

Institute for Policy Research

NEWS

Volume 21, Number 1

Summer 2000

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

'Geography of Opportunity' for Public Housing Residents?

"At night you had to put your mattress on the floor because bullets would be coming through the windows. It was like Vietnam."

The speaker is Lenore Sowell, a single black mother and former public housing resident. Sowell heads one of the 4,000 "pioneer" families who re-



James Rosenbaum



Leonard Rubinowitz

located to better housing in the white suburbs under Chicago's court-ordered Gautreaux housing relocation program. This widely watched mobility program began in 1976 and ended in 1998 when the last of the families moved.

Two decades of research on the fate of these families is described by IPR faculty **Leonard Rubinowitz** and **James Rosenbaum** in their new book, *Crossing the Class and Color Lines*, published in May by the University of Chicago Press. The book also offers a history and analysis of federal and local public housing policy.

Based on surveys and interviews, the researchers compared the social, educational, and economic experiences of families who moved to the suburbs with a control group who relocated to predomi-

—continued on page 2

Chicago Housing's 'Hidden War'

Chicago's public housing has been called "the worst in the country." A forthcoming book by former IPR researchers documents this charge with a grim analysis of life in the "projects," of the initiatives that failed, and the uncertain future facing its beleaguered residents.

See story, page 2

IPR Conference Assesses Role of Polls in Shaping Public Policy

Do polls accurately measure public opinion? Who drives policymakers' decisions—the public, policy elites, or special interest groups? How do policy elites use poll data on public opinion?

Eighty academics, pollsters, policymakers, journalists, and students gathered at Northwestern on May 13 to address these and other questions at an IPR conference on "Polls, Policy and the Future of American Democracy." Three sets of panelists offered original research and commentary on the importance of public opinion in shaping both domestic and foreign policy and whether politicians "pander" to public views. A fourth panel proposed new methodology to more accurately measure the public pulse.

Impact on Policy. Much of the conference centered around the extent to which public opinion affects policy. The "centerpiece" of this debate, according to Northwestern political scientist and conference rapporteur **Benjamin Page**, was a paper by Robert Erikson, Michael MacKuen, and James Stimson that proposed a "Model of American Politics."

Using an elaborate time series analysis with 17 equations and 48 variables to measure change in how liberal or conservative the public was feeling in any given year, their model offered empirical evidence that public opinion ultimately influences policy. "Behind all this complexity," said Page, "it all comes down to the simple proposition that the public runs the show.



Larry Jacobs at Polls Conference

This model is rather breathtaking in its simplicity."

William Domhoff of the University of California at Santa Cruz disagreed. He argued that corporate elites, through policy planning and discussion networks, shape public opinion by funding think tanks, sponsoring studies, speaking on television, etc. They also influence policy activity (i.e., voting on bills) directly and indirectly, through public opinion and election outcomes.

Larry Jacobs of the University of Minnesota and Robert Shapiro of Columbia University think politicians often manipulate public opinion for their own purposes. In a paper based on their book, *Politicians Don't Pander*, they maintain that policy decisions of presidents and members of Congress have become less responsive to the substantive

—continued on page 16

Chicago Housing's 'Hidden War'

Rampant gangs, flagrant drug trafficking, pervasive violence, and ruined roach-infested buildings are daily facts of life for Chicago's public housing families, nearly all of whom are poor, black, and headed by single mothers. But misguided federal and local housing policies, ineffective crime-fighting measures, and negligent management have compounded these nightmarish living conditions to create a "hidden" housing debacle the public glimpses only in headlines.

Having failed to maintain both the physical buildings and the social order over the past four decades, the Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) decided in 1999 to tear down 25,000 public housing units, relocate some residents with Section 8 vouchers, rehab some units, and replace others with low-rise scattered site housing. The CHA hopes to attract working-class and high-income residents in a plan to regentrify the areas and reduce the concentration of poverty.

Will the latest housing policies prove any more effective than previous initiatives? And where will the poorest residents find replacement housing? These are among the issues raised in *The Hidden War: Crime and the Tragedy of Public Housing in Chicago* (Rutgers University Press, 2000) by Susan Popkin, Lynn Olson, Victoria Gwiasda, Dennis Rosenbaum—all former IPR researchers—and Larry Buron.

The authors began their four-year study in 1994 to evaluate the impact of a series of crime prevention programs known as the Anti-Drug Initiative (ADI). They soon realized that the fate of the ADI was inextricably tied to the social problems endemic to Chicago's public housing. They analyze the failure of these programs through case studies of three of the city's most notorious housing projects, Rockwell Gardens, Henry Horner Homes, and Harold Ickes Homes.

◆ **Managerial neglect.** Not only were the high-rises poorly designed and constructed to begin with, but management consistently failed to maintain them, the authors contend. Residents lived with litter in their darkened hallways, graffiti, malfunctioning elevators, exposed light sockets, faulty wiring, and leaking pipes and faucets that took months, if ever, to be repaired. Even when funds were available for maintenance, they were often diverted to crime prevention, and later to renovation and new construction.

"The role of bad management cannot be underestimated," said Popkin, citing the three CHA executive directors during the study period alone. "There were new priorities, new programs, and ideas with each switch of leadership."

◆ **Misguided housing policy.** Federal policies in the
—continued on page 15

***'Geography of Opportunity'* (continued from page 1)**

nantly black areas within the city. They found suburban youth were significantly more likely to be in school or working, in college track classes, in four-year colleges, and employed in jobs with higher pay and better benefits.

Education. The impact of the suburban move on educational outcomes presents a complex picture. Mothers reported that schools were safer, class sizes smaller, standards much higher, and dropout levels lower. For youth past the age of 17, 40% of the suburban sample was enrolled in a college track vs. 24% in the city. Similarly, 54% of the suburban youth were enrolled in college and 27% in four-year colleges vs. 21% in college and 4% in four-year institutions for the city movers.

A seven-year follow-up study found that city and suburban children continued to receive similar grades, despite the higher suburban standards they had to meet.

The relocated suburban children were placed in special education classes at a much higher rate than in the city (19% vs 7% of city children). "The great disparity between city and suburban schools revealed glaring inadequacies of prior education," the authors write. Yet some suburban parents felt their children were victims of discrimination by teachers.

Social Integration. The social integration of black families into their new nearly all-white communities was also complex. Most reported more interactions with neighbors than the city movers, but also less friendliness and more negative interactions. Especially in the earlier days of their settlement, they recounted incidents of racial harassment and violence, as well as discrimination by store clerks and white parents who refused to let the black children play or stay in their homes.

These declined over time and social acceptance increased.

Despite some ugly incidents of violence, the families said their primary reason for moving (along with help with the rent) was safety. They said it offered them freedom from fear of crime and relief from gang activity. Seventy percent of those who moved before 1990 were still in the suburbs in 1997.

Economic Outcomes. Of the mothers who moved to the suburbs, 75% were working compared to 41% of those who moved within the city. And more of the suburban women reported at least one job benefit, such as vacation.

Based on these positive outcomes, the authors believe there is "a geography of opportunity" for families who have been mired in substandard inner-city public housing. They cite numerous housing mobility programs that have followed in the wake of Gautreaux. Yet these programs still face some major hurdles. Among them:

◆ People who cannot or do not want to move. Only about 20% of eligible families who enrolled in the Gautreaux program each year used Section 8 certificates and moved.

◆ The supply of affordable housing in the private market for the poorest families is shrinking and there continues to be a shortage of large family units. Enlisting landlords is one of the major challenges facing mobility programs. Another is community resistance, which played a large part in the failure of Chicago's earlier scattered site housing program.

◆ Need for continued funding for tenant-based housing assistance. Growth in the number of households receiving rental assistance has declined dramatically, from an average of 224,000 in 1978-1982 to about 146,000 in the early 1990s.

Book Shows Black Middle Class Straddles Two Worlds

In a community on Chicago's South Side, **Mary Pattillo-McCoy** (IPR-Sociology) studied an area virtually ignored by social scientists: the black middle class.

Pattillo-McCoy explores the choices and circumstances facing residents—especially youth—of one black middle-class neighborhood in her recent book, *Black Picket Fences: Privilege and Peril Among the Black Middle Class* (University of Chicago Press, 1999). She conducted her research during the three years she lived in that neighborhood she calls "Groveland." Her ground-breaking study shows the black middle-class experience is a segregated one, driven by racial discrimination.

Despite similar salaries and educational backgrounds, the black middle class doesn't enjoy the same amenities as residents of equivalent white neighborhoods. "A neighborhood's racial makeup is frequently a proxy for the things that really count—quality of schools, security, appreciation of property values, (and) political clout," she explains.

White flight to outlying suburbs created racially segregated middle-class neighborhoods. By their location adjacent to low-income neighborhoods, black middle-class neighborhoods act as

buffer zones to the nicer white middle-class neighborhoods and thus absorb the gangs, drugs, and lower quality schools and businesses from the low-income areas. "African Americans, like other groups, have always tried to translate upper-class mobility into geographic mobility, but remain physically and psychologically close to the poorer neighborhoods they leave behind," she writes. Also, businesses and the mass media glamorize low-income neighborhoods by creating styles that lull Groveland youth into a "ghetto trance," a term Pattillo-McCoy uses to describe rebellious and sometimes delinquent lifestyles.

The lives of many Groveland youth straddle the paths of deviance and success. Growing up, they make use of neighborhood networks to finish high school, become familiar with the work world, and get jobs. Many have parents who graduated from college, and they too wish to earn degrees. But the outcomes of these dreams differ. Some parents enroll their children in Catholic schools or academically demanding magnet schools, and many of these youth go on to college and graduate.

Yet others leave college after one or two years, unable to cope with the financial strain or to handle their newfound responsibilities and freedom. Some move home and enter jobs with little potential for mobility.

Home life in black middle-class neighborhoods also differs from white middle-class. Communities like Groveland tolerate flexible family forms that result from single-parent households, adult children who never leave the home, daughters who give birth out of wedlock, and sons or sons-in-law who contribute to the family's resources with money from selling drugs.



Pattillo-McCoy

Residents wrestle with their feelings toward individual gang members because they find it hard to differentiate between gang members as drug dealers and as neighbors. Residents have known gang members since they were children and in many cases are friends with their parents. While the local gang leader runs a drug trade outside of Groveland, he also raises a family and desires stability in the neighborhood. Residents consider him a "good citizen" for using his influence to keep drug dealing and violence out of their neighborhood.

The complexity of the issues shows the importance of studying black middle class neighborhoods and the need for social policies that address them. Pattillo-McCoy urges urban poverty researchers to realize that black middle-class areas like Groveland are contained within segregated black communities.

Researchers need to advance a "radical agenda" to promote access among the black middle class to better jobs, social services, and their neighborhoods' physical infrastructure, Pattillo-McCoy says.

More broadly, she concludes, social policy is needed that maintains affirmative action, ends residential segregation, and increases race-targeted antipoverty programs, specifically to help poor blacks.

National Honor for Thomas Cook



Thomas D. Cook, professor of sociology and IPR faculty fellow, has been elected to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. Cook was elected in April and will be formally inducted into the academy in October at its headquarters in Cambridge, Mass.

The academy, founded in 1780 by John Adams, James Bowdoin and John Hancock, is an honorary society that recognizes achievement in the natural sciences, social sciences, arts, and humanities. Cook joins IPR colleagues **Charles Manski** (IPR-Economics) and

Charles Moskos (IPR-Sociology) as fellows of this prestigious group.

Cook is an expert in evaluation methods and has written eight books and is working on three others. He has been awarded the Gunnar Myrdal Prize for Science by the American Evaluation Association and the Donald T. Campbell Prize for Innovative Methodology by the Policy Sciences Organization. He received the Distinguished Scientific Contribution Award of the American Psychological Association's Division of Evaluation, Measurement and Statistics in 1997.

Cook has been a member of Northwestern's faculty since 1968.

Policy Perspectives

by Dorothy Roberts

Race and the Politics of Child Welfare



The recent battle over Elian Gonzalez brings to light an often neglected aspect of child welfare policy: The determination of children's "best interests." This is an intensely political question, governed as much by current power struggles as by evidence about children's well-being. The law usually grants parents authority over their children and dis-

rupts the parent-child bond only in cases of abuse and neglect. Yet some Americans, as well as a federal appeals court, were willing to breach this relationship so that Elian might enjoy a presumably better life in the United States. The value of his relationship with his father, the significance of his five-month stay with distant relatives, and the state's role in determining custody were all subject to political interpretation.

Although more subtle, politics also governs state and federal policies affecting the welfare of American children. The political role of the U.S. child welfare system is obscured, however, by its focus on rescuing individual children from neglectful parents. The demographics of the system undeniably shows that race matters to state interventions in families. Black children enter the foster care system in grossly disproportionate numbers—a disparity that has increased over the last two decades. By 1998, black children, who were only about 15% of the population under age 18, made up 45% of the nation's foster care population. According to 1997 statistics from the Illinois Department of Children and Family Services, black children were "indicated" for maltreatment at a rate of 32.6 per 1000, compared to a rate of less than 10 per 1000 for white and Hispanic children.

What has caused this striking racial disparity? The overrepresentation of black children in the system is largely attributable to high rates of poverty among black families. With rare exception, the families who become involved with child protective services are poor. And black children are far more likely than white children to live in poverty. Studies have reached conflicting conclusions about the strength of race as an independent variable in predicting child abuse and neglect cases. Racial disparities in reported cases of maltreatment,

moreover, may reflect differences in the actual incidence of abuse or in reporters' perceptions. Some scholars have suggested that culturally biased definitions of child neglect penalize African-American families by devaluing black parenting traditions and styles. A deeply embedded mythology about black maternal irresponsibility and deviance and the mistrust of female-headed households may also influence child welfare determinations.

Further research is required to establish the precise reasons for the racial disparity—black parents' income insecurity, caseworkers' cultural prejudices, or policymakers' insensitivity to black families. But this uncertainty does not negate the racial reasons for the imbalance nor the racial impact of the system's intervention in families. Not only do individual black parents and children experience the damaging effects of family disruption and foster care placement in disproportionate numbers; the excessive disruption of black families weakens the ability of the group as a whole to struggle against institutional discrimination and to improve the welfare of the community. The shattering of black family ties also reinforces negative stereotypes of black parental irresponsibility and need for supervision.

New trends in child welfare policy threaten to intensify the racial imbalance in state interventions in families. The Adoption and Safe Families Act, signed by President Clinton in 1997, promises to double the number of children adopted annually by 2002. The new law represents a dramatic shift in federal child welfare philosophy away from an emphasis on reunification of children in foster care with their biological families toward adoption of these children into new families. It promotes adoption through swifter timetables for state agencies to petition for termination of biological parental rights, the removal of other barriers to adoption, and financial incentives to states to move more children into adoptive homes.

Of course, states should usually facilitate adoptions of children where there is no hope of family reunification. But the new law may pressure state agencies to permanently separate poor children from families that might have been preserved with adequate resources. Congress misidentified the reason for the overcrowding of the foster care system: It is not that too few children are being adopted, but that too many are removed from their homes. Even if all the black children in foster care were adopted tomorrow, it would not cure the racial injustice in the child welfare system.

To right this racial harm we need policies that are more supportive of poor and minority families and that address the systemic sources of their deprivation. The price of present policies that rely on child removal rather than adequate family support falls unjustly on black families.

Dorothy Roberts is a professor at Northwestern's Law School, and a faculty fellow at the Institute for Policy Research. Her work focuses on the interplay of gender, race, and class in legal issues involving reproduction and motherhood. Her latest book, Killing the Black Body: Race, Reproduction and the Meaning of Liberty, received the 1998 Myers Center Award for the Study of Human Rights in North America.

Chicago's Poorest Neighborhoods Strengthen Ties with Police

Black residents of Chicago's poorest and most crime-plagued neighborhoods were the city's most active participants in monthly community/police beat meetings, despite their traditionally hostile relationship with local police.

This was among the findings in an assessment of citizen involvement in Chicago's community policing program (CAPS), just published by the National Institute of Justice. It is part of an IPR-led evaluation of CAPS, directed by **Wesley G. Skogan** (IPR-Political Science), that began in 1992.

"The significant role played by ordinary citizens in setting police priorities and monitoring their effectiveness through beat meetings is one of the most distinctive features of Chicago's community policing program," Skogan said. It is also considered crucial to the ultimate success of the program.

Skogan's research team analyzed public awareness of the program, participation in beat meetings, and the effectiveness of these community gatherings.

Overall, it found citizen awareness of CAPS has expanded rapidly while participation levels grew more slowly. Yet attendance at beat meetings has remained quite high, especially in the poorest and most crime-ridden communities, presumably the areas that could benefit the most from meaningful police-citizen interaction.

CAPS Awareness. The IPR survey revealed that awareness of the CAPS program is now widespread among Chicago residents. While 53% knew about the program in 1996, 80% had heard about CAPS by 1999, and recognition increased in nearly all categories of respondents, including males and females, blacks and whites, and renters and homeowners. People learned of the program through a variety of channels, but television was the most common source, followed by word of mouth. The overall growth in awareness is the result of an aggressive, city-coordinated marketing effort that uses media ads, posters, and fliers to promote the program.

"We have advised the city to stop spending money just to increase awareness," Skogan said. "Those who have not gotten the word probably will not, and marketing resources would be better spent on stimulating actual involvement in beat meetings and problem solving."

Beat Meeting Attendance. About 60% of Chicago residents were aware that beat meetings were held in their area and about 28% of this group, some 14% of all Chicagoans, said they had attended at least one meeting. More than half of all participants attended just one or two meetings a year. But a small number of regulars attended frequently, signifi-

cantly boosting overall attendance figures, and these activists were more likely to be upbeat about their communities and the police and to be involved in local affairs.

Attendance Factors. What prompted Chicago residents to attend beat meetings? The survey data suggest that while television ads promote program awareness, they do not spur participation in meetings. The factors promoting both awareness and meeting attendance were personal contact, local fliers, and newsletters. Attendance at beat meetings was considerably higher among those who were already actively involved in community organizations.

Patterns of Participation. Attendance at beat meetings was highest in predominantly black neighborhoods, in low-income areas, and in those sections of the city with high levels of violent crime. In general, rates were higher in communities where other social institutions have failed—where

public school students' test scores are low, truancy rates high, and graduation rates poor. These attendance patterns are particularly significant because they do not conform to the historical image of poor neighborhoods where residents have troubled and uncooperative relationships with the police. In addition, the findings do not match the usual pattern of participation in voluntary organizations, whose members are drawn primarily from the middle class.



Co-authors with Wesley Skogan of the CAPS citizen involvement study (clockwise from left): Jill DuBois, Jennifer Comey, Erik Gudell, and Susan Hartnett

"Chicago's program demonstrates that if you are really trying to change things, even those who have been most skeptical are willing to give police another chance," Skogan said.

Beat Meetings. The evaluation team observed more than 450 meetings over three years. They found significant improvements in meeting mechanics over time but little change in the rate at which problems were identified and who identified them. However, solutions to problems were discussed less frequently in the later meetings. The researchers concluded that meetings chaired by civilians (or jointly with a police officer), those attended by many people, and those meetings in beats where the regular yearly attendance was high were the most successful.

"*Public Involvement: Community Policing in Chicago*," by Wesley G. Skogan, Susan M. Hartnett, Jill DuBois, Jennifer T. Comey, Karla Twedt-Ball, and J. Erik Gudell is available from the National Institute of Justice. The ongoing study is funded by the Illinois Criminal Justice Information Authority, the Department of Justice, and the MacArthur Foundation.

ABCD Institute Spreads Expertise Overseas

Community development initiatives are underway in Holland, Egypt, England, and South Africa through the work of IPR's Asset-Based Community Development Institute.

The initiatives have diverse goals—whole neighborhood development, identifying community resources, promoting public health, and involving higher education in community building—but facilitators **John McKnight** and **John Kretzmann**, co-directors of the Institute, see a common theme.

"What all sectors have in common is a growing understanding that the outcomes they're interested in are dependent on engaging local residents to solve problems in local communities," Kretzmann said. "Government, universities, and health systems are all rethinking their relationships to community people, seeing them not just as recipients of services but real co-producers and partners in attaining these desired outcomes."

Holland. A mayors association that represents 21 mid-sized Dutch cities (80,000 to 250,000 people) invited McKnight to speak at a conference on neighborhood development in April. He also met with government officials and residents in four of the cities to discuss resident participation and control in community initiatives.

"The tradition has been that neighborhood development was the responsibility of the government and the authority resided with local governments and the agencies they funded," McKnight said. "But ABCD researchers emphasized the importance of organizations made up of the people who live there. We help residents to shape their future."

McKnight said ABCD faculty will facilitate relationships between the Netherlands residents' organization and a similar project in the United States, the ABCD Neighborhood Circle project (see story, page 7), to share the results of the community development initiatives.

The partnership with the mayors' group started when the U.S. State Department recommended the ABCD Institute as the best source on community development. Delegations from the mayors' group had met twice with ABCD faculty at the Dutch embassy in Washington, D.C., to learn about community development research in the United States.

Egypt. Helping the United Nations adapt a program for rural community development to urban areas, Kretzmann traveled to Cairo in June 1999. The UN Development Project wanted to combine ABCD methods with its "sustainable livelihoods approach," which had been used in rural communities in Africa, Latin America, and India. Kretzmann facilitated a four-day seminar with Egyptian government planning department and Cairo city government officials before

they began initiatives in four cities, including Cairo.

The project involved using residents' skills in community development. In one of Cairo's poorest neighborhoods, Kretzmann learned that the neighborhood had many skilled masons and carpenters. Together, they developed an employment strategy aimed at rehabilitating the city's centuries-old housing. A group of younger masons helped to build a school, while other young people were involved in an intensive effort to increase resident ownership of the land and buildings.

England. Neighborhood parks and community gyms are as important as hospitals in improving public health, Kretzmann told various British government groups in September 1999, his second visit to England for a project with the British public health system.

"It's not enough to be concentrating on diagnosis and treating sick people," he said. "That's important, but if you're interested in creating healthy people, you have to understand the ABCD idea that local communities are critical co-producers of health."

As the British public health system broadens the debate about "What is health?" non-health professionals such as parks and recreation departments are building healthy communities alongside health professionals. Others are exploring the use of lottery proceeds to construct "healthy living centers" in up to 100 British cities, especially targeting low-income neighborhoods.

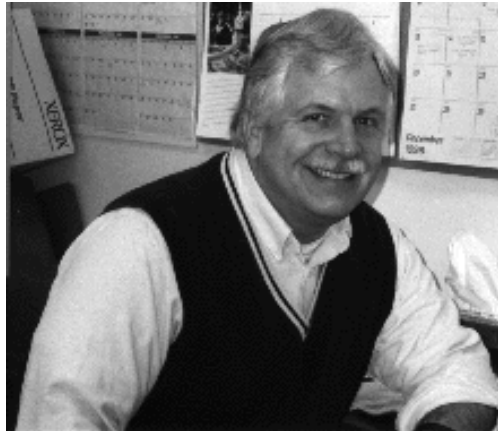
Some of the leadership in England is part of the Healthy Cities Movement (sometimes known as the Healthy Communities Movement in the United States), an effort to link health-related resources and to broaden the range of civic leaders and groups in prevention and health promotion activities.

South Africa. How could a community and a university combine to develop the economy? In August and September 1999, Kretzmann met with eight teams of university leaders, community leaders, and non-government organization (NGO) representatives to explore this question as part of a new initiative, the Community Higher Education Service Partnership.

Working with the Higher Education Trust, South Africa's premier education policy center, the groups met to forge a link between universities and their surrounding communities, particularly low-income rural areas and urban townships.

Kretzmann visited five of the eight sites and then facilitated a four-day community building seminar in Cape Town. The teams focused on building community agendas that would use the service capacities of students, the expertise of the faculty, the resources of NGOs, and the leadership of local residents.

The eight teams spent 10 days in October and November each visiting a sister U.S. university and then met in Philadelphia to share their impressions of similar efforts at the schools.



John Kretzmann

Mapping Assets for Nonprofits

How can nonprofit organizations reduce their reliance on grants, especially if this funding stream dries up? Their own internal assets may offer a wealth of untapped opportunities, according to a new publication written by IPR and ABCD Institute research associate **Deborah Punttenney**.

The workbook, *A Guide to Building Sustainable Organizations from the Inside Out*, draws on the same ABCD principles of asset-mapping that low-income communities throughout the world (see p. 6) are now using for revitalization and growth. The guide will be published in early summer by the Chicago Foundation for Women (CFW).

The materials in the book were developed through a program that CFW began in 1998, The Sustainability of Healthy Organizations for Women for the 21st Century (SHOW-21). In this program, members of eight Chicago women's organizations, all CFW grantees, have been exploring and implementing asset-mapping strategies for organizations that follow the guidelines developed by John McKnight and John Kretzmann for communities defined by geographic boundaries.

Participants in SHOW-21 translated their experiences and learning into a capacity-building process designed to more firmly assure their sustainability. The three-step process looks internally for assets within an organization, explores how the organizations can more effectively mobilize

these assets and capacities, and identifies opportunities to build relationships and increase connections to these newly discovered resources.

In the case of nonprofits, the principal assets advanced in the book are human resources, physical, financial, and reputational resources, constituents, and related outside organizations and supporters. Using a series of worksheets, the book guides nonprofits through 11 different asset-mapping "tools" for discovering and enhancing their resource base. Among the human resource assets, for instance, are their board of directors (who can offer connections to government or corporations, expertise for special events, help in securing major gifts), employees (with special skills, talents, or outside interests), volunteers, constituents, and outside supporters and funders.

One local nonprofit, Women in the Director's Chair, which traditionally held its annual film festival in rented venues, offers an example of how physical assets can be put to work. Forced to look for new space, the group found a location where they can not only stage their own events but rent out the space to generate more revenue. As an added bonus, "they now have a community face in Uptown," said Punttenney, where new visibility means new supporters and potentially new contributors.



Deborah Punttenney

An 'Association of Associations'

The people pictured on the right represent 17 groups from 11 cities who gathered in Evanston this April for training in the ABCD Institute's latest initiative in community-building: the Neighborhood Circle.

This new style of community organizing is asset-based, citizen-led, internally focused, and relationship-driven. It seeks to build strong communities rather than solve single issues that threaten neighborhoods—the more traditional focus of community organizers.

As both a network and a learning circle, the group members' goal is to develop in their individual neighborhoods new approaches to community organizing that draw on the methods and goals of asset-based community development. They will also share these experiences with others in the group.

Each site is identifying and mobilizing neighborhood assets and hiring a paid community organizer to work with voluntary associations already existing in neighborhoods. The goal is to link up the assets of these groups—their people, talents, and social capital—into powerful citizen coalitions, which John McKnight calls, "associations of associations." Mike Green, an ABCD Institute consultant and faculty member, is providing technical assistance to these neighborhood groups as they organize from the bottom up and the inside out.



Among the participants at the conference was Fernando Pineda-Reyes, a Denver community organizer, and four of his neighborhood resident leaders, including a restaurant owner. Following the conference, the group returned home with plans to mobilize their community around initiatives involving asset mapping, leadership training, zoning issues, an art workshop, a ski program, and a Spanish club. The group's goal is to "design initiatives that support each other and build citizenship, relationships, advocacy, and community."

Prejudice a Stumbling Block for Women Leaders

Although women now commonly populate the ranks of supervisors and middle managers, few occupy top leadership or executive positions. In a recent IPR working paper, **Alice H. Eagly** (IPR-Psychology) and her co-author, Steven J. Karau at Southern Illinois University, advance and test a social role theory of prejudice that may explain why women's ascent up the leadership ladder continues to be thwarted by the so-called glass ceiling.

It is necessary to focus on the possibility of prejudice when considering why so few women have elite leadership positions, Eagly and Karau point out, because men and women now have similar levels of educational attainment and are equivalent in many other human capital factors. The authors argue that views of gender roles, especially widely shared beliefs about the actual and ideal characteristics of women, produce prejudice toward female leaders, because women are considered to have less leadership ability than men and their leadership is evaluated less favorably.

Research on stereotypes has shown that most beliefs about the sexes can be organized into two categories: communal and agentic. Communal characteristics, which are most often assigned to women, center on a concern for the welfare of others and include such traits as being affectionate, helpful, kind, sensitive, and gentle. In contrast, men are seen more often as possessing agentic characteristics—controlling, assertive, confident, and independent.

Yet studies have demonstrated that the agentic qualities are the great majority of the characteristics that people desire in leaders. So women may face a double bind, the authors argue. If they conform to their gender role, women do not meet the requirements of the leader role. If they exhibit the qualities associated with a leader role, they are not conforming to their expected gender role.

These two forms of prejudice could result in women having less access to leadership roles because they are perceived as having less leadership ability. Women also have more obstacles to overcome in striving to become a leader because they must counter preferences that women display qualities associated with their gender role. Drawing on a rich body of empirical research, Eagly and Karau argue that the prejudice predicted by their theory has very concrete manifestations in the real world:

Attitudes Toward Women in Leadership Roles.

Public opinion polls and other attitudinal studies indicate some disapproval of female leaders, although it has decreased over time and is expressed more often by male respondents.

Women's Access to Leadership Roles.

- ◆ Most studies that analyzed women's lower wages and slower routes to promotion have supported the claim of discrimination against women.

- ◆ In experiments that evaluated female and male job applicants with equivalent credentials, women were disadvantaged with respect to positions traditionally held by men, which would include most leadership slots.

- ◆ A number of studies found that women have to meet a higher standard to be judged as very competent and as having leadership ability.

Rating the Effectiveness of Female Leaders. Studies of leader effectiveness that examined both actual and hypothetical leaders found that women did not fare as well as men when the leader roles were dominated by males, when the role was typically described in masculine terms (such as

those in the military), and when men were doing the evaluations.

Since change in gender stereotypes occurs only very slowly in a society, Eagly and Karau suggest that prejudice toward female leaders may lessen as the content of leadership roles changes, which it appears



Alice Eagly

to be doing. As organizations evolve from a traditional view of leadership to a more participatory style of management, which requires more of the communal characteristics ascribed to women and less of the agentic qualities associated with men, "women should experience reduced prejudice and gain increased representation and acceptance in leadership roles in the future."

"Few Women at the Top: Is Prejudice A Cause?" may be ordered from IPR's publications department for \$5.00. The abstract may be downloaded from our web site at www.nwu.edu/IPR/publications/Fall99WP.html.

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Photo credits: Audrey Chambers,
Evanston Photographic Studios, Jim Ziv

Lawyers Maintain Service to Community Groups

Lawyers today are often accused of being so obsessed with the financial bottom line that they are unwilling or unable to participate in community service to the extent that lawyers of an earlier era did.

Data collected in the American Bar Foundation's 1975 and 1995 surveys of Chicago lawyers provided an opportunity for **John P. Heinz** (IPR-Law), **Robert L. Nelson** (IPR-Sociology), and Edward O. Laumann of the University of Chicago to test empirically whether the rate of lawyers' participation in voluntary organizations has changed over time.

Surprisingly, the popular impression proved to be incorrect. The researchers found that lawyers in 1995 were still engaged in community activities at about the same rate they were 20 years earlier. More than 70% of the respondents reported that they were "active" or a "leader" in at least one voluntary organization.

But while overall participation was about the same in the two years, a smaller percentage of the Chicago bar held leadership positions in voluntary organizations in 1995 (21%) than in 1975 (33%). But the rate of participation does not tell the whole story. In terms of actual numbers, the researchers estimate that more Chicago lawyers actually held leadership positions in 1995 than in 1975 because the number of lawyers doubled even though the percentage of leaders in the samples decreased by less than half.

"On the other hand," they note, "the number of leadership positions per lawyer declined by somewhat more than

half, so we would estimate that the total number of leadership positions held by Chicago lawyers may have decreased, but not much, during that period."

The researchers also identified those factors associated with lawyers' participation in community organizations. Overall, they found that socially advantaged lawyers—those who are older, have higher incomes, are Protestant, and who attended "elite" law schools—were most likely to be active in most types of organizations.

One clear difference that emerged from the surveys was the significantly heightened participation of lawyers in religious organizations in 1995. This is likely a reflection of the "general resurgence of religion in American society," the authors suggest. Yet the survey data indicate strongly that, overall, the pattern of lawyers' community activities has remained quite stable over the last 20 years. Moreover, "such change as there is tends to be in socially approved directions," that is, undertaken out of a sense of civic duty or for altruistic reasons.

The findings are reported in the 1999 IPR working paper, "Lawyers' Roles in Voluntary Associations: Declining Social Capital?"



John P. Heinz

Employers' Policies Produce Gender Inequality in Pay

Despite legislation and litigation, women continue to earn less money than men. In a series of major pay equity lawsuits, the courts have held consistently that employers are not responsible for documented wage discrepancies because they are simply following the market. But **Robert L. Nelson** (IPR-Sociology) and William P. Bridges of the University of Illinois at Chicago forcefully refute this argument in a study of four landmark pay equity cases that involved both private and public employers.

In *Legalizing Gender Inequality: Courts, Markets, and Unequal Pay for Women in America* (Cambridge University Press, 1999), Nelson and Bridges argue that a large part of the pay differences between "male" and "female" jobs are not the result of market forces or business efficiency considerations but are produced by specific organizational actions and policies for which employers could be held legally responsible.

These organizational processes took different forms in the various work settings, the authors point out, but

the effect—disadvantaging women employees—was the same across employers. In one case that involved clerical employees at the University of Northern Iowa, physical plant workers, all men, were able to obtain higher wages, not for reasons of market necessity, but because they routinely engaged in confrontational, collective action to which the administration responded. In the case of Coastal Bank (a pseudonym for a major financial institution), the management functioned both explicitly and implicitly as a "male club" with the result that women were paid less than men, denied promotions, and excluded from top positions.

In considering what policy options might address gender inequality in pay, Nelson and Bridges reject the comparable worth approach, which they contend "misdiagnoses a large part of the problem." Instead, they propose a "best practice model" of gender-neutral wage administration, which they articulate in some detail, coupled with selective litigation, to challenge specific practices that appear to disadvantage women.

Professors Merging Legal Web Sites

Jack Doppelt (IPR-Medill) and Northwestern political science professor Jerry Goldman are merging two popular Web sites to create a forum on the cases and underlying issues pending before the United States Supreme Court.

The redesigned site, *Oyez: On the Docket*, is scheduled to launch September 1, a month before the start of the Supreme Court's 2000-2001 term. The project ideally will draw together attorneys and parties in the cases, along with legal scholars and students, to engage in moderated discussions about the cases on the court's docket.

The combined site will add the discussion feature to two frequently visited URLs: Goldman's *Oyez Project* (oyez.nwu.edu) is an introduction to the Supreme Court and a multimedia archive of the institution and its cases. The Medill School of Journalism's *On the Docket* (www.medill.nwu/docket) features news coverage of current cases. The two sites record more than 10,000 "unique user sessions" a day.

"We are going to have a site that has multiple uses: the archival, multimedia aspect of *Oyez*, the immediate news aspect of *On the Docket*, and the citizen involvement that we will bring to the site," Doppelt said.

Doppelt and Goldman have not decided if the discussions will focus on individual cases or on issues that consistently arise, such as federalism and first-amendment rights. To create richer discussions, they will look for cases that have both theoretical and real life issues at stake, cases like the grandparents' visitation rights case in Washington state that the Supreme Court will decide this term.

"Much of the discussion may be about policy questions that relate to the court from a personal as well as practical point of view," Doppelt said. "My preference is to have it be much more real than theoretical."

Aside from selecting cases that the site will focus on, Doppelt said the most difficult aspect of starting the project will be to build the virtual community. At first the site will draw upon previous visitors to *Oyez* and *On the Docket*, which include students from high schools, community colleges, law schools, and universities. Doppelt hopes eventually to attract political science departments and law reviews as well.

The site would be available 24 hours a day and all discussions would be archived. It is funded by a grant from the Searle Fund.



Jack Doppelt

New IPR Studies Focus on: Welfare Mothers...

Illinois has cut its welfare roles in half in the past six years. But what strategies are women using to make the change to a self-sufficient life? **Dan Lewis** (IPR-Education and Social Policy) was awarded a two-year, \$150,000 grant from the Searle Fund to identify the factors that lead to independence from welfare in Illinois. The study will draw its participants from the Illinois Families Study, a larger study of welfare reform, of which Lewis is the principal investigator. Both undergraduate and graduate students will make up the research team. They will conduct in-depth ethnographic interviews to go beyond statistical relationships to shed light on the subtle issues that affect independence. These issues include the role of relationships with partners, friends and family; how women balance being a good mother and a good employee; the role of the community; and the effects of an individual's personality, temperament, and intelligence.

...and Detached Fathers

P. Lindsay Chase-Lansdale and **Greg Duncan** (IPR-Education and Social Policy) were awarded a \$125,000 grant from the MacArthur Foundation to launch a new project, "Interview of Parents of Infants." This qualitative study will follow a subset of families from a larger national study, the Fragile Families Study, directed by Sara McLanahan at Princeton and Irwin Garfinkel at Columbia. The larger study will interview more than 4,000 couples (married and unmarried) in 22 cities at the birth of their child and follow them for four years.

The focus is on why so many fathers are disconnecting from their families. The IPR study will follow 75 families in Chicago, Milwaukee, and New York in greater depth, interviewing the couples and the partners individually within six weeks of the birth of the child. The project's goal is to uncover reasons why couples separate during the first year of the child's life and why and how some fathers remain involved with their children.

Third IPR Summer Training Session for Undergrads

Since 1998, IPR has offered a 12-week undergraduate summer training program to increase undergraduate involvement in research at IPR. The purpose is to give undergraduates a real experience in the conceptualization and conduct of policy-relevant social science research.

The program starts with a week-long course in statistical computing and students spend the rest of the time working as research assistants to IPR faculty. The program is designed so that some of the participants will continue to work for faculty during the following academic year and/or write honors theses on topics of interest to IPR. Students receive a stipend for their work.

Undergraduate research assistants are contributing to more than a dozen IPR faculty projects with assignments that range from coding census data on low-income families to primary, archival research on the history of sweatshops. Junior Ina Ganguli, for example, has worked on Social Security research with IPR director **Fay Lomax Cook** for nearly two years and participated in the training program last summer. She charted the movement of Social Security as it gained prominence on congressional and presidential agendas. Ganguli plans to use her research on Social Security in her thesis for the Mathematical Methods in the Social Sciences program.

Poverty Center Hosts Series of Spring Conferences

In May, the Joint Center for Poverty Research (JCPR) capped off a busy year of public forums with two conferences and a policy briefing in Washington, D.C. They swelled the number of public events sponsored or organized by JCPR to 18 since last August, with two more policy briefings scheduled for June.

The first conference, "Rural Dimensions of Welfare Reform," held May 4 and 5, focused on the effects of welfare reform on rural poverty. The effects of reform, with its emphasis on moving welfare recipients into the workforce, may hold different ramifications for low-income families living in rural areas. Transportation, for example, takes on added significance when commutes are longer, as they often are in rural areas. Other topics discussed at the conference included issues of food security and Food Stamp use in rural areas, prospects for job-matching, differing barriers in the rural and urban areas to leaving welfare and its affect on caseload changes.

A second conference, May 18-19, presented research funded by the 1999 JCPR small grants program, funded by the Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation (ASPE) of the Department of Health and Human Services and by the Census Bureau. Participants presented a broad range of poverty-related research, spanning the effects of minimum wage on fringe benefits; wage growth; child support enforcement; family structure and father involvement; the link between income and child development; families headed by grandparents; immigrants and public assistance;

the Earned Income Tax Credit and welfare; workers with disabilities; and car ownership and employment.

The final forum, May 10, a research briefing on early childhood interventions, also in Washington, featured current research by Jeanne Brooks-Gunn at Columbia University, Janet Currie at the University of California-Los Angeles, and Douglas Besharov, at the University of Maryland. Brooks-Gunn discussed early childhood interventions programs, their structure, short-term effects on development, and the optimal point of intervention. Currie focused on the long-term effects and program costs of early interventions, and Besharov considered the policy implications of early intervention research. The briefing was jointly sponsored by Chairman Nancy Johnson (R-Conn.), Ranking Minority Member Benjamin Cardin (D-Md.) of the Subcommittee on Human Resources of the U.S. House Committee on Ways and Means, and JCPR.

Last fall, JCPR presented three major conferences that focused on tax and transfer programs for low-income participants, early findings on the EITC, and states use of welfare reform to improve the lives of children and families.

Proceedings from the EITC conference will be published in September in a special issue of the *National Tax Journal*. The "Tax and Transfer" papers will appear in a forthcoming issue of the *Journal of Public Economics*. A volume of proceedings from the children and families conference, edited by **Greg Duncan** and **P. Lindsay Chase-Lansdale** (IPR-Education and Social Policy), is currently under review.

For a full list of presenters and links to working papers, visit the JCPR website at www.jcpr.org.

The JCPR newsletter, *Poverty Research News*, will also devote an issue to the "Rural Dimensions" conference proceedings.

'Three City Study' Releases First Findings on Effects of Welfare Reform

Developmental psychologist **P. Lindsay Chase-Lansdale** (IPR-Education and Social Policy) and her collaborators will release a series of reports and policy briefs this summer for their \$20 million study "Welfare, Children and Families: A Three City Study."

The four-year study examines the consequences of welfare reform on the well-being of children and families in Boston, Chicago, and San Antonio. The project is following adults as they make decisions about employment, schooling and training, residential mobility, and childbearing. It is also studying children as their families confront the challenges of economic hardship combined with welfare reform, monitoring the children's health and development and use of social services.

The upcoming publications will be based on two components of the project: interviews with about 2,500 low-income families, about half of whom receive welfare money, and additional interviews with a subset of 600 families on child development. The third component of the study is an ethnographic study of 215 families with young children, including 45 families with a child who has a disability.

The first three papers will cover the following topics:

- ◆ **Rules and Reactions:** What the adults in the study know about the new welfare rules and whether they say they have changed their labor force behavior and family lives as a result (available in June).

- ◆ **Leaving Welfare:** Individuals' patterns of welfare usage and labor market participation during the two years prior to the interviews.

- ◆ **Where are the Children?:** Typical days of the children of current and former welfare recipients: where they are, who is caring for them, and what activities they engage in.

The research team released its overview and design report in March. The report introduces the issue of monitoring welfare reform; describes other current studies of the topic; and presents the goals of the study, the cities that were chosen, and the conceptual framework.

To request a copy of any of the publications, contact IPR's publications department. The papers will be accessible online from the project's main Web site, www.jhu.edu/~welfare.

Chase-Lansdale's co-investigators are Ronald Angel, the University of Texas at Austin; Linda Burton, Penn State University; Andrew Cherlin and Robert Moffitt, Johns Hopkins University; and William Julius Wilson, Harvard University.

New Study Looks at Job Payoff for Community College Grads

On the menu of educational options after high school, community colleges and proprietary schools offer students a chance to learn practical skills and to secure jobs with higher pay. But for students who attend these schools, their investment may not pay off in the job market.

A new three-year study by **James Rosenbaum** (IPR-Education and Social Policy) seeks to explain two key issues: how employers view community colleges, especially urban institutions, and which programs help students to complete their degrees and get earnings benefits when they do graduate.

Rosenbaum hopes to use the results to improve communication between employers and schools. This could help schools offer better training to their students, and would motivate students to earn their degrees and seek meaningful employment in the field in which they studied.

The Spencer Foundation is funding the three-year study, which began in March. The project is also funded by a two-year grant from the Sloan Foundation. The research builds on Rosenbaum's previous studies of the employment of high-school graduates.

The project targets employers, school faculty and staff, and students. Researchers have surveyed 200 local employers about their needs for the current workforce. They are interviewing administrators and staff at 12 schools about how they prepare students for various occupations and how they get information about employers' needs. They are also gathering data from 1,200 students about their education and work training and their career expectations.

The study is distinctive because it examines college-employer contacts and specific institutional and program practices. Community colleges and proprietary schools are dependent on employers to inform them of skill requirements and to hire their graduates.

Even in current prosperous times, community college and proprietary school students may have a difficult time finding employment that utilizes their skills. "The strong job market is an excellent reason to believe that everyone can get a job now," Rosenbaum said. "But it doesn't ensure that employers will recognize their skills and trust them with jobs that require those skills. Employers don't compromise on their skill requirements. The cost of mistakes is too great."

Researchers will dissect the hiring process from the vantage points of both employers and educators. They hope to identify areas where communication breaks down and provide crucial information for students, schools, and employers. Ultimately, this could assist colleges in making their programs respond to the needs of employers and improving their career services to students.

Some Multiracial Students Transcend Social Boundaries

In a society where whites are the dominant race, some scholars have theorized that multiracial individuals who are part-white may be more advantaged than those who are members of other racial minority groups.



William Corrin

In a study reported in a recent IPR working paper, sociology graduate student William J. Corrin and **Thomas D. Cook** (IPR-Sociology) tested this claim empirically for the first time. Using survey data and objective measures on more than

1,600 students in grades 5 through 11, the researchers describe and explain differences in the quality of social contexts among four racial groups: monoracial blacks, monoracial whites, racially mixed individuals with some white heritage, and racially mixed individuals with no white heritage.

When each context—family, peers, school, and neighborhood—was rated for attributes that have been demonstrated to promote positive development, Corrin and Cook found that white youth are the most contextually advantaged and black youth the least. Multiracial non-white young people live in contexts similar to their black peers, while part-white multiracial youth live in contexts that fall between those of blacks and whites in terms of quality. Part-white multiracial youth did enjoy one particularly strong advantage: They were the most comfortable of all the groups in any setting that was racially diverse, whether it was neighborhood, school, or peer group.

This advantage that part-white young people enjoy over their peers from the other three groups is best explained not by biological or socioeconomic factors, the authors suggest, but by the opportunity for multicultural encounters in their families and neighborhoods. These interactions equip these youth with boundary-spanning skills that enable them "to navigate the dominant white world more easily" than is possible for blacks and non-white multiracial individuals.

"Spanning Racial Boundaries: Multiracial Adolescents and Their Families, Peers, Schools, and Neighborhoods," may be ordered from IPR's publications department for \$5.00.

How Inner-City Adolescents View Social Environment

Past research on mostly middle-class children suggests that as they enter adolescence, their experiences within their immediate social contexts—schools, peers, families, and neighborhoods—become more challenging, and for some, more problematic. Does a similar pattern prevail for very low-income youth who reside in inner-city neighborhoods? And does this downward trend persist when all four social contexts are considered simultaneously?

Recently released findings by **Thomas D. Cook** (IPR-Sociology) and IPR graduate fellow **Robert F. Murphy** find this pattern persists. In an IPR working paper, they paint a portrait of inner-city children who, over the span of 5th to 8th grade, came increasingly to view their family, schools, peers, and neighborhoods as significantly less supportive.

The authors surveyed a sample of nearly 10,000 African-American, Hispanic, and Asian-American students in 19 K-8 Chicago schools between 1992 and 1997. They also analyzed gender, ethnicity, family background, academic achievement, and psychological adjustment to determine whether different types of students might differ in how they come to view their social contexts.

In both cross-sectional and longitudinal analyses, all respondents, as they grew older, reported a sharp decrease in the quality they attributed to their four social worlds. "Members of this inner-city sample increasingly characterize their schools, neighborhoods, families, and peer groups in terms that developmental research suggests are detrimental to their well-being," the authors note.

However, it is highly likely that this negative trend in support children report from their social contexts as they move into adolescence is not unique to this inner-city sample, the authors caution. They suggest that a portion of the trend may be explained by normative developmental transactions between the child and his or her social worlds.

In contrast to childhood, all children entering adolescence, regardless of family circumstances or the type of communities they live in, will find their schools, families, friends, and neighborhoods expect more from them, present them with more challenges, and are less forgiving when they fail to live up to societal norms and expectations. The result, the authors argue, may be an immediate social world that appears to the average adolescent as less supportive than when they were younger.

Some individual differences did emerge from the study:

- ◆ Compared to African Americans, Hispanics in 8th grade see their home and neighborhood context as more negative, and their peers as more positive. Their views of the school and neighborhood context show steeper declines between grades 5 and 8.

- ◆ In 8th grade, Asian-Americans are less positive than African-Americans in how they view home and neighborhood, but tend to be more positive in their judgments of school and peers and experience a less steep decline in their views of these contexts.

- ◆ Eighth graders living in structurally more advantaged homes (with two biological parents and more educated parents) judge their social worlds more positively and tend to experience less steep declines in their views between grades 5 and 8.

A potentially troubling difference involved children with better academic records at the 5th grade level. They experienced steeper declines in their views of the social environment and by 8th grade viewed their social world less favorably than their same-age peers. Since these children may possess greater cognitive abilities, the authors suggest they might "adopt ever higher standards about what a quality social context should look like, and the worlds in which they actually live suffer by comparison."

The declines in perceptions of supportive social contexts gain particular

salience if they are linked to important objective outcomes, according to Cook and Murphy. In the next phase of their research, they will try to determine whether students who experience the greatest declines in their perceptions of the supportiveness of social contexts are the same children who experience more problematic outcomes, including poor school performance, mental health, and greater involvement in delinquent behaviors.

Another study of developmental influences in early adolescence, by Cook, **Melissa Herman** (IPR-Sociology), Meredith Phillips at UCLA, and Richard A. Settersten, Jr., at Case Western Reserve University, examined the joint role that neighborhoods, schools, nuclear families, and friends play in promoting positive development between early 7th and late 8th grade. Their research took place in Prince George's County, Maryland, a middle-class, racially diverse area.

The study sample was composed of about 12,000 white and African-American students.

The analysis revealed that no single context, such as school or family, was independently linked to successful

development. This finding, the authors note, has important implications because it suggests that there are "no early teen silver bullets that . . . carry the potential to radically transform children's lives." Yet they also found that the total effect of all four contexts was much larger than any single one, especially for the average student, and they do exert a joint, additive influence on developmental change.

"How Inner-City Children See Their Family, School, Peers, and Neighborhood: Developmental Changes During the Transition to Adolescence," and "How Neighborhoods, Families, Peer Groups, and Schools Jointly Affect Changes in Early Adolescent Development." may be ordered from IPR's publications department for \$5.00 each or downloaded from our web site at www.nwu.edu/IPR/publications.



Robert Murphy



Melissa Herman

Faculty Bookshelf



Rational Lives: Norms and Values in Politics and Society by **Dennis Chong** (University of Chicago Press, 2000). Although economic reasoning has been applied to many fields in the social sciences, those who study value conflicts have resisted rational choice approaches to the subject. Instead, most argue that group loyalties, symbolic motives, and other “nonrational” factors best explain political conflict over cultural values. In this book, Chong shows that a single model based on people’s desires for material gain and social acceptance explains how individuals make decisions across both social and economic realms. He argues that our preferences reflect the costs and benefits of the available options and the influence of psychological dispositions formed throughout our lives. The model explores the formation of preferences, beliefs, values, norms, and group identifications, and offers a provocative explanation of how ingrained social norms and values are able to change over time in spite of the forces working to maintain the status quo.



Democracy on the Air by Ellen Mickiewicz, **Craig LaMay**, et al. (DeWitt Wallace Center, Duke University, 1999). This is a guide for broadcasters in Central and Eastern Europe on how to report on elections and candidates, cover racial and ethnic issues, fund private and public broadcasting, deal with government officials, and adhere to news and public affairs programming values. The book is published in English as well as in 16 languages of the region.



The Postmodern Military: Armed Forces after the Cold War edited by **Charles Moskos**, John A. Williams, and David Segal (Oxford University Press, 2000). This book focuses on the militaries of the United States and 12 other Western democracies to uncover civil-military trends since the end of the Cold War. The authors examine the changes within the armed forces under a model of national military transformation they call the “postmodern military.” The modern military that emerged in the 19th century was associated with the rise of the nation-state. It was a conscripted mass army, war-oriented in mission, masculine in makeup, and structurally and culturally distinct from civilian society. The postmodern military, by contrast, loosens ties with the nation state, becomes multipurpose in mission, and moves toward a smaller volunteer force. It is increasingly androgynous in makeup and better resembles civilian society.



Fuzzy-Set Social Science by **Charles Ragin** (University of Chicago Press, 2000). In this book, Ragin shows how social scientists can reap the benefits of “fuzzy set” research methods from which scholars in other fields have benefited. Fuzzy sets bridge the divide between theory and empirical analysis by incorporating qualitative approaches into the analysis of quantitative evidence. Traditionally researchers have relied on statistical methods, but Ragin found that using variables hides relationships within

the data. The fuzzy set is a powerful tool because it replaces the variable with a precise measurement: the degree of membership in a well-defined set. Fuzzy sets can be tailored to fit evolving theoretical concepts, sharpening quantitative tools with in-depth knowledge gained through qualitative, case-oriented inquiry.



The Network Inside Out by **Annelise Riles** (University of Michigan Press, 2000). “Networks” and other artifacts of institutional life—documents, funding proposals, newsletters, organizational charts—are such ubiquitous aspects of the information age that they often go unnoticed. In this book, Riles examines the aesthetics of these artifacts and practices to learn what their forms and formats can tell us about knowledge and legality in today’s world. The immediate subject of Riles’s ethnographic work was a group of Fijian bureaucrats and activists preparing for and participating in the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women. Participants in this meeting and the activities surrounding it understood themselves to be focal points in national, regional, and global networks. Starting from the premise that anthropologists are “inside” the network, that is, that they are producers, consumers, and aesthetes, not simply observers, of the artifacts of institutional life, Riles enacts a new ethnographic method for turning the network “inside out.”



Athena Unbound: Social Capital and Career Advancement in the Hard Sciences by Henry Etzkowitz, Carol Kemelgor, and **Brian Uzzi** (Cambridge University Press, 2000). Why are there so few women scientists? Noting the differences between women and men’s experience in science, the authors’ research demonstrates that science is an intensely social activity; career success and research discoveries depend on ‘social capital’—the relationships and networks that scientists rely on for access to new ideas and professional support. Despite the scientific ethos of universalism and inclusion, scientists and their institutions are not immune to the prejudices of society. By presenting women’s experiences at all key career stages, the authors reveal the hidden barriers, subtle exclusions, unwritten rules of the scientific workplace, and their effects, both professional and personal, on the female scientist.



Embedded Organizations: Adaptation to Global Capitalism, edited by Ruey-ling Tzeng and **Brian Uzzi** (Peter Lang Publishing, 2000). This volume analyzes how different forms of organization and market exchange systems function and co-evolve. In contrast to views that assume that pure markets or autonomous states guide change, the authors argue that the social networks and institutions within which economic action is embedded provide economic order. By identifying consequential types of social structures, the contributions of prominent scholars from Europe, Asia, and America advance understanding of how exchange systems originate and change.

Faculty Appearances

McKnight Guides Newspaper Editors

ABCD co-director **John McKnight** offered a strategy for targeting inner-city residents in a panel discussion on declining newspaper readership at the American Society of Newspaper Editors in April. He based his talk on the 1999 ABCD workbook, *Newspapers and Neighborhoods: Strategies for Achieving Responsible Coverage of Local Communities*.



John McKnight

The workbook presents research on the disparity in reporting between low-income and affluent neighborhoods and defines the issues that low-income residents feel newspapers should be reporting.

McKnight said metropolitan newspaper coverage of low-income neighborhoods is disproportionately negative because reporters often gather their information from centralized locations—the downtown police or fire station or board of education—instead of from the neighborhoods themselves.

The editors responded positively to McKnight's suggestion that newspapers organize dialogues with community leaders to improve coverage and determine the kinds of information that would allow local residents to become more effective citizens. Some have contacted the ABCD Institute about starting these neighborhood dialogues.

'60 Minutes,' '48 Hours' Profile Protes Cases

The fight against wrongful convictions in death penalty cases sparked by the work of **David Protes** (IPR-Medill) was profiled in two prime time CBS-TV newsmagazines this spring. An entire "48 Hours" program on May 15 documented the efforts of four of Protes's journalism students to investigate a double miscarriage of justice in a downstate Illinois capital case. "The students developed new evidence that proves the crime was committed by two other men at a time of night the wrongfully incarcerated men, Randy Steidl and Herb Whitlock, had solid alibis," Protes said.



Mike Wallace interviews David Protes

A "60 Minutes" segment with Mike Wallace that aired April 30 focused on the moratorium on executions ordered by Illinois Governor George Ryan in January. Ryan acted after 13 Death Row inmates in the state were found innocent. Five of the men were released after investigations by Protes and his students.

'Hidden War' (continued from page 2)

1970s and 1980s set the stage for the racial segregation of today's public housing, the authors argue. With no caps on rents, these policies drove out working-class families who might have provided some stability to the neighborhoods. And the discriminatory policies of the CHA assured that public housing projects were isolated from the better neighborhoods and commercial areas.

"The residents of Harold Ickes Homes were the unintended victims of CHA's changing priorities," the authors state. In 1994, this 800-unit project was considered "one of the safest CHA high-rises." Controlled by a single gang, it avoided the gang wars that terrorized other developments. Its resident leadership successfully lobbied for services, and its exteriors were relatively well-maintained. In 1992-94, the ADI seemed to be working. Two years later, this all changed dramatically when HUD took over management from the CHA, shifted its funds from crime-fighting to large-scale revitalization of the worst properties, and removed its security force.

Not surprisingly, conditions in Harold Ickes spiraled rapidly downhill, leading to "alarming increases in gang activity, drug-related and violent crime," and a rapidly escalating vacancy rate. By December 1996, crime was as bad or worse than before the sweeps, the authors maintain. All remaining units are currently slated for demolition.

◆ **Gangs and drug traffic.** Entrenched gangs and their constant warfare contributed heavily to the failure of the ADI. In Rockwell Gardens, for example, which Popkin describes as an "urban guerilla war zone," three powerful gangs competed

for turf. Resident reports of stabbings, shootings, and beatings were commonplace.

◆ **Ineffective law enforcement.** The CHA spent \$40 million per year on its own security force, which was disbanded in 1999. It hired low-wage, untrained security guards and even engaged Nation of Islam personnel as guards, none of which proved effective. One measure that showed promise was "Operation Clean Sweep," a massive police presence that fanned through the projects and drove the gangs from buildings they targeted. But the gangs merely moved to unswept buildings in other locations. The measure was declared unconstitutional in 1995 after a successful ACLU lawsuit.

◆ **Inability to organize tenant patrols.** The anti-drug initiative was premised in part on traditional community crime prevention measures, which proved unworkable in such a social climate. Residents feared retaliation from perpetrators if they reported crimes. They were equally reluctant to report their own or neighbors' relatives who were active in gangs. And wariness about their neighbors in general also discouraged residents from working together.

"Even the best-designed community crime prevention programs' efforts are unlikely to succeed in the violent chaotic context of CHA's high-rise developments where they are dealing with physical isolation, racial and economic segregation, and lack of social structure," the authors conclude.

Under current plans, Chicago faces a net loss of 15,000 public housing units. In a tight rental market with a core of "troubled" families who must find new housing, it is uncertain what will happen to them, Popkin said.

Polls Conference (continued from page 1)

policy preferences of the average American since the 1970s.

They contend that politicians use public opinion research to find the “language, arguments, and symbols that would win public support and unify Washington elites” in support of their policy goals. This means they use polls not to figure out what the public wants and how to respond, but to figure out what they can sell to the public and how to package the policies they want to sell.

Domestic Policy. Politicians are paying a lot of attention to polls, reported IPR director **Fay Lomax Cook**, though they may not be interpreting them accurately. In a study with Page and IPR graduate fellow Jason Barabas, she analyzed how policy elites have invoked public opinion about Social Security over the past decade and the extent to which their claims are accurately based on evidence from the polls.

They found the preponderance of these claims had to do with a lack of confidence about the future of Social Security. Though evidence confirms that confidence is low, this is not a new development as the claims would imply—it has been low since the late '70s. It is unclear whether the cause is lack of knowledge about the workings of Social Security or about what will happen when the program can no longer pay full benefits, Cook said. Also differing from the claims, the data suggest that when respondents have a chance to consider the risk of privatizing Social Security, they become less certain they prefer this direction.

Paul Burstein of the University of Washington reported that public opin-

ion strongly influenced congressional action on equal employment opportunity until 1972, but that its effects since then, while still strong, have been complicated by other influences. These include feedback from other branches of government, Supreme Court decisions, and partisan politics.

Foreign Policy. Shapiro and Jacobs maintain that U.S. foreign policy has become less responsive to public opinion since the end of the Cold War. Not only is there less media coverage—a reality confirmed by *Chicago Tribune* commentator Dick Longworth—but sophisticated White House polling techniques continue to be used to manipulate and change public opinion. “Elites are driving public attitudes,” Jacobs said. “They want to shrink critical debate among citizens, to discursively vaporize them.”

A comparative study by Steven Kull and Clay Ramsay of the University of Maryland concluded that policymakers incorrectly perceived the public as supporting isolationist policies. To explain this, they speculate that policy practitioners may be failing to seek information about public attitudes, responding to the vocal public as if it were the majority, assuming that Congress and the media reflect the public will, or else just underestimating the public.

Measuring Public Opinion. Martin Gilens of Yale University described a range of innovative survey experiments, suggesting that question wording and context and interviewer relationships all can be experimentally manipulated so different kinds of analyses may be used to extract meaning from

randomized survey experiments. He also showed how different modes of data collection (by mail, in person, by telephone) reflect significant differences in response to questions on sensitive issues.

Northwestern economist **Charles Manski** proposed probabilistic polling methods as a more accurate way of determining the outcomes of elections. In contrast to outcome polls typically used by Gallup and Pew, which use a subjective question design (respondents are asked to gauge their answers based on the likelihood of an outcome), probabilistic polling asks respondents to give the percent chance they will act in a certain way (i.e., choose to vote; vote for candidate A or candidate B). This method offers a greater range of possible responses.

“The probability scale enables respondents to fully express uncertainty about their future voting behavior and enables analysts to aggregate voting expectations into predictions of election outcomes,” Manski said.

In a concluding address, Humphrey Taylor, chairman of the Harris Poll, returned to a major theme of the conference by citing the critical role of polls in democratic elections. “Probably the most important contribution of pre-election and exit polls, particularly in new democracies, is that it makes it harder for governments to steal elections,” he said.

The conference was sponsored by IPR with support from Northwestern’s School of Speech, American Studies program, and departments of sociology, political science, and communication studies. *The agenda and papers may be found online at: www.northwestern.edu/IPR/events.*

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