

IPR@50: The Next 50 Years of Research

Conference explores how IPR research is set to tackle 21st-century policy challenges

R. Hart



IPR economist Jonathan Guryan (center) discusses results from a math tutoring program during an IPR@50 panel on June 6 with IPR sociologists Celeste Watkins-Hayes and Andrew Papachristos.

For its 50th anniversary, IPR decided to look forward rather than back.

Held over June 6–7, the six panels of “IPR@50: The Next 50 Years of Research” investigated government spending, policy measurement, neighborhood inequality, social experience and biology, community partnerships, and what ails American democracy.

“We think these are incredibly exciting directions in policy research, all of which came out of our long-standing IPR tradition of conducting the highest quality research informed by genuine interdisciplinary discussion and collaboration,” said IPR

Director **Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach** in opening the IPR@50 conference.

Each panel of experts dove into current research, followed by topical discussions of what such research means for the wider policy universe (see pp. 4–5). Sociologist **Matthew Desmond** of Princeton University gave the IPR@50 Distinguished Lecture on “Evictions in America” (see p. 21).

In welcoming the attendees, Northwestern University President, Professor, and IPR economist **Morton Schapiro** said how proud he was to be an IPR fellow and that he attends as many of IPR’s Monday faculty research talks as he

can. For Schapiro, IPR’s Monday talks represent an intellectual “safe space,” where “everyone around you wants you to succeed.”

“It’s my chance as an economist to hear from top sociologists, and anthropologists, and psychologists, and political scientists, and law professors, and on and on,” Schapiro said.

In praising the quality of IPR’s multidisciplinary faculty, Northwestern Provost **Jonathan Holloway** noted how its 150 faculty are spread across more than 30 different departments around the University and how they represent faculty excellence, as evidenced by the major awards and honors they garner.

IPR represents one of the “great convening spots” at Northwestern, Holloway continued, where scholars from different disciplines can come together in “interstitial places” and find the answers to society’s most vexing problems.

“It is clear, collectively, that IPR fellows are in service to a larger ideal, and that is about making this world better,” Holloway said.

In reconvening the event on June 7, **Jay Walsh**, Northwestern’s then-vice president—now the president’s senior advisor—for research, pointed to how IPR brings together interdisciplinary faculty from across the University who conduct innovative and high-quality research while keeping an eye on practitioners’ perspectives—and does so while remaining policy relevant.

This formula helps to explain why IPR has been “fantastic for 50 years,” Walsh said.

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Newsletter Staff
Editor: Patricia Reese
Assistant Editors: Evelyn Asch, Christen Gall, and Derek Robertson
Newsletter Design: Jeanine Shimer
Layouts: Christen Gall
Contributors: Hilary Hurd Anyaso, Meredith Francis, and Erin Karter

Institute for Policy Research
 Northwestern University
 2040 Sheridan Rd.
 Evanston, IL 60208-4100

www.ipr.northwestern.edu
 ipr@northwestern.edu
 @ipratnu

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For mailing list updates and corrections, please email ipr@northwestern.edu.

Meet IPR's Newest Fellows

Researchers bring expertise in economics, education, and policy

Three new fellows joined the Institute for Policy Research this September, adding their expertise in political science, education policy, and economics to IPR's rigorous research programs. **Tabitha Bonilla**, **Sally Nuamah**, and **Molly Schnell** join more than 150 IPR faculty researchers across 33 departments at Northwestern University.

"Bringing new scholars into our interdisciplinary community means adding exciting new ideas and research expertise," said IPR Director and economist **Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach**. "We are delighted to welcome Tabitha, Sally, and Molly to IPR and look forward to their contributions as fellows."

Tabitha Bonilla



S. Drey

Political scientist and policy expert Tabitha Bonilla studies public opinion and broadly examines how elite communication influences voter opinions of candidates and political

policies. Her research also focuses on how everyday consumption of politics matters, by looking at how messaging can polarize or bridge attitudes over political issues.

Her recent work explores how the American public perceives human trafficking and the ways in which a more nuanced understanding of the topic can shift attitudes about immigration. Another area looks at how a political candidate's campaign promises signal a greater commitment to an issue, which can affect voter behavior.

Sally Nuamah



S. Drey

Sally Nuamah, a political scientist and public policy expert, studies issues at the intersection of race, gender, education policy, and political behavior.

One of Nuamah's latest projects examined the racial differences in public opinion on school closures in Chicago, finding that

black and Latino Chicagoans were far less supportive of school closures than white Chicagoans. She has also explored the perceptions of the quality of education in post-Katrina New Orleans and how they differ by race and by perception of who holds political power. She is currently examining how the punishment of black women and girls affects democracy, thanks to a prestigious 2019 Carnegie Fellowship.

Molly Schnell



Photo courtesy of M. Schnell

Molly Schnell, an economist, studies medical providers and markets. Her research examines how incentives and constraints facing both providers and

consumers influence healthcare access, health behaviors, and health outcomes. Much of her work looks at the provision of pharmaceuticals in the United States.

In a recent project, Schnell examined how the amount physicians are paid influences who they are willing to see. She found that closing the gap in payments between Medicaid and private insurers would largely reduce disparities in access among adults, and would eliminate such disparities among children.

Tabitha Bonilla and Sally Nuamah are assistant professors of human development and social policy. Molly Schnell is assistant professor of economics. For more, go to www.ipr.northwestern.edu.

Learning the Art and Science of Research

by Kaitlyn Rubinstein, IPR Summer Undergraduate Researcher

I have been working for IPR sociologist **Beth Redbird** since she took me under her wing in April 2018. Currently, we are working on coding the constitutions of Tribal Nations for various factors, including membership, government structure and powers, and economic and civil rights. This data will be compared to the economic development of Tribal Nations over time to examine how economic success may affect the exclusivity of a community. Furthermore, this data will allow us to look at the constitutional changes over time, and potentially collaborate with Professor Jean Clipperton of both the sociology and political science departments to analyze whether Tribal Nations moved towards governmental cultural fit over time.

Reading constitutions from hundreds of Tribal Nations, some as old as 1860 and others as recent as 2017, has proved to be fascinating. Some constitutions strongly stated the inherent sovereignty of the Tribal Nation and distanced themselves from the U.S.

government as much as possible, while others voted against amending their constitutions to remove the role of the Secretary of the Interior from their governments. Although typically Native American activists strongly identify with the Palestinian cause, one Tribal Nation expressed their identification with the Israeli cause and subsequent business relations with the nation. Time and time again, one of the most important lessons in Native American and Indigenous Studies keeps proving itself to be true: No two Native American communities are the same, and it all depends on the tribe.

While working on this project, I have come to learn the importance of flexibility in social science research. Professor Redbird once told me that research is both an art and a science, and while methods courses may teach you the science, only experience will teach you the art. It has become apparent to me that the art of research is being able to be flexible to handle unexpected challenges that



C. Gall

Kaitlyn Rubinstein studied the constitutions of Tribal Nations for a project with IPR sociologist Beth Redbird.

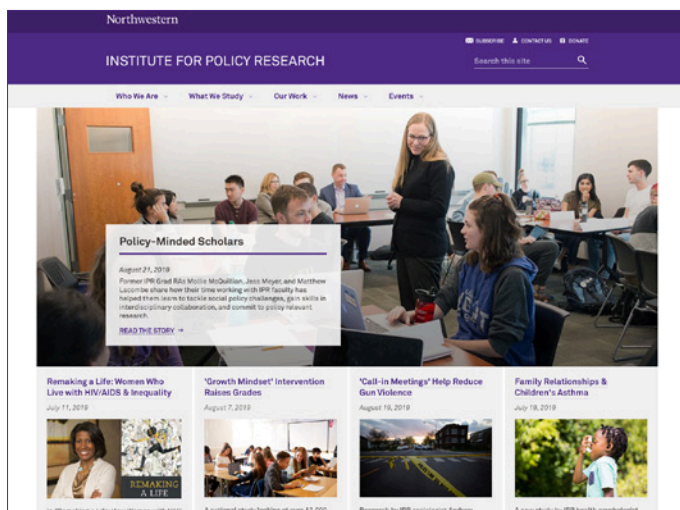
arise throughout the process. While the perfectionist in me desperately wants to craft a seamless plan from the beginning and execute it flawlessly, data is never so kind, and research is full of surprises. As a research assistant, I am learning how to roll with the punches—so to speak—and engage in research with more flexibility.

Twenty-four students took part in IPR's Summer Undergraduate Research Assistants (SURA) Program in 2019. For more about the program and to read more blog posts, go to www.ipr.northwestern.edu.

Please Refresh Your Browser

IPR's website relaunches with new policy-oriented content and features

In September, IPR launched an overhauled version of its website, www.ipr.northwestern.edu. It sports a more user-friendly design, better accessibility, and easier browsing on smartphones. It also offers new and exciting features, including resources specifically tailored to key groups, such as policymakers and students. A new section on "Trending Topics" provides timely, rigorous, and relevant research on key social issues. Check out the new design and content, and let us know what you think!



IPR@50: The Next 50 Years of Research

Researchers offer insights into current and future policy issues

OPENING REMARKS

Northwestern University President and Professor **Morton Schapiro**, an IPR economist, and Provost **Jonathan Holloway** kicked off IPR@50. For Schapiro (pictured below), IPR's Monday talks represent an intellectual "safe space," where "everyone around you wants you to succeed." Holloway said, "It is clear, collectively, that IPR fellows are in service to a larger ideal, and that is about making this world better," calling IPR one of Northwestern's "great convening spots."



NEIGHBORHOOD INEQUALITY

IPR sociologist and African American studies researcher **Celeste Watkins-Hayes** (right) discussed her research on HIV/AIDS during the conference. She asked if under-resourced neighborhoods are "places of vulnerability or places of protection" for those living there. WBEZ reporter **Odette Yousef** moderated the panel, also speaking with IPR economist **Jonathan Guryan** about education interventions that work, and IPR sociologist **Andrew Papachristos** on neighborhood networks' role in gun crime violence.



DISTINGUISHED LECTURE: 'EVICTIONS IN AMERICA'

Princeton University sociologist **Matthew Desmond** and IPR Director **Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach** chat before his IPR@50 Distinguished Public Policy Lecture (see p. 21). Desmond presented his latest findings from the Eviction Lab, a national database of evictions. He also challenged researchers in the audience to make their data public more quickly. "The speed at which our problems are running and the speed of academia are often on very different tracks," Desmond explained. "[So] how can we speed up what we know?"



GOVERNMENT SPENDING

IPR labor economist **Kirabo Jackson** (center) spoke about the benefits of increased education funding on a panel probing the role of government spending, moderated by WBEZ's **Sarah Karp** (left). "The evidence out there is pretty strong that if you increase spending, particularly for schools that do not spend a lot to begin with, you do get a lot of bang for your buck," he said. IPR sociologist **Monica Prasad** and economist **Matthew Notowidigdo** also shared their insights into government spending on taxes and healthcare.

For more about the IPR@50 panels,

COMMUNITY PARTNERSHIPS

IPR economist **Lori Beaman** (center) explained her work with local partnerships in West Africa and India, and said that without consultation with partners, from the head of an NGO down to the field, “You’re not going to produce research that is very useful in the policy space.” IPR development psychologist **Lindsay Chase-Lansdale**, **Penny Bender Sebring** of the University of Chicago, and IPR economist **David Figlio** (left to right) also spoke about the importance of partnering beyond the university with moderator **Paul Goren** (not pictured).



EXPERIENCE AND BIOLOGY

IPR developmental psychobiologist **Emma Adam** and IPR development psychologist **Lindsay Chase-Lansdale** talked with three panelists: biological anthropologist **Thomas McDade** and health psychologists **Greg Miller**, who moderated, and **Edith Chen** (left to right). During the panel, McDade recalled the founding of IPR’s Cells to Society (C2S) Center, which explores social disparities and health, and its current research. “C2S is unique in interpreting biology and how it matters in a social context,” McDade said. IPR anthropologist **Christopher Kuzawa** (not pictured) described how our environments shape human biology.



Photos by R. Hart



POLICY MEASUREMENT

IPR anthropologist **Sera Young** reviewed some breakthroughs—and breakdowns—in policy measurement with fellow IPR panelists economist **Burton Weisbrod** (center) and statistician **Bruce Spencer**. “Policy measurement is something that is long and slow, arduous work,” said panel moderator, IPR director **Diane Schanzenbach** (not pictured). Panelist **Emma Adam** (not pictured), an IPR developmental psychobiologist, highlighted the use of biomarkers to measure the impact of social disparities on health.



AMERICAN DEMOCRACY AND ITS DISCONTENTS

IPR mass communication scholar **Rachel Davis Mersey**, IPR political scientists **Laurel Harbridge-Yong** and **James Druckman**, and Yale social psychologist **Jennifer Richeson** (left to right) dove into some key challenges facing U.S. democracy. In speaking about polarization, Druckman said, “What’s changed is not that people are more polarized,” but rather who they are thinking about when they rate voters of the other party on partisanship in opinion polls. Medill’s **Peter Slevin** (not pictured), an IPR associate, moderated.

visit www.ipr.northwestern.edu.

RESEARCH NEWS AND INFOGRAPHICS

Emissions Cheating Linked to Poor Health

A recent working paper by IPR economist **Hannes Schwandt** is the first to show that diesel cars implicated in the emissions-cheating scandal had population-level impacts on infant and child health.

More than 600,000 cars billed as having “clean diesel technology” were sold by automakers in the United States between 2008 and 2015. In 2015, the EPA revealed that these “clean diesel” cars used illegal software to cheat on emissions tests. In normal street use outside of testing labs each of these cheating cars would emit as much nitrogen oxide (NO_x) as 150 gasoline-powered cars.

Schwandt and his co-author Diane Alexander (Chicago Fed) find the additional pollution emitted by these cars caused approximately 38,600 children to be born with low birth weight (less than 2.5 kg). They also find sharp increases in acute asthma attacks among infants and children in areas exposed to cheating cars.

“Car pollution is obviously a central issue for all of society—even the wealthiest members of society are exposed to it on a daily basis, although the poor are exposed more,” Schwandt said. “It is surprising that



little is known about the causal impacts on population health.”

Volkswagen’s cheating diesel cars provide a unique opportunity to investigate the casual effects of car exhaust on population health.

“For the first time, we can study isolated sharp increases in car pollution across the U.S., even in wealthy areas with low pollution levels at baseline,” Schwandt said. “And nobody knew the cars were cheating so people did not engage in avoidance behaviors. This means we can detect the full health impact.”

The study concludes that car exhaust damages health even at modest levels and these impacts occur across the entire socioeconomic spectrum.

Hannes Schwandt is assistant professor of education and social policy and an IPR fellow.

8,000 Police Officers

A new study by IPR sociologist **Andrew Papachristos** and his colleagues investigated how Chicago police officers’ exposure to peers who had been accused of misconduct shaped their involvement in subsequent excessive force cases. They examined the records of more than 8,000 Chicago police officers named in multiple complaints from 2007–15 to determine the role played by social networks in officers’ misconduct.

Andrew Papachristos is professor of sociology and an IPR fellow.

From Labor Law to Employment Law

Constructing and analyzing a new dataset of every state employment law enacted since 1960, IPR political scientist **Daniel Galvin** explains the emergence of what he calls the “new politics of workers’ rights” around these laws. He concludes that the persistence of outmoded national labor law has shaped the form, content, and timing of subnational efforts to protect workers over the last half century.

Daniel Galvin is associate professor of political science and an IPR fellow.

Scale Launched to Measure Water Insecurity

In recognition of a growing global water crisis, the United Nations decreed this decade the “water action decade” in March 2018. Nearly a year later in February 2019, a tightknit team of interdisciplinary researchers and practitioners, led by IPR anthropologist **Sera Young**, developed and validated the first tool to comparably measure experiences of household water insecurity across the globe, the Household Water Insecurity Experiences Scale (HWISE). HWISE leadership, who in addition to Young include Wendy Jepson of Texas A&M, Justin Stoler of the University of Miami, and Amber Wutich of Arizona State University worked across 28 sites in 24 countries and more than 8,000 households to create, implement, and validate the 12 survey questions. Given the power of the scale to benchmark global household water insecurity, the HWISE Consortium is partnering with UNESCO and Gallup to include the tool in the Gallup World Poll.

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



HWISE Logo

Effects of Prenatal Testosterone on Females in Male-Female Twin Pairs

Women who shared their mother's womb with a male twin are less likely to graduate from high school or college, have earned less by their early 30s, and have lower fertility and marriage rates when compared with twins who are both female, according to recent Northwestern University research.

In the largest and most rigorous study of its kind, researchers from Northwestern and the Norwegian School of Economics examined data on all twin births in Norway, or more than 13,000, between 1967 and 1978.

The authors, who included IPR economist **David Figlio**, anthropologist **Christopher Kuzawa**, and researcher **Krzysztof Karbownik**, used the data to show that females exposed in utero to a male twin are less likely to graduate from high school (-15.2%), to complete college (-3.9%) or to get married (-11.7%). They also have lower fertility rates (-5.8%) and life-cycle earnings (-8.6%).

David Figlio is the Orrington Lunt Professor and dean of the School of Education and Social Policy. Christopher Kuzawa is professor of anthropology. Both are IPR fellows. Krzysztof Karbownik, a former IPR research associate, is currently assistant professor at Emory University.

"This is a story about the biology of sex differences. We are not showing that exposed females are necessarily more 'male-like,' but our findings are consistent with the idea that passive exposure to prenatal testosterone changes women's education, labor market, and fertility outcomes."

— David Figlio

Strong Family Relationships Might Improve Children's Asthma Outcomes

Positive family relationships might help youth manage their asthma better even in the face of difficult neighborhood conditions, finds a recent study.

For children with asthma, neighborhood environmental conditions—the role of allergens and pollutants, for example—have long been known to play an important role. But less is known about how neighborhood social conditions might affect their asthma.

In the study, IPR health psychologist **Edith Chen** and her colleagues sought to test if social factors can buffer children from the negative effects of difficult neighborhood conditions. They focused on one specific factor—whether they had positive and supportive family relationships.

"We found significant interactions between neighborhood conditions and family relationship quality predicting clinical asthma outcomes," Chen said. "When children lived in neighborhoods that were high in danger and disorder, the better their family relationships, the fewer symptoms and activity limitations they had, and the better their pulmonary function."



Using Google Street View, the researchers could take a virtual walk in the research participants' neighborhoods, and code for indicators of neighborhood danger or disorder.

They then asked children about their family relationships, coding the amount of support, trust, and conflict present, and measured a variety of asthma outcomes for them.

Chen said the research is important because pediatricians could help families even if they do not have options to move out of more challenging neighborhoods.

Edith Chen is the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Chair and professor of psychology and an IPR fellow.

Growth Mindset Intervention Raises Grades for Students

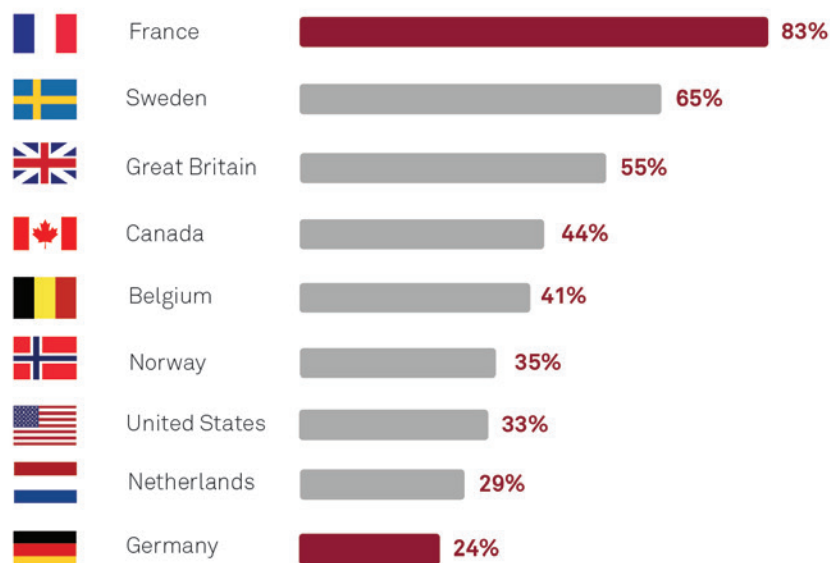
A study of over 12,000 U.S. ninth graders has revealed how a brief, low-cost, online program can help students develop a growth mindset and improve their academic achievement.

Published in *Nature* and co-authored by IPR statistician **Beth Tipton**, the nationally representative study showed that both lower- and higher-achieving students benefited from the program. Lower-achieving students had much higher grades in ninth grade, on average, and both lower- and higher-achieving students were more likely to enroll in more challenging math courses their sophomore year. The program increased achievement as much as, and in some cases more than, previously evaluated, larger-scale education interventions costing far more and taking far longer to complete. The study is as notable for its methodology as its findings.

"We wanted to get a causal estimate that could be generalized very clearly to the national population of public high schools," said Tipton, who led the methodology. "It is really pushing the envelope on what can be done."

Beth Tipton is associate professor of statistics and an IPR fellow.

Some Countries Discriminate in Hiring More Than Others



The hiring advantage for white applicants is more than three times higher in the country with the most discrimination (France) than in the country with the least discrimination (Germany).

Source: Quillian, L., A. Heath, D. Pager, A. H. Midtbøen, F. Fleischmann, and O. Hexel. 2019. Do some countries discriminate more than others? Evidence from 97 field experiments of racial discrimination in hiring. *Sociological Science* 6(18).

Do some countries discriminate against racial minorities in the hiring process more than others?

A new meta-analysis on hiring discrimination by IPR sociologist [Lincoln Quillian](#) and his colleagues finds evidence of pervasive hiring discrimination against all nonwhite groups in all nine countries examined. Yet some countries discriminate more than others—and certain laws and institutional practices might explain why.

The researchers examined over 200,000 job applications in nine countries: Belgium, Canada, France, Germany, Great Britain, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, and the U.S.

“Clearly, there is a lot of discrimination against nonwhites in hiring in Western countries with a variety of negative effects,” Quillian said.

Quillian and his colleagues measured the level of discrimination by calculating the percentage of interview callbacks a white native person received compared to a person who is not white. France and Sweden had the highest levels of hiring discrimination, while the U.S., Netherlands, and Germany had lower levels.

In France and Sweden, minority applicants would need to send out 70–94% more resumes than white applicants to receive the same

number of responses as white applicants.

In Germany and the U.S., minority applicants would need to send out 25–40% more.

The levels of discrimination were fairly similar among nonwhite groups, including those applicants with backgrounds from Africa, Asia, and the Middle East. The researchers also found low levels of discrimination against white immigrants, who are only “mildly disadvantaged” when compared with white natives of a country.

Though the U.S. has shown persistent hiring discrimination since 1990, certain laws and institutional practices explain why it had lower levels of discrimination than most of the other eight nations. More discussions of race and ethnicity take place in U.S. workplaces than in European ones, Quillian says.

“No other countries require monitoring of the racial and ethnic makeup of ranks of employees as is required for large employers in the U.S.,” Quillian said. He cited how large U.S. employers must report all employees’ race and ethnicity to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

In Germany, the country with the lowest level of racial discrimination in hiring among those studied, job applicants submit extra

information in their job applications, including grades and apprenticeship reports.

“We suspect that this is why we find low discrimination in Germany—that having a lot of information at first application reduces the tendency to view minority applicants as less good or unqualified,” Quillian said.

But in some countries with higher levels of hiring discrimination, like France, employers cannot ask about an applicant’s race.

“The French do not measure race or ethnicity in any official—or most unofficial capacities, which makes knowledge of racial and ethnic inequality in France very limited and makes it difficult to monitor hiring or promotion for discrimination,” Quillian said.

The more information employers have about applicants, Quillian offers, the less room employers have to project their own views and stereotypes onto minority applicants.

Lincoln Quillian is professor of sociology and an IPR fellow.

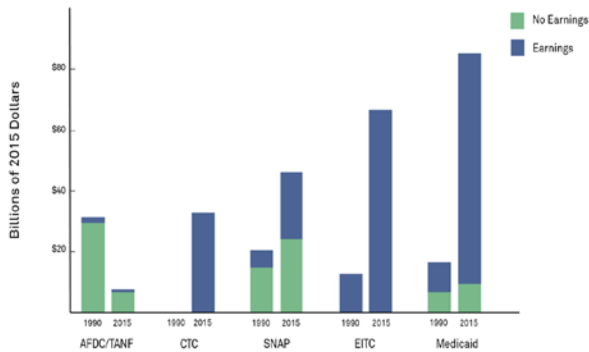


Lincoln Quillian

E. Molony

Infographics Recap Key IPR Research Findings

The Changing Safety Net for Children



Government safety-net programs are “extremely effective at reducing poverty,” according to economist and IPR Director **Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach** in an IPR working paper. Access to safety-net programs during childhood leads to benefits for children and society over the long run.

Since 1990, all increases in safety-net spending have gone to families who work and have earnings at or above the poverty level, rather than to the poorest households without earnings. Schanzenbach and her co-author Hilary Hoynes of the University of California, Berkeley, calculated that 80% of safety-net spending now goes to families with earnings. These changes in government spending might bring lasting harm to the poorest children.

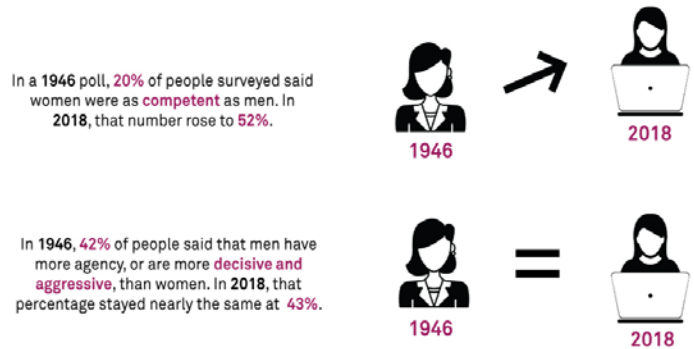
Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach is the Margaret Walker Alexander Professor, and IPR director and fellow.

Gender Stereotypes, 1946–2018

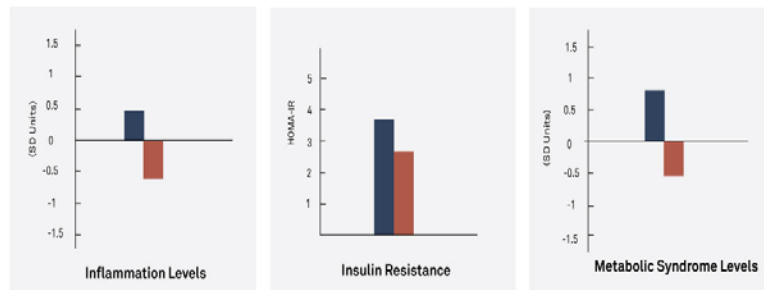
A new meta-analysis by IPR psychologist **Alice Eagly** and colleagues examines how gender stereotypes in the United States have evolved over seven decades (1946–2018), a span of time that brought considerable change in gender relations due in large part to women’s increased participation in the labor force and education. Women now earn more bachelor’s, master’s, and doctoral degrees than men, unlike decades ago.

The study, published in the *American Psychologist*, analyzed 16 nationally representative U.S. opinion polls with more than 30,000 adult respondents. These polls asked respondents to compare women’s and men’s competence (for example, intelligent, organized, creative), communion (for example, affectionate, compassionate, emotional), and agency (for example, ambitious, aggressive, decisive).

Alice Eagly is the James Padilla Professor of Psychology Emerita and an IPR fellow emerita.



Emphasizing Diversity in Schools



■ School does not emphasize diversity
■ School does emphasize diversity

Students of color who attend schools with a culture that emphasizes the value of diversity—schools whose mission statements mention goals such as serving a diverse student body and appreciating diversity and cultural differences—have better cardiovascular health than peers whose schools do not express such values, according to a recent study by IPR researchers. This same pattern did not emerge among white students.

Cynthia Levine, a former IPR postdoctoral fellow, and her co-authors, including IPR health psychologists **Edith Chen** and **Greg Miller**, looked at multiple biomarker outcomes—**inflammation, insulin resistance, and metabolic syndrome**—that previous research has prospectively linked to the

development of cardiovascular disease later on in life. Cardiovascular disease is a major cause of disability and death in the United States, and there are racial disparities in its prevalence and mortality rates.

Edith Chen is the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Chair and professor of psychology. Greg Miller is the Louis W. Menk Professor of Psychology. Both are IPR fellows. Cynthia Levine is assistant professor of psychology at the University of Washington and was an IPR postdoctoral fellow.

Funding vs. Inaccuracy in the 2020 Census

OVERVIEW

For the first time, the U.S. Census Bureau will use the internet and mobile devices to collect census data. 2020 Census funding, however, is lower than it has ever been, and the lower funding could affect its accuracy. Statisticians **Bruce Spencer** of IPR and **Zachary Seeskin** (PhD 2016) of NORC find a higher error rate could shift seats in the U.S. House of Representatives and misallocate billions in funds.

FINDINGS

Accuracy and census costs are closely related. While census accuracy is expensive, sufficient and timely census funding is crucial to take the most accurate count. The census determines how many representatives each state gets and how federal dollars are distributed. Census error, aggravated by past funding shortfalls, could well shift as many as six seats or more in the U.S. House of Representatives. In one set of projections, findings show that census inaccuracy of up to 2% would cause Florida to lose one seat and Texas to lose two seats, while Minnesota, Ohio, and Rhode Island would each gain one. As many as 12 seats could change between individual states if the inaccuracy increases to 4%.

If the census error rises to as much as 2%, up to \$40 billion in federal funding could be misallocated. Even moderate levels of census error would shift billions of

POLICY TAKEAWAYS

- For the five past censuses, policymakers chose to allocate enough funding to ensure lower error rates. The current focus on a cost target will likely increase error rates in the 2020 Census.
- The focus on a cost target and higher rates of error in the 2020 Census would lead to House seats shifting and misallocation of federal funds.
- At a time when confidence in fair representation is being eroded, an accurate population census is critical. Census Bureau requests for resources for the 2020 Census need to be fulfilled and not deferred or delayed.



IPR statistician **Bruce Spencer** worked with NORC statistician **Zachary Seeskin** (PhD 2016), a former IPR graduate research assistant, on a cost-benefit analysis of the 2020 Census.

Photos by J. Ziv and courtesy of Z. Seeskin

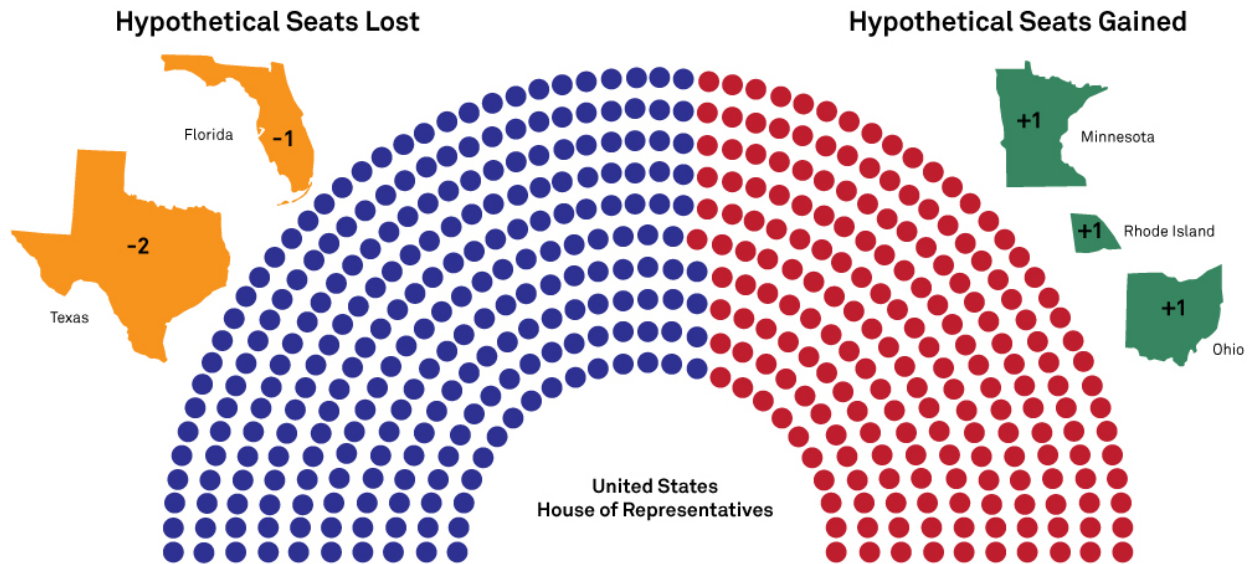
dollars among states. For each half a percent increase in average error, distortions in fund allocations are expected to rise by \$9–\$13 billion.

Census inaccuracy exacerbates unequal representation. Past censuses reveal that minority groups, in particular African Americans and Hispanics, have been undercounted. Since census population counts are used to draw district boundaries, such undercounts tend to exacerbate effects of gerrymandering and of voter suppression.

Congress has squeezed the 2020 Census with too little funding, too late. Over the last five U.S. censuses, Congress placed a high value on accuracy and provided the funds requested to improve it. For 2020, Congress decided to pursue a target for cost, instead of accuracy. It sought to spend \$12.5 billion on the 2020 Census, or the same amount spent per household in 2010 after inflation. Though this inadequate amount has since been increased, it is still not enough and comes too late to fully improve accuracy.

New, lower-cost methods of collecting census data will not be fully tested due to lower funding levels, thereby increasing census inaccuracy. For the first time, the U.S. Census Bureau plans to use the internet and mobile devices to gather data and bring down costs. But budget cuts and delays have led to cancelled and postponed testing of 2020 Census methods and technology. Census accuracy depends on whether such technologies can be successful at gathering the data.

Funding Implications of the 2020 Census



Additionally, upwards of **\$20 billion** in funds are in jeopardy of being misallocated because of errors in the census out of the total **\$675 billion** spent on government programs.

METHODOLOGY

Seeskin and Spencer used a variety of statistical methods and data to estimate the potential root-mean-square error in the 2020 U.S. Census and the ensuing possible effects. To project errors in apportionment of House seats for individual states, they used short-term linear extrapolation of postcensal estimates from 2017, and modeled 2020 Census errors by scaling the measured errors in the 2010 Census. They also developed a variety of alternative parametric models for 2020 Census errors based on the true 2020 population. For errors in the allocation of federal funds, they obtained the latest values available from the 2010 Census for the statistics used to calculate allocations for the 18 programs studied.

REFERENCE

Seeskin, Z., and B. Spencer. 2018. Balancing 2020 Census cost and accuracy: Consequences for congressional apportionment and fund allocations. *IPR Working Paper Series (WP-18-10)*.

FACTS AND FIGURES

- With a census error rate of around 2%, which is higher than those of the past five censuses from 1970–2010:
 - As many as six seats in the U.S. House of Representatives could shift, affecting both large and small states.
 - Up to an estimated \$40 billion in federal funds could be misallocated.
- Current spending on the 2020 Census has been too low and too slow to permit full testing of new data collection technology, raising the likelihood of error.

FACULTY SPOTLIGHTS

Beth Tipton

IPR statistician finds her calling in ‘social statistics’

IPR statistician **Beth Tipton** spent the first three years of her career living and working in the Navajo Nation near Gallup, New Mexico, for the Girl Scouts and a local university.

“I was very hungry in my early 20s to make the world a better place,” Tipton recalled.

It was also where she first realized that as a statistician, she could use math for the social good.

An undergraduate math major with a master’s in sociology, she applied her quantitative skills to pulling census data for the Navajo Nation to better understand the community the Girl Scouts served, developed a new placement testing system for writing courses at the university, and created a database to study how students moved through the developmental course sequence. Applying to become a statistician for the Navajo Nation helped her realize what she wanted to do with her life.

“I noticed in my jobs that I kept coming up with ways to make data part of the job, even though they weren’t part of the job,” she said.

Something she thought of as “social statistics” would become a path to helping others through using data to make good decisions and policies—just what this self-described “nerdy math kid” had always wanted to do.

Tipton found Northwestern provided exactly what she needed to proceed: strong statistics, education, and social science departments combined with interdisciplinary cooperation through IPR. She received her doctorate in statistics in 2011 and completed a predoctoral fellowship in the Multidisciplinary Program in Education Sciences (MPES).

After seven years as a faculty member at Columbia University’s Teachers College,



S. Schumacher

Tipton returned to Northwestern as an associate professor and to IPR as a fellow.

Generalization and the ‘Generalizer’

Teaching undergraduates—the next generation of statisticians—has helped Tipton to “think about the future of statistics.” If we want to use evidence well, we have to be sure that an experiment’s effects will apply—can be generalized—beyond the specifics of that one study, she explained.

For example, if a new drug works well on men, will it work just as well on women? Will an education program work similarly in an under-resourced rural school as it does in a Chicago public school?

Tipton studies how to make experiments better for such generalization: How should researchers plan studies, recruit subjects, and estimate an experiment’s treatment effect?

“Once you recognize that treatment effects might vary, then that fundamentally changes what the goal of an experiment is,” she noted.

Tipton wanted to help researchers create more generalizable experiments in a

practical and accessible way. With a Spencer Foundation grant, she created a web-based, user-friendly tool for K–12 education researchers called the “The Generalizer” in 2015. In less than an hour, users receive a zip file that lists appropriate schools and directions for recruiting a population for their experiments.

With an Institute of Education Sciences grant, Tipton and Jessaca Spybrook of Western Michigan University are now working on the Generalizer 2.0, which will allow researchers to add their own data. They also are adding power analysis, which determines the level of confidence the researcher has in the sample size and effect size, to the Generalizer to make it a one-stop shop for planning studies.

Meta-Analysis

For Tipton, meta-analysis can be thought of as a multisite trial, or “another way we make generalizations.” Meta-analysis pools multiple studies, rather than multiple experimental sites, and determines how consistent the effects are across all of them.

She is especially interested in estimation when there are many different effect sizes per study. Her technical work on this issue has led her to think about how to best explain variation in effect sizes using “meta-regression”—regression in the context of meta-analysis.

She continues her collaboration on meta-analysis that began when she was a graduate student of IPR education researcher and statistician **Larry Hedges**, whom she first met when she was a graduate student at the University of Chicago, where he was a professor at the time.

Beth Tipton is associate professor of statistics and an IPR fellow.

Pablo Boczkowski



Courtesy of P. Boczkowski

Pablo Boczkowski can remember the exact date he became interested in studying the media—March 30, 1996. He was sitting in front of a screen communicating in real time with other newspaper readers in a chatroom for the newly launched website of *Diario Clarin*, his favorite newspaper in his home country of Argentina.

“I was 10,000 kilometers away from where the chat session was taking place, and I was still able to ask questions and get them answered,” said the IPR associate and media scholar. At the time, Boczkowski was a graduate student at Cornell University and decided to shift focus to examine the transformation and consumption of online media, giving him the opportunity to study digital journalism in its infancy.

Since joining that first chatroom, Boczkowski’s research has followed the transformation of online journalism—from the early days of news websites in the 1990s to social media’s influence on today’s news consumption.

“I have long been fascinated by the media’s ability to gather the public and shape social conversations,” Boczkowski said. “The media gives me a stage in which I see human dramas or social dramas unfold.”

Pablo Boczkowski is professor of communication studies and an IPR associate.

Terri Sabol



J. Ziv

As a first-grade teacher in Chicago’s Lavizzo Elementary School, IPR developmental psychologist **Terri Sabol** noticed some of her students were already behind on the first day of school.

“It felt intrinsically unfair that their circumstances had already led to a place to where they were behind before they even started,” Sabol said.

She had been assigned to the then-failing school as part of Teach for America. Several years after leaving to get her PhD at the University of Virginia, Sabol said the school had a “complete turnaround” and is now held up as a success story.

“Through that, I saw that change is possible,” Sabol said. Developmental psychology, she said, “is the discipline of change—understanding change, why it occurs, and how you measure it. If a school is failing, there is a possibility for change, and I think that’s what gets me up in the morning.”

It is the idea of change that guides Sabol’s thinking—and rethinking—of early childhood education issues. She examines how classrooms, families, and neighborhoods each play a role in a child’s development.

Terri Sabol is assistant professor of human development and social policy and an IPR fellow.

Chloe Thurston



C. Gall

Chloe Thurston never intended to study politics. As an undergraduate at Johns Hopkins University, she initially majored in economics, but was drawn to the “way politics shapes the contours of the economy.”

“I didn’t realize when I came in as an economics major that a lot of the questions that I was interested in might actually be answered better through [a political] lens than through the economy,” Thurston said.

She eventually added political science as a second major. This intersection of politics and economics became the foundation of her research, which largely focuses on the role government and interest groups play in shaping public policy.

“The government ... plays a pretty sizable role in the market,” Thurston said. “It made me think more about the different ways government policy could affect the economy and shape what different actors in the market could do, so it shifted me toward political science.”

Though much of Thurston’s research is rooted in the past, watching the 2008 financial crisis unfold led her to investigate the historical connections between the federal government and the housing market.

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

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

IPR WORKING PAPERS

Randomizing Religion: The Impact of Protestant Evangelism on Economic Outcomes (WP-18-08)

Gharad Bryan, London School of Economics; James Choi, Yale University; and **Dean Karlan** (Kellogg/IPR), Northwestern University

Dangers of a Double-Bottom Line: A Poverty Targeting Experiment Misses Both Targets (WP-18-09)

Dean Karlan (Kellogg/IPR), Northwestern University; Adam Osman, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign; and Jonathan Zinman, Dartmouth College

Balancing 2020 Census Cost and Accuracy: Consequences for Congressional Apportionment and Fund Allocations (WP-18-10)

Zachary Seeskin (PhD 2016), NORC; **Bruce Spencer** (IPR/Statistics), Northwestern University

Age and High-Growth Entrepreneurship (WP-18-11)

Pierre Azoulay, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; **Benjamin Jones** (Kellogg/IPR), Northwestern University; J. Daniel Kim, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; and Javier Miranda, U.S. Census Bureau

What Do We Measure When We Measure Affective Partisanship? (WP-18-12)

James Druckman (IPR/Political Science) and Matthew Levendusky, University of Pennsylvania
This working paper was published in Public Opinion Quarterly.

Do Private Politics Undermine Democratic Responsiveness? (WP-18-13)

James Druckman (Political Science/IPR), Northwestern University; Julia Valdes (PhD 2017), Lake Forest College
This working paper was published in the Quarterly Journal of Political Science.

From Labor Law to Employment Law: The Changing Politics of Workers' Rights (WP-18-14)

Daniel Galvin (IPR/Political Science), Northwestern University
This working paper was published in Studies in American Political Development.

Fetal Shock or Selection? The 1918 Influenza Pandemic and Human Capital Development (WP-18-15)

Brian Beach, College of William and Mary; **Joseph Ferrie** (Economics/IPR), Northwestern University; Martin Saavedra, Oberlin College

The Limits of Policy Feedback as a Party-Building Tool (WP-18-16)

Daniel Galvin (IPR/Political Science) and **Chloe Thurston** (IPR/Political Science), Northwestern University

Guns and Violence: The Enduring Impact of Crack Cocaine Markets on Young Black Males (WP-18-17)

William Evans, University of Notre Dame; **Craig Garthwaite** (Kellogg/IPR), Northwestern University; and Timothy Moore, Purdue University

Do Parents Know Best? The Short- and Long-Run Effects of Attending the Schools that Parents Prefer (WP-18-18)

Diether Beuermann, Inter-American Development Bank; **Kirabo Jackson** (IPR/Human Development and Social Policy), Northwestern University

The Effects of Sexism on American Women: The Role of Norms vs. Discrimination (WP-18-19)

Kerwin Kofi Charles, University of Chicago; **Jonathan Guryan**, (IPR/Human Development and Social Policy), Northwestern University; Jessica Pan, National University of Singapore

The Lure of Incredible Certitude (WP-18-20)

Charles F. Manski (IPR/Economics), Northwestern University
This working paper was published in Economics and Philosophy.

Good Cop, Bad Cop: Using Civilian Allegations to Predict Police Misconduct (WP-18-21)

Kyle Rozema, University of Chicago; **Max Schanzenbach** (Law/IPR), Northwestern University
This working paper was published in the American Economic Journal: Economic Policy.

The Evidence for Motivated Reasoning in Climate Change Preference Formation (WP-18-22)

James Druckman (IPR/Political Science) and **Mary McGrath** (IPR/Political Science), Northwestern University
This working paper was published in Nature.

The Intersection of Racial and Partisan Discrimination: Evidence from a Correspondence Study of Four-Year Colleges (WP-18-23)

James Druckman (IPR/Political Science) and **Richard Shafranek** (PhD candidate, Political Science), Northwestern University

Unlucky Cohorts: Estimating the Long-Term Effects of Entering a Labor Market in a Recession in Large-Cross Sectional Data Sets (WP-18-24)

Hannes Schwandt (IPR/Human Development and Social Policy), Northwestern University; Till M. von Wachter, University of California, Los Angeles
This working paper was published in the Journal of Labor Economics.

For more, see: www.ipr.northwestern.edu/our-work/working-papers.

FACULTY BOOKS



Starving the Beast Ronald Reagan and the Tax Cut Revolution

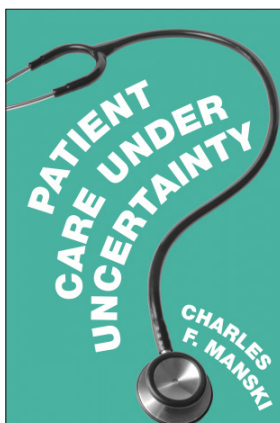
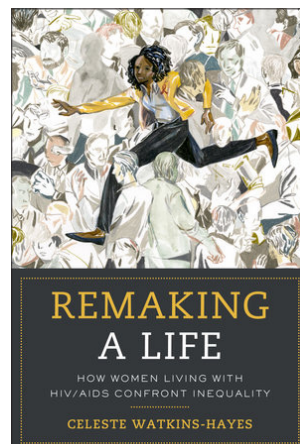
by Monica Prasad, Russell Sage Foundation Press, 2019

Since the Reagan Revolution of the early 1980s, Republicans have consistently championed tax cuts for individuals and businesses, regardless of whether the economy is booming or in recession or whether the federal budget is in surplus or deficit. In *Starving the Beast*, IPR sociologist **Monica Prasad** uncovers the origins of the GOP's relentless focus on tax cuts and shows how this is a uniquely American phenomenon. Drawing on never-before-seen archival documents, Prasad traces the history of the 1981 tax cut—the famous “supply side” tax cut, which became the cornerstone for the next several decades of Republican domestic economic policy. She demonstrates that the main impetus behind this tax cut was not business group pressure, racial animus, or a belief that tax cuts would pay for themselves. Rather, the tax cut emerged because in America—unlike in the rest of the advanced industrial world—progressive policies are not embedded within a larger political economy that is favorable to business. Since the end of World War II, many European nations have combined strong social protections with policies to stimulate economic growth such as lower taxes on capital and less regulation on businesses than in the United States. Meanwhile, the United States emerged from World War II with high taxes on capital and some of the strongest regulations on business in the advanced industrial world. This adversarial political economy could not survive the economic crisis of the 1970s.

Remaking a Life How Women Living With HIV/AIDS Confront Inequality

by Celeste Watkins-Hayes, University of California Press, 2019

In the face of life-threatening news, how does our view of life change—and what do we do to transform it? *Remaking a Life* uses the HIV/AIDS epidemic as a lens to understand how women generate radical improvements in their social well-being in the face of social stigma and economic disadvantage. Drawing on interviews with nationally recognized AIDS activists as well as more than 100 Chicago-based women living with HIV/AIDS, IPR sociologist and African American studies researcher **Celeste Watkins-Hayes** takes readers on an uplifting journey through women's transformative projects, a multidimensional process in which women shift their approach to their physical, social, economic, and political survival, thereby changing their viewpoint of “dying from” AIDS to “living with” it. With an eye towards improving the lives of women, *Remaking a Life* provides techniques to encourage private, nonprofit, and government agencies to successfully collaborate, and shares policy ideas with the hope of alleviating the injuries of inequality faced by those living with HIV/AIDS everyday.



Patient Care Under Uncertainty

by Charles F. Manski, Princeton University Press, 2019

Although uncertainty is a common element of patient care, it has largely been overlooked in research on evidence-based medicine. *Patient Care under Uncertainty* strives to correct this omission. Applying the tools of economics to medical decision making, IPR econometrician **Charles F. Manski** shows how uncertainty influences every stage, from risk analysis to treatment, and how this can be reasonably confronted. In the language of econometrics, uncertainty refers to the inadequacy of available evidence and knowledge to yield accurate information on outcomes. In the context of healthcare, a common example is a choice between periodic surveillance or aggressive treatment of patients at risk for a potential disease, such as women prone to breast cancer. While these choices make use of data analysis, Manski demonstrates how statistical imprecision and identification problems often undermine clinical research and practice. Reviewing prevailing practices in contemporary medicine, he discusses the controversy regarding whether clinicians should adhere to evidence-based guidelines or exercise their own judgment. He also critiques the wishful extrapolation of research findings from randomized trials to clinical practice. Exploring ways to make more sensible judgments with available data, to credibly use evidence, and to better train clinicians, Manski helps practitioners and patients face uncertainties honestly. He concludes by examining patient care from a public health perspective and the management of uncertainty in drug approvals.

IPR Director Elected to National Academy of Education

Schanzenbach recognized for outstanding research contributions

IPR Director and economist **Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach** has been elected to the esteemed National Academy of Education in recognition of her outstanding research contributions on education issues.



J. Ziv

Schanzenbach joins a distinguished roster of nine previously elected IPR and Northwestern faculty members who are currently academy members. IPR fellows who are also members include Northwestern President and Professor **Morton Schapiro**; **David Figlio**, dean of the School of Education and Social Policy; Vice Provost **Lindsay Chase-Lansdale**; and IPR statistician and education researcher **Larry Hedges**, who won the 2018 Yidan Prize for Education Research.

Founded in 1965, the academy seeks to “advance high-quality education research and its use in policy and practice.” A highly selective organization, its 200-plus members are elected on the basis of their scholarship in the field of education, and help to train the next generation of education scholars.

“This diverse group of scholars is being recognized for their extraordinary contributions to education research and policy. These leaders are at the forefront of those helping to improve the lives of students in the United States and abroad,” said Gloria Ladson-Billings, the academy’s president.

In her research, Schanzenbach studies policies aimed at improving the lives of children in poverty, including education, health, and income support policies. Her studies have also examined school finance reforms and how they can promote equal education opportunity, dissected the pros

and cons of redshirting kindergartners, elucidated key considerations for policymakers in designing more effective preschool programs, and examined how students in high-quality kindergarten classrooms had better long-term outcomes. Her articles have appeared in leading economic and policy journals.

Most recently, her work has focused on how income-support programs such as the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program, or SNAP (formerly the Food Stamp Program), offer vital long-term benefits to children, in particular those who received food stamps before the age of five. In Senate testimony on nutrition programs in the 2018 Farm Bill, Schanzenbach called SNAP a “smart public investment that will improve both public health and economic growth.”

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

Recent Faculty Awards and Honors

Three IPR fellows recently received chairs: IPR labor economist **Kirabo Jackson** became the Abraham Harris Professor of Education and Social Policy; IPR psychobiologist



Emma Adam

S. Drey

Emma Adam became the Edwina S. Tarry Professor of Human Development and Social Policy; and IPR economist **Jonathan Guryan** became the Lawyer Taylor Professor of Education and Social Policy.

IPR associate **Linda Teplin**, the Owen L. Coon Professor of Psychiatry and Behavioral Sciences, received the Paula H. Stern Award for Outstanding Women in Science and Medicine from the Women Faculty Organization in Northwestern’s Feinberg School of Medicine.

IPR developmental psychologist **Terri Sabol** was named an Early Career Fellow by the Society for Research on Child Development and American Educational Research Association (AERA). The Association for Psychological Science also named her a “Rising Star” for her innovative work and great potential.

IPR social psychologist **Mesmin Destin** received Northwestern’s Charles Deering McCormick Professor of Teaching Excellence Award and the American Psychological Association’s 2019 Distinguished Scientific Award for Early Career Contribution to Psychology.

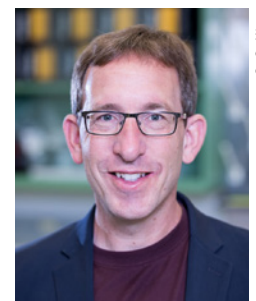


Mesmin Destin

Courtesy of M. Destin

IPR education researcher **James Rosenbaum** received the Elizabeth G. Cohen Distinguished Career in Applied Sociology of Education Award from AERA.

IPR health psychologist **Greg Miller** and IPR associates **Paola Sapienza** and **David Cella** were named 2018 Highly Cited Researchers by Clarivate



Greg Miller

S. Collins

Analytics’ Web of Science. Their papers ranked in the top 1% of all papers in terms of citations for their respective fields and the year of publication. Miller is the Louis W. Menk Professor of Psychology; Sapienza is the Donald C. Clark/HBSC Chair in Consumer Finance; and Cella is the Ralph Seal Paffenbarger Professor of Medical Social Sciences.

FACULTY SOUNDBITES



Courtesy of C. Watkins-Hayes

“We still have a long way to go in making sure that we don’t stigmatize women who are living with HIV. ... What I found time and time again is that women had complex and nuanced stories. They had often had experiences of struggle, but they had also had experiences of triumph.”

Celeste Watkins-Hayes, “New Book Follows Chicago Women Over a Decade Who Have HIV or AIDS,” WBEZ’s Morning Shift, July 2



S. Drey

“With classes at many universities either already started or starting soon, university administrators need to think about how they can protect and support students, faculty, and staff who are on the front lines of the fight for greater tolerance, racial justice, and gender equity.”

Simone Ispa-Landa, “Colleges and Universities Can Do More to Protect Students and Faculty Against Hate Crimes. Here Are a Few Ideas,” The Washington Post, August 18



Courtesy of S. Perry

“If [parents] are talking to their child about the existence of racism and the incidents that are going on in the world, their child is probably more likely to go out in the world and recognize for themselves what racial bias looks like.”

Sylvia Perry, “New Study Sheds Light on How White Parents Can Prevent Racial Bias,” WBEZ, August 29

New Novel Looks at Dissent and Political Violence in the 1960s

Retired IPR faculty researcher explores key issues through fiction



John Heinz, Owen L. Coon Professor Emeritus of Law and IPR faculty emeritus, has a new title to add to his many other distinguished honors: novelist.

Since retiring in 2007, Heinz completed

several research projects, and he and his wife, Anne Heinz, edited a collection of letters by 19th-century Illinois women.

What to take on next? A novelist friend suggested Heinz try his hand at fiction.

“Fiction? I’ve never done that in my life! I don’t know how to do that,” Heinz recalled. “And he said, ‘Why don’t you give it a try?’”

The result was *Rebellion, Love, Betrayal* (Deeds Publishing, 2019). The novel features a doomed romance set in the turbulence of the late 1960s, complete with police beatings and terrorist bombings, a sprinkling of sex, and passionate debates about how far to go in protesting political decisions.

In writing the novel, Heinz combined his long-time interest in government tracking of political dissidents—he was part of the legal team that fought to shut down the Chicago Police Department’s infamous Red Squad in the 1970s—and his desire to tell a story that grapples with difficult moral decisions.

The novel’s main characters are Bill, a CIA undercover informant, and Liz, an anti-war activist, who fall in love in 1968. Her decisions and actions in protesting the Vietnam War and his responses power the main action of the plot.

“I wasn’t intending to write a sermon,” Heinz said. “But if there is a message, it is the questions of what a legitimate democratic society should do in a situation like that, or for that matter, what citizens should do in a situation like that.”

Heinz strove for an even-handed tone, he explained, because he wished to emphasize the complexity and ambiguity of the answers.

John Heinz is the Owen L. Coon Professor Emeritus of Law and IPR faculty emeritus.

Political Identity and the Value of Listening

Long-running workshop explores topical themes, launches research collaborations



IPR political scientist James Druckman (left) and keynote speaker Donald Green of Columbia University talk before the start of the workshop.

More than 100 scholars and graduate students from the Midwest gathered on Northwestern University's Evanston campus on May 3 for the 13th annual Chicago Area Political and Social Behavior Workshop (CAB).

The workshop serves as an annual gathering for scholars to share their latest research and for graduate students to meet with mentors.

"I was looking back at the programs from over the years and the number of people who met here and collaborated—it's actually quite remarkable," said **James Druckman**, IPR political scientist and CAB organizer.

Socioeconomic Comparisons and Political Identity

The first speakers of the day, **Meghan Condon** of Loyola University Chicago and **Amber Wichowsky** of Marquette University, began attending CAB when they were graduate students at the University of Wisconsin-Madison and have gone on to collaborate as researchers. They presented their forthcoming book, *The Economic Other: Inequality in the American Political Imagination* (University of Chicago Press). In it, they examine how our social comparisons—how we compare

ourselves to others in different socioeconomic classes—affect political identities and demands amid growing income inequality in the U.S.

Through experiments, survey data, and the written comments of thousands of Americans, they show that thinking about comparison with the rich and the poor evokes powerful emotions like resentment, anxiety, and scorn. But social comparison does a lot more than that, they said.

Suburbanization and African American Political Attitudes

Reuel Rogers, a Northwestern political scientist, spoke about his research on changes in black politics and attitudes. African Americans have historically been a reliably liberal group, he said, but in recent years, they have become more moderate and diverse in their politics, particularly around racial issues.

Rogers discussed how black Americans have been moving from the inner cities to the suburbs, which might account for the shift in political attitudes. As an example, he pointed to how black suburban residents often held more favorable views of the police compared with black urban residents.

"Black suburbanites are relatively satisfied with policing in their neighborhoods compared to nearby Chicago," Rogers said. "They have a lot of skepticism or lack of trust about the police in general but less of that than their central city counterparts."

Measuring Attitudes Using Dramatizations

Columbia University's **Donald Green** spoke about a recent study with his colleagues that uses a novel design to examine the direct and indirect effects of an education-entertainment experiment in Uganda.

Green and his colleagues orchestrated more than 100 local film festivals in rural Uganda and invited nearby villagers to attend for free. During commercial breaks, his team inserted video dramatizations on the topics of violence against women, teacher absenteeism, and abortion—all controversial social issues in the socially conservative country. The researchers found several instances in which people's attitudes shifted after watching the dramatizations, but they saw little evidence of spillover effects to others in the villages.

How Listening Can Improve Research

Kathy Cramer of the University of Wisconsin-Madison spoke about the importance of researchers listening to study populations during their research. She detailed how it adds nuance and complexity to the people behind academic studies on public opinion.

Cramer encouraged the researchers to consider incorporating ethnography or one-on-one interviews in their work to observe different worldviews, reveal the way people connect personally to political issues, and draw attention to the people behind the political profiles of a typical Republican or Democrat.

"I think it helps to listen to people," Cramer said. "It helps us to get at this thing I call 'perspectives.' It's the stuff that helps explain how everything hangs together for people."

Visit ipr.northwestern.edu to read the full article.

Top-Notch Methods Training

IPR-led workshops provide unique opportunity to improve research capacity

Two IPR faculty-led trainings over the summer allowed more than 50 researchers to hone their methodological skills and improve their capacity for conducting methodologically rigorous social science research.

Summer Institute on Biological Approaches in the Social Sciences

The Summer Institute on Biological Approaches in the Social Sciences, or SIBASS, took place from June 10–14, at Northwestern University. Supported by the Russell Sage Foundation, the JBP Foundation, the School for Education and Social Policy, and IPR, the workshop welcomed more than 35 postdoctoral fellows and junior faculty in the social sciences from across the nation.

“The goal was for us—the workshop faculty—to do most of the teaching. But I think we learned at least as much from the trainees as they learned from us,” said IPR health psychologist **Greg Miller**.

The unique weeklong program included interdisciplinary lectures and hands-on exercises in how to integrate measures of human biology into studies of a few dozen participants up to nationally representative studies with thousands of participants. The aim of such measures is to permit more in-depth understanding of the complex interplay between social contexts, biology, and inequalities in health outcomes and human capital.

One of the participants, **Kam Sripada**, a postdoctoral fellow in global health from the Norwegian University of Science and Technology, spoke about how the workshop opened her eyes to some of the collaborative possibilities between experts in biomarkers, social science, public health, history and ethics.

“This workshop has reminded me how important the interdisciplinary collaborations are to connect biomarkers and bigger picture questions,” Sripada said.

Miller co-led the workshop with IPR psychologists **Edith Chen** and **Robin Nusslock**; developmental psychologist and IPR associate



Graduate student Makeda Austin explains how to use a blood pressure monitor during SIBASS.

Claudia Haase; IPR psychobiologist **Emma Adam**; and IPR biological anthropologists **Thomas McDade** and **Christopher Kuzawa**. Sessions addressed a wide variety of ethical, technical, and conceptual challenges when conducting biosocial research.

Participants practiced a variety of field-friendly techniques from gathering and analyzing saliva and dried blood spots for markers of stress, immune function, and others. They discussed how to frame biosocial research questions most effectively, and learned about the basic biology of bodily systems involved in stress and disease.

Cluster-Randomized Trials Institute

The Cluster-Randomized Trials, or CRT, Institute offered 30 education researchers a deep dive into how to design, analyze, and conduct such education studies from July 8–18 in Evanston, Illinois. The National Center for Education Research (NCER) in the U.S. Department of Education’s Institute for Education Sciences provided workshop funding as part of their mission to find “what works” in education research and disseminate that knowledge.

“The CRT Training Institute has been a core piece of our ability to answer that question

[and] to train folks to answer that question,” said **Elizabeth Albro**, NCER Commissioner of Education Research.

Led by IPR statistician and education researcher **Larry Hedges**, the 13th edition of the workshop aimed to inform participants in how best to design and conduct a CRT. A CRT randomly assigns clusters, or groups such as classes or schools, to a treatment rather than randomizing individuals to a treatment.

“Randomized field trials have become a crucial methodology in education research. Yet relatively few graduate programs offer adequate preparation to learn how to use this methodology,” Hedges noted. “This summer institute provides an opportunity for established researchers to learn how to design, conduct, analyze, and interpret randomized field trials.”

In addition to Hedges, participating faculty were IPR statistician **Elizabeth Tipton** (PhD 2011), **Spyros Konstantopoulos** of Michigan State University, **Jessaca Spybrook** of Western Michigan, **Mark Lipsey** of Vanderbilt, **Chris Rhoads** (PhD 2008) of the University of Connecticut, **Laura Stapleton** of the University of Maryland, and **Carol Connor** of the University of California, Irvine.

Visit ipr.northwestern.edu to read the full article.

The Challenges and Opportunities for LGBT Rights

Williams Institute's Jocelyn Samuels points to how research is key to informing LGBT issues

E. Molony



Jocelyn Samuels spoke about her efforts to prohibit various forms of discrimination in federally funded healthcare as part of the Affordable Care Act.

More than 14 million people—roughly 4.5% of the U.S. population—identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, or transgender (LGBT). For **Jocelyn Samuels**, executive director of the Williams Institute, the figure underscores why LGBT topics and policies are more than niche issues.

On February 20, Samuels delivered the first joint Distinguished Public Policy Lecture held by IPR and the Institute for Sexual and Gender Minority Health and Wellbeing (ISGMH) on Northwestern University's Evanston campus.

She took up leadership of the Williams Institute, a think tank at the UCLA School of Law that conducts social science and legal research on LGBT issues and policymaking, after directing the Office for Civil Rights in the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) from July 2014 to January 2017.

In this role, her “groundbreaking work” protected LGBT individuals by prohibiting discrimination based on sex stereotyping and gender identity, said **Brian Mustanski**, ISGMH director, professor of medical social sciences, and an IPR associate.

“She’s a perfect example of what can happen at the nexus of policymaking and research,” IPR Director **Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach**,

the Margaret Walker Alexander Professor, told the nearly 100 attendees. “Her work on LGBT equality provides IPR and ISGMH a great opportunity to bring us together in dialogue about vitally important issues in the LGBT community and how research can inform these issues.”

Advancing LGBT Rights

The Williams Institute estimates that about 1.4 million American adults now identify as transgender—with 150,000 13–17 year olds identifying as such. Samuels speculated that increased social acceptance of LGBT people might be why younger people are coming out more than previous generations.

She highlighted a series of LGBT policy advancements prior to the current administration, including the repeal of the U.S. military’s “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” policy in 2011, allowing LGBT military personnel to serve openly, and the expansion of protections in the federal hate crime law to include sexual orientation and gender identity.

Most notably, in 2015, the Supreme Court ruled in *Obergefell v. Hodges* that same-sex couples had the right to marry. Writing the majority

opinion, then-Justice Anthony Kennedy cited the amicus brief filed by a scholar at the Williams Institute, detailing how children of same-sex couples are just as well adjusted as children of opposite sex couples.

The decision had an “immediate effect,” Samuels said. The numbers of married same-sex couples nationwide jumped from 230,000 in 2013 to 390,000 following the decision in 2015. By December 2017, that number reached 591,000.

Despite these advances and greater social acceptance, many in the LGBT population still experience disproportionate economic and social disparities. In a Williams Institute analysis across several states, LGBT people were more likely to have a lower annual income, lack money for food or healthcare, and be unemployed. They were also more likely to experience health problems, suffering from more mental health and substance abuse issues than their heterosexual peers.

Redefining Sex Discrimination in Healthcare

Samuels herself had a hands-on role in one key policy shift while serving in HHS’ Office for Civil Rights.

As the Obama administration crafted the Affordable Care Act, Samuels spearheaded enforcement of Section 1557 of the law, which prohibited various forms of discrimination—race, nationality, disability, and age, and, for the first time, sex—in federally funded healthcare. The regulations implemented for Section 1557 that were issued under Samuels’ leadership defined sex discrimination to include discrimination based on sex stereotyping and gender identity.

“The regulations that she created represented a groundbreaking development for LGBT equality,” Mustanski said.

Jocelyn Samuels is executive director of the Williams Institute on Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity Law and Public Policy in UCLA’s School of Law. She is also the Roberta A. Conroy Scholar of Law.

Evictions in America

Princeton's Matthew Desmond challenges researchers to publicize data, rethink poverty research

Many Americans believe that the 2007 subprime mortgage crisis was the last major U.S. housing crisis. But we are still living through a housing crisis when you consider the estimated 2 million Americans evicted from their homes each year, Princeton University sociologist **Matthew Desmond** said during IPR's 50th Anniversary (IPR@50) Distinguished Public Policy Lecture on June 6 at Northwestern University's Evanston campus.

Desmond, who began researching evictions in Milwaukee in 2008, described how 20 years of stagnant incomes for the poorest Americans and soaring housing costs are linked with a rise in U.S. evictions.

"That means we've moved from a place where evictions used to be scandalous and rare, to a place where a lot of families in America are really living very close to the threat of losing their home," he said.

In introducing Desmond, a MacArthur "genius" and Pulitzer Prize winner, IPR Director **Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach** told the audience of more than 120 that "Matthew Desmond is an especially appropriate speaker for our IPR@50 celebration because of his leading-edge research into complex social issues of poverty, race, and more, as well as his great ability to disseminate his work."

Publicizing Data for Faster Responses

After publishing his Milwaukee findings in *Evicted: Poverty and Profit in the American City* (Crown Publishing Group, 2016), Desmond realized the federal government was not keeping track of evictions. So he started the Eviction Lab, the first national database of evictions, which has since collected nearly 83 million eviction records going back to 2000.

The lab calculated that 2.3 million eviction cases were filed across the country in 2016. The records revealed that in some areas of the United States, a typical eviction judgment is issued for two months' missed rent or less, and in a study of 8 million of the lab's records, half of all eviction filings were



Matthew Desmond described how soaring housing costs and stagnant incomes are linked to a rise in U.S. evictions.

serial evictions—repeated eviction filings against the same tenant. The data also shifted the narrative that evictions only happen in expensive cities like New York and San Francisco; low-cost cities also can have high eviction rates, like Richmond, Virginia, which has one of the nation's highest eviction rates.

As Desmond discussed the data, he encouraged researchers to consider sharing their research with the local community before submitting academic papers.

"The speed at which our problems are running and the speed of academia are often on very different tracks," Desmond explained. "[So] how can we speed up what we know?"

Giving local data to communities allows for a quicker local response, he said.

He explained how one article on Richmond's eviction rates based on his lab's data in the *New York Times* led to 66 more by local media in 2018. The state government responded by increasing the budget for affordable housing and passing anti-eviction legislation.

"When you release information and get out of the way, you let local storytellers own their own story," Desmond said.

Using Data for Policy Decisions

Desmond also outlined how data could illuminate simple policy ideas in courts and other areas to lower evictions.

"Eviction court should be the court of last resort, not the court of first resort," Desmond said, arguing that eviction court should not be used to collect rent.

To decrease eviction rates, he noted how the data revealed that simple institutional changes such as raising filing fees, just to \$200, sets a higher bar for evictions—and even changing rent due dates from the beginning of the month to later to match when a minimum-wage paycheck arrives could help.

Desmond challenged the idea that landlords in poorer neighborhoods are struggling—and discussed how policymakers could increase homeownership. He proposed that policymakers ask landlords to show how much they collect from their low-income rental properties and reconsider homeownership opportunities in poorer neighborhoods.

Matthew Desmond is the Maurice P. During Professor of Sociology at Princeton University and founding director of the Eviction Lab. His Distinguished Public Policy Lecture was part of the IPR@50 conference.

The Next Generation of Policy-Minded Scholars

Former graduate RAs apply interdisciplinary lessons from IPR to their research, careers



B. Robinson

Former IPR graduate research assistant Mollie McQuillan (standing), who worked with scholars in various disciplines while at the Institute, teaches a Northwestern undergraduate class on gender identity, minority stress, and policy in 2018.

Currently, more than 30 Northwestern PhD students from across the University are selected to work with faculty researchers at IPR as graduate research assistants (RAs) each year. Of the nearly 700 graduate students IPR has trained across its five decades, many have gone on to land positions in academia, government, and research in the United States and abroad.

“From the day it opened its doors, IPR committed itself to training some of the brightest and most policy inquisitive graduate students around,” said IPR Director **Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach**.

Three of IPR’s most recent graduate RAs shared takeaways from their time as part of the Institute’s community.

Learning to Talk Across Disciplines: Mollie McQuillan

Gender, health, and education researcher **Mollie McQuillan** spoke about the different research methods she learned from IPR faculty members. But perhaps more importantly, “I also learned how to talk across disciplines and connect research

that’s aimed at similar kinds of applied problems,” she said.

McQuillan, who defended her dissertation in July in human development and social policy, started as an assistant professor at the University of Wisconsin-Madison’s School of Education in educational leadership and policy analysis this September.

Her research looks at school policies related to gender-expansive youth—young people who do not conform to ideals of masculinity or femininity. She also studied transgender youth’s social relationships and whether gender-related stress was linked to higher levels of inflammation. While at Northwestern, McQuillan was a National Academy of Education/Spencer Foundation Dissertation Fellow and was awarded a Northwestern Presidential Fellowship.

Building on an Interdisciplinary Foundation: Jess Meyer

Sociologist **Jess Meyer**’s doctoral research focused on the question, “How do social inequality, family experience, and health connect across the lifecourse?” She went on

to analyze gender and socioeconomic differences in sleep for her dissertation. Meyer recently began her postdoctoral fellowship in the Biosocial Training Program at the Carolina Population Center, located at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, after completing her PhD in sociology at Northwestern in March.

“I gained a more detailed understanding of survey instruments and experiments through work with [Time Sharing Experiments in the Sciences],” Meyer said. “I developed a more nuanced understanding of gendered family dynamics and social inequality in my work with **Christine Percheski**. Through my research with **Thomas McDade**, I gained deeper insight into how social experience can affect biological processes, and, ultimately, health.”

Emphasizing the Policy Relevance of Research: Matthew Lacombe

Political scientist **Matthew Lacombe**, like McQuillan and Meyer, found the interdisciplinary collaboration, discussion, and questioning at IPR’s Monday colloquia strongly influenced him as a young scholar.

“The emphasis on policy relevance of IPR, combined with [its] interdisciplinary nature, encourages folks to figure out how to describe what they’re doing in ways that are digestible to people who are in other fields,” Lacombe said. He is starting his career as an assistant professor at Barnard College, Columbia University this fall. Lacombe, who graduated with his PhD in political science in June, worked as a graduate RA with IPR political scientists **James Druckman** and **Daniel Galvin**.

Lacombe’s dissertation research uncovers how the National Rifle Association built its political power over time by shaping its members’ political behavior through creating a social identity around guns and a gun-centric political ideology.

Visit ipr.northwestern.edu to read the full article.

Innovation and Continuity: The First Decade (1968–1978)

From its founding, faculty researchers committed themselves to improving communities

W. Leffler, Library of Congress



Protests and riots broke out across the nation in spring 1968 following Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s assassination.

The Institute for Policy Research (IPR) marked its 50th year in the 2018–19 academic year. Looking back to its founding, what made IPR the dynamic research hub it is today?

The Center for Urban Affairs—now IPR—was born in 1968, a time of urban violence, turmoil, and fear. Concerned faculty and observers thought universities across the country needed to be more involved in the cities they called home.

Northwestern University faculty, seeing the explosion of racial, social, and political unrest in Chicago—such as the riots following the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. and police violence during the Democratic National Convention, as well as protests on their own campus—committed to use their research and teaching to engage in improving the city.

An initial grant of \$700,000 over three years, 1969–71, came from the Ford Foundation to create a center devoted to urban studies and policy change.

As **John McKnight**, communications professor and former associate director of the Center, recalled, the grant's purpose was

“to get universities to do basically useful, applied research to stop the cities burning!”

The Ford Foundation distributed grants to nine university centers, including at Northwestern, to develop urban affairs research, training, internship, and social service programs.

The Center got started as the Ford Foundation “was trying to figure out a way that the universities could begin to solve some of these urban neighborhood problems,” remembered **Dan Lewis**, an early Center researcher, social policy professor, and IPR associate.

A small group of interested faculty from multiple disciplines had been voluntarily meeting and working together since the late 1950s as the Center for Metropolitan Studies, and they formed the core of the new Center. One of their number, **Raymond Mack**, a sociologist well-known for his work on race, was tapped to be the first director.

From the very beginning, the Center was notable for being interdisciplinary and for its commitment to what was known then as “action research programs,” research in cities that partnered with residents and

community groups and aimed at finding solutions for complex urban problems of poverty, race, and inequality while also contributing to science and theory.

Fifty years later, these two fundamentals of IPR remain, not just as a proud legacy, but as part of the Institute's DNA—making IPR what it is today.

Northwestern University provided a welcoming atmosphere for the new Center.

Early faculty member **John Heinz**, a legal scholar and social scientist, recalled how “interdisciplinary research was already in existence” at the University. Examples included the Council for Intersocietal Studies and the group he headed, the Program in Law and the Social Sciences.

Under Mack's far-sighted guidance, the new Center employed its funding to guarantee its future.

One of Mack's great innovations was to create half-time faculty appointments. The various departments—sociology and political science, for example—supplied the other half. Mack was able to recruit 24 half-time faculty members rather than the 12 full-time ones the grant initially contemplated. With Northwestern's continued commitment and funding for these faculty, the Center long outlived most other university urban affairs programs while maintaining its interdisciplinary character.

By the end of the Center's first decade, in 1978, there were nearly 50 faculty from 15 schools and departments. The breadth of disciplines included not just the social sciences such as economics, psychology and anthropology, but also history and art history, journalism and communications, education and ethics, engineering and transportation, health administration and epidemiology, and management, industrial relations, and law.

This is the first of a five-part series about IPR's history. Visit ipr.northwestern.edu to read the other articles and view timelines.

2040 Sheridan Road
Evanston, IL 60208-4100

Phone: 847-491-3395
Web: www.ipr.northwestern.edu
E-mail: ipr@northwestern.edu
Twitter: @IPRatNU

Non-Profit
Organization
U.S. POSTAGE PAID
Permit No. 205
Evanston, IL 60201



Photos by R. Hart

Views from IPR@50, clockwise from left: IPR psychologist **Onnie Rogers** follows up on a discussion on community partnerships with panel moderator **Paul Goren** and IPR developmental psychologist **Lindsay Chase-Lansdale** (left to right). From left: Five of IPR's seven directors: **Louis Masotti**, **Diane Schanzenbach** (IPR's current director), **David Figlio**, **Fay Lomax Cook**, and **Burton Weisbrod**, with **John McKnight**, a former associate director. IPR social demographer **Christine Percheski** questions a panel exploring how experience becomes biology. IPR anthropologist **Christopher Kuzawa** (center) discusses the impact of social and biological environments on health outcomes with IPR health psychologists **Greg Miller** and **Edith Chen**.