however, has revealed presidents to be powerful agents of structural change. Building on this emergent literature, Galvin, in this essay, endeavors to demonstrate that Stanford political scientist Terry Moe's tripartite analytical framework—of structures, incentives, and resources—remains a helpful starting point for historically oriented scholars seeking to examine the relationship between presidential behavior and institutional change. It offers methodological suggestions for conducting historical research along these lines and illustrates the potential gains by reconsidering some recent research into the relationship between presidential action and party development. Each illustration shows that presidents, through their instrumental efforts to bring inherited party structures into closer alignment with their incentives, contributed to long-term party developments. Rather than leave their structural environment undisturbed, as leading theories might predict, their actions reconfigured party arrangements and altered their trajectories, influencing the choices made by subsequent presidents and other political actors.

The Great Divide: Elite and Mass Opinion About Social Security (WP-13-17)

by *Fay Lomax Cook (IPR/Human Development and Social Policy), Northwestern University; and Rachel Moskowitz, Northwestern University*

Often called “the third rail of American politics,” Social Security was once seen as untouchable. This working paper shows that this political wisdom has changed and uses the theoretical framework of competitive counterframing to describe the breakdown in consensus among elites during the Clinton, Bush, and Obama presidential administrations. Has this breakdown in consensus at the elite level weakened the longstanding support of the public? And has the increasing economic inequality between the wealthy in the United States and the less affluent been translated into distinctive policy preferences by income? The researchers find that overall, the public at large remains supportive of Social Security, but the small, yet widening, gaps between the views of the affluent and low-income Americans bear watching carefully.

Two-Generation Initiatives *(Continued from page 1)*

G. Lemieux



Lindsay Chase-Lansdale

jobs requires skills and training beyond a high school diploma and thus, more education.

Sara Goldrick-Rab, an education researcher and sociologist at the University of Wisconsin–Madison noted, “The more education you have, the better off your children are.”

Yet 67 percent of low-income children have parents with a high school degree or less, and disparities

in educational attainment widen from the top to bottom quintiles, Chase-Lansdale said. Only 1 in 10 parents at the lowest-income quintile hold a college degree, while the figure jumps to 1 in 2 for those in the top 20 percent.

A promising avenue is that of two-generation programs, where parents and children further their education simultaneously, Chase-Lansdale continued. They capitalize on a unique moment, allowing parents to go back to school at a point when their children are between pre-K and elementary school. Such programs have received renewed interest, forming the basis of several promising projects around the nation including one launched in Evanston in February.

In addition to two-generation program models and the Evanston pilot, the panelists also covered research on aspects related to two-generation programs that could contribute to boosting outcomes if implemented.

“I’m very impressed with this new research, really looking at a two-generation program and approach to improving children’s chances for success,” said State Representative **Robyn Gabel** (D–Evanston), following the briefing. “I very much agree with the theory that in order to improve children’s chances, you need to improve their parents’ education as well.”

Getting Student-Parents Over Multiple Hurdles

“It’s laudable to encourage parents to go to college, but they face significant challenges once they are there,” Goldrick-Rab said. More “student-parents” are going to college than ever before, but less than half of them will go on to graduate or obtain a certification within six years. “Those who leave are doing so without credentials and with debt,” she said.

The cascading problems that these parents face can force them to make difficult decisions affecting their children. They tend to be poorer, often juggling school, full-time jobs, and parenting. They are also concentrated in institutions with very few resources to help them overcome difficulties with childcare, financial aid, mental health, and other issues.

“Frankly, in many cases, they are lacking access to many of the basic needs they have before they can pursue any form of higher learning,” Goldrick-Rab said. They go to class having skipped meals, or not having a roof over their heads or a bus

pass. While public assistance programs provided these in their K–12 years, she explained, that access is cut off in college.

“So if you live in Section 8 housing and you go to college, you are out,” she said. “These policies are in sharp conflict with one another.”

Thus, helping college-going parents maintain access to public benefits is a good place to start, yet more help is needed especially with financial aid. Though low-income student-parents qualify for modest amounts of financial aid, much of it is through loans, and they can still wind up owing 100 percent or more of their take-home pay, she said.

Coordinating assistance programs on campus is one way to help. Goldrick-Rab discussed some “one-stop” centers, such as Single Stop USA. They offer supplemental assistance in many areas from public benefits and legal issues to taxes and household finances. Such programs are operating around the country, but they are few and far between, she concluded.

Building Assets to Build Outcomes

IPR social psychologist **Mesmin Destin** then followed up with a description of asset-accumulation approaches that target children and parents, which could be incorporated into two-generation programs.

Destin first pointed to sobering statistics that illustrate the vast gap in wealth and assets amongst U.S. families and mirror to some extent the distribution of education and income. The richest 20 percent of families own almost 90 percent of the wealth, while the bottom 40 percent of families own less than 1 percent. Or to put it more starkly, the median earnings for white families are more than \$110,000 per year, while they fall below \$6,500 for black and Hispanic families.

Such great racial disparity in wealth has given rise to a new movement over the past 20 years, Destin said. These programs want to go beyond just raising income to concentrate on “building assets,” and Children’s Savings Accounts, or CSAs, have been the main vehicle for this. The accounts work by automatically enrolling participants, encouraging additional deposits through incentives, matching deposits, and maximizing small deposits by avoiding fees.

Destin’s review of CSA research has shown that the model of building assets has both immediate and “downstream” effects, with influences showing up for CSA holders’ socio-emotional development, standardized-test performance, grades, and college-going expectations. Other studies of his reveal that middle school students who are given information about financial aid are more motivated to go to college—doubling their school effort over a control group.

“Knowing that there are resources available to pay for college—and there will be an open financial path to college—that information immediately shows effects on the current effort students exert in school,” Destin continued. He also found students have higher GPAs when they see themselves as college-bound. Additional research has shown that even very modest savings accounts increase not only college attendance, but

graduation rates as well.

“Even these small savings amounts—of between \$100 and \$500—have an effect on the likelihood that students will go on to college and actually succeed in college,” Destin said.

Destin concluded by recapping how such programs can enhance two-generation programs through the primary school years and later on in the college years.



IPR panelists Mesmin Destin and Teresa Eckrich Sommer prepare to discuss ways to improve outcomes for low-income parents and their children.

Modeling Two-Generation Programs

While two-generation programs are not new, they have received much renewed attention over the past few years, Chase-Lansdale said, especially from leading foundations like the Gates Foundation and Ascend at the Aspen Institute. Ascend has provided funding for a two-generation pilot project in Evanston.

Since definitions of two-generation programs abound, Chase-Lansdale defined the model she and her colleagues developed as Two-Generation 2.0—one that tightly and “simultaneously connects and integrates high quality and intensive human capital investments” through high-quality childhood education and job training for parents.

The researchers’ hypothesis is that such programs will have a greater impact than those that just target early childhood education alone, Chase-Lansdale said. But theory is ahead of evidence and practice, so there is a need to measure the effects that such interventions might have.

“The theories are actually more compelling than the evidence, right now, which is why Terese [Eckrich Sommer] and I are studying them,” she laughed. In terms of program evaluation, the IPR research team is studying the implementation process and how various outcomes, such as career goals, financial circumstances, and skill sets, change over time for the participants.

“Most parents want the best for their children and so they will do everything for their child,” Chase-Lansdale emphasized. She followed up by noting that two-generation programs make the link between educating the two and capitalize on this sentiment so that the families benefit from a “double-whammy” effect whereby the children are better prepared for kindergarten and parents for the workforce and better job opportunities.

The Evanston Pilot

The Two-Generation Initiative in Evanston launched in February by a three-way partnership between Northwestern, the Evanston Community Foundation, and Ascend. The local pilot is based on a national model that encompasses a unique set of local partnerships between community colleges, employers,

adult education initiatives, and elementary schools.

IPR senior research scientist **Teresa Eckrich Sommer**, who is evaluating the Evanston pilot program with Chase-Lansdale, described how Evanston’s two-generation model works.

The first cohort consisted of 13 mothers, either high school graduates or GED holders, each of whom has at least one child age 5

or under, Sommer explained. They start with a three-month curriculum to explore careers and get monthly coaching and weekly peer support. The mothers also receive financial incentives and learn how to build links to employers, and their children are enrolled in high-quality education centers.

“What is our long-term vision?” Sommer asked. “We want to be able to provide parents with the kind of support to enter intensive training and education that will get them careers in the local marketplace and be able to progress along as their children grow at each stage in their career.”

All of the participants face multiple challenges. They include limited incomes, high educational debts, and a negative self-image, among others. Their first steps in the program encompass defining their personal and professional goals, with the next step being learning how to meet those goals.

How might they achieve this? In addition to benefiting from the services provided by the project, Sommer noted that they are all “highly motivated” and then pointed to a list of personal adjectives the mothers used in describing themselves. A few were “resilient,” “passionate,” “resourceful,” “positive,” “motivated,” and “funny.”

“This is a group with a lot of strengths,” Sommer said.

Moving forward, the organizers aim to further develop the programming and welcome two more cohorts, each with 15 participants, in 2014–15. Timing is a critical factor.

“It’s important to do this when the children are young and most sensitive to the forces of the environment,” Chase-Lansdale concluded, pointing out that the full benefits of the program could take many years to develop. “If a mother starts in the program when her child is 2 and she is 20 and 10 years go by, and she gets an [associate’s degree], the child will only be 12 and she will be 30”—and at a point where she will be able to help her child thrive in high school and beyond.

“I am delighted that IPR was able to hold its first ‘hometown’ briefing for such an engaged crowd,” Figlio said after the event. “We organize these briefings because they fulfill a key part of our core mission—to bring the best social science research

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Two-Generation Initiatives

(Continued from page 17)

G. Lemieux



Artishia Hunter (l.), director of the two-generation initiative in Evanston, poses with one of the mothers in the first cohort.

to a wide public for discussion and policy consideration, and we certainly accomplished that here tonight.”

The policy research briefing was co-sponsored with Evanston Township High School, the Childcare Network of Evanston, Northwestern University’s School of Education and Social Policy, the Evanston Community Foundation, and Ascend at the Aspen Institute.

At Northwestern University, Lindsay Chase-Lansdale is Frances Willard Professor of Human Development and Social Policy, Associate Provost for Faculty, and an IPR fellow; Mesmin Destin is assistant professor of human development, social policy, and psychology, and an IPR associate; Teresa Eckrich Sommer is an IPR senior research scientist; and IPR Director David Figlio is Orrington Lunt Professor of Education and Social Policy and of Economics. Sara Goldrick-Rab is associate professor of education policy studies and sociology at the University of Wisconsin–Madison.

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Cook Accepts NSF Post

(Continued from page 1)

Northwestern faculty during her four-year appointment.

The NSF is an independent U.S. government agency that seeks, among other aims, to support research to establish the nation as a leader in transformational science, to build national research capacity, and to cultivate a science-and-engineering workforce and a scientifically literate citizenry. As one of seven directorates, SBE seeks to support core research in the behavioral and social sciences. Such research, SBE points out on its website, can have vast practical applications, including using understanding of how the brain processes information to improve behavior, informing disaster recovery and disease prevention, and predicting how investments shape the U.S. economy. According to the directorate, it provides 56 percent of the federal funding for basic research at academic institutions in the SBE sciences.

“Fay demonstrated extraordinary leadership in building IPR into one of the finest institutions of nonpartisan, interdisciplinary, policy-relevant research anywhere,” said current IPR Director **David Figlio**. “I am certain that with her vision and leadership, the National Science Foundation’s scientific and social influence will only move ‘onward and upward’ as she often reminded us while directing IPR.”

In addition to bringing her social policy leadership and know-how to the position, Cook will also bring her expertise as a leading social science researcher. Her research focuses on the interrelationships between public opinion and social policy, the politics of public policy, public deliberation, energy policy, and the dynamics of public and elite support for programs for older Americans, particularly Social Security. She has written numerous articles and five books, including her most recent *Talking Together: Public Deliberation and Political Participation in America* (2009, University of Chicago Press), with Lawrence Jacobs of the University of Minnesota and Michael Delli Carpini of the University of Pennsylvania.

A professor at Northwestern University in its School of Education and Social Policy since 1979, Cook piloted IPR from January 1996 until August 2012. While at IPR some of her key accomplishments included expanding IPR’s research capacity; helping to launch new research programs, in particular on social disparities and health and quantitative research methods; increasing research dissemination; and establishing an undergraduate research assistants program. She has also been involved with many different academic, policy, nonprofit, and governmental bodies both nationally and internationally. She has lectured widely and received many awards and honors, such as being elected president of the Gerontological Society of America and a member of the National Academy of Social Insurance. She has received visiting fellow appointments at the Russell Sage Foundation and the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences at Stanford. Cook received her PhD in social policy from the University of Chicago in 1977.

Fay Lomax Cook is professor of human development and social policy and an IPR fellow.

The Road to College

(Continued from page 1)

co-sponsors, Illinois representatives **Mike Quigley** (D–5th) and **Aaron Schock** (R–18th).

“There are many possible solutions, many possible challenges as well,” he continued, noting that the three panelists—IPR education researcher **James Rosenbaum**, and economists **Sarah Turner** of the University of Virginia and Harvard’s **Bridget Terry Long**—were “proposing solutions that don’t break the bank and can appeal to both sides of the aisle.”

College Coaches

Low-income students are less likely to attend college and when they do, most typically go to two-year colleges with generally “terrible” degree-completion rates, said Rosenbaum. In addition to facing multiple economic and social barriers, most of these students often run into some barriers that could be easily addressed, including a fairly basic one. “Students don’t understand college,” Rosenbaum said.

Through his research, Rosenbaum has uncovered a multitude of high school students’ misinformation about four-year colleges. They range from believing they must have all four years of tuition saved up before starting their degree to thinking they can only get federal financial aid if one of their parents is unemployed.

The solution, like the problem, Rosenbaum continued, is relatively simple to address—access to information. Yet the seemingly obvious mechanism, using high school guidance counselors, is not ideal. The national student-to-counselor ratio is 475 to 1, with counselors also juggling other priorities. No wonder, perhaps, that nearly 60 percent of counselors spend only one-quarter of their time on college advising, he said.

Implementing a “college coaching” program, such as the one launched by Chicago Public Schools in 2004, is a recent response to address the issue. In the CPS program, 12 non-selective Chicago high schools each got a dedicated coach and space for college advising. The objective was to improve college enrollment for all students and to focus on encouraging more disadvantaged students to apply to four-year colleges.

Rosenbaum has studied the CPS coaching program and nearly 45,000 students in 58 schools over four years with several IPR graduate research assistants. They employed data from school records, senior “exit” interviews, and ethnographic observations. After comparing high schools with coaching programs to those without, the researchers controlled for a variety of school and student attributes. The coaches led to some gains in attending college. Moreover, their data clearly show that for low-income students who attend college, coaches increase how many enroll in less selective four-year colleges versus two-year colleges by nearly 10 percent.

According to Rosenbaum, the coaching program works, especially for students facing bigger disadvantages, because it increases their number of college-going actions, including applying to more colleges and filling out the federal student financial aid form, or FAFSA. The coaches also pass on crucial life skills from how to dress for a meeting with college

recruiters to why using a gang name in an e-mail address is not a good idea when corresponding with colleges. He also points to the coaches’ “parent-like nagging” as an important but “undervalued” attribute that helps the students.

“[The coaches] tell them all kinds of information about colleges that students don’t know,” Rosenbaum said.

College Choices

“Information,” Turner began, “can be a powerful tool for policy,” and can especially benefit a population of students who are rarely seen in more selective four-year universities—low-income, high-achieving students.

“These are kids who are really likely to have a good shot at virtually any college in the country,” Turner continued. “If you asked somebody five years ago how many kids in this category were low-income, people would have told you about 4,000 because that’s all the colleges and universities could find.”

Actually, there are 35,000 of them, she said, most of whom would be admitted if they applied, so why aren’t more of them in four-year colleges? “They don’t apply,” Turner answered.

Most of these students are geographically dispersed, she continued. You can find one to two in suburban, rural, and small-town high schools spread across the nation. That makes it very expensive for colleges to “find” them, and it also means that some of the critical knowledge that lower-income students need to navigate the college application process is often absent.

After rejecting various explanations of why students might not apply, from “not trying” to not being able to thrive at more selective colleges, Turner said the answer seems to be a matter of information: Low-income students find it difficult to identify affordable, high-quality colleges and universities.

Turner and her research team tested this by using a detailed information intervention, as part of the Expanding College Opportunities Project. Information was tailored to each student’s location, family income, and achievement level. The researchers also included details about the net cost of going to college and facts about local and national universities,



IPR Director David Figlio discusses college access with Annamaria Lusardi of George Washington University after the event.

(Continued on page 20)

The Road to College *(Continued from page 19)*

including graduation rates. They also offered easily accessible fee waivers to defray application costs because low-income students and their families were often reluctant to ask to have fees waived, which can run from \$600 to \$800 if a student applies to the recommended “portfolio” of eight schools.

“For kids from low-income families, you could actually imagine a parent saying ‘No, pick [just] one,’ ” Turner said.

Overall, the researchers find that low-income students in the experimental group were more likely to apply to four or more colleges, and 50 percent more likely to apply to a college to which their peers had applied. They also more frequently chose to attend colleges with higher graduation rates and higher instructional funding. “Such interventions can have a big impact on student choice,” Turner ended, pointing to a cost of \$6 per packet. “The cool thing is that they’re scalable, sustainable, and very low-cost.”

College Information and Assistance

More people are going to college than ever before, Long said, noting an increase of around 25 percent since 1975. Yet despite spending billions of dollars and creating different types of financial and academic programs, “We can see that the gap between the low-income and high-income groups really hasn’t closed,” she said. “What is keeping kids out of college?”

In thinking about the issue, Long noticed that the processes to get into college were very complex. To get financial aid, you have to fill out a FAFSA; to avoid remediation, you need to take the right courses.

“The students need to comprehend really complicated information, and they have to do all the right things, in the right order,” she said. Breaking down the “college decision pipeline,” from sophomore to senior year, involves a lot of decisions—from picking classes to how to get to a testing site.

Many studies have pointed to the problem of information, leading to a “huge push” to give out information. The problem with this, Long explained, is that students are then given “everything that’s out there” without any help to discern which facts might be most salient to their situation.

“The key question I’ve been thinking about is, ‘When is information enough?’ ” she asked, and how should such information be presented?

Long and her colleagues designed a randomized experiment with H&R Block. Families were invited to complete their tax forms and their FAFSA forms at the same time. For those families in the treatment group making less than \$45,000 and thus Pell Grant eligible, they were then asked if they would like to learn more about how to finance their education.

If they said yes, they were given an on-the-spot estimate of their federal and state aid eligibility and the net student cost for four state universities. The FAFSA was filled out electronically and sent directly to the Department of Education. It took an average of 8 minutes to complete the entire process.

“There were a lot of opportunities to really streamline the process, and we found [those 8 minutes] had huge effects,” Long said.

Among graduating high school seniors in families who had an average of \$76 in their checking accounts, the numbers of those going to college went up to 34 percent, as compared with 27 percent in the control group. Three years out, these students seem to be persisting in college—the treatment group was 8 percentage points more likely to remain enrolled in college two years in a row in comparison to the control group.

In another information experiment involving 529 college plans, Long and a colleague tested if families would save more for college. Their findings reveal that just providing information and streamlined assistance was not enough. The only participants to open accounts were those in a treatment group who received information, assistance, and the \$50 opening deposit for an account. Perhaps most interesting, Long continued, is that one-third of the group who opened accounts also went on to set up automatic contributions without any further assistance.

“Information is not always going to be enough,” Long said, especially when it comes to more complex processes. “Proactive research and outreach are always going to be absolutely necessary.”

Two-Year vs. Four-Year Colleges

Following the presentations, panelists answered a wide variety of questions, including one from a congressional staffer about the emphasis on four-year colleges and whether policies for two-year community colleges should get a closer look given that they seem to be a more affordable option for low-income families.

Long responded that college match is a key element of the process and that it is not necessarily about favoring one type over the other. Rather, families tend to make better decisions about what to do if they are fully informed about their options.

Rosenbaum added that caution is needed when looking at colleges—and in particular two-year colleges—as there is great variation in completion rates, earnings, and employment rates for different programs within the same institutions.

Figlio, an expert on K–12 accountability, noted that the question also raised the issues of ratings and accountability, a hotly debated topic in education. As challenging as it is “to get K–12 accountability right,” he said, it is “a higher order of magnitude still” for higher education, due to all the different possibilities for outcomes, program types, etc.

“I think it’s absolutely important that we try our hardest to get those types of policies right,” Figlio concluded, “so we’re providing the right information to people to support all those different types of choices they might be making.”

James Rosenbaum is professor of education and social policy and of sociology and an IPR fellow at Northwestern University. Sarah Turner is University Professor of Economics and Education at the University of Virginia. Bridget Terry Long is Academic Dean and Xander Professor of Education at the Harvard Graduate School of Education. IPR Director David Figlio is Orrington Lunt Professor of Education and Social Policy and of Economics at Northwestern.

Promoting Interdisciplinary Collaboration and Exchange

Sessions cover political influence, participation, and methodology

More than 100 faculty and graduate students gathered at Northwestern on May 9 for a workshop that featured talks by some of the nation's leading political and social scientists.

"The original motivation for the workshop was to have regular meetings with scholars from different institutions and disciplines come together to interact with one another, and the conference has well exceeded my expectations," said IPR Associate Director and political scientist **James Druckman**, who organized the eighth annual workshop. "The success reflects the general environment of Northwestern, which truly creates a great center of interdisciplinary collaboration."

Increasing the Political Influence of Women

Why do men chiefly occupy the nation's most powerful political positions despite a rising proportion of female politicians? According to Princeton University's **Tali Mendelberg**, it is not just a numbers game. She posits that rules governing group discussion could hold sway. To test this relationship, she randomly assigned 470 participants to groups of five, either all-male, all-female, or mixed. After being introduced to four principles of income redistribution, each group held an open discussion to choose the "most just" principle using either unanimous or majority rule. In tracking the discussions and ensuing decisions, Mendelberg finds that women participants talked the most in all-female groups. The only times both men and women spoke for equal amounts of time were in majority-female groups where decision making was based on majority rule. Conversely, if women were in the group's minority, only unanimous rule increased their participation and influence. In terms of topics, women in majority-female groups tended to focus more on issues more significant to women, such as families, children, and the poor. Mendelberg pointed to these findings as evidence that institutions can play an important role in addressing gender inequality in discussions. The research is part of her forthcoming book, *The Silent Sex: Gender, Inequality, and Institutions*.



Tali Mendelberg

Conveying the Human Costs of War

Little research has examined how information about war casualties is reported and framed by the news media, and thus, how such information might affect domestic support for wars. **Scott Althaus**, a political scientist at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, is the first to analyze casualty coverage across several major wars, comparing news reporting and framing across five large American conflicts. To establish a baseline, Althaus and his co-authors analyzed every war-related

story from randomly sampled days of *New York Times* coverage during both world wars and the Korean, Vietnam, and Iraq wars. Results showed that wartime news coverage rarely includes casualty information. When it is reported, it is

often framed in ways that minimize or downplay the human costs of war. Despite differences in the wars' duration, scale of casualties, and types of warfare, the frequency and framing of casualty reporting varied little from World War I through the Iraq War. This similarity suggests that major media outlets rarely convey basic facts about the human costs of war to ordinary Americans.



Scott Althaus

Probabilistic Polling

Pollsters and political scientists generally assume that voters cannot accurately respond to percent-chance questions about future events. For example, what is the percent chance that they will vote for a particular candidate? Presenting research challenging this status-quo thinking, IPR economist **Charles F. Manski** encouraged the room full of political scientists to reconsider using such questions. Manski and his colleague Adeline Delavande of the University of Essex worked with the RAND American Life Panel to ask probabilistic, as well as the traditional verbal polling, questions of respondents in the lead up to the 2008 presidential election. They found similar results for both verbal and probabilistic responses and could predict whether a respondent would vote and for whom. Yet they also find differences in timing: Probabilistic responses did a better job of predicting behavior earlier, a couple months before the election, while traditional verbal responses performed better in the few weeks leading up to the election. The 2012 RAND Continuous Poll, praised by many poll-watchers for its strong performance in the 2012 presidential election, included probabilistic questions designed by Manski and Delavande. An IPR working paper, the research was published in *Public Opinion Quarterly*.

Hypotheticals and Vignettes

Continuing the conversation about improving behavioral research methods, political scientist **James Gibson** of Washington University in St. Louis joined Manski for a panel on the use of hypothetical scenarios. In an IPR working paper, Manski and Delavande used percent-chance questions to ask respondents about their likelihood of voting in a series of hypothetical election scenarios. While the timing of voting and an election's closeness seemed key in decisions to vote, candidate preference

(Continued on page 22)

Interdisciplinary Collaboration and Exchange *(Continued from page 21)*

did not. The researchers corroborated responses using data on respondents' actual voting behavior in the 2012 presidential election. With "no canonical theory of voting," political scientists need richer data to understand why people vote, Manski said, and using hypotheticals can help.

Gibson also discussed using hypothetical scenarios—which he calls vignettes—because he finds them better for investigating the influence of contexts and for being able to create counterfactuals. He shared his work in post-apartheid South Africa, where vignettes were used to gauge attitudes on justice when granting amnesty to human rights violators. In all cases, most respondents judged amnesty as unfair. The majority was smallest when distributive justice—where the victims' families received financial compensation—was implemented. However, the combined effect of procedural justice—where the victim's family was able to tell their story—and restorative justice—where the family received an apology—almost equaled the effect of monetary compensation. Thus, the vignettes showed that there are forms of compensatory justice that make up for the retributive justice deficit created by granting amnesty to gross perpetrators of human rights.



Charles F. Manski (l.) and James Gibson describe methods to improve behavioral research.

A. Weiss

Motivational Underpinnings of Participation

While past research on political participation has primarily focused on the role of resources and mobilization, such as income, education, and get-out-the-vote efforts, **Joanne Miller** of the University of Minnesota argues that such models overemphasize the ability dimension of participation at the expense of the motivation dimension. Using time-series data from two panel studies, she first examines whether changes over time in traditional resource variables predict changes in participation. She finds that changes in resources, recruitment, and political engagement are not consistently, or significantly, related to microlevel changes in participation. Next, in a survey experiment of a representative sample of more than 4,400 adults, she assesses participants' willingness to take part in political activities, as well as the importance and impact of group identity on participation, under six experimental conditions. The results provide evidence that strong motives correlate with certain political behaviors, implying that psychological motivation is important. Miller proposes that including the concept of motivation will lead to a better understanding of individual-level participation at cross-sectional and over-time levels.

James Druckman is Payson S. Wild Professor of Political Science and IPR associate director at Northwestern University. Tali Mendelberg is professor of politics at Princeton University. Scott Althaus is professor of political science at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Charles F. Manski is Northwestern Board of Trustees Professor in Economics and an IPR fellow. James Gibson is Sidney W. Souers Professor of Government at Washington University in St. Louis. Joanne Miller is associate professor of political science at the University of Minnesota. The 2015 workshop will be on May 8.

Recent Media Coverage

(Continued from page 3)

The *Wall Street Journal* relayed **Charles F. Manski's** research on reporting official statistics. The IPR economist suggests expressing inherent uncertainty much like how weather forecasters provide ranges instead of just one figure, May 12.

"Daily Show" host Jon Stewart interviewed IPR associate and political scientist **Benjamin Page** and Princeton University's Martin Gilens about their recent work that suggests the wealthiest, most powerful U.S. elites shape national policy-making disproportionately, April 30.

In a *Guardian* (U.K.) article on gang violence in Chicago, political scientist **Wesley G. Skogan** explains that while overall homicide totals have been declining since the 1990s, gang-related murders have been consistently higher, April 19.

The *Washington Post* covered economist **Kirabo Jackson's** study on a Texas program using cash incentives for Advanced Placement classes. Doing so led to increases in program participation and standardized test score gains, especially for low-income and minority students, March 30.

Economist **Jonathan Guryan** co-authored an opinion piece for CNN detailing the research on small-group tutoring programs in Chicago public schools, March 12.

Science reports that nearly one-third of Americans are not "digitally literate," citing the work of communication studies researcher and IPR associate **Eszter Hargittai**, July 1.

The *Chicago Tribune* featured medical social sciences professor and IPR associate **Brian Mustanski** and his grant to conduct research on the dramatic increase in HIV diagnoses among young bisexual and gay black males, June 20.

Behavioral scientist and IPR associate **Linda Teplin's** research on the increased likelihood of violent death later in life among juvenile offenders was featured in the *Los Angeles Times*, June 16.

Teresa Woodruff, an oncofertility specialist and IPR associate, appeared on WTTW's "Chicago Tonight" to discuss her work to change the NIH's policy to include women in all NIH-funded preclinical studies, May 29.

Sociologist, African American studies researcher, and IPR associate **Mary Pattillo** was quoted in a *Washington Post* article about housing discrimination and segregation, May 19.

High School Tutoring Program Narrows Achievement Gap *(Continued from page 24)*

scores, students receiving tutoring and mentoring failed two fewer courses on average per year than students who did not participate, and their likelihood of being “on track” for graduation rose by nearly one-half.

To help students catch up to grade level and re-engage with regular classroom instruction, the Match program administered a regimen described as “tutoring on steroids.” Virtually all participants were African American male teens from low-income families. Some of the 106 participants were selected via random lottery to receive the Match program’s individualized math tutoring for one hour per day, every day; Each math tutor works with just two students at a time. In addition, students in this group received nonacademic intervention for one hour per week through the B.A.M. mentoring program.

P. Reese



Jonathan Guryan

B.A.M., developed by the nonprofit Youth Guidance and World Sport Chicago, uses elements of cognitive-behavioral therapy and nontraditional sports activities to strengthen social and cognitive skills, including self-regulation and impulse control. Other students participated only in B.A.M., and the rest received the school’s existing programming.

“In addition to gains in achievement-test scores, we also saw improvements in engagement with school, such as an increase in attendance of about 2.5 weeks per year,” Guryan said. “The results indicate this combination of programs may potentially be one way to narrow the black-white test score gap.”

The expansion of the B.A.M. mentoring and Match tutoring approach to serve more CPS students will allow researchers to better understand the mechanisms of how they work and whether they can produce the same results on a larger scale.



P. Souza

During a visit to Chicago’s Hyde Park Career Academy in February 2013, President Barack Obama participates in a roundtable with students in the BAM program.

In disadvantaged urban settings such as Chicago, a student can be four to 10 years behind his or her grade level in math, which is a key gateway to high school graduation, Ludwig said. “So much of the energy in education policy is in improving the quality with which grade-level material is taught in classrooms,” Ludwig said. “But that’s not going to help a ninth-grader who is struggling with third- or fourth-grade math problems.”

Perhaps because students in the study got the targeted help they needed to catch up, Ludwig said, “These effects on schooling outcomes are larger—much larger—than what we see from so many other educational strategies.”

Jonathan Guryan is associate professor of human development and social policy and an IPR fellow. Jens Ludwig is the McCormick Foundation Professor of Social Service Administration, Law, and Public Policy at the University of Chicago. Story excerpted from a University of Chicago media release.

New Database to Help Researchers

(Continued from page 1)

P. Reese



Larry Hedges

we can provide very detailed information about specific design parameters.”

The database provides empirical estimates of design parameters for two- and three-level cluster-randomized trials that use academic achievement as an outcome variable. These estimates are available for the nation as a whole, based on surveys with national probability samples—in addition for selected states, based on those states’ longitudinal data systems, which are essentially an exhaustive sample.

It is publicly available and can be accessed at the following URL: <http://stateva.ci.northwestern.edu/>.



The database can be accessed from IPR’s website.

Larry Hedges is Board of Trustees Professor of Statistics and Social Policy, Professor of Psychology, and an IPR fellow. He directs IPR’s Center for Improving Methods for Quantitative Policy Research.

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High School Tutoring Program Narrows Achievement Gap

Closes two-thirds of gap in math

High school students who were at risk for dropping out greatly improved their math test scores and school attendance with the help of intensive tutoring and mentoring, according to a recent study led by IPR economist **Jonathan Guryan** and his colleague **Jens Ludwig**, who are co-directors of the University of Chicago Urban Education Lab. The program's benefits were equivalent to closing nearly two-thirds of the average gap in math test scores between white and black students—the equivalent of what the average American high school student learns in math over three years.

The study has shown such promise that Chicago Mayor Rahm Emanuel announced early in 2014 that the city would increase the number of high school students in Chicago Public Schools (CPS) participating in this high-dosage math tutoring intervention implemented by Match Education. In 2013, Emanuel also committed support to increasing participation in the Becoming a Man (B.A.M.) mentoring program. Researchers continue to evaluate the effects of Match's tutoring model and B.A.M. mentoring for CPS students. They plan on releasing results for the program's second year later this fall.

In the study, which is a National Bureau of Economic Research and IPR working paper, the research team tracked the impact of tutoring and mentoring among 106 ninth- and tenth-grade students at Harper High School in Chicago's Englewood neighborhood for six months between 2012 and 2013. Students were randomly selected to permit rigorous analysis of the outcomes. In addition to a significant jump in math test

(Continued on page 23)

IPR Economist Elected to British Academy

Manski selected for pioneering work in partial identification



Charles Manski

IPR economist **Charles F. Manski** was one of 59 distinguished scholars and honorary members elected to the British Academy at its annual meeting on July 17. Manski was elected to the economics and economic history section of the Academy for his distinguished scholarship with the Academy citing him for having “pioneered the modern analysis of partially identifying models.”

As described by British Academy fellow and University College London colleague Andrew Chesher, Manski's work “offers the prospect of economic and social policy decisions built on a sound foundation of high-quality data analysis employing plausible models of behavior.”

The U.K. equivalent of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, to which Manski was also elected in 1994, the British Academy seeks to recognize and support outstanding research in the humanities and social sciences. Founded in 1899, it currently counts more than 900 members, with past fellows including economist John Maynard Keynes, anthropologists Louis and Mary Leakey, and author C. S. Lewis.