

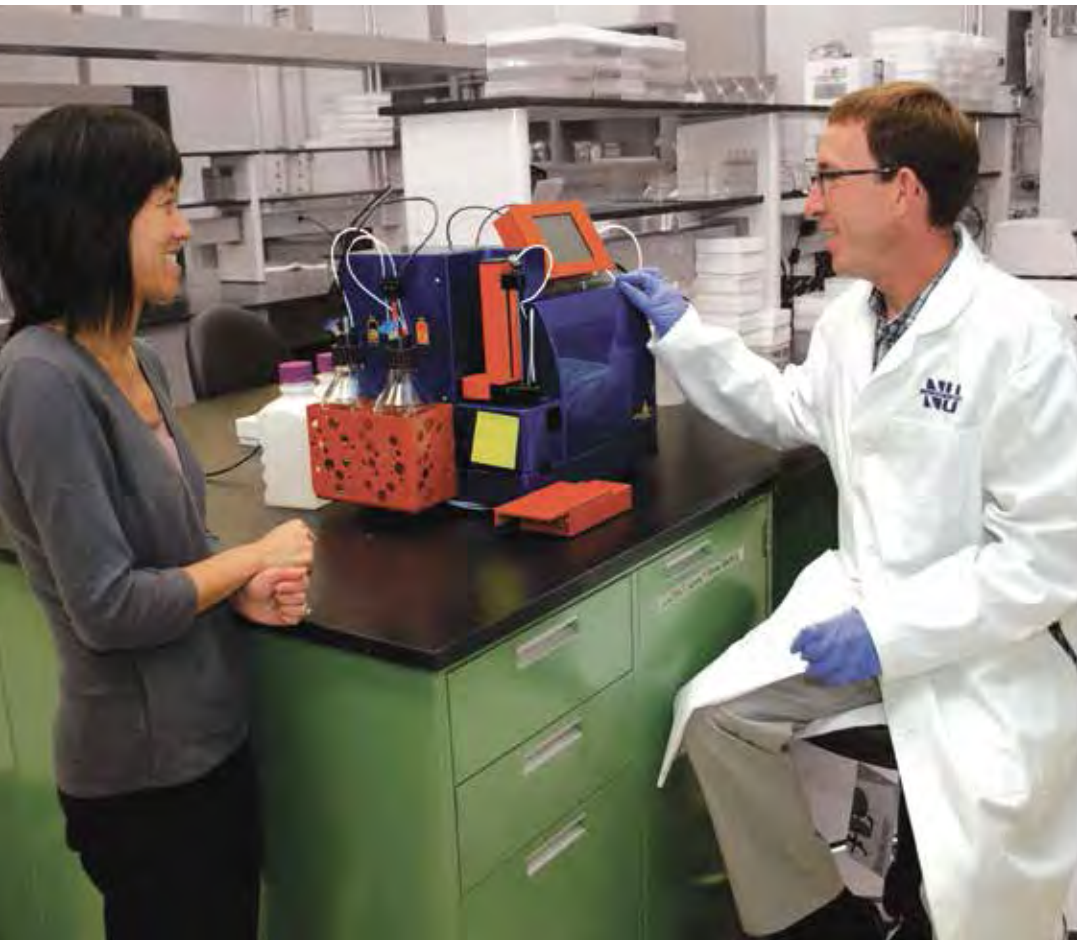


Northwestern University

INSTITUTE FOR POLICY RESEARCH

INTERDISCIPLINARY • NONPARTISAN • POLICY RELEVANT

2013 YEAR IN REVIEW



Politics, Institution
Child, Adolescent, and F
Cells to Society (C2S): The Center
Education Policy
Measurement and Reward
Race, and Inequalit
Urban Policy and Community Dev
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EVENTS



IN THE NEWS



HIGHLIGHTS



RESEARCH





Cecilia Rouse Discusses Balancing Presidential Priorities and Parenting

Jonathan Guryan, Lisa Barrow, and Zachary Seeskin chat with Princeton's Rouse (rt.), a former Obama adviser.



Katherine Baicker Talks Healthcare, Her Time in the White House

David Figlio walks Harvard's Baicker, former economist to George W. Bush, across campus before her lecture.

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MESSAGE FROM THE DIRECTOR



David Figlio, IPR Director

IPR is a special place, full of remarkable and **innovative scholars who are truly spanning boundaries**. This is evidenced by our senior scholars, who continue to win U.S. and international awards for their superb work conducted over the course of their careers to date, such as statistician Larry Hedges and psychobiologist Emma Adam, and by our junior scholars, whose immense promise is recognized by prizes, such as economist Lori Beaman's CAREER award (see pp. 3–4 and 76–77).

Despite our many successes over the years and particularly in 2013, we recognize that providing evidence-based research for selecting the best solutions to our nation's and our communities' social problems requires a **steadfast commitment to produce rigorous, top-notch research**. To this end, we are not resting on our laurels. We are building upon our recognized success in quantitative methodologies by establishing IPR as a national hub for the use of big data in policy-relevant research. We hosted an inaugural meeting in October for scholars, administrators, and policymakers to begin discussing the best way forward. We continue to train scholars in how best to conduct experiments in education research. We are starting new research programs that operate at the intersection of disciplines, and we are building innovative institutions like our Center on Social Disparities and Health, or C2S,

which launched an informal faculty workshop this year to promote dialogue on research in its earliest stages.

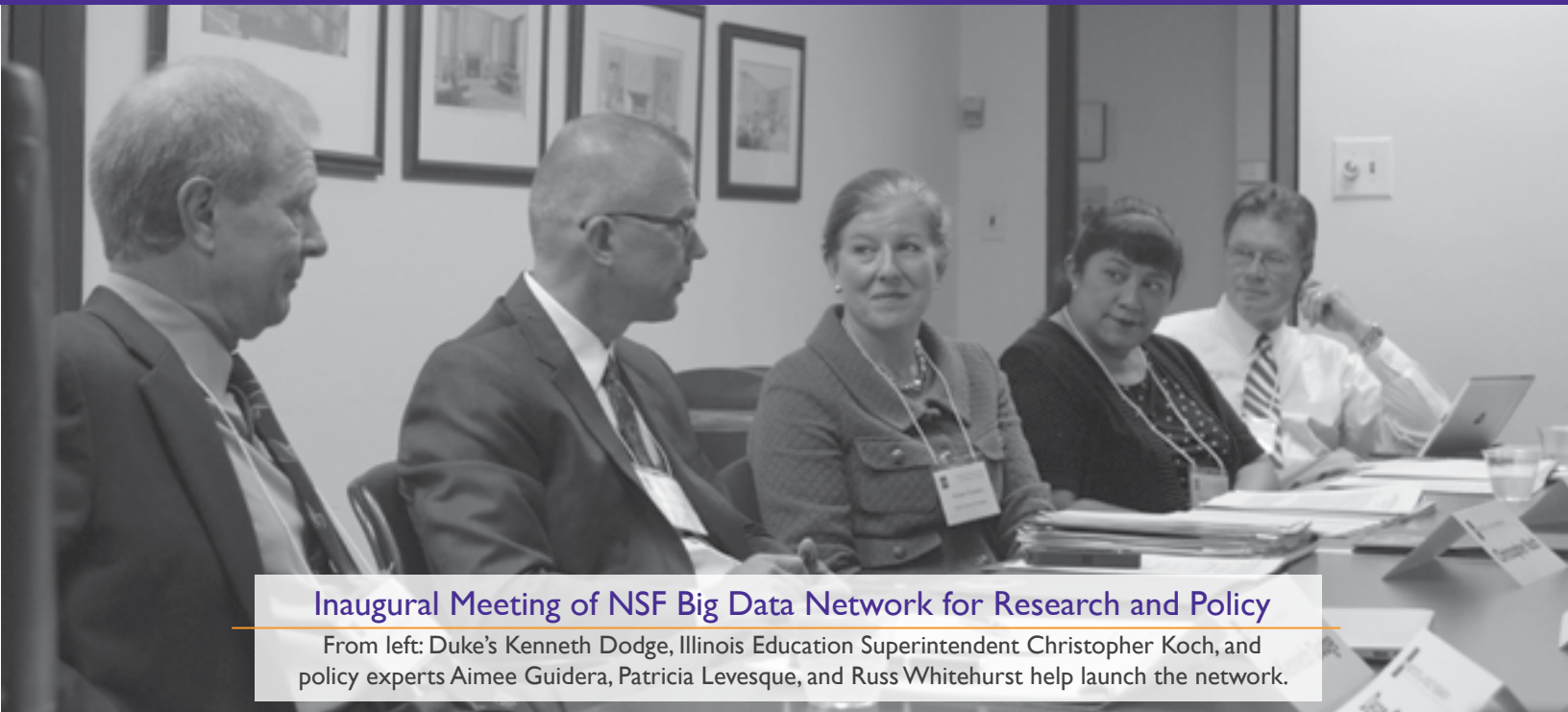
IPR is a leader in social policy research, and we aspire to build on this strength by establishing complementary strengths in related policy areas, ranging from energy and environmental policy to tax and regulation policy. Social problems are common around the world, and this is why our faculty are **collaborating with scholars and policymakers on six continents** on research projects. In our own backyard, we work closely with our "hometown" communities—of Evanston, Chicago, and the state of Illinois—in addition to working to bridge our two Chicagoland campuses. One example is our joint work with different Northwestern schools, such as the School of Law most recently, in recruiting exceptional faculty to join us in our enterprise.

Yet IPR is more than a locus of great research. It also exists as an open and **inquisitive community of faculty experts and students—both graduates and undergraduates—and the public**. Bringing these sometimes distinct sides together is why we expend a great amount of effort each year organizing events and colloquia to encourage dialogue. Our conception of community is also why we invest in long-standing programs to enhance undergraduate and graduate students' research experiences (see pp. 6–7, 82–83, and 85).

These are exciting times at IPR and Northwestern. The University's recent launch of its five-year capital campaign, "We Will," is going to take our University, and along with it our Institute, in **new and energizing directions**. All of the campaign goals—discovery and creativity, student experience, global connections, and campus and community—are embedded in IPR's DNA.

If you have not caught up with IPR lately, I invite you to **be a part of our community**: Visit our recently revamped website at www.ipr.northwestern.edu, join us for one of our events, or learn more about our research and our community by reading our working papers, articles, and publications.

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



Inaugural Meeting of NSF Big Data Network for Research and Policy

From left: Duke's Kenneth Dodge, Illinois Education Superintendent Christopher Koch, and policy experts Aimee Guidera, Patricia Levesque, and Russ Whitehurst help launch the network.

Building a National Data Network

Supported by the National Science Foundation, a new national network of scholars, policymakers, and administrators gathered at Northwestern in the fall for its inaugural meeting. Co-led by IPR Director **David Figlio** and Duke University's **Kenneth Dodge**, the meeting welcomed some of the nation's top policymakers and education experts, such as Stanford's **Eric Hanushek**, Harvard's **Raj Chetty**, and Duke's **Helen Ladd**. Discussions centered on constructing next-generation data sets, which link administrative data, such as welfare and school records, to population data, such as births and labor data. The workshop was designed to provide a springboard for national conversations and increased collaboration between research and practitioner communities. Several IPR fellows participated, including **Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach**, **Jonathan Guryan**, **Morton Schapiro**, and **Quincy Thomas Stewart**, among others (see p. 52).

Lectures by Presidential Advisers

IPR hosted two Distinguished Public Policy Lectures in 2013, welcoming Princeton University's **Cecilia Rouse** on April 8 and **Katherine Baicker** of Harvard University on October 28. Rouse, who served on President Barack Obama's Council of Economic Advisers and is now dean of the Woodrow Wilson School, discussed her experiences working in the White House and the challenges of maintaining a work-family balance. Baicker, who was a former presidential economic adviser to George W. Bush, spoke about the Affordable Care Act and her work as co-principal investigator of the Oregon Health Insurance Experiment, the first randomized evaluation of Medicaid.

Major Awards and Honors

IPR developmental economist **Lori Beaman** won a National Science Foundation Faculty Early Career Development (CAREER) Award, which she will use to investigate how social networks affect economic behavior in developing countries. IPR associate **Daniel Diermeier**, professor of managerial economics and decision sciences, was elected a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. In September, IPR developmental psychologist **Lindsay Chase-Lansdale** became Northwestern's Associate Provost for Faculty. She, IPR social psychologist **Jennifer Richeson**, and communications studies researcher and IPR associate **Eszter Hargittai** received chairs during the year. IPR education researcher and statistician **Larry Hedges** was named "Statistician of the Year." IPR psychologist **Alice Eagly** received the 2013 Leadership Legacy Life Achievement Award. IPR psychobiologist **Emma Adam** received the Curt Richter Award from the International Society of Psychoneuroendocrinology. IPR sociologist and African American studies researcher **Celeste Watkins-Hayes** was named the inaugural recipient of the Jacquelyne Johnson Jackson Early Career Scholar Award by the Association of Black Sociologists. IPR economist **Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach** was awarded the 2013 Vernon Memorial Award by the Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management for co-authoring the best research article published in the *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*. IPR sociologist **Lincoln Quillian's** *American Sociological Review* article "Segregation and Poverty Concentration: The Role of Three Segregations," won three awards from the American Sociological Association (ASA). IPR sociologist **Monica Prasad's** book *The Land of Too Much: American Abundance and the Paradox of Poverty* (Harvard University Press) also won three awards

from the ASA. IPR political scientist **James Druckman** also won several paper awards from the American Political Science Association, one of which he shared with IPR social policy expert **Fay Lomax Cook** (see pp. 76–77).

Death Penalty Research Called “Flawed”

During a January 9–10 program co-sponsored by IPR and Northwestern School of Law’s Searle Center, Carnegie Mellon criminologist **Daniel Nagin**, chair of the National Research Council (NRC) Committee on Deterrence and the Death Penalty, discussed its evaluation of death penalty research. Nagin recounted how the committee eventually reached the conclusion that research on the death penalty’s deterrent effect is so flawed that it cannot be used to determine if the death penalty decreases, increases, or has no effect on homicide rates. The event also featured commentary by **Charles F. Manski**, an IPR economist who was also a member of the NRC committee, and law professor **Max Schanzbach**, an IPR associate and director of the Searle Center on Law, Regulation, and Economic Growth (see p. 44).

Top Experts Focus on Healthcare

As the IPR/John H. Hollister Lecturer, MIT’s **Jonathan Gruber**, one of the nation’s top healthcare economists and a key architect of Massachusetts’ 2006 healthcare reform law and the federal 2010 Affordable Care Act, retraced the major challenges of designing and passing the nation’s most sweeping reform of healthcare since the mid-1960s. A crowd of more than 80 people turned out for the March 7 event. Dartmouth economist **Jonathan Skinner** discussed how healthcare spending has grown more rapidly in the United States than in any other country. He described his new model of patient demand and supplier behavior that accounts for the rise in technology outlays and healthcare costs (see pp. 37–39).

In Memoriam: H. Paul Friesema

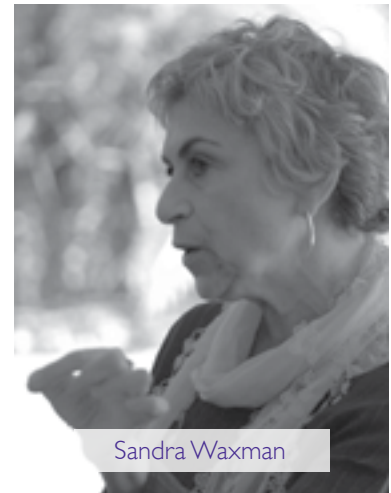


H. Paul Friesema

H. Paul Friesema, IPR faculty emeritus and professor emeritus of political science at Northwestern University, died March 8 in Evanston at the age of 77. Friesema joined Northwestern in 1968 and was one of two political scientists who were part of the Institute at its launch that same year. Specializing in natural resources, environmental policy, and urban politics, he played a key role in founding and leading IPR’s Environmental Policy Research Program, in addition to several other forward-thinking environmental policy programs and initiatives at the University.

Newest IPR Fellow, Sandra Waxman

IPR welcomed a new faculty fellow this fall—**Sandra Waxman**, a cognitive psychologist who holds the Louis W. Menk Chair in Psychology. An expert on the interface between early language and cognition, Waxman focuses on how language and cognition “come together” in the minds of infants and young children. She examines the origin and unfolding of these links—across develop-



Sandra Waxman

ment, across cultures, and across languages. Her work showcases the powerful relationship between our innate endowments and the shaping role of experience. Waxman directs Northwestern University’s Project on Child Development, a research center welcoming infants, children, and their families, who take part in projects examining different aspects of language acquisition. Her numerous awards and honors include being a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, American Association for the Advancement of Science, and American Psychological Association (see pp. 17–18).

IES-Sponsored Research Training Institute

Sponsored by the Institute of Education Sciences, the research branch of the U.S. Department of Education, the seventh annual Summer Training Institute on Cluster-Randomized Trials took place at Northwestern from July 15–25. Led by IPR statistician and education researcher **Larry Hedges**, the two-week workshop aims to increase the national capacity of researchers to develop and conduct rigorous evaluations of the impact of education interventions. Course sessions provided intensive training on planning, implementing, and analyzing data for cluster-randomized trials to 30 participants (see p. 49).

Colloquia Foster Interdisciplinary Exchange

IPR held nearly 60 colloquia and events in 2013, furthering its mission to foster an interdisciplinary research community. In addition to IPR’s Monday Fay Lomax Cook colloquia, its other series covered performance measurement and rewards, quantitative methods, and microeconomics, education, and labor policy as part of IPR’s joint series with the department of economics. Invited speakers over the year included Harvard University’s **Robert Sampson**, **Kenneth Dodge** of Duke University, and **Clancy Blair** of New York University (see pp. 72–74).



Jennifer Richeson Is Invested as the MacArthur Chair

The IPR social psychologist, also a recipient of a MacArthur “genius” grant, studies the ways in which social group memberships, such as race and gender, affect the way people think, feel, and behave.



“This work was instrumental in the development of my research skills and my interest in pursuing graduate school. The program provided a great introduction to the research world and allowed me to make lasting professional connections.”

—Former IPR Undergraduate Summer RA

Undergraduates Build Lasting Collaborations

In 2013, 34 Northwestern undergraduate students eschewed more traditional summer jobs of lifeguarding or waiting tables in favor of developing surveys and running regressions. As participants in IPR’s Summer Undergraduate Research Assistant (RA) Program, they worked on a social science research project, mentored by one of 23 IPR faculty (see p. 85).

Katherine Scovic, a junior majoring in political science, worked with IPR political scientist **Laurel Harbridge** this summer on projects involving polarization and bipartisanship in Congress after taking a class with her.



IPR Summer Undergraduate Research Assistants

Some of the 2013 undergraduate RAs gather with IPR Director David Figlio (back, second from left), IPR staff, and the Summer RA program director James Rosenbaum (far right) after a lunch to discuss their research projects.

"It was a great experience because Professor Harbridge had mentioned her research in class, and over the summer I was able to see how that research was conducted," Scovic said. Over the summer, she coded news articles, conducted a literature review, and gathered data on congressional candidates.

A recent IPR internal survey found that faculty also appreciated participating in the program, which is now in its 16th year. It is one of the University's longest-running undergraduate research opportunities and has led to noteworthy undergraduate scholarly contributions: More than 60 percent of faculty said the project their undergraduate RA worked on was published or submitted for publication, with 12 percent

of RAs listed as a co-author on the paper. The faculty-student collaborations also resulted in senior thesis topics for nearly 20 percent of the RAs. Summer RAs have gone on to further studies at MIT and Harvard Law School, among others.

These collaborations also continue beyond the summer. More than half of IPR faculty continued working with their RA after the program ended, and almost all offered career advice.

IPR Associate Director **James Druckman**, who conducted the survey, noted, "Clearly, the results of the both faculty and student surveys show that the program serves as an unparalleled educational experience for the students while also greatly facilitating faculty research production."



New Programs Seek to Lift Parents' and Children's Educational Prospects

IPR's Terri Sabol (left) and Lindsay Chase-Lansdale discuss their research on two-generation programs.

RESEARCH TOPICS:

- Social welfare institutions and programs
- Effects of school, life, and family contexts
- Incarceration of youth and adults
- Effects of the economy on well-being
- Childhood programs and development

Stress and Sleep in Young Adults

In a 10-year longitudinal study supported by the National Institutes of Health (NIH) and the William T. Grant Foundation, IPR psychobiologist **Emma Adam** explores what differences in stress might mean for teens as they move from high school to college and work. How does stress affect them in terms of depression and anxiety during this transition? In addition to using annual interviews, questionnaires, and diaries to capture changes in the youths' experiences over time, the researchers also track physiological effects by measuring cortisol, a stress-hormone collected from small samples of saliva, and sleep quality by having them wear wrist-watch-sized "actigraphs." Adam is examining whether differences in stress exposure, stress hormone levels, and sleep quality can help further understanding of why some adolescents remain emotionally healthy and why others develop depression and anxiety disorders as they negotiate the transition to adulthood. Results suggest that interpersonal stressors and sleeping less are associated with changes in stress hormone patterns across the day and with youth becoming depressed. Even after accounting for the effects of various life events, such as losing a family member, on depression, individuals with higher surges in stress hormones in the morning hours are at increased risk for depression over the next two and a half years, and onsets of anxiety disorders, particularly social anxiety disorder, over the next four years.

Two-Generation Education Programs

Two-generation initiatives—education programs for low-income, preschool-age children and their parents—are emerging across the United States. **Lindsay Chase-Lansdale**, an IPR developmental psychologist, continues her work in this area, focusing on these interventions in her own backyard. She and IPR senior research scientist **Teresa Eckrich Sommer** are assessing a pilot program in Evanston starting in early 2014 in collaboration with the Evanston Community Foundation and supported by Ascend at the Aspen Institute. A mix of community nonprofits and businesses, including Evanston school districts, early childhood education centers, a public library, and a community college, have all partnered with the initiative. The program offers educational, financial, and career guidance for parents and early high-quality education for their children up to age 6 through enrollment in community-partner programs. In helping to develop the Evanston initiative, the two relied on lessons learned from their recent evaluation of the CareerAdvance® Program, a two-generation initiative for approximately 200 families in Tulsa, Okla. It links postsecondary education and career training of low-income parents to their children's educational enrichment through early childhood education centers. The W.K. Kellogg Foundation and Administration for Children and Families provided support for the Oklahoma study. Chase-Lansdale holds the Frances Willard Chair and is Associate Provost for Faculty.

Family Complexity and Child Healthcare

Using data from two health surveys, IPR social demographer **Christine Percheski** and Sharon Bzostek of Rutgers University are the first to link national data on health insurance coverage and medical care for siblings. Though siblings in most American families are covered by a single health insurance plan, an increasing proportion of children in the United States live in families with complicated family structures and with a mix of immigrant and U.S.-born family members. These are situations in which children in the same family might not qualify for the same coverage. In *Social Science and Medicine*, the researchers present results showing that when children in the same family have public insurance, through programs such as the Children's Health Insurance Program (CHIP), while their siblings are either privately insured or uninsured, they are less likely to have a usual source of care than similar children whose siblings are insured under the same type of insurance plan. Since a usual source of care is linked to better healthcare outcomes, Percheski and Bzostek argue that policymakers should consider how to reduce mixed coverage among children in the same families.

Effects of Motherhood on Family Characteristics

In a new project, **Percheski** investigates how the timing of a woman's first birth affects her family characteristics and risk of having an income below the poverty line. To estimate the effect of age at first birth, she compares women whose first pregnancy led to the birth of a baby with those who experienced a miscarriage. Preliminary results suggest that women who give birth are not more likely to be poor, but are less likely to have very high incomes.

The Great Recession and Fertility Rates

Evidence from previous recessions suggests poor economic conditions can lower fertility rates, especially when joblessness is high. The fertility rate dropped from a recent high of nearly 70 births per 1,000 U.S. women in 2007 to just over 63 in 2012. **Percheski** and Rachel Kimbro of Rice University are investigating how the decline in fertility varied across communities. They find that women in areas with high unemployment and mortgage foreclosure rates did not become pregnant as often as women in better-off areas. Also, the two researchers are exploring how local economic conditions affect how likely it is for married, cohabiting, and single women to get pregnant. They show that married women were less likely to have a pregnancy when unemployment was high whereas single women had lower odds of pregnancy when mortgage foreclosure rates were high. Cohabiting women's pregnancy rates did not vary by local economic conditions. Examining fertility rates for single and cohabiting women is important because U.S. nonmarital birth rates are high, and births to unmarried women are associated with lower child well-being and a higher risk for poverty.

ABOUT THE PROGRAM



Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach, Chair

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

Food Insecurity and the Great Recession

Food insecurity spiked dramatically during the Great Recession, with a record 49 million Americans in food-insecure households. With funding from the Russell Sage Foundation, IPR economist **Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach** and her colleagues are determining if families from this period onward have had consistent access to healthy foods and whether family members have skipped meals, gone hungry, or not had enough money to buy food. Their early data show that from 2004–2007, slightly more than 11 percent of U.S. households were classified as food insecure. This rose to nearly 15 percent between 2008–2011. One out of five households with children under 18 is now considered food insecure, with those led by single mothers particularly at risk. While still trying to understand the actual causes behind the food insecurity, the researchers do point to a series of “insults” brought on by dramatic job losses: No income meant no subsidies from the Earned Income Tax Credit. Access to credit dried up, in particular from home equity. Food and energy cost more (though inflation has been low overall), soaking up a larger share of low-income household budgets. When taken together, the unfavorable conditions closed off avenues that the poor typically use to weather bad economic patches.

Poor Families and Food Security

Why are some low-income families with children able to get enough food to feed their families, while other families with similar income levels are not? **Schanzenbach** is considering this question from three angles with three data sets. Pulling together data from the Panel Study of Income Dynamics and the food security supplement of the Current Population Survey (CPS), she and her co-authors are examining how resources, behavior, and prices for families compare with those for families who have a different food-security status. They merged data from the American Time Use Survey with CPS data to understand differences in how families with varying levels of access to food spend their time working, planning meals, shopping, and cooking. They also investigated differences in eating and spending patterns. Initial results seem to indicate that households cycle in and out of food insecurity and that the mother's mental health seems to be an important predictor of food security. The U.S. Department of Agriculture has provided project support.

Long-Term Effects of Food Stamps

Could access to social safety net programs as children have effects lasting into adulthood? Building upon their previous research, **Schanzenbach** and Hilary Hoynes of the University of California, Berkeley examined a cohort of food stamp recipients from 1961–1975, who are now between 30 and 50 years old. They discovered those exposed to food stamps early in life (before age 5) had measurably better health in adulthood. They exhibited lower obesity rates and lower rates of metabolic disorders, such as diabetes and high blood pressure. The benefits also extended beyond health to work outcomes. Interestingly, women who benefitted from food stamps as children were more likely to graduate from high school, earn more, and rely less on the social safety net as adults than those who did not. *The New York Times* and other media outlets cited the report, and Schanzenbach and Hoynes were sought-after experts during congressional debate over funding for the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program, the current name of the food stamp program.

Strengthening SNAP

Schanzenbach authored a report, released by the Brookings Institution's Hamilton Project, that recaps the best available research on food assistance programs. In it, she proposes five policy reforms to improve the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP). To combat rising obesity and increase consumption of fresh fruits and vegetables, she recommends a financial incentive. Previous research has shown subsidizing healthy foods results in more of them being consumed, whereas taxing unhealthy items like sugar-laden beverages is unlikely to prevent people from buying them. Schanzenbach also advises making three adjustments to the benefit formula,

largely unchanged since 1978, to better align it with current economic realities. She suggests retaining current safeguards and imposing more flexible time limits on benefits for able-bodied adults with no children. This change reflects the nation's high rate of unemployment and the hardship that persists for many in the post-Great Recession economy. Her report also details how many of the fears that people have about the safety net program are unjustified. For example, many people believe fraud and trafficking—when SNAP recipients sell their benefits to retailers for cash—is a serious problem. However, the rate of trafficking was only 1.3 percent from 2009–2011, primarily at smaller retailers. The rate at major grocery stores, where most SNAP benefits are used, was less than half of 1 percent.

Intergenerational Mobility

While nearly all research on intergenerational mobility—the transmission of economic and social outcomes such as earnings, occupation, and education across generations—has focused on fathers and sons, economist and IPR associate **Joseph Ferrie** and Jason Long of Wheaton College remedy this shortcoming by building a multigenerational data set that links grandfathers, fathers, and sons in Britain and the United States since 1850. In one study using this data, they analyze mobility across three generations in each country and characterize the differences in those patterns across two countries. Contrary to previous work, their results reveal that grandfathers mattered in both countries. Even after controlling for a father's occupation, a grandfather's occupation significantly influenced his grandson's occupation, and the effect of high (or low) income in one generation persists for at least two more. In an article published in the *American Economic Review*, they show that economic mobility in the United States was greater than Britain's in the 19th century, but by the middle of the 20th century, mobility rates in the United States had decreased and the American and British rates had converged.

Parents' Technology Concerns

The widespread adoption of social media and other networked technologies by children and teens has prompted concerns about their safety when they go online. Eager to shield children from potential risks, parents—and lawmakers—often respond to online safety concerns by enacting restrictions with little consideration for the discrepancy between parental concerns and actual harm. In the journal *Policy and Internet*, IPR associate **Eszter Hargittai** and Danah Boyd of Microsoft Research investigate parental fears. They uncover variation across different population groups. Hargittai and Boyd surveyed more than 1,000 parents of 10- to 14-year-olds, asking questions about their experiences and their fears. Results showed that parental concerns vary significantly by background—notably race and ethnicity, income, metropolitan status, and political ideology. Black, Hispanic, and Asian parents were much more concerned than white parents about certain online safety



IPR economist Jonathan Guryan talks with University of Chicago developmental psychologist Ariel Kalil about his study with Jens Ludwig, also at Chicago, to randomly assign youth in Chicago detention centers to either a typical residential center or one providing a cognitive behavioral intervention for better decision making.

issues, even after controlling for socioeconomic status (SES) factors and previous experiences with various safety issues. Parents from lower-SES backgrounds were more likely to voice concerns about their children being bullied or becoming a bully. Asian American parents were most fearful about most online safety issues, followed closely by Hispanics. Urban parents were more concerned than either suburban or rural parents about every online safety issue explored. Hargittai, who is the Delaney Family Research Professor, and Boyd hope their findings will encourage researchers to examine the effectiveness of fear-based policies and encourage policymakers to consider more diverse perspectives.

Litigation and Reducing Prison Populations

Litigation over prison conditions in the 1970s helped create safer and healthier U.S. prisons. Lawyers and reformers also hoped it would compel states to reduce their prison populations. Since 1980, however, the number of prisoners has increased by 300 percent on average, making the United States the largest jailer in the world. Faced with soaring costs and overcrowded prisons, state policymakers are looking for ways to reduce prison populations. Once again, reformers and lawyers hope that prison-conditions litigation—particularly court-ordered prison population caps—will help states decarcerate. IPR associate and sociologist **Heather Schoenfeld** examines Florida prison overcrowding litigation from 1973–1993 and ongoing California prison-conditions litigation to reflect on this strategy's possibilities and limitations. She argues that the legal context, the political context, and the state's capacity to implement reform have changed significantly

between earlier prison litigation and today's—making it more likely that decarcerative policy reforms will have a lasting impact. Her analysis underscores how small political shifts can quickly undermine criminal justice reform.

Underlying Problems of Delinquency

Each year, between 300,000 and 600,000 youth spend time in juvenile detention facilities around the nation, with a disproportionate number being low-income and minority youth. IPR economist **Jonathan Guryan**, with Sara Heller and Jens Ludwig of the University of Chicago, is examining the underlying problems behind youth delinquency and violence. Previous research indicates that variation in things such as self-regulation, impulse control, social information processing, and moral reasoning might account for involvement with, and relapses into, delinquency. Using a randomized experimental design and with support from the Smith Richardson Foundation, the researchers have collected data on more than 5,000 male juveniles, most of whom are Latino or African American, entering the Cook County Juvenile Temporary Detention Center over 14 months. These youth were randomly assigned to either a typical residential center or one providing a cognitive behavioral therapy intervention to promote improved decision making. The researchers show that the program reduces the likelihood that a detained youth returns to the detention center within a year by about 10 to 15 percent. They also calculate that the program is very cost-effective. Using the point estimate from an 18-month follow-up, they find that the benefits from reduced readmissions—even ignoring any potential crime or schooling benefits—outweigh the costs from between 4 and 8 to 1.

POVERTY, RACE, AND INEQUALITY



Leslie McCall Points to Why Americans Care About Inequality

The IPR sociologist's work is helping to redefine how American opinions of inequality are viewed.

RESEARCH TOPICS:

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

American Beliefs and Income Inequality

While most research asserts that Americans generally care little about income inequality, IPR sociologist **Leslie McCall** is upending conventional wisdom on the topic with her 2013 book, *The Undeserving Rich: American Beliefs About Inequality, Opportunity, and Redistribution* (Cambridge University Press). McCall extracts public opinion data from the General Social Survey and others to undertake one of the most comprehensive examinations of actual public perceptions of inequality over the past 25 years. She uses the data to debunk several ideas, including the widespread one that Americans do not care about income inequality as long as they feel they are getting a fair shot at getting ahead through hard work, or what she calls the “American dream ideology.” She shows how Americans do not immediately connect their concerns about inequality to a desire for increased taxes on the rich, but they do connect high inequality to limited social mobility, favoring policies that expand opportunity and equality in the workplace. Notably, she explains that concerns about inequality were highest not during periods of recession, but in the subsequent recoveries when people did not feel that middle- and lower-income Americans were sharing in the gains. Her nuanced framework demonstrates that beliefs about income inequality are not opposed to notions of equal opportunity, but rather inextricably linked to them.

Public Views About Inequality

Most people assume that Americans care more about equality of opportunity than equality of outcomes. **McCall** and IPR social psychologist **Jennifer Richeson** are testing this proposition. In contrast to the traditional view, Americans might now consider rising inequality itself as a threat to the “American Dream” of open and expanding opportunities. McCall and Richeson situate this perspective within a new “opportunity model” of beliefs about inequality. In this model, worries about the erosion of opportunity are partly attributed to rising economic inequality. This new frame of mind, unlike the traditional stance, should be open to supporting redistributive policies—but only if they lead to more opportunities in the labor market. Examples would be limiting executive pay and lifting pay in the middle and bottom—or by taxing and spending for better schools or job training. Their study has two main components: A media analysis of how American inequality has been discussed over the past 30 years, followed by a series of social psychological experiments designed to probe the conditions that provoke heightened concerns about inequality and support for policies designed to reduce it. In combining a media study with psychological experiments, McCall and Richeson aim to learn more about how conceptions of inequality, opportunity, and redistribution intertwine in American culture. The Russell Sage Foundation has provided support for the project.

Public Preferences for Redistribution

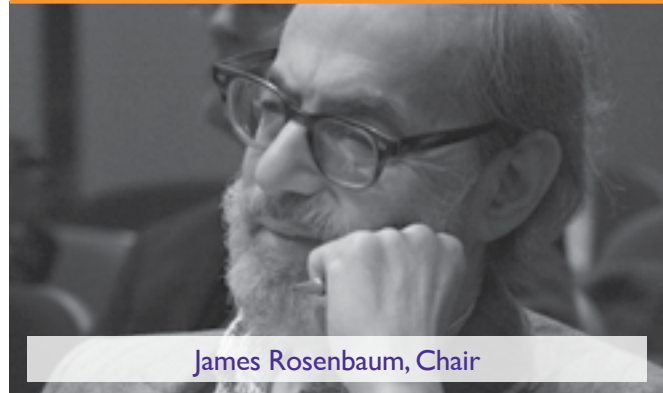
According to the General Social Survey (GSS), confidence in banks and financial institutions sank from more than 30 percent in the mid-2000s to 8 percent in 2010. Despite the rise of public discontent with the private sector, little is known about how the public views corporations' responsibilities and performance in addressing economic and social problems. In another project receiving support from the Russell Sage Foundation, **McCall** and her colleagues Jonas Edlund and Arvid Backstrom of Sweden's Umea University are examining what citizens see as the proper mix and balance of state and market policies. To explore the issue, however, preferences for state and market institutions must be in the same data set. Yet existing surveys tend only to ask about public attitudes toward the welfare state. To fill this gap, the team will collect new data by adding 10 questions to the 2014 GSS. The same set of questions will also be included in a 2014 Swedish and Danish survey. Given the distinctive roles that market institutions play in different societies, the researchers will compare results from the United States, Sweden, and Denmark to assess if and how views vary between the countries. They anticipate that Americans' pro-market views will lead them to trust market institutions more than government institutions in terms of reducing inequality (and vice versa in Sweden). Preliminary findings, however, suggest that the results might be less clear cut.

Social Networks and Agricultural Technology

IPR economist **Lori Beaman** received a 2013 National Science Foundation Faculty Early Career Development (CAREER) Award. It will support her work focusing on a major puzzle of development economics: Why do small-scale farmers avoid adopting simple, profit-enhancing technologies? Policymakers can rarely alter people's social networks, but Beaman hopes to enumerate ways in which policymakers can use the existing social networks in developing countries to improve the effectiveness of policy—in particular to increase the adoption of simple agricultural technologies that can raise incomes and reduce poverty. In three projects taking place in either Mali or Malawi, she and her colleagues will examine a few aspects of how farmers learn from one another and information diffuses through social networks.

One recent experiment providing fertilizer grants to female rice farmers in Mali shows that the women who received fertilizer used more fertilizer on their plots, as well as using complementary aids, such as herbicides and hired labor. This reveals that farmers respond to an increase in one production factor (input), such as fertilizer expenses or family labor, by re-optimizing others, making it challenging to isolate the returns to any one factor. Additionally, while the increase in inputs led to a considerable increase in production, Beaman and her colleagues recorded no evidence that profits increased. It suggests that fertilizer's impact on profits is small compared with other sources of variation. This could make it difficult for farmers to

ABOUT THE PROGRAM



James Rosenbaum, Chair

In the program on Poverty, Race, and Inequality, IPR researchers look at various causes of poverty, racism, and inequality and their consequences in the United States, as well as in developing nations around the world. Topics cut across race, education, social status, and more. The researchers' examinations often overlap with other IPR programs, such as Urban Policy and Community Development, Social Disparities and Health, and Child, Adolescent, and Family Studies.

learn about what they could gain from using fertilizer; and it could also affect their decision to adopt it even when money is not an issue in obtaining it. The results were published in the *American Economic Review: Papers & Proceedings*.

Price Effects of Cash vs. In-Kind Transfers

A central question in anti-poverty policy is whether transfers should be made in-kind or as cash, with the oft-cited rationale for in-kind transfers being to encourage consumption of certain goods. Cash and in-kind transfers both make the recipients better off, which can increase their demand for goods and, in turn, increase prices. However, in-kind transfers can also increase the local supply of goods, driving prices down. In a working paper with Jesse Cunha of the Naval Postgraduate School and Stanford's Giacomo De Giorgi, economist and IPR associate **Seema Jayachandran** tests this hypothesis. She compares how cash and in-kind transfers affect local prices using a program in Mexico that randomly assigned villages to either receive boxes of food trucked into the village, equivalently valued cash transfers, or no transfers. The researchers show that prices are significantly lower under in-kind transfers compared with cash transfers. Prices of goods other than those transferred are also affected by a small amount, but overall these general effects only modestly affected purchasing power. The exception is in remote villages and geographically isolated areas, where both negative and positive price effects are larger in magnitude, and where many of the world's poorest people live.

Impact of Microcredit Lending

In work with MIT's Abhijit Banerjee, Esther Duflo, and Rachel Glennerster, economist and IPR associate **Cynthia Kinnan** reports on the first randomized evaluation of introducing a standard microcredit lending program in a new market. These lenders, referred to as microfinance institutions (MFIs), supply loans to poor households, targeting mostly women. In 2005, half of 104 areas in Hyderabad, India, were randomly selected to open a branch of Spandana, an MFI. Around 18 months after the introduction of microfinance, 6,850 households were surveyed. Results show that while households in treatment areas were no more likely to start a new business, those who already had a business invested more in them. Three to four years after MFI introduction, when households in treatment areas had been borrowing more for longer periods, the average business was no more profitable, though the largest businesses did benefit. Treatment-area households reduced spending on "temptation goods" such as alcohol, gambling, and snacks. No improvements, however, were found for health, education, and women's empowerment, and other outcomes that microfinance is often believed to affect. The study suggests that while microcredit lending is a valuable part of poor households' portfolios, it does not seem to lead to the miraculous social transformation that some have claimed.

How Job Networks Affect Women

Up to 50 percent of jobs are obtained through the use of informal channels, including employee referrals. Using a field experiment in the African nation of Malawi where men and women applied for future surveyor positions with a local firm, **Beaman** and her colleagues demonstrate that highly skilled women can be disadvantaged through the use of referrals. In an IPR working paper co-authored with Jeremy Magruder of the University of California, Berkeley and Niall Keleher of Innovations for Poverty Action, they demonstrate that this happens both because most men recommend other men—at a rate that cannot fully be explained by the scarcity of women—and because women refer candidates, particularly female ones, who are unqualified for the position. Developing and testing a theoretical model of referral choice, they show that factors outside of the work affect workers' referral choice. The authors also document that the best referrals are brought to the firm when men refer male candidates under a performance-based contract, with evidence suggesting that information about female candidates is limited in men's networks. These observations show that informal hiring processes can lead to distinct job market disadvantages for women, implying that some of the easiest policy responses, for instance, improving women's skills and knowledge, might not be enough to eliminate the gender gap in wages. Beaman plans to conduct a follow-up experiment to explore additional underlying mechanisms, such as testing the observation that women might be referring less qualified women to avoid competitive environments.

Economic Opportunities for Women

More than 75 percent of the world's poor do not have a formal bank account, constraining their ability to save, borrow, and otherwise engage in financial operations that could improve their lives. Organizations are creating savings groups in developing nations as a way to meet such untapped needs. **Beaman** was part of a group of cross-disciplinary researchers who conducted a large-scale randomized control experiment of a community savings program in rural Mali, West Africa. Oxfam's Saving for Change (SfC) program integrates villager-managed saving and lending groups with local training and education. The program was offered to a random sample of 250 villages in Mali's Ségou region. Results show that women offered SfC in their village took out twice as many loans from their SfC program, saved about 30 percent more, and had less precarious food situations than those in non-SfC villages. They were also slightly less likely to seek loans from family and friends, a culturally shameful act.

Child Poverty Crisis in California

Social policy professor and IPR associate **Dan Lewis** and **Kendra Alexander**, an IPR graduate research assistant, recently completed a report assessing child poverty in California as part of a conference convened by GRACE, a nonprofit associated with the Daughters of Charity. In their report, Lewis and Alexander conclude that tax credits, universal access to pre-kindergarten programs, and comprehensive local programs addressing job placement, mental health, medical care, nutrition, and social services, should form the basis of California's anti-poverty agenda if it hopes to succeed. It was presented on December 16 at "California's Crisis: Ending Child Poverty," where nearly 250 representatives from government, businesses, and nonprofit organizations gathered to discuss the major causes of structural poverty, analyze and formulate responses to these problems, and plan how to implement the recommended responses. Marian Wright Edelman, founder and president of the Children's Defense Fund, gave a keynote talk.

A Majority-Minority America

The racial and ethnic diversity of the United States is rapidly increasing, such that racial and ethnic minorities are expected to comprise more than 50 percent of the U.S. population by 2042, effectively creating a so-called "majority-minority" nation. With Northwestern graduate student Maureen Craig, also a dissertation fellow at the American Bar Foundation, **Richeson** examines how white Americans react to information about the impending population changes. In a series of experiments, they present consistent evidence that exposure to information about shifting U.S. racial demographics evokes the expression of more implicit and explicit racial bias and a greater tendency to endorse political conservatism. These are brought about by

a perception that increases in racial minorities' societal status will reduce white Americans' influence in society. The effects suggest that rather than ushering in a more tolerant future, the increasing national diversity could actually yield more intergroup hostility and have untold influence on white Americans' political participation both now and in the decades to come. Richeson and Craig point to the way the media and institutions frame the demographic shift, for instance by lumping all non-white groups together, as exacerbating the concern felt by whites.

Revisiting the Black Middle Class

Sociologist and IPR associate **Mary Pattillo** recently released the second edition of her groundbreaking book *Black Picket Fences: Privilege and Peril Among the Black Middle Class*—one of only a few ethnographic studies of a black middle-class neighborhood. In the 2013 edition (University of Chicago Press), she revisited the same topics discussed in the 1999 original—namely the economy, crime, and housing—and put them in context with the economic downturn and the foreclosure crisis. She also updated the book with new interview data, offering descriptive demographics to re-examine the trajectories of Groveland's residents and the neighborhood as a whole. With this second edition, Pattillo furthers her thought-provoking work on the black middle class, which continues to be relevant as middle-class blacks still live in neighborhoods that are much more disadvantaged than their white counterparts—even as they move to the suburbs in large numbers. Pattillo is Harold Washington Professor of Sociology and African American Studies.

Fostering Positive Interracial Interactions

As the United States becomes increasingly diverse, **Richeson** and her colleagues continue to investigate how intergroup contact will shape interactions between whites and other racial minorities, particularly as past research suggests interracial contact is a stressful experience for all races. In work with Northwestern psychologist Daniel Molden and other colleagues, Richeson is setting out a model for how such interracial interactions can unfold more smoothly for participants of all races. In previous work, the researchers reviewed three motivational mindsets and how they might foster better contact between people of different races. Drawn from the psychology literature, the three mindsets were “approach-avoidance,” “prevention-promotion,” and “performance vs. learning goals.” For each of these, the more positive strategies of approach, promotion, and learning goals were seen as more likely to lead to positive interactions, thus avoiding the cognitive and interpersonal costs often observed. Building on the model and based on a previous experiment that successfully taught participants how to implement a positive strategy of interracial contact, Richeson is currently working on several projects that would further elucidate how Americans could engage in more rewarding contact with a person of a different race or ethnicity. The project receives support from the National Science Foundation.

Maintaining Racial Inequality with a Few Racists?

IPR social demographer **Quincy Thomas Stewart** is writing a book that scrutinizes the history of racial inequality since Jim Crow and the social organizations involved in maintaining black-white inequities. Tentatively titled “How Many Racists? How Everyday People Contribute to a System of Social Inequality,” it sheds new light on historical evidence indicating that a large number of racist advocates is needed to maintain institutional inequalities. Additionally, it contextualizes recent research which points to a significant decline in the number of people who hold racist beliefs that has not been paralleled by a similar decline in racial inequality—a fact that refutes the idea that the number of racists is what counts. Using an agent-based model of a Nash Bargaining game, which is a simple two-person bargaining model, Stewart's investigation demonstrates that a system inspired by biased social institutions, even though they are administered or used by nonbiased (nonracist) individuals, can maintain racial inequality with a few, or even no, racists. The book will focus on the social dynamics that lead to the emergence of racial inequality in an artificial society, the actors and factors that sustain it once it is established, and the policies that can be used to undermine racial inequality.



IPR social demographer Quincy Thomas Stewart studies how racial inequality is maintained and perpetuated.

Signaling Racial Identity

While the magnitude of current racial disparities in educational achievement is clear and widely accepted, the source is not. One theory suggests that many minority students are socially marginalized and face a unique signaling quandary. This means that African American students must act in ways that “signal” to their black peers that they are “black enough,” while signaling to the larger society that they are “white enough” to be American. In a project with Rachele Winkle-Wagner of the University of Wisconsin–Madison, **Stewart** examines this using an agent-based model and qualitative data from a larger study of the college experiences of African American undergraduate women. The model analyzes the social psychological mechanisms embedded in the signaling quandary, while the qualitative study assesses how, and to what extent, black college women experience the quandary. Their results suggest that their experiences are unique. The women in the qualitative study felt the need to simultaneously signal their racial identity to white and black peers using several widely recognized behaviors that often conflicted with one another. The researchers did not find, though, that the signaling quandary was related to an anti-intellectual culture in the black community or to low achievement among black college women.

Racial Disparities in Educational Achievement

Research has documented vast disparities in the well-being of native-born and foreign-born blacks in the United States, with foreign-born blacks often faring better in an array of social outcomes. Prior research, however, has singularly focused on native and immigrant disparities among blacks and failed to consider how race and immigrant status work together to shape racial inequality. **Stewart** is working with Northwestern graduate student Jordan Conwell to shed light on how race and being an immigrant might shape children’s educational achievement and their experiences of racial inequality in school. Using data from the Early Childhood Longitudinal Program, the two researchers will use a growth curve analysis to assess this. Given the longstanding argument that black American culture drives disparities in educational achievement, their work seeks to demonstrate whether immigrant-born blacks do exhibit racial disparities in achievement. And if so, are such educational outcomes truly distinct from those of U.S.-born blacks?

Segregation and Educational Attainment

Using data drawn from the Panel Study of Income Dynamics and several U.S. censuses, IPR sociologist **Lincoln Quillian** examined the effects of racial and economic residential segregation on high school and college completion rates. Quillian contrasted outcomes for youth raised in different metropolitan areas with varying levels of segregation to incorporate the effects of residential segregation outside

of the individuals’ neighborhoods. His analysis showed that income-driven segregation is associated with lower high school graduation rates among adolescents from poor backgrounds, but has no effect on graduation rates for students from more affluent backgrounds. Likewise, black–white segregation is associated with lower high school graduation rates and lower college enrollment for black students, with no effect on rates for white students. The study, which is forthcoming in *Social Problems*, suggests that while residential segregation harms the educational attainment of disadvantaged children, it does not significantly increase educational attainment for more advantaged children.

Race-Conscious Affirmative Action

Sociologists **Anthony Chen** of IPR and Lisa Stulberg of New York University have dug into university archives around the country to fill out current understanding of how race-conscious affirmative action programs came to be instituted. Their most recent work examines how concerns about racial inequality in public education—many of which still exist today—contributed to early affirmative action programs. They document the creation of these programs in 17 different schools, finding that race-conscious affirmative action was first adopted by a set of Northern schools and universities led by administrators who were inspired by civil rights protests against Jim Crow segregation in the South. A second wave of programs were later adopted by many of the nation’s highly selective institutions in response to campus-based student protests, suggesting that their creation was largely due to a ripple effect from the Southern-based, church-led civil rights movement. The article appeared in *Sociology of Education*.

Urban Black Students Bussed to Affluent Schools

In research published in *Sociology of Education*, social policy professor and IPR associate **Simone Ispa-Landa** conducted a study of the “Diversify” program, an urban-to-suburban racial integration program, to examine how gender politics and gender performance can have an impact on the way the minority students were seen at the school. Black boys in Ispa-Landa’s study found themselves simultaneously feeding into stereotypes that made them seem “street smart” or “tough.” They also switched their speech and mannerisms to make their white counterparts feel more comfortable. However, while black boys could use these stereotypes to their advantage, the black girls in the study reported feeling penalized for doing the same. The girls also felt excluded from the sports and activities that might have provided them with a higher social status. The study received widespread media coverage from many outlets, including *The Washington Post*, *The Atlantic*, and *The Huffington Post*.



C2S Workshops Allow Faculty to Present Research in Early Stages
IPR social demographer Christine Percheski (right) explains how family structure affects healthcare.

RESEARCH TOPICS:

- Social disparities, stress, and health
- Intergenerational perspectives on health disparities
- Effects of early environments on health trajectories
- Families, interpersonal relationships, and health
- Biomarker development and deployment

C2S Faculty Workshops Launched

Over the year, C2S launched a new, informal workshop series to promote discussion of and feedback for early and ongoing research projects. Five IPR C2S faculty presented their research over the year: For instance, topics discussed were health and human capital for 2,000 Chicago-born males by **Joseph Ferrie**, economist and IPR associate, and another on family structure and children’s healthcare by IPR social demographer **Christine Percheski**. The series is designed to bring together faculty from different disciplines to discuss and critique work.

Research Labs and Centers

In an effort to better understand how social disparities and health interact across the lifespan, C2S faculty have established five research labs across Northwestern. These labs are pushing research forward by investigating the links between the biological, medical, and social sciences with human outcomes and development. They also provide opportunities for students to engage in faculty research projects.

IPR biological anthropologist **Thomas McDade**, also director of C2S, founded and runs the Laboratory for Human Biology Research, which houses 1,500 square feet of wet-lab space and data-analysis tools. The laboratory is one of a handful in

the country that is fully equipped to support high-capacity analysis of biomarkers in human blood, saliva, and urine, as well as assessing body composition, energy expenditure, and cardiovascular function.

IPR health psychologists **Edith Chen** and **Greg Miller** launched the Foundations of Health Research Center in 2013 to study psychosocial and biological pathways in adults and children. They seek to link the social world to disease outcomes by asking questions like how relationships affect a person’s immune system. The family-friendly space accommodates confidential in-office interviews and health screenings. A state-of-the-art lab processes biological samples and data. Two National Institutes of Health (NIH) R01 grants support the research center.

IPR social psychologist **Jennifer Richeson** leads the Northwestern Social Perceptions and Communications Laboratory. The lab aims to study the ways in which social group memberships, such as race and gender, have an impact on the way people think, feel, and behave. In particular, lab members investigate prejudice and stereotyping from the perspectives of those groups who have traditionally been on the receiving end of them, as well as the groups who typically initiate such contact or actions. Through the development of these research streams, they hope to create a better understanding of diverse environments. Richeson holds the MacArthur Chair.

IPR psychologist and early cognition expert **Sandra Waxman** directs the Project on Child Development, a developmental laboratory that welcomes parents and their children from birth

to age 6. Projects focus on how infants and young children acquire language and how they acquire core cognitive capacities, and how these two come together in the developing mind. The lab offers a warm, home-like space for participating parents and their young children. Waxman holds the Louis W. Menk Chair.

IPR psychobiologist **Emma Adam** examines the associations between stress, stress hormones, sleep, and executive functioning. Though much of her research is about implementing investigations in the field and collecting real-time data through diary studies, technology, and spit kits, she also runs a laboratory that stores and processes salivary biomarkers to track various human functions.

Human Language and Cognition

A study published in the *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* about how babies respond to lemur calls and human speech sheds light on the origin of the link between human thought and speech. Previous studies have indicated that even in infants too young to speak, listening to human speech supports core cognitive processes, including the formation of object categories. Lead author Alissa Ferry, a former Northwestern graduate student now a postdoctoral student at the International School for Advanced Studies in Italy, Northwestern psychologist Susan Hespos, and **Waxman** studied how 72 infants responded to human, lemur (near-human), and mechanical (non-human) calls. Their much-reported findings reveal that at 3 and 4 months, infants processed lemur calls much in the same way as they did human speech. By 6 months, however, the infants' cognitive antennae were most attuned to human language and less receptive to the others. Thus, over a short period, the infant mind rapidly learned to identify the signals from their language and then systematically linked them to meanings. This study implies that learning alone does not fully explain the point at which language and categorization first come together.

Waxman is also working on several new studies to shed more light on how cognition and language are linked in very young children's minds. This includes a study of whether children aged 2 and under learn nouns before verbs. The main finding published in *Child Development Perspectives* is that before 24 months, infants learning any language can successfully and robustly map novel nouns to objects, but mapping verbs to events is more variable and is dependent on their native language and the linguistic context surrounding their learning of verbs. This finding sheds new light on the long-standing debate of whether infants' learning nouns more rapidly than verbs is universal or specific to their native language—and it calls for a paradigm shift in research. For future studies, Waxman and her colleagues suggest that researchers should seek to include children 24 months old and younger in their experiments. Characterizing languages as either “noun friendly” or “verb friendly” should also be avoided, instead adopting a more nuanced treatment of the properties of each language and the consequences of these properties on infants' acquisition of linguistic structure and meaning.

ABOUT THE PROGRAM



Thomas McDade, Chair

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

Disadvantaged Youth and Asthma

Why do socially and economically disadvantaged youth have worse asthma outcomes? **Chen** and her colleagues in the Foundations of Health Research Center seek to detect multi-level contributors to asthma disparities in 8- to 17-year-olds by identifying social, physical, and environmental factors at neighborhood and family levels, as well as individual psychological factors, that can contribute to the disease and its progression. At the same time, the researchers are attempting to link these factors to multiple levels of human biology—organs, cells, and genes—to create plausible explanations of how broader contextual factors can alter biological pathways that lead to worse cases of clinical asthma in young people. NIH's National Heart, Lung, and Blood Institute provides funding for the project.

Resilience and Role Models

In a study published in *Child Development*, **Chen** and her colleagues are the first to test if positive role models and “shift-and-persist” approaches could protect at-risk youth from cardiovascular disease later in life. Such approaches allow individuals to “shift” by discovering ways to adapt to stressful situations and “persist” by finding the optimism to hold on to long-term goals. The researchers interviewed 163 13- to 16-year-olds and one of their caregivers from a variety of different social and economic backgrounds about the youths' role models and shift-and-persist measures. At the same time, the researchers

took blood samples from participants to assess risk factors for cardiovascular disease, including cholesterol levels and the inflammatory markers interleukin-6 (IL-6) and C-reactive protein (CRP). Those youth from low-socioeconomic-status (SES) backgrounds who described having supportive role models had lower levels of IL-6, as did those high in shift-and-persist strategies. Shift-and-persist strategies partially mediated the interaction between SES and role models on IL-6. No benefits were found for those from higher-SES backgrounds. The study results suggest that shifting and persisting must occur together for youth from low-SES backgrounds to reap potential physiological and health benefits, and that teaching such “self-strategies” to low-income youth could constitute an effective, long-term approach to reducing health disparities.

“Skin-Deep” Resilience

Children exposed to social and economic adversity early in life show increased susceptibility to the chronic diseases of aging as adults. In ongoing research, **Miller** and a team of psychologists, pediatricians, and geneticists have been studying a group of 489 African American teenagers living in rural Georgia, most of whom are from working-poor families. While all of them are at risk for the usual negative outcomes often associated with being poor and black, as well as living in the rural South, a significant number of them exhibit resilience: They do well in school, maintain good mental health, and stay out of trouble with the law. Miller and his colleagues, who include **Chen**, recently asked whether this resilience also extends to physical health. It turns out that the resilience is only “skin deep.” Those youth doing well behaviorally, academically, and emotionally show worse health outcomes in a number of ways. In comparison with their peers, they tend to be more obese, have higher blood pressure, and seem more stressed, as evidenced by elevated production of certain hormones. In fact, their health looks worse than those among them who are poor and not doing well socioemotionally. The researchers published an article on

these first findings in *Psychological Science* and are in the midst of trying to understand the negative impact of “social mobility” on health. The Eunice Kennedy Shriver National Institute of Child Health and Human Development (NICHD) and the National Institute on Drug Abuse provided research funding.

Living with HIV

Celeste Watkins-Hayes, a sociologist and African American studies scholar, continues work on her research project to document how women of different racial, ethnic, and socioeconomic backgrounds negotiate living with an HIV diagnosis. She gave one of the keynote talks at the annual conference of the Women’s Research Initiative on HIV/AIDS in April, sponsored by The Well Project. In it, Watkins-Hayes discussed her Health, Hardship, and Renewal (HHR) Study, which is supported by grants from the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation and the National Science Foundation. For the study, now in its fifth year, she and her team are interviewing more than 100 HIV-positive African American women in the Chicago area. The interviews explore how the women acquire and use economic resources and the disease’s impact on their daily living, health management, and social well-being. The researchers also investigate the role of nonprofits and government institutions that help the women cope, with part of the HHR study examining Chicago-area AIDS service providers to determine how they are helping the women to respond. The study is highlighting the socioeconomic consequences of HIV/AIDS for an urban, female population, and it seeks to inform policymakers, healthcare providers, and others on how to address the epidemic.

Obesity Paradox and Diabetes

While some studies of heart diseases and chronic kidney failure have found solid evidence for the obesity paradox, where leaner individuals die of certain diseases at higher rates than their heavier peers, it is less certain for diabetes. Epidemiologist and IPR associate **Mercedes Carnethon** and her co-author set out to test how much of a role adult weight plays in the risk for dying from diabetes by examining 18 longitudinal studies published between 1991–2013. In their *Diabetes and Cardiovascular Disease* article, they find that 13 of the studies demonstrate that mortality was lowest for those overweight—and that thinner adults died more frequently overall, specifically from cardiovascular disease and especially for adults aged 65 and up. This provides evidence of an obesity paradox for diabetes and calls for more research to explain these higher death rates and to identify effective strategies to manage diabetes as well as the associated mortality risk.



From left: IPR C2S faculty Lindsay Chase-Lansdale, Greg Miller, and Chris Kuzawa drill into findings after a talk on cognitive development.

Heritability of Educational Attainment

Using a meta-analysis of globally diverse samples, IPR sociologist **Jeremy Freese** and Northwestern graduate students Amelia Branigan and Kenneth McCallum consider how genetic differences might influence educational attainment in various environmental contexts in a *Social Forces* article that was originally an IPR working paper. Their results indicate that for men and those individuals born in the latter half of the 20th century, genetic variation explains more of the variance in attainment, whereas shared environment explains more of the variance in attainment for women and those born in the earlier half. Their findings demonstrate that the heritability of educational attainment is itself dependent on environment, suggesting that variables such as a person's nation of origin, gender, and year of birth influence how much genetic and environmental factors come to explain variation in educational attainment. Freese is Ethel and John Lindgren Professor of Sociology.

Exploring Environment and Human Health Links

Recent findings suggest that nearly three-quarters of the risk for developing chronic diseases and cancers is due to environmental factors, which covers interactions between our environment and our genes. The environment's role, however, in disease etiology remains largely unknown. New discovery-based approaches are critically needed to better characterize the human "exposome." While it is not currently possible to measure all chemicals in the human body in single experiments, important classes of chemicals can be targeted using discovery-based approaches. IPR associate **William Funk** and colleagues define a new biomarker discovery strategy using protein "adduct" (*addition product*) profiles as molecular fingerprints of exposure to environmental stressors. By comparing adduct profiles across populations with different types of health or exposure, it should be possible to zero in on particular adducts and key precursor molecules.

Neonatal Health and Development

An IPR working paper by economists **David Figlio** and **Jonathan Guryan** and their colleagues makes use of a new data resource—merged birth and school records for all children born in Florida from 1992–2002—to study the effects of birth weight on cognitive development from kindergarten through high school. They find effects of birth weight on cognitive development for single births and in twin comparisons—and that these remain constant over the children's schooling. The researchers also demonstrate that these effects are very similar across many family background factors, including parents' levels of education, income, age, race/ethnicity, immigrant status, etc., and that they are invariant to measures of school quality. This leads them to conclude that the effects of poor neonatal health on adult outcomes are set very early. The other co-authors are

IPR postdoctoral fellow **Krzysztof Karbownik** and Jeffrey Roth of the University of Florida. Figlio is Orrington Lunt Professor of Education and Social Policy and IPR director. The paper is forthcoming in *American Economic Review*.

Birth Weight and Breast-Feeding

In an IPR working paper, a team of IPR C2S researchers examine links between breast-feeding, birth weight, and chronic inflammation, which is an indicator of increased risk for heart attack and diabetes, for nearly 7,000 24- to 32-year-olds. The researchers hypothesize that birth weight and how long an individual was breast-fed might determine levels of C-reactive protein (CRP)—a biomarker of chronic inflammation in adults and a risk factor for heart disease. Using National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health (Add Health) data, **McDade** and co-authors, including IPR faculty **Adam** and **Craig Garfield**, uncover dramatic disparities. More educated mothers, whites, and Hispanics were more likely to breast-feed. They also show that both lower birth weights and shorter periods of breast-feeding predicted higher CRP levels in young adults, and thus higher disease risk. A study innovation is the use of sibling comparison models, which control for many of the factors that might bias previous estimates of these impacts on adult health outcomes. The research indicates that efforts to promote breast-feeding and improve birth outcomes might have clinically relevant effects on reducing levels of chronic inflammation and lowering risk for cardiovascular and metabolic diseases in adulthood.

Birth Weight and Health Outcomes

IPR anthropologist **Christopher Kuzawa** continues to be involved in a unique global collaboration that pools data from five large birth cohorts in Brazil, Guatemala, India, the Philippines, and South Africa—known as the Consortium of Health-Oriented Research in Transitional Societies (COHORTS). These studies have the explicit goal of informing policy related to early life nutritional supplementation in transitional economy settings. In *Pediatrics*, he and his fellow researchers published a study that examines links between a mother's height and her child's growth over four key periods of development: birth, age 2, age 2 to mid-childhood (around ages 4 to 9), and then mid-childhood to adulthood. They studied 4,518 adult participants and their mothers across the five countries, revealing remarkably similar results between the countries—even with large differences in the occurrence of pre-term and low-weight births. Their key result is that children who are born either premature or at term, but small, tend to be shorter as adults and do slightly worse in school when compared with the healthy-weight, full-term babies in the study. Increased postnatal growth, however, leads to gains in height and schooling regardless of birth status, but not the potentially unhealthy increases in blood pressure or blood glucose levels found in highly industrialized settings. These results are encouraging for programs that seek to improve nutrition for children in their first two to three years of life.

Maternal Nutrition and Birth Outcomes

In the ongoing Cebu Study in the Philippines, **Kuzawa** is leading an effort to track the third generation of children born in the study and use the more than 30 years of collected longitudinal data for each mother to illustrate how her nutritional experiences can affect fetal growth and the birth weight of her children. Supported by NIH, Kuzawa and his team of researchers completed a pilot study in 2013. In it, they studied the structure, function, and epigenetic state of placentas collected in a subsample of these pregnancies. Some of their early data reveal that grandmothers' diets are better predictors of their grandchildren's health than those of the children's mothers. Higher birth weights and better health were seen in those children whose grandmothers had consumed more calories when pregnant with their mothers, suggesting intergenerational effects of diet on the grandchildren's birth outcomes.

Contexts of Fatherhood

Humans are among the rare mammals in which fathers are involved in rearing offspring, which recent work suggests has left its mark on male biology and behavior. **Kuzawa** is adding to a growing body of work on the topic, including how testosterone influences male mating and fatherhood. He has partnered with many colleagues, including Lee Gettler, a former IPR graduate research assistant now at the University of Notre Dame, and IPR's **McDade**. In 2013, Kuzawa received a new grant from the National Science Foundation to extend the study of biology and social context of fatherhood. Building on prior longitudinal data from the Cebu Study, the research team will follow male cohort members, now 30 to 31 years old, for follow-up hormone analysis. They will also gather more in-depth information on relationship quality, child development, and patterns of childcare within the household. The researchers aim to provide a better understanding of the role that fathers play in their children's upbringing, as well as the social and family factors that influence how much fathers get involved. They also hope to evaluate how hormonal changes, such as declining testosterone levels, affect behaviors that could contribute to a couple's relationship stability and their child's development. The researchers published several articles over the year using data from the study, including how responsiveness to the hormones progesterone and estrogen affects father-toddler interactions in the *American Journal of Human Biology*.

Autism and Early Intervention

Using the same Florida data set, **Figlio** and his colleagues, including IPR graduate research assistant **Claudia Persico**, are conducting a first-ever, population-level study of early-intervention effects on children with autism spectrum disorders. While many small-scale studies have evaluated the effects of autism treatment X versus treatment Y in early childhood, this is the first

quasi-experiment designed specifically to examine the effects of being diagnosed and treated early. Their study evaluates Early Steps, a statewide early diagnosis and intervention program. Researchers measured the effect distance had for families visiting one of the 18 centers, learning that children living in the same community as a center were twice as likely to receive early services than those more than 30 miles away. Their study reveals that autistic children who are diagnosed and receive interventions and help by the age of 3 perform dramatically better in school later on. They score substantially better on standardized tests and are far less likely to engage in behaviors that could lead to being suspended from school. These results indicate the very positive role for early detection and intervention for children with autism-spectrum or related disabilities.

Intellectual Disability, Autism, and Language

Fragile X syndrome (FXS) and Down syndrome (DS) are the two leading genetic causes of intellectual disability, and FXS is the most common known genetic condition associated with autism. Both are associated with significant language impairment, but little is known about developmental changes in expressive language across domains over time, or the role of autism symptoms on language development in FXS. IPR associate **Molly Losh**, Hoffman Associate Professor of Communication Sciences and Disorders, and her colleagues compare three domains of language production—vocabulary, syntax, pragmatics—over time within and across groups of boys with FXS both with and without autism spectrum disorder; boys with DS, and typically developing boys. Expressive language skills and growth across various domains, they find, are more impaired in boys with FXS and DS than would be expected based on non-verbal mental age; for boys with DS, syntax is more impaired than expected based on intellectual disability; and autism status disproportionately affects pragmatic language in boys with FXS. Their results indicate that different domains of language production are critical to assess, revealing a need to consider autism status in evaluating language profiles and tailoring interventions.



Michael Kobor of the University of British Columbia lectures on epigenetic variation in human health.



C2S Director Thomas McDade (left) conducts comparative studies of inflammation and stress in diverse human populations.

relating them to stress and health biomarkers. The researchers have 20 years of data from adolescence to early adulthood that include detailed information on different sources of stress, including race-related stress, plus measures of their family functioning, racial/ethnic identity, and coping mechanisms. In turn, the researchers are examining whether these factors affect how their genes register stress and levels of other stress-sensitive biological measures when reaching adulthood. Additionally, the study includes a seven-day diary study to capture how their perceptions of daily discrimination relate to levels of the cortisol stress hormone and sleep quality. It also launched an experimental protocol to examine how the participants physically react to race-related stress. Initial results reveal that both being African American and having a cumulative history of feeling discriminated against are associated with flatter and lower cortisol diurnal rhythms, a sign of chronic stress, in early adulthood. Discrimination histories alone, however, do not fully explain the racial-ethnic disparities in cortisol. NIH established the “Grand Opportunities” grants under the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act to support ideas that could lay the foundation for new fields of investigation. It is hoped that the resulting research will have a high short-term impact and enable growth and investment in the fields of biomedical R&D, public health, or healthcare delivery.

Racial Disparities in Causes of Death

IPR social demographer **Quincy Thomas Stewart** continues his investigation of racial disparities in mortality across the life course. In one project, he is examining significant racial disparities in hypertension, which is one of the leading causes of death for blacks. With Carla Keirns of Stony Brook University, he uses data from two linked mortality databases, the National Health and Nutrition Examination Survey III from 1988–1994 and the National Health Interview Survey from 1986–1996, to analyze the relationship between race, the probability of having one’s cause of death diagnosed as hypertension, and various social, economic, and health-related characteristics. Preliminary results reveal that blacks are one and a half times as likely as whites to have their causes of death reported as resulting from hypertension across the adult life course. They also show that the increased odds of labeling a black death as hypertension are only partially related to pre-existing reports of high blood pressure, high cholesterol levels, and diabetes, as well as subjective health status, body-mass index, socioeconomic status, and the exact location and region of death. These results suggest statistical discrimination in cause-of-death diagnoses whereby similar black and white males receive different death diagnoses.

Perceived Discrimination and Health

In a project supported by an NIH “Grand Opportunities” award, **Adam** and her colleagues are attempting to understand how young people’s perceptions of racial/ethnic discrimination can be understood by chronicling their perceptions over time—and

Skin Color and Discrimination

In the slave-owning South, lighter-color (mulatto) slaves, who were often biologically related to their owners, typically received preferential treatment over slaves with darker skin. Such preferential treatment has been found to persist in early 20th-century outcomes, but does skin color still matter today? In a *Social Science Research* article, a team of researchers, including Branigan, **Freese**, and **McDade**, assess how skin color affects education for black and white men and women since the Civil Rights era. They use data from the Coronary Artery Risk Development in Young Adults (CARDIA) Study, which offers 20 years of background data and a continuous, more precise measure of skin color, or spectrophotometry (instead of self-reports), that records the percentage of light reflected off skin. For black men and women, they find those with lighter skin do better in terms of education. Given that white female and black male and female participants register approximately the same magnitude of association between skin color and educational attainment, this suggests a need for more research. It could be that ethnic white women are also experiencing discrimination based on appearance. For white men, any relationship between skin color and attainment is tenuous, with analyses suggesting that differences result from family background. These findings suggest that “white” has been typically dealt with as a blanket category, and more research is needed to better understand discrimination on the basis of skin color for blacks and whites.

Embodied Cognition and Guilt

How does one confront past atrocities, such as the Armenian Genocide, the Rape of Nanking, and the recent chemical weapons attack in Syria, when you are a member of the group deemed responsible for propagating the misdeeds? Research has shown that when confronted with such acts, the perpetrators—and members of their group including their descendants—frequently engage in victim-blaming, minimizing the harm done, and even outright denial. While these reactions serve to psychologically buffer the “blamed” members from feelings of guilt, they also pose a serious roadblock to trying to educate people about adverse events from their group’s shared history and to offering apologies and reparations. **Richeson** and IPR graduate research assistant **Katie Rotella** published an article in the *Journal of Experimental Psychology* that examines how subtle inductions of guilt shape responses to personal and group wrongdoing. They led an experiment using embodied cognition, where they manipulated participants’ body postures. Embodied cognition is how physical expressions, such as giving a thumbs-up or frowning, can affect how people feel and process information. In the study, they ran two experiments. In the first, they tested personal guilt by randomly assigning participants to either a posture of guilt or of pride—and then asked them to hold the pose while reading an ambiguous first-person account of an act of wrongdoing. They then had the participants fill out a questionnaire in which they reported about how guilty they felt about the act of wrongdoing and if they felt compensation was needed. A similar second experiment tested if embodying a guilt posture could shape levels of collective rather than personal guilt regarding an act of wrongdoing. The research provides strong evidence that embodiment can induce feelings of guilt reparative intentions. Specifically, holding a guilt posture increases feelings of collective national guilt in response to wrongdoing that then makes participants more approving of symbolic and financial reparations.

Effect of Financial Debt on Health

Household financial debt in America has risen dramatically in recent years. In *Social Science and Medicine*, former IPR associate **Elizabeth Sweet**, now at the University of Massachusetts, Boston, **Arijit Nandi** of McGill University, **Adam**, and **McDade** are among the first to investigate the impact that financial debt could have on a person’s mental and physical health. The researchers examined self-reports of debt and health for more than 8,400 24- to 32-year-olds in Add Health. Those with high levels of self-reported financial debt (who would remain in debt even if they sold all their assets) also reported being more stressed and depressed, in addition to reporting worse health and a higher diastolic blood pressure, an indicator of hypertension. Even after controlling for several health and demographic factors, including prior socioeconomic status, the findings remained significant. The results suggest that debt is an important socioeconomic determinant of health.

Health Benefits of Volunteer Work

New evidence points to physical and mental health benefits in teens who volunteer, which led to an “Advice for Patients on Adolescent Volunteering” in addition to an article in *JAMA Pediatrics*. The evidence came from a randomized study of 100 high school students in British Columbia, published in the same issue and co-authored by **Chen**, Hannah Schreier of New York University, and Kimberly Schonert-Reichl of the University of British Columbia. The students signed up to volunteer in an after-school program at a nearby elementary school. Half were assigned to start immediately, the other half were assigned to start the following semester. All 100 of the student volunteers underwent a battery of cardiovascular risk assessments at the beginning and at the end of the intervention period. Those students who had been volunteering exhibited lower levels of cardiovascular risk, such as lower cholesterol levels, than those still waiting to volunteer. This is the first empirical study revealing that regular volunteering can improve risk markers for cardiovascular disease. These findings offer a novel way to improve health while contributing to society.

Measuring Inflammation

Inflammation is an important part of normal immune function, but excessive or dysregulated inflammation contributes to the course of many diseases. It is important to measure how social and ecological factors over the life course affect the regulation of inflammation, but this is most often done by puncturing a vein with a needle for blood samples. In joint work, **Miller** and **McDade** focus on dried blood spots (DBS)—drops of whole blood collected from a simple finger stick—as a minimally invasive, cost-effective alternative to collecting samples from large numbers of study participants. McDade has already pioneered DBS methods for measuring proteins that are involved with inflammation. Now, the pair wants to extend this work down to the molecular level to determine if it can also be used to measure the activity of genes (RNA) and processes that regulate them (DNA methylation). In this work, the DBS approach to molecular work will be assessed for precision and reliability—and evaluated against the gold standard of venipuncture methods. The development of such methods for quantifying gene expression and DNA methylation will facilitate future community-based research on inflammation. It has the potential to advance scientific understanding of inflammation as a key pathway through which social environments contribute to health over the life course. NICHD provided project funding.

Infant Environments, Inflammation, and Stress

Current understanding of inflammation and its role in pathways to disease is based almost exclusively on research conducted in clinical settings in affluent industrialized populations like the United States. **McDade** and his colleagues are leading an effort to

conduct community-based research in emerging industrialized countries, such as the Philippines and Ecuador. Such studies are confirming that findings from highly industrialized nations cannot be universally applied. To wit, a study published in *Brain, Behavior, and Immunity* examines how psychosocial stressors, such as adult perceptions of stress and childhood adversity, are associated with elevated concentrations of C-reactive protein (CRP) for 1,622 young Filipinos. In particular, McDade and his fellow researchers consider how the participants' contact with germs and what they ate as infants affects links between stressors and CRP in adulthood. The regression models reveal significant interactions between perceived stress and three factors: the infants' physical environment (including exposure to animal feces), the season in which they were born, and their weight at birth. For those children who suffer childhood adversity, measured as the absence of a parent in this study, they see higher levels of CRP in adulthood, but not for those children who were exposed to non-hygienic environments as infants. This suggests, as does their previous research in Ecuador, that children who grow up in "more hygienic" environments or suffer from a lack of prenatal nutrition as indicated by low birth weights—no matter the country—have more inflammation as adults. These results indicate that early environments shape the regulatory networks of young adults and thus their biological responses to stress. This and other studies underscore why it is valuable to use a comparative, developmental approach in research on social environments, inflammation, and disease.

Inflammation and Depression

In industrialized nations like the United States where there is little infectious disease and a "cleaner" environment, depression is linked with chronic inflammation. Yet in countries where inhabitants are exposed to more bacteria and microbes, less is known about this link. Again using data from the Cebu Study, **McDade** and his colleagues measured the inflammation markers CRP and IL-6 in two samples of 20- to 22-year-olds and 35- to 69-year-old women. The results reveal low concentrations of

both, with no statistical significance found for a link between depressive symptoms and inflammation in either sample. Based on prior research, the researchers interpret the results as an indication that when infants are exposed to more microbes and germs, such exposures lead to long-lasting effects on how a person's body regulates inflammation—and the lack of an interaction between the two possibly severs any connection between depression and inflammation in adulthood.

Measuring Teen Stress

Most measures of stress do not capture the different sources of stress in adolescents' lives, including poverty, discrimination, and neighborhood stress, as well as family, peer, and academic stressors. In the Cities' Stress and Learning Project, **Adam, Chen,** and Kathryn Grant of DePaul University are developing and validating a new, comprehensive measure of adolescent stress. They are implementing it in a study of more than 300 Chicago students, 11 to 18 years old. Their assessment battery integrates student and parent questionnaires, one-on-one interviews, daily diary entries, and objective measures of sleep and stress biology. Much of this measurement is being carried out during full days of onsite testing with the adolescents, but the effects of everyday stress on daily functioning are also captured in a four-day diary study for 130 youth. Adam seeks to understand links between teens' stress and academic performance by examining what types of stressors trigger stress hormones, and in turn, how stress hormones affect cognitive functioning. To test this, iPads and iPods are being used to test teens' cognitive functioning in the laboratory and at home. Some preliminary results include validation of a new stress reactivity task, a modified version of the Trier Social Stress Task, in which individual students give speeches in front of a panel of judges, which can be done for up to eight students at a time and can be used to help understand physical and emotional health outcomes. They also have examined bullying and depression for lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) youth, with initial results indicating that bullying has a larger effect on LGBTQ youth than their heterosexual peers. An NIH grant supports the project.

Social Influences on Early Adult Stress Biomarkers

In this NIH-funded project, **Adam** is collaborating with **McDade**, IPR developmental psychologist **Lindsay Chase-Lansdale**, IPR social psychologist **Thomas Cook** and IPR affiliate and economist **Greg Duncan** on using the nationally representative Add Health study to examine whether stressors experienced during the adolescent and adult years are predictive of stress-related biomarkers in young adulthood. In particular, the project aims to examine whether changes in stress-related biomarkers as a result of chronic stress might help explain the emergence of socioeconomic and racial/ethnic health disparities. A number of findings have emerged, including that exposure to adverse relationship events in adolescence, including loneliness, loss, low parent warmth, exposure to violence in a romantic



IPR associate Brian Mustanski welcomes participants to the LGBTQ Health and Wellness Conference.

relationship, and romantic relationship instability are associated with worse mental and physical health outcomes in early adulthood. Findings from then-IPR graduate research assistant **Lindsay Till Hoyt**, now a Robert Wood Johnson Health and Society Scholar at the University of California-San Francisco and Berkeley, show that measures of positive well-being in adolescence that include positive mood, high self-esteem, and optimism can predict better health behaviors and young adult health, above and beyond the effects of depression in addition to a wide range of other demographic and adolescent health covariates. More recent findings indicate that chronically low amounts of time spent sleeping (sleep hours) across adolescence and early adulthood can predict increases in risk markers for metabolic diseases, which include obesity, hypertension, and high cholesterol.



Social psychologist and IPR associate Eli Finkel and IPR anthropologist Rebecca Seligman discuss how the institution of marriage has changed.

LGBTQ Health and Wellness

Held the same day as the signing of Illinois' marriage equality bill, the second annual Chicago LGBTQ Health & Wellness Conference took place at Northwestern Memorial Hospital on November 20. Co-organized by Northwestern's IMPACT LGBT Health and Development Program and the Sexual Orientation and Gender Institute, IPR was a co-sponsor. The conference brought 180 researchers, service providers, and students together to focus on translational LGBTQ health research around the theme of Health and Wellness Across the Lifespan. New and complex health issues are emerging for the LGBTQ population, such as LGBTQ youth coming out at earlier ages, the impact of same-sex marriage and co-parenting, and the demographics of the first openly gay seniors. Psychologist **Brian Mustanski**, an IPR associate who leads the center, welcomed the keynote speakers **Lawrence Tabak**, deputy director of the National Institutes of Health, and Columbia University professor **Walter Bockting**, co-director of the LGBT Health Initiative.

Culture in Mental and Physical Illness

IPR anthropologist **Rebecca Seligman's** research continues to raise awareness of the cultural and social factors that shape a people's experiences of mental and physical illness. Over the year, she completed a book manuscript titled "Possessing Spirits and Healing Selves: Embodiment and Transformation in an Afro-Brazilian Religion" (Palgrave MacMillan, forthcoming), an ethnographic study of an urban Afro-Brazilian spirit possession religion. In it, she documents how political, economic, and social conditions shape embodied subjectivities in ways that are instantiated in physiological systems. She explores the mechanisms through which religious participation can improve health and well-being by reshaping such embodied forms of selfhood.

Health Disparities Among Mexican Immigrants

Another of **Seligman's** projects focuses on disparities in mental and physical health among Mexican immigrants in the United States. Her mixed-methods research on diabetes and depression among first- and second-generation Mexican immigrants suggests that in this population, causes of diabetes include various forms of social suffering and emotional distress related to things like noxious living situations, immigration, and gender-based violence. A forthcoming article focuses on how a person's orientation toward self and family affects management of their diabetes, with implications for the development of effective, culturally sensitive medical interventions for Mexican Americans with the disease. She is also working on a new project that investigates the subjective experiences of Mexican adolescents receiving psychiatric care. Mexican youth in the United States are disproportionately vulnerable to depression, anxiety, and suicidal behavior.

Social Context and Sexual Migration

Sociologist and gender studies researcher **Héctor Carrillo**, an IPR associate, spent a year as a Maury Green Fellow at the Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study at Harvard University, where he worked on a book manuscript tentatively titled "Social Context, Sexual Migration, and the Mexican Gay Diaspora." In it, Carrillo describes the results of an ethnographic study of gay, male Mexican migrants who relocated to the United States because of their sexuality. He traces the gay migrants' sexual socialization in Mexico, why they left, and how they meld into gay communities in the United States. He also analyzes how the effect of migrating from Mexico to the United States affects their sexuality and risk for HIV. Carrillo hopes the book will fill gaps in the understanding of transnational mobility, the formation of local gay communities, and global sexual cultures.

Sexual Health as Buzzword

While on a Guggenheim Fellowship, sociologist and IPR associate **Steven Epstein** conducted research for his book manuscript on “sexual health,” an idea that has gone from obscurity to ubiquity during the 21st century. The explosion of discourses, practices, techniques, and industries can be traced in the worlds of public health and biomedicine through the birth of journals, centers of research, professional associations, and training programs around the world. At the same time, the convergence around the specific term masks a remarkable diversity of scientific, political, economic, and cultural agendas. Epstein, who is John C. Shaffer Professor in the Humanities, seeks to understand the contexts in which the term has arisen and the consequences of attempts to lay claim to it, providing insight into the character and functions of buzzwords. He has identified 12 different “sexual health” threads representing the term’s divergent meanings in the public discourse, the dominant one being discussion related to sexually transmitted infections. He also suggests steps toward the development of “buzzword studies.”

Models of Disruptive Behavior

IPR clinical and development psychologist **Lauren Wakschlag** continues work on the MAPS preschool study of 3,300 socio-economically and ethnically diverse preschoolers, supported by the National Institute of Mental Health. One of her major successes in 2013 was the validation of a new survey, the Multidimensional Assessment of Preschool Disruptive Behavior (MAP-DB), across these diverse groups. The survey is helping to establish a “science of when to worry” about preschoolers’ behavior. Across a range of misbehaviors, her team has shown that though exhibiting some misbehavior is common for young children, it does not predominate. Most exhibit disorderly behaviors, such as throwing a tantrum, not complying, and being aggressive, but less than 10 percent exhibit them daily. This pattern is the same for preschoolers no matter their economic background or ethnicity. Similarly, the behaviors’ intensity, context, and regulation allow one to distinguish typical and atypical patterns. For example, most preschoolers will have tantrums, but tantrums lasting more than five minutes are uncommon. These results might eventually provide empirically based indicators that pediatricians, teachers, and others can use to identify those children in need of a mental health referral. Wakschlag is Vice Chair for Scientific and Faculty Development in Northwestern’s Department of Medical Social Sciences.

Adolescent Smoking Interventions

Wakschlag also co-authored several articles over the year that examined aspects of smoking, in particular for teens. In *Developmental Psychology*, she and her colleagues observed conversations between parents and 344 teens who had experimented with smoking. The researchers then followed the



IPR psychologist Lauren Wakschlag is creating a tool to assess disruptive behaviors in childhood.

teens’ smoking-related behaviors over two years. After coding more than 500 videotapes of parent-teen discussions about smoking, the researchers find that teenagers were more likely to smoke more over the following two years if their parents started the discussion of smoking and if the teen smokers sought to keep their smoking secret. In another two-year study of 111 ninth- and tenth-graders at risk for smoking, Wakschlag and her colleagues separately examined their mothers’ and fathers’ communication and control styles, asking if the parenting styles could predict whether their children experience negative feelings and emotions (negative affect). Whether or not teens smoked, the data show that their mother’s parenting style is important to the risk of how much they might smoke in the future. Moms with a more controlling style have children with higher levels of negative affect. Reducing negative affect among youth experimenting with smoking can lessen their risk of smoking more later on. This suggests family-based prevention efforts to address teens’ experimentation with smoking and whether it should take into account how parents generally communicate and parental tendency for control. The *Journal of Clinical Child and Adolescent Psychology* published the article.

The Suffocation of Marriage

Psychologist and IPR associate **Eli Finkel** is distilling insights from historical, sociological, and psychological analyses of marriage to develop a “suffocation model of marriage in America.” What the model suggests is that Americans have changed their expectations for marriage. In the past, Americans relied on marriage to meet physical and safety needs; today, they expect less of this and instead expect their marriages to fulfill their feelings of self-esteem and self-actualization. The issue is that such changes demand a greater investment of time and psychological resources to foster these bonds, yet most Americans are investing less in their marriage, not more, with time primarily being soaked up by child rearing or longer work days. As a result, overall levels of marital quality and personal well-being are declining. The “suffocation” model uncovers several promising options for counteracting these trends—

all of which call for investments of time and energy, but such investments can be maximized, Finkel says. Examples include a simple, but very effective, 21-minute writing intervention, in which couples take a third-party view in writing about conflict in their marriage. The project aims to provide a better understanding of dating and courtship, sociodemographic variation, and marriage within and beyond America's borders. *Psychological Inquiry* published two articles on the model.

Interventions for Prostate Cancer Survivors

Prostate cancer is the second leading cause of cancer-related death for U.S. men. Most cases are diagnosed early and have very high survival rates, but among men diagnosed in advanced stages, 5-year survival rates are much lower—about 30 percent, and advanced-stage treatments can have chronic and debilitating side effects. IPR associate **Frank Penedo** and his colleagues recently examined the relationships between stress, stress management skills, and health-related quality of life in an ethnically diverse sample of 77 participants with advanced prostate cancer and a median age of almost 70. Their results, published in the *Journal of Clinical Psychology in Medical Settings*, demonstrate that stress management skills and lower perceived stress are linked with better physical functioning and emotional well-being. They underscore that stress management skills could affect patients' quality of life by lessening their ongoing perceptions of stress. Penedo is Roswell Park Professor of Medical Social Sciences and Psychology. He leads the Cancer Control and Survivorship program in Feinberg's Robert H. Lurie Cancer Center.

Measuring Quality of Life

With cancer treatments continually improving survival rates, experts like IPR associate **David Cella** are increasingly interested in understanding the implications of such treatments in terms of self-reported symptoms and quality of life. Cella, an expert on patient-centered outcomes, has been involved in a variety of research studies concerning oncological treatments and evaluations of life quality. Examining the increasing importance of rapid and reliable health-related quality-of-life (HRQOL) assessments in a study of 533 oncology patients with advanced cancer, the authors confirmed that the FACT-G7 quality-of-life assessment was reliable for evaluating patients' top-rated symptoms. It was published in the *Annals of Oncology*. In a *British Journal of Cancer* article, Cella and his colleagues report on their study of patient-reported outcomes

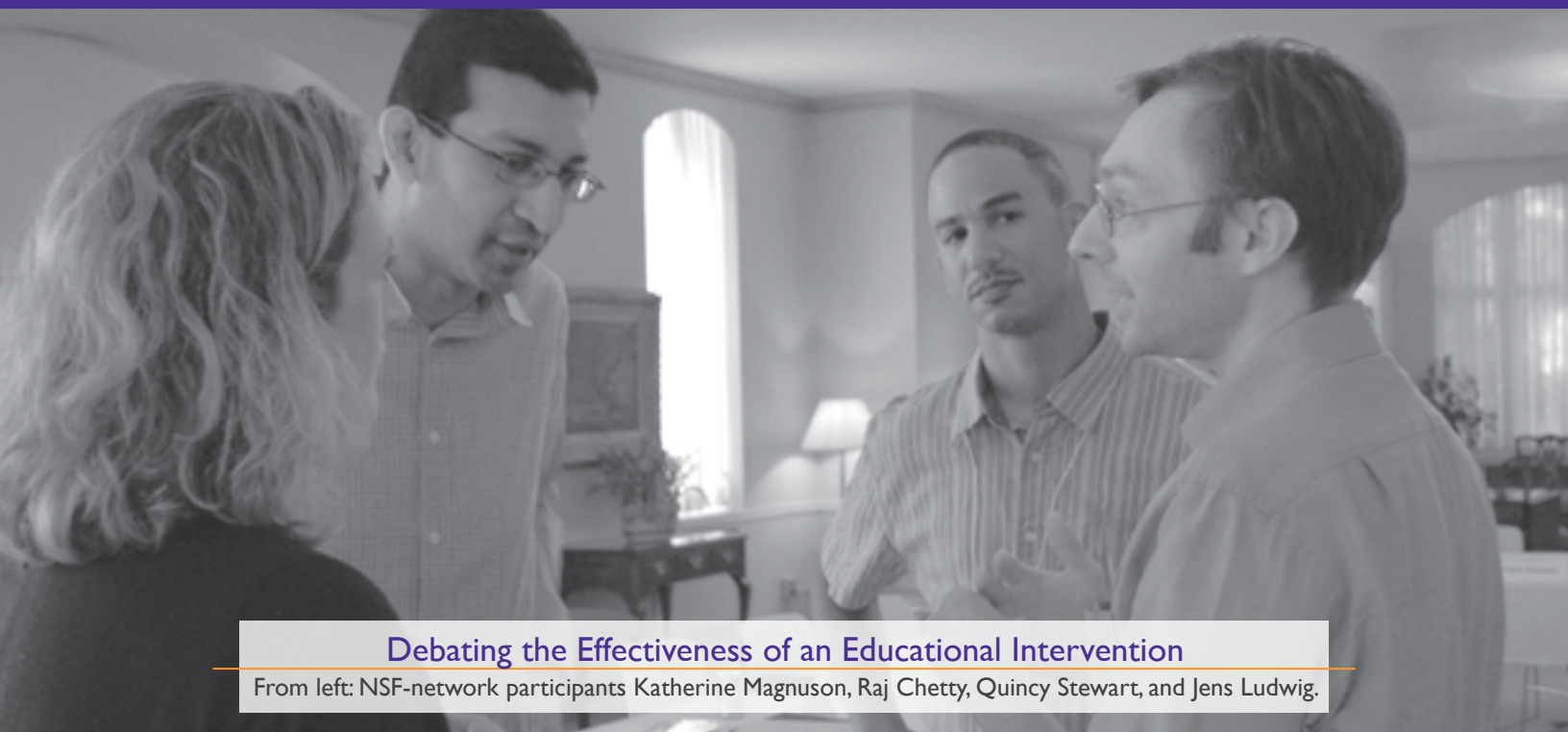
and quality-of-life measures for kidney cancer. An evaluation of two metastatic renal-cell carcinoma second-line drug therapies, axitinib and sorafenib, indicate that patient-reported outcomes remained at high levels for those receiving the treatments. Beyond examining treatments and measurements of physical health, Cella's work also involves research on emotional health as an important factor connected to physical health. This work has included an investigation of adding brief measures of emotion to the National Institute of Health's Toolbox of Neurological and Behavioral Function, published in *Neurology*. From it, the authors were able to identify four new domains—negative affect, psychological well-being, stress, and self-efficacy—and validate them as an effective way for measuring emotional health in further research using the NIH Toolbox. Cella is professor and founding chair of the Medical Social Sciences' Department.

First Global Cultural Neuroscience Conference

The first conference of the International Cultural Neuroscience Consortium was held May 10–12 at Northwestern. It welcomed a diverse representation of more than 50 scientists involved in cultural neuroscience research from around the world. Three IPR faculty worked on its organization: **Chen, Seligman**, and **Joan Chiao**, a neuroscientist and IPR associate. The conference explored interdisciplinary, international approaches of cultural neuroscience with a particular emphasis on those theoretical and empirical advances that could help close the gap in population health disparities. Some of the conference themes included methodological and conceptual issues, emotion and motivation, culture-gene interactions, and population mental health disparities. **Robert Turner** of Germany's Max Planck Institute delivered the keynote. Turner's ideas helped shape the development of magnetic resonance imaging, or MRI. The forthcoming "Oxford Handbook of Cultural Neuroscience" will summarize the major conference presentations.



IPR associate Mesmin Destin questions New York University psychologist Clancy Blair about research on how executive functions develop in young children.



Debating the Effectiveness of an Educational Intervention

From left: NSF-network participants Katherine Magnuson, Raj Chetty, Quincy Stewart, and Jens Ludwig.

RESEARCH TOPICS:

- School finance, accountability, and vouchers
- Education interventions and program evaluations
- Teacher and principal characteristics
- Transitions from high school to college
- Improving academic achievement, outcomes

Using Mentors to Prevent Dropouts

While urban high school dropouts have received a great deal of policy attention, the problem almost always starts much earlier with truancy from school. However, very little is known about the risk and protective factors involved in truancy—and even less about effective remedies. To shed light on this issue, IPR economist **Jonathan Guryan** and his team of researchers are continuing to implement a new program called Check & Connect that matches students with adult mentors in an effort to increase school attendance and student engagement at 24 public elementary and middle schools in Chicago. Check & Connect is motivated by findings that show a strong relationship with a helpful adult is a highly protective factor against children failing school—something that many of those growing up in distressed family and community environments often lack. More than 3,000 students in 24 Chicago public schools are in the treatment and control groups, with close to 500 students receiving the intervention. The program involves mentoring, monitoring, and enhancing communication between school and home. The program's potential spillover effects on peers of students in the program are also being measured by looking at outcomes for the more than 6,000 control students. The project is supported by the Institute of Education Sciences, the Eunice Kennedy Shriver National Institute of Child Health and Human Development, and the William T. Grant Foundation.

Interventions for Low-Achieving Students

By the time they reach high school, many low-achieving students in distressed communities have been written off. They can be as many as four to seven years behind their grade level, particularly in math. **Guryan** and his colleagues at the Urban Education Lab are working on a new intervention that addresses this problem of “mismatch” for those performing below their current grade level. During the last year, the research team carried out a rigorous randomized controlled trial of “math tutoring on steroids,” two-on-one math instruction for an hour each school day. The study involved 106 ninth- and tenth-grade boys at Harper High School in Chicago, which serves mostly low-income students. The tutoring helps the students catch up to their grade level and re-engage in their classes, thereby increasing their chances of graduating. In addition, students also took part in the B.A.M. (Becoming A Man) program, a sociocognitive-skills intervention developed by the Chicago nonprofit organization Youth Guidance. Promising results from the pilot study led to a large-scale study of the two interventions being implemented in 21 Chicago public high schools in fall 2013. The Urban Education Lab was launched in 2011 by Guryan and University of Chicago colleagues Jens Ludwig, Steve Raudenbush, and Timothy Knowles. It counts more than 40 affiliated researchers from universities around the country, including five IPR faculty.

ABOUT THE PROGRAM

Addressing the Summer Reading Gap

Once children enter school, a reading gap between students from high- and low-socioeconomic-status (SES) backgrounds appears and begins to grow. It is likely exacerbated by summer vacation, as low-SES students are less likely to receive continued reading instruction over the break. **Guryan** and James Kim of Harvard University are in the midst of a five-year, multidistrict randomized controlled trial to implement and evaluate Project READS, Reading Enhances Achievement During the Summer. The program, developed by Kim, is being administered to approximately 10,000 students in 70 North Carolina elementary schools over the course of the study. It is already showing promising results, moderately reducing “summer loss” and improving reading skills. Students are sent two books every two weeks over summer break. Matched to student interests and reading level, the books are also paired with family activities to support summer reading. Members of the control group receive the books and activities at the start of school. Pre- and post-tests, as well as reading tests, are used to measure impact. In addition to monitoring student achievement and overall progress, Guryan is also examining different variations of READS to improve effectiveness, measure cost-effectiveness, and seek how best to replicate and further expand the program. The U.S. Department of Education is providing support for the project.



Jonathan Guryan, Chair

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

Expanding Access to Preschool Education

In a forthcoming article with Dartmouth economist Elizabeth Cascio, IPR economist **Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach** examines the effects of the introduction of universal preschool programs in Georgia and Oklahoma in the 1990s, comparing the children and families in those states with children and families elsewhere in the country. They reveal stark differences in preschool enrollment patterns by family background, with children whose mothers have no more than a high school diploma being much more likely to enroll their children in preschool at age 4—experiencing an 18–20 percentage-point enrollment gain versus a 12–15 percentage-point gain in preschool enrollment rates for children whose mothers have more education. The authors also find some academic benefits, with modest, sustained increases in eighth-grade math test scores for the lower-income children. Conversely, among higher-income children, they see no positive impacts of the program on student achievement. The researchers suggest it might be more cost-effective to design a preschool program to target those most in need to reduce the extent of crowd-out. The *Brookings Papers on Economic Activity* will publish the study.

Chicago School Research, Schanzenbach and her colleagues analyzed student enrollment patterns and test scores for students entering high school at one of 22 new small schools, comparing them with their eighth-grade classmates who did not attend small schools. They find students who attend small schools are much more likely to persist and eventually graduate, although there was no effect on student test scores. Their results add evidence to the growing consensus that small schools improve academic achievement but do not raise standardized test scores—and that educational interventions aimed at older students are more effective at improving their noncognitive skills than their cognitive skills. The research was conducted with Amy Claessens of the University of Chicago and Lisa Barrow of the Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago.

Impact of Small Schools in Chicago

Schanzenbach is part of a team that evaluated the performance of the Chicago Public Schools small high schools initiative. Using a quasi-experimental design and data from the Consortium on

Class Size and College Completion

In work with Susan Dynarski and Joshua Hyman of the University of Michigan, **Schanzenbach** looks at the effects of reducing elementary school class sizes on college enrollment and getting a degree. Using Tennessee Project STAR data, they find being randomly assigned to attend a smaller class in kindergarten through third grade increases a child’s probability of attending college. Assignment to a small class increases the probability of attending college by 2.7 percentage points, with effects more than twice as large among African Americans. Among those



From left: IPR economist Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach appears on WTTW's "Chicago Tonight" to discuss CPS' closing of 50 public schools, with police deputy Steve Georges and Jeanne Olson, a CPS parent and researcher.

with the lowest projected probability for attending college, the effect is 11 percentage points. In addition, small classes in the early grades improve the likelihood of earning a college degree, and majoring in a more technical and high-earning field, such as a STEM field (science, technology, engineering, and mathematics), business, or economics. The article documents short- and long-term effects of early education interventions. The actual long-run impacts were larger than what short-run test score gains alone would have predicted. This implies that cost-benefit analyses based on short-run impacts might misestimate the true long-run effectiveness of interventions. The Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management awarded Schanzenbach and her co-authors the 2013 Vernon Memorial Prize for the article, given annually for the best research article published in their *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*.

Tenure-Track Professors and Teaching

As the higher education landscape changes and colleges and universities rely increasingly on a combination of nontenure- and tenure-track faculty, IPR education economists **David Figlio** and **Morton Schapiro**, also Northwestern University president, analyzed data on more than 15,000 Northwestern freshmen from 2001–2008 to compare the impacts of tenure-track versus nontenure-track faculty on student learning outcomes. With Kevin Soter, a Northwestern alumnus and consultant for The Greatest Good, they find students were relatively more likely to take a second course, and to earn a higher grade in that subsequent course, when the introductory course had been taught by a nontenure-track instructor. Their findings held consistently across subjects, and the benefits of taking introductory courses with nontenure-track faculty were strongest for the incoming freshmen with lower academic indicators. Interestingly, the beneficial effects of adjunct faculty were bigger for two groups of Northwestern students—those who were less academically prepared and those who tended to take more difficult classes. The working paper, which generated a

wave of media coverage, also called into question whether the rise of hiring full-time designated teachers in U.S. higher education is “cause for alarm.” Rather, the three researchers suggest that such a trend might offer colleges and universities a way to be great institutions of research and of undergraduate learning at the same time. The Smith Richardson Foundation supported the project. Figlio is Orrington Lunt Professor and IPR director.

School Finance Reforms and Adult Outcomes

In an effort to ensure equal educational opportunity for all children, most states adopted school finance reforms between 1970 and 1995 that caused some of the most dramatic changes in the structure of education spending in U.S. history, yet little research exists on whether and how these changes have affected the adult well-being of students from poor neighborhoods. With support from the National Science Foundation, IPR economist **Kirabo Jackson** is examining the long-term effects of school finance reforms on state distributions of school spending, academic achievement, and adult outcomes. Preliminary findings using the Panel Study of Income Dynamics reveal that school finance reforms lead to increased educational attainment, higher incomes, and lower poverty for children from low-income households in areas that saw increases in school spending. Jackson, however, also finds evidence that while both legislative and court-mandated reforms reduced inequality in the short-term, wealthy districts were able to reverse the effects of legislative reforms in the long run.

Competitive Effects of School Vouchers

In a forthcoming *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics* article, **Figlio** and Cassandra Hart of the University of California, Davis, a former IPR graduate research assistant, study the effects of private school competition on public school students' test scores after the Florida Tax Credit Scholarship Program is

introduced. Before the program, some communities had a richer and more diverse set of private school options than others. The two examine whether test scores improved more for students attending public schools with many private schools nearby than for those attending schools with fewer local options. They find that both easier access to private schools and the variety of religious or secular affiliations of private schools are positively linked with public school students' test scores after the program's launch. Gains were more pronounced in schools most at risk to lose students, such as elementary and middle schools, where the price to attend private school with a voucher is much lower. But the results also indicate that the program's introduction led to overall improvements in public school performance, with the gains occurring immediately—before students left the public schools to use a voucher. This implies that competitive threats are responsible for at least some of the voucher program's estimated effects.

Benefits of Attending Selective Schools

A growing body of evidence indicates that attending selective schools might improve student outcomes, but researchers have little understanding of why. Using data from Trinidad and Tobago, **Jackson** investigates the extent to which the positive school effects can be attributed to the fact that selective schools contain higher-achieving peers. He explains that attending a school with higher-achieving peers is associated with substantial improvements in academic outcomes, with larger effects seen for girls. However, on average, improvements to incoming peer achievement within a school are associated with small improvements. The effect of improvements in peer achievement within a school is largest at selective schools, providing further evidence that direct peer effects are responsible for at least some of the effect of attending schools with higher-achieving peers. Jackson concludes that direct peer effects do not explain the benefits of attending a more selective school among the bottom three-quarters of schools, but among the top-quarter, at least one-third can be attributed directly to how well their peers are performing. These results highlight the importance of understanding how schools seek to improve student outcomes. Jackson calls the results “sobering” since very little of the success of these highly selective schools can be translated to average schools. He notes, however, that the relative successes at average schools—since they are not attributed to peer achievement—could be scalable to low-performing schools. The article was published in the *Journal of Public Economics*, and project support came from the Spencer Foundation.

Student Abilities, Test Scores, and Teacher Quality

In an IPR working paper, **Jackson** develops a new model to measure long-term outcomes that combines student cognitive and noncognitive ability and teacher effects to evaluate students' outcomes. Conditional on cognitive scores, an underlying noncognitive factor associated with student absences, suspen-

sions, grades, and grade progression is strongly correlated with long-run educational attainment, arrests, and earnings in survey data. In administrative data, teachers have meaningful causal effects on both test scores and the noncognitive factor. The calculations show that teacher effects based on test scores alone fail to identify many excellent teachers—and might greatly understate the importance of teachers on adult outcomes. The Spencer Foundation provides funding for the project.

Importance of Teacher-School Matching

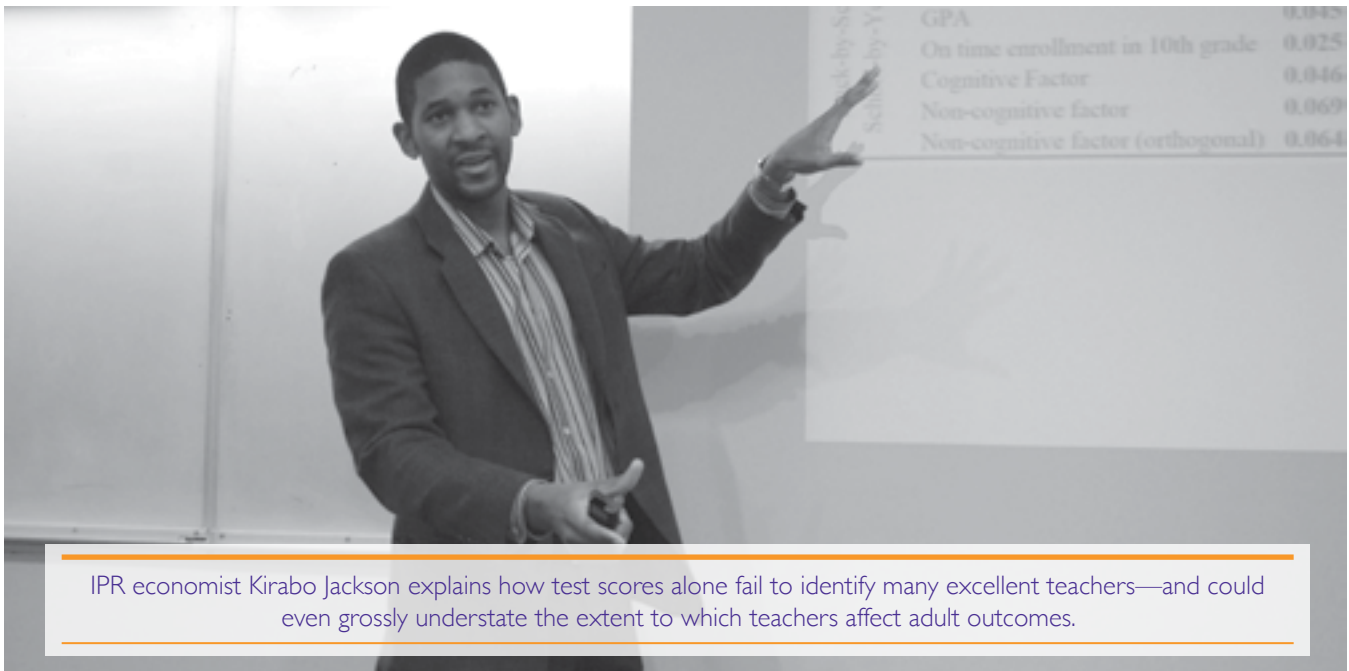
Published in the *Review of Economics and Statistics*, a recent study by **Jackson** investigates the importance of the match between teachers and schools for student achievement using data from North Carolina. From a sample of mobile teachers, he documents that teacher effectiveness—as measured by improvements in student test scores—increases after a move to a different school. He then estimates the importance of teacher-school match quality for the resulting improvement in student outcomes. Preliminary results reveal that between one-quarter and one-half of what is typically measured as a teacher effect is, in fact, due to the specific teacher-school pairing and does not carry across schools. Further, he establishes that match quality is as economically important as teacher quality in explaining student achievement.

Impact of High School Teachers

Research has shown that elementary school teachers matter, but what about high school teachers? Some have just extrapolated the findings from studies of elementary school teachers and applied them to those in high school, but **Jackson** advises against this. In a forthcoming *Journal of Labor Economics* article, he argues that in high schools, even with random assignment of students to teachers, bias exists due to “track treatment” effects. This happens when different teachers teach in different tracks, and students in different tracks are exposed to different treatments. These “track treatment” effects might arise due to other teachers, the content of other courses, or explicit track-level treatments, such as honors courses or college-prep courses. To counter this, Jackson outlines a new method for identifying teacher quality effects in high schools, testing it with data on all North Carolina ninth graders from 2005–2010. He shows that high school Algebra I and English I teachers have much smaller effects on student test scores than elementary school teachers. The Spencer Foundation is supporting the project.

Cash Incentives and Long-Term Outcomes

Some education reforms use cash incentives to promote better student outcomes. The Advanced Placement Incentive Program (APIP) is one example. With private donors financing 70 percent of costs, the APIP trains AP teachers, and motivates both students and teachers by paying substantial cash bonuses



IPR economist Kirabo Jackson explains how test scores alone fail to identify many excellent teachers—and could even grossly understate the extent to which teachers affect adult outcomes.

for passing scores on AP exams. To examine if it works, **Jackson** looked at the APIP in Texas, tracking more than 290,000 high school students from 1993–2008. He compared changes in student outcomes before and after APIP adoption in the 58 participating schools with changes across the same cohorts in comparable schools that did not adopt it. APIP adoption increased taking an AP course by 21 percent and passing an AP exam by 45 percent. More importantly, Jackson finds benefits beyond the program. For those participating in APIP four years after it was adopted, the probability of students persisting in college as sophomores rose by about 20 percent and earnings increased by 3.7 percent. The pay increases erased the Hispanic-white earnings gap and reduced the black-white earnings gap by one-third. The results imply a per-pupil lifetime earnings benefit of \$16,650 for a cost of \$450. Jackson's findings indicate it is possible to raise achievement for students "consigned" to low-achieving, urban schools—and that high-quality college-preparatory programs might be a viable alternative to transferring such students to higher-achieving schools. Results from the study were published in *Economic Inquiry*.

College for All

With a grant from the Spencer Foundation, IPR education and social policy professor **James Rosenbaum** continues research on his "College for All" project. While the nation's high schools have embraced the idea of trying to get all high school seniors into college, little attention has been paid to the processes that increase the number of students who actually complete their degree. Rosenbaum's research team is conducting a longitudinal study of all seniors at 82 public high schools in Chicago from 2004–2008 seeking to extend understanding of the varied institutional procedures that shape the high-school-to-college transition process for students.

Lessons from Community Colleges

Nearly 90 percent of high school graduates say they will seek a bachelor's degree, according to a 2004 national survey, but only 28 percent of community college students who want to earn a bachelor's degree will actually get one—and it often takes them six to eight years to do so. In an article published with SUNY's Janet Rosenbaum in the *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, **Rosenbaum** looks at evidence suggesting better results for community colleges' private, two-year counterparts that offer career preparation in occupational fields like healthcare, business, information technology, and others. For many community college students, earning a quick two-year credential (i.e., certificates and associate degrees) that will qualify them for high-demand jobs is preferable to the relatively unlikely pathway from a community college program directly to a four-year program. The results suggest that instead of asking whether every student should attend college, it is more important to ask what type of college they should attend, what credentials they should seek, and in what sequence they should pursue those credentials. The authors stress that both nontraditional colleges and credentials deserve much closer attention from researchers, policymakers, and students.

Usability of Community College Websites

In work with Jonathan Margolin and former IPR RA Shazia Rafiullah Miller at the American Institutes for Research, **Rosenbaum** evaluated whether community college websites are useful for providing knowledge relevant to degree completion. Ten community students used one of three community college websites to answer 10 questions about occupational degree programs. A facilitator asked participants to think

aloud while using the website to answer these questions; their responses were video-recorded and coded in terms of the correctness of their answers and the types of usability problems encountered. The data suggest that participants frequently encountered problems with seeking out and understanding information needed to better comprehend degree selection and completion. The content analysis of these problems yields several suggestions for improving the usability of community college websites in answering common questions about degree completion. *Community College Review* published the results.

Financing College with FAFSA over Scholarships

Rosenbaum and **Kelly Iwanaga Becker**, an IPR graduate research assistant, are examining the ways different high school counselors handle the college and financial aid application process. Building on work indicating that counselors encourage low-income students to apply for private scholarships, the researchers expanded the project to include data from all Chicago public high schools that have a policy of encouraging students to complete three or more scholarship applications. They find that slightly more than 54 percent of seniors who applied to scholarships reported receiving one. This is likely because many students were applying for private scholarships, which are typically very competitive with smaller financial awards. For instance, the Duck-Tape brand “Stuck at Prom” scholarship awards \$20,000 to the couple with the best-designed duct-tape prom outfit. They show evidence that these time-consuming applications might derail some students from completing applications for more reliable sources of aid, such as the student federal-aid form, or FAFSA. Their results suggest a need for improving high school advising on the college financial-aid process.

Use of Technology in Early Education

Despite increased access to computers and newer mobile devices, actual classroom technology use remains infrequent, especially in early childhood education. Most prior research has focused on K–12 teachers rather than early childhood educators. A study co-authored by IPR associate **Ellen Wartella**, the Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa Al-Thani Professor of Communication, in *Computers & Education* examines predictors of early childhood educators’ access to and use of traditional technologies and mobile devices. Drawing on surveys from 1,329 early childhood educators, the researchers explore how school environment and attitudes toward the affordances and barriers of technology integration predicted the use of various devices. Their results indicate that while extrinsic barriers influence access to a range of technologies, the educators’ positive beliefs in children’s learning from technology predicted technology use more accurately. The study provides specific practical considerations to help increase quality integration of technology in early childhood education. It also suggests that adjusting teacher attitudes to better appreciate the benefits of technology could prove more effective in increasing its use in pre-K classes.

Online vs. Offline Learning

More than 80 percent of American research institutions now offer online classes, and schools are relying on them more than ever in light of recent financial constraints. In a study published in the *Journal of Labor Economics*, **Figlio**, with Mark Rush and Lu Yin from the University of Florida, compared the learning outcomes for students taking an online class versus live instruction. They conducted an experiment—randomly assigning a group of students enrolled in a microeconomics course to either a live or online section of the same course. They find that relatively low-achieving students, male students, and Hispanic students—the groups most likely to enroll in online courses—did better academically when they took a class face-to-face with an instructor rather than online. Until more research on the topic is done, colleges that simply put traditional courses online could potentially jeopardize student learning, especially for these three groups of students.

Wealth Effects on School Achievement

In an *Economics of Education Review* article, social psychologist and IPR associate **Mesmin Destin** describes various approaches to understanding how wealth seems to influence children’s educational experiences, which are generally categorized as either resource-based or person-based. Resource-based approaches prioritize the importance of investments made to enrich the contexts, expand opportunities, and improve outcomes for youth. Person-based approaches focus on how beliefs, values, and perceptions shape achievement. Destin suggests that a combination of resource-based and person-based approaches might reveal a more complete model of the complex relationship between wealth and educational achievement. He proposes an integrative framework that uses identity as a unifying construct to connect the observable influence of resources to the more subtle role of motivation and cognitive factors that drive achievement. This basic conceptual model allows room for overlap between resource-based and person-based perspectives. These have the potential to inform one another in important ways that can advance research regarding wealth and asset effects on child development.

Social Distribution of Achievement

In a project with funding from the Spencer Foundation, IPR statistician and education researcher **Larry Hedges** and his colleagues seek to document the social distribution of academic achievement in the United States. By examining various achievement gaps in different ways, they come to understand how the social distribution of achievement has changed over the last few decades. A major part of this study evaluates patterns of between- and within-school variability of student achievement. They also examine whether different sources of evidence lead to the same conclusions; that is, they seek

to triangulate whenever possible. Finally, the researchers are studying the somewhat limited longitudinal evidence, attempting to coordinate it with repeated cross-sectional evidence. They expect that combining such data might help understand the emergence of differences in patterns of academic achievement between important population subgroups. Hedges is Board of Trustees Professor of Social Policy and Statistics.

Generalizing Education Evaluations

If an education intervention proves to be successful for a study's participants, will it work in schools outside of the study, too? Supported by the National Science Foundation and Institute of Education Sciences, **Hedges** and **Paki Reid-Brossard**, an IPR research associate, are investigating new methods to improve the generalizability of education research findings so results from one study can be used to make statistical claims for another population or location. Building on propensity score methods and a database of national covariates, they are working on a statistical approach that uses study samples to estimate parameters of the distribution of treatment effects in an inference population. Hedges is also developing methods that can be used to better plan experiments that aim to produce results generalizable to policy-relevant populations. Recent findings related to this work by Hedges and Colm O'Muircheartaigh at the University of Chicago appeared in the *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society: Series C (Applied Statistics)*.

School Accountability and Instructional Changes

With Cecilia Rouse of Princeton University, Jane Hannaway of the American Institutes for Research, and Dan Goldhaber of the University of Washington, **Figlio** continued his study of the impact of school accountability in Florida with a study published in the *American Economic Journal: Economic Policy*. They surveyed Florida principals about their schools' instructional policies and practices, before and after changes were made to Florida's accountability grading scheme. They find that schools with

increased accountability pressures appeared to focus on low-performing students, as previous research has shown, but they also find substantial changes in other areas. Schools increase time devoted to instruction, reorganize the structure of the day and the learning environments, increase teacher resources, and decrease principal control. They believe these responses can explain a portion of the test score gains associated with the Florida school accountability system.

School Accountability and Principal Mobility

The move toward increased school accountability initiated by No Child Left Behind (NCLB) could substantially saddle school leaders with more risk and less pay, affecting low-performing schools the most. Since effective school leaders likely have significant scope in choosing where to work, such uncompensated risks might undercut the effectiveness of accountability reforms by limiting the ability of low-performing schools to attract and retain effective leaders. IPR associate and Kellogg economist **Danielle Li** empirically evaluates how implementing NCLB in North Carolina affected principal mobility across the state's schools and how it reshaped the low- and high-performing schools where high-performing principals go. She demonstrates that NCLB decreases average principal quality at schools serving more disadvantaged students by inducing better qualified principals to move to schools less likely to face NCLB sanctions. These results are consistent with a model of principal-school matching where school districts with historically low-performing students fall farther behind, as they cannot compensate principals adequately for assuming a school's sanction risk.

Organizing for Instruction in Education Systems

In a study co-authored with Meghan Hopkins of Pennsylvania State University, IPR associate **James Spillane** extends earlier work based on a longitudinal mixed-methods study of one American school district and its 14 elementary schools to examine how the school staff organized for instruction in three core elementary school subjects. The *Journal of Curriculum Studies* article explores how district education leaders and teachers interact with one another in terms of advice and information about teaching and learning in literacy, mathematics, and science. The researchers examine similarities and differences in school staff members' advice and information networks, considering how these relate to the formal organizational infrastructure intended to support instruction. The analysis reveals that how schools organize for instruction differs depending on the school subject, offering evidence that these differences are tied to differences in the formal organization structure, particularly in how the system deploys resources and in the curriculum design decisions of system leaders. They advise policymakers and practitioners to carefully design infrastructures to support interaction among school staff that will foster learning and cater to teacher's learning needs in particular subject areas. Spillane is Olin Professor in Learning and Organizational Change.



Education researcher and IPR associate James Spillane talks about school leadership at a conference in Spain.



How Is Research Used in the Government? The Case of the FTC

IPR associate and economist Leemore Dafny traces her year working on healthcare and antitrust issues.

RESEARCH TOPICS:

- Research performance in government & nonprofits
- Healthcare markets and regulation
- Policing and education—markets and regulation
- Risk, innovation, and technology
- Accountability measures for service industries

Economics at the Federal Trade Commission

Healthcare economist and IPR associate **Leemore Dafny's** research has covered many aspects of the healthcare industry, including competition, reform, anticompetitive behavior, and hospital mergers. So perhaps it was not surprising that the Federal Trade Commission (FTC), with half of its caseload devoted to healthcare issues, should call and ask her to serve as its first Deputy Director of Healthcare and Antitrust in its Bureau of Economics. Dafny spoke about her year at the FTC, which ended in August 2013, at an IPR colloquium. In describing rising consolidation in the industry, she noted how robust competition is vital to achieve more efficient outcomes in the U.S. health system. More hospitals are merging, physicians are forming larger groups, and insurance is growing more concentrated. While bigger could be better, Dafny noted, it does not seem like it is. Research indicates prices go up, but quality does not improve. While at the FTC, she worked on three key antitrust issues: horizontal combinations, such as hospitals merging with other hospitals; unilateral anticompetitive conduct, such as attempts by incumbent firms to create barriers to competitors' entry into a market; and coordinated conduct, which includes price fixing. She said she found the agency's use of economic research in its investigations eye-opening. She also co-authored a recent journal article with four FTC economists summarizing how the FTC deploys economic analyses to fulfill its mission.

Leveling the Field: Group and Individual Insurance

Sixty percent of Americans under the age of 65 get their health insurance through their employers. Around 80 percent of employers offering employee health plans only provide one selection. In a 2013 article published in the *American Economic Journal: Economic Policy*, **Dafny** and her co-authors examine what it might mean to employees if they were offered more options for health plans. Using 1998–2006 insurance data from a national sample of more than 800 large U.S. employers, the researchers investigate how employees' plan choices would change if they had the option to select any plan offered in their market area at premiums that reflected the health of employees at their firms (i.e., the premiums they would likely face if their employers added the plans to their offerings). Even under conservative assumptions, the authors report “choice is worth quite a bit for most individuals,” and many employees would benefit from having a greater variety of health plans available to them. A median employee would be willing to give up 16 percent of her health insurance subsidy from her employer to have the freedom to use the remaining amount for a plan more closely aligned with her preferences. This finding suggests that the value of choice—a key feature of private and public insurance exchanges—is worth accounting for. Dafny is Herman Smith Research Professor in Hospital and Health Services.

ABOUT THE PROGRAM

Impact of Insurance on Older Americans

Most observational studies indicate those without health insurance are more likely to die at an earlier age than those with it. Such results have also appeared in health policy debates over the Affordable Care Act to support claims of health insurance being a matter of life and death. Yet a new working paper comes to a much different conclusion using data from the Health and Retirement Study, the same data sets used in several previous studies. Law and finance professor **Bernard Black**, an IPR associate, and his co-authors investigate the effect of health insurance on the death rate over 18 years for more than 10,000 near-elderly Americans, who were between the ages of 50 and 61 years old in 1992. Their study differs methodologically from previous ones in several different ways, including using a more complete set of covariates, employing time-series estimates, and providing separate estimates for the uninsured and the insured. Those uninsured in 1992 were less likely to go to the doctor or the hospital, or have prescriptions filled. Despite using fewer healthcare services overall, the uninsured were as healthy as—and died at the same rates as—the insured over a 12–14 year period. Their evidence suggests that prior studies overestimated the health and mortality benefits of health insurance for the uninsured. Black is Nicholas J. Chabreja Professor of Law and Finance.

Deterrent Effect of Medical Malpractice Reform

In another working paper with Northwestern economist Zenon Zabinski, **Black** studies the impact of tort law on medical malpractice reforms. The two investigate states that adopted caps on noneconomic, “pain-and-suffering” damages during the 2000s. These caps led to a large drop in claim rates and payouts. Did lowering medical malpractice liability also affect patient safety? To study this, they use Patient Safety Indicators (PSIs), which measure hospital complications and adverse incidents following surgeries, procedures, and deliveries that are often preventable. They show that before reform, PSI rates either held steady or declined in tort reform states, relative to control states. Following passage of the caps, Texas PSI rates gradually rose, as hospitals seemed to relax their PSIs. These results are consistent across cap-adopting states. The study suggests that medical malpractice liability spurs healthcare providers to pay attention to patient safety. When there is less risk of liability, normally preventable hospital mistakes increase. This implies a need for policies to maintain hospitals’ patient safety rates in states that have adopted strong damage caps.

Improving Clinical Practice Guidelines

Partial knowledge of patient health status and treatment response is a pervasive concern in medical decision making. Clinical practice guidelines (CPGs) make recommendations intended to optimize patient care, but partial knowledge



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

typically makes this difficult. In the *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, IPR economist **Charles F. Manski** uses decision analysis to consider how CPGs can be improved, noting a recent Institute of Medicine report on CPGs did not conduct a formal analysis. Manski’s analysis consists of three steps. The first poses a welfare function and characterizes optimal care, the second describes partial knowledge of response to testing and treatment that might realistically be available, and the third considers decision criteria. Manski argues that CPGs should continue to characterize medical knowledge for clinicians, but he is skeptical about whether they should continue to make recommendations for patient care because of the situational factors. He suggests a greater reliance on specialists and strong consideration of individual cases might improve patient care. Manski is Board of Trustees Professor of Economics.

Do Hospitals Shift Costs to Make Up Losses?

In a new working paper, healthcare economist and IPR associate **David Dranove** and his co-authors, Craig Garthwaite at Kellogg and Christopher Ody of the Federal Reserve Bank of Philadelphia, investigate the theory of cost-shifting in healthcare. Does research substantiate claims that healthcare providers, such as hospitals, try to make up losses by charging privately insured patients more? This is an important question, the researchers

PERFORMANCE MEASUREMENT AND REWARDS

point out, because cost-shifting is often invoked in health policy discussions. President Obama used it in 2009 to describe the broad benefits of ACA reform, stating that the average insured family pays \$1,000 in extra premiums to subsidize those treated in the emergency room without insurance. The U.S. Supreme Court also employed it in upholding the ACA's constitutionality. Though a 1988 study by Dranove found evidence for cost-shifting, the market has dramatically changed since then. Using 2003–2010 data from various sources, the authors trace how hospitals, all of which rely on endowments to some degree to finance their operations, responded following the 2008 stock market collapse. They show that in a period marked by large endowment losses, the average hospital did not engage in cost-shifting. “High-quality” hospitals, however, seemed to. In investigating this further, the researchers find that these larger, market-dominant hospitals responded to large drops in their endowments by delaying major technology purchases and cutting down on unprofitable services, such as trauma care. They underscore how these alternate responses can lead to “broad changes in the quality and availability of health services for all patients.” Dranove is Walter J. McNerney Professor of Health Industry Management.

The Perils of Pay for Performance

Government and nonprofit activities are often difficult, if not impossible, to measure and also to assign monetary value to. As a result, these difficulties prevent the adoption of systems that align rewards with “performance.” IPR economist **Burton Weisbrod**, John Evans Professor of Economics, is writing a book under contract with Stanford University Press to consider the unintended—but foreseeable—consequences of the rising tide of efforts that often involve adopting incomplete and biased measures of “performance” and then rewarding it. Titled “The Perils of Pay-for-Performance: Why Strong Rewards in the Public and Nonprofit Organizations Do Not Work,” the book will cover a wide array of public and nonprofit sector services, such as higher education, hospitals, policing, museums, private charities, and the federal judiciary, in addition to K–12 education. For example, the debate surrounding No Child Left Behind (NCLB) has centered on whether the strong rewards for performance under NCLB—and its increasing reliance on measurable performance—should be expanded to other areas of government and the nonprofit world.

When For-Profits and Nonprofits Coexist

Weisbrod continues to examine mixed industries such as hospitals, nursing homes, higher education, and book publishing. In reviewing their activities, he asks why these different types of profit and nonprofit organizations act the same in some markets—where outputs are profitable—but differently in others where outputs are unprofitable but socially desirable? He uses a two-good model of organizational behavior to explain how ownership affects output choice, why nonprofits

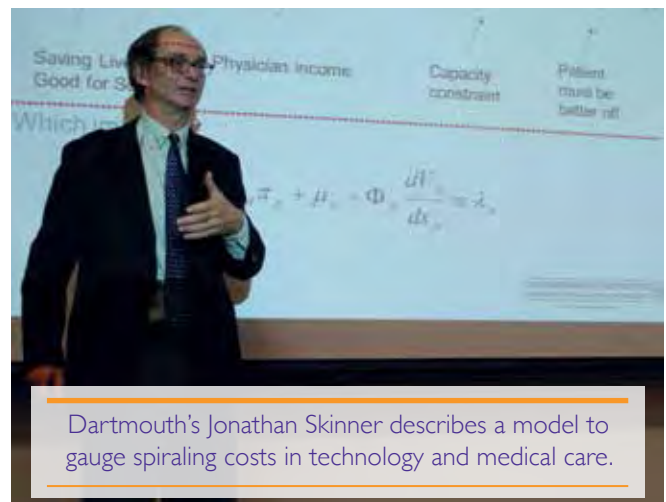
and for-profits choose outputs that are both alike and different, and how these forms can coexist despite differential constraints. He is testing the model both in higher education and the mixed hospital industry. In the latter, he sees substantial support for its prediction that for-profit firms will produce a more limited range of services than governmental and private nonprofits.

Examining U.S. Healthcare and the ACA

The Affordable Care Act (ACA) is the largest change to the U.S. healthcare system since President Lyndon Johnson signed Medicaid and Medicare into law in 1965. Over the year, including after the October 1 rollout of healthcare.gov, IPR welcomed several speakers who shared their research and perspectives on the ACA and related healthcare issues. MIT healthcare economist **Jonathan Gruber**, a key architect of the ACA, described how the move to universal coverage in Massachusetts under then-Governor Mitt Romney became the basis for the ACA in a March 7 lecture. Healthcare economist **Jonathan Skinner** of Dartmouth pointed to how his model of patient demand and supplier behavior explains the parallel trends of growth in technology and medical costs on October 8. Healthcare economist and former Bush economic adviser **Katherine Baicker** tackled what her evaluation of the Oregon Medicare Health Insurance Experiment might indicate about the new healthcare law in a lecture on October 28 (see pp. 4–5).

Invited Scholars Address Performance Measures

Over the year, the IPR Seminar Series on Performance Measurement and Rewards in the Public and Nonprofit Sectors brought in scholars from many different fields. In addition to **Skinner**, the series also welcomed law and health policy professor **David Hyman** of the University of Illinois at Urbana–Champaign on May 7. He compared how states vary in public reporting of hospital infection rates. On April 23, Northwestern police researcher **Mark Iris** explained how his analysis of lawsuit payments alleging police misconduct could serve to measure performance in the Chicago Police Department.



Dartmouth's Jonathan Skinner describes a model to gauge spiraling costs in technology and medical care.



Economist Jonathan Gruber Discusses Healthcare Act

MIT's Gruber (right), a key architect of the Affordable Care Act, meets with former and current IPR graduate students, including Scott Ogawa and Sarah Cannon (above), following his lecture.





What Can Studying Bipartisanship or the Presidency Reveal?

IPR political scientists Laurel Harbridge and Daniel Galvin examine the workings of U.S. institutions.

RESEARCH TOPICS:

- Public opinion and political deliberation
- Congress—budgets and partisanship
- Political communication and issue frames
- News, technology, and online behavior
- Income inequality and social welfare programs

Presidents as Agents of Change

Presidents are usually seen as operating in a political environment that is highly resistant to change. Though powerful actors, presidents are depicted as having limited capacities to alter the institutional and organizational arrangements that surround them. Building on recent historical-institutional research, IPR political scientist **Daniel Galvin** challenges this assumption. He shows that under many conditions, presidents can, in fact, alter their structural confines and reshape their political environment in historically significant ways. In an IPR working paper, Galvin develops this conceptual framework and offers methodological suggestions for conducting historically oriented research along these lines. Reconsidering some recent research into the relationship between presidential action and party development, he shows that presidents contributed to several critical party developments in American history: Late 19th-century presidents contributed to the gradual nationalization of the party system, mid-20th-century ones helped build the modern “service” party, and more recent presidents fostered greater partisan polarization among interest group networks. Motivated to bring inherited party structures into closer alignment with their goals, these presidents summoned powerful resources to reshape their parties. Rather than leave their structural environment undisturbed, as leading theories might predict, they reconfigured their parties and altered their trajectories.

Bipartisanship in Congress

IPR political scientist **Laurel Harbridge** is completing work on her forthcoming book manuscript, “Is Bipartisanship Dead? Policy Agreement in the Face of Partisan Agenda Control in the House of Representatives.” In it, she challenges scholars to reconsider how they view partisan conflict in Congress. Her manuscript includes a systematic empirical analysis of coalitions on House bills and the composition of the House floor agenda, as well as interviews with current and former congressional staff members and former representatives. She starts from the conventional wisdom that Congress has become more polarized since the 1970s, with claims of decreasing room for policy agreement between the two parties and implications of poor governance and representation. Harbridge, however, takes a broader view of bipartisan cooperation, examining both House roll call votes and bill cosponsorship coalitions. Finding roll call votes have become more partisan, she sees that bill cosponsorship coalitions have not. She reconciles these divergent patterns with how parties control congressional agenda content. In effect, she argues that political parties are contributing to a rise in party polarization by selecting which bills face roll call votes—thus calling the public’s attention to an increased upswing in congressional polarization and declining bipartisanship. Her findings suggest that responsiveness has declined for roll call voting, but increased for cosponsorship coalitions.

ABOUT THE PROGRAM

Public Support for Bipartisanship

Public opinion surveys regularly assert that Americans want political leaders to work together and in bipartisan ways. If so, why does Congress seem to regularly eschew “bipartisanship”? Many claim it reflects a breakdown of representation, especially at the collective level of policy outcomes. **Harbridge**, Stanford’s Neil Malhotra, and Brian Harrison of Wesleyan University, a former IPR graduate RA, offer another explanation in an IPR working paper: Though people profess support for “bipartisanship” in an abstract sense, the policymaking process through which legislation is created activates partisan social identities. Hence, in their roles as spectators of policymaking, citizens might be inclined to root for their team (i.e., their party). To test their theory, the three researchers are currently working on a project to examine the limitations of public support for bipartisanship in Congress. They received funding from the online data collection platform TESS (see p. 54) to run a series of experiments. Their results reveal that although citizens can recognize bipartisan processes, preferences for bipartisan legislating do not outweigh partisan desires in the evaluation of public policies. As a result, bipartisan legislative outputs are not favored any more than partisan legislative outputs, providing few incentives for party leaders to compromise or build bipartisan coalitions if a partisan victory is possible. These findings call into question whether the apparent breakdown of bipartisan support on legislation is really driven by how much voters take bipartisanship into account—as some surveys seem to indicate.

Motivated Information Processing

Federal spending is usually thought of in terms of a partisan divide—Democrats want to increase funding and Republicans want to make cuts. But when they do ultimately put together a budget and pass appropriations bills to fund the government, how will these two partisan goals be combined? Will a divided government result in more and larger spending cuts than in years when Democrats alone controlled the budgetary process? A recent analysis of U.S. budgetary changes by **Harbridge** and Sarah Anderson of the University of California, Santa Barbara sheds light on this question. It reveals that Democrats actually make larger spending cuts than Republicans do, and this occurs even when they have unified control of government. This puzzling pattern can be explained by what Harbridge and Anderson refer to as “motivated information processing.” In a forthcoming *American Politics Research* article, the two use their analysis of U.S. budgetary spending, which uses data from 1955–2002, to explore how and why party control, congressional turnover, and budgetary constraints affect spending, including the start or elimination of programs and year-to-year funding changes. They argue that in an information-rich world, policymakers are bombarded with so much information they cannot process it all. In response, they fall prey to their partisan biases and engage in motivated reasoning. This leads to selectively ignoring information that runs counter to their partisan predispositions.



It was a year where political institutions were marked by significant events, including the launch of healthcare.gov, a government shutdown, and ongoing Capitol Hill gridlock. IPR faculty continue to examine key aspects of the ways in which social, political, and institutional dynamics shape and constrain national policymaking in the United States. Researchers analyze the role of government, policymakers, public opinion, and the media, among others.

Elite Partisan Polarization and Opinion

Over the last 25 years in U.S. politics, the nature of elite party competition has changed, as political parties have become increasingly polarized. Scholars and pundits actively debate how these elite patterns influence citizens’ polarization, for example, whether citizens have also become more ideologically polarized. Yet few have addressed a more fundamental question: Has elite polarization altered the way citizens arrive at their policy opinions in the first place—and if so, in what ways? IPR political scientist **James Druckman**, Erik Peterson of Stanford University, and Rune Slothuus of Denmark’s Aarhus University address these questions with a theory and two survey experiments on the issues of drilling and immigration. They uncover stark evidence that polarized environments fundamentally change how citizens make their political decisions and, in their estimation, such environments lead to lower-quality opinions. Specifically, polarization intensifies how much impact party endorsements hold over fundamental information, perhaps ironically leading citizens to place greater confidence in opinions that are less rooted in substantiated information. The authors end by reviewing how intense democratic competition can alter public views. First appearing in an IPR working paper, the results were published in the *American Political Science Review* and won two awards from the American Political Science Association in 2013 (see p. 76). Druckman is Payson S. Wild Professor of Political Science and associate director of IPR.

Studying Decisions to Vote

How can researchers effectively study voting decisions given the lack of a unifying theory and the limitations of current large-scale surveys and real-time data? **Charles F. Manski**, an IPR economist, and Adeline Delavande of the University of Essex continue their work on election preferences, releasing an IPR working paper demonstrating the feasibility and usefulness of survey research for studying decisions to vote. By asking respondents to report the probability that they would vote in different hypothetical presidential elections, researchers are able to pose more scenarios than a person will actually face, and are able to vary the characteristics of the elections more than the voters are likely to see in real life elections. Using responses from participants in the American Life Panel, Manski and Delavande find that elicited choice probabilities were effective and “substantially enriched the data available for studies of voting decisions.” They also found that voting time and election closeness were notable determinants of decisions to vote, but candidate preference was not. Most of their results using the hypothetical election scenario data aligned with those using the respondents’ actual 2012 election data. Manski is Board of Trustees Professor of Economics.

Politicization of Science and Technology

Does the politicization of science influence support for scientific innovations? Can it render appeals to evidence inconsequential? In a series of studies, political scientist Toby Bolsen of Georgia State University, a former IPR graduate research assistant, **Druckman**, and IPR social policy professor **Fay Lomax Cook** use experiments and survey data to examine public opinion related to energy policy. In an IPR working paper forthcoming in *Public Opinion Quarterly*, they take what they believe is the first empirical foray into understanding how the frames that highlight politicization affect public opinion—in particular for new and emerging technologies. Taking the example of nuclear power, they randomly present varying informational conditions, or “frames,” to a nationally representative sample of 1,600 participants. The frames include different information about nuclear energy, some on benefits and others on drawbacks, and various references to the politicization of science. Their results show that politicizing science undermines arguments about the environmental benefits of nuclear energy, regardless of whether the arguments do or do not cite supportive scientific evidence. It even serves to reduce support for using evidence in the first place. A second study shows that references to the potential health risks associated with using nuclear power also decreases support, despite additional frames highlighting the benefits of the technology or the politicization of science. Their findings demonstrate that the politicization of science has created a “status-quo bias,” which future research should focus on overcoming to gain public support for emerging technologies. The Initiative for Sustainability and Energy at Northwestern (ISEN) provided funding for this work.

Communication and Collective Actions

Government exists in large part to provide collective goods that the market would not otherwise produce—entities such as highways, clean air, water, law and order, and national defense. A critical question is which of these entities citizens would produce on their own, notwithstanding market forces. Again focusing on the domain of energy conservation, **Druckman**, **Cook**, and Bolsen examine in an IPR working paper when and why citizens engage in collective actions of their own volition—and by extension what government can do to promote such actions. They surveyed 1,600 respondents about attitudes towards various energy sources and policies, measuring their knowledge and political affiliations. Respondents were then assigned to frames that manipulated both the attribution of responsibility for conservation, as well as the effects of conservation behaviors. They were then asked how willing they were to perform energy-saving tasks, about their interest in receiving more information, and how much they would spend on energy-saving actions, such as weatherizing their homes. The researchers find that telling individuals they were responsible for energy conservation had little effect on their willingness to invest, but telling individuals the government was responsible made them less likely to invest. Rather, individuals were more likely to invest only when responsibility for energy conservation was attributed to them and environmental benefits were highlighted. ISEN supported the study, forthcoming in the *Journal of Experimental Political Science*.

Partisan Motivated Reasoning

Does party identification make us support policies we would otherwise reject, or oppose ones we would otherwise support? In *Political Behavior*, **Druckman**, **Cook**, and Bolsen authored another ISEN-supported experiment to test this question, in which they used the bipartisan example of the 2007 Energy Act. Participants were assigned to one of three motivational conditions: no motivation, accuracy motivation (where participants were told they would have to explain their reasons for opinions about the policy), and directional motivation (where participants were told they would be asked about their party affiliation after the policy questions). They were also either given no endorsement information, told one party had endorsed it, told there was consensus bipartisan support, or told some, but not all, members of either party supported it. When individuals were primed to defend their partisan identity, they shifted their evaluations of the Energy Act toward their party’s position if those positions were provided—and away from positions endorsed by the other party if those positions were provided. The three researchers also found that both telling the participants they would have to explain their attitudes and being told of bipartisan support eliminates partisan motivated reasoning. Support for the Act increased across the board when both parties were shown to support it. The working paper also received an American Political Science Association award (see p. 76).

Public Opinion and Democratic Representation

The research literature on democratic representation and on public opinion formation has largely ignored one another as the fields have developed over the last 50 years. A fundamental tension between these two literatures emerges, according to **Druckman**, when considering the reality of the political communication environment. In an IPR working paper forthcoming in *Political Communication*, he reviews work on each, highlighting problems with how “quality opinion” is often defined and how representation is typically studied, and then offers a way forward. Druckman wants to redefine both how we assess opinion formation and study responsiveness. To this end, he advocates for a stronger focus on motivation and a more compelling exploration of responsiveness given the institutional, social, and media environment in which we live.

Mobilizing Group Membership

How can groups seeking to use e-mail to drive membership make sure they stand out in their recipient’s inbox and avoid the spam folder? **Druckman** and Donald Green of Columbia University in the journal *Sage Open* discussed their randomized experiment to assess the effectiveness of three forms of e-mail appeals to prospective members of a newly formed professional group. The three appeals consisted of an impersonal mass e-mail, a personal appeal with a note from the group’s president, and a social pressure appeal with a personal note reminding recipients that they had signed a petition and asking them to make good on their earlier pledge. Druckman and Green find personalization generates strong and statistically significant treatment effects, with social pressure effects proving to be even stronger. The practical implication for groups seeking to gain members might be that it pays for organizations to invest substantial resources in an initial pledge drive. Such a drive provides the target list for a subsequent social pressure intervention that induces people to honor their pledge.

Elite and Mass Opinion About Social Security

Often called “the third rail of American politics,” Social Security was once seen as untouchable. In an IPR working paper, **Cook** and IPR graduate research assistant **Rachel Moskowitz** show that this political wisdom has changed, however, and use the theoretical framework of competitive counterframing to describe the breakdown in consensus among elites during the Clinton, Bush, and Obama administrations. They then ask whether this breakdown in consensus at the elite level has weakened the long-standing support of the public. Overall, they show that it has not, but the widening gaps between the views of affluent and low-income Americans bear careful watching.

Political Views of the Wealthiest Americans

Political scientist and IPR associate **Benjamin Page** and his colleagues, including Northwestern political scientist Jason Seawright, **Cook**, and **Moskowitz**, continue to investigate how America’s wealthiest citizens think about issues and engage in politics. Their pilot study of a random sample of 104 Chicagoans with a median income of \$7.5 million, as reported in *Perspectives on Politics*, indicates that the wealthiest Americans are far more active in politics than the average citizen—they are twice as likely to pay attention to politics and volunteer for political organizations. Most contribute money to political causes, and one-fifth have “bundled” contributions by others. Many also initiate contacts with public officials, especially members of Congress. Their views on social welfare policies tend to be much more conservative than the average American’s. Page and Seawright have recently begun using “web-scraping” techniques to extract information from websites in order to learn what U.S. billionaires say they want from government. Many are silent about politics even while spending large sums of money on it. Page is Gordon Scott Fulcher Professor of Decision Making.



IPR faculty Benjamin Page (middle), Anthony Chen, and Fay Lomax Cook discuss the gap between mass and elite views of Social Security.

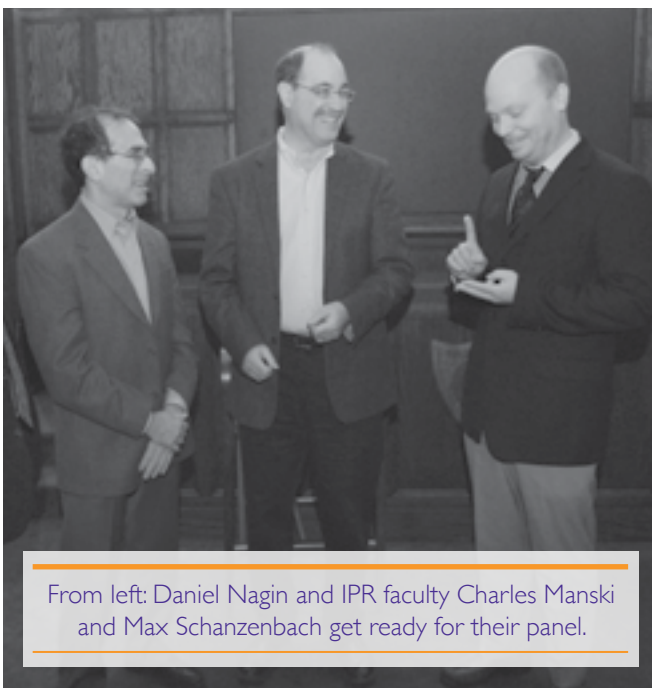
The American Way of Welfare

IPR sociologist **Monica Prasad** is following up on her book *The Land of Too Much: American Abundance and the Paradox of Poverty* (Harvard University Press, 2012) with a new line of research. In it, she focuses on three central questions: Why are U.S. poverty rates higher than in other developed countries? Why did the U.S. experience an attack on state intervention, the neoliberal revolution, starting in the 1980s? And why did the U.S. recently suffer the greatest economic meltdown in 75 years? Prasad develops a demand-side theory of comparative political economy to show how strong governmental intervention

undermined the American welfare state. She starts in the late 19th century when America's economic growth overwhelmed world markets, causing price declines everywhere. While European countries adopted protectionist policies in response, the U.S. federal government instituted progressive taxation and a series of strict financial regulations. As European countries developed growth models focused on investment and exports, the United States developed one based on consumption. The paper focuses on the high poverty rates that have resulted. Prasad demonstrates that governmental policies—taxes and transfer payments—are actually responsible for increasing income inequality—as opposed to market wages.

Public Policy and Uncertainty

In his new book, *Public Policy in an Uncertain World: Analysis and Decisions* (Harvard University Press, 2013), **Manski** argues that current policy is based on untrustworthy analysis that relies far too often on flawed assumptions or leaps of logic. He shared insights from the book at a lecture at the British Academy, where he bluntly told an audience of U.K. civil servants and citizens that they should be more discriminating consumers of policy research. By failing to account for uncertainty in an unpredictable world, policy analysis misleads policymakers with expressions of certitude. In the book, Manski presents an alternative approach that takes account of this inherent uncertainty, moving policy analysis away from “incredible certitude” toward one that incorporates an acknowledgement of partial knowledge. He argues analysis would be more credible—and salient—if researchers would acknowledge upfront the limits of their data and results. He argues diversification, like what one does for a financial portfolio, could provide an answer in some contexts. Taking the example of tax policy, Manski suggested that in theory you could subject different groups to different tax rates



From left: Daniel Nagin and IPR faculty Charles Manski and Max Schanzenbach get ready for their panel.

and policies. Then, depending on the results, the government could adjust the policy every five or 10 years. In response to Manski's presentation, Lord Gus O'Donnell, former U.K. cabinet secretary and civil service head, praised the book for its readability and its attempt to get policymakers to think about the language to express uncertainty and decision making.

Randomizing Regulatory Approval

When a pharmaceutical company asks the Food and Drug Administration to approve a drug or a mining company asks the Environmental Protection Agency for permission to open a coal mine, the agencies fulfill one of their assigned societal functions—regulatory approval of private activities. Yet how should society evaluate such processes? In an IPR working paper, **Manski** proposes a broader evaluative process than current reliance on the narrow scope of judicial review. He argues for allowing agencies, which often face uncertainty, to use diversification and deterrence to randomize regulatory approval. Randomization from diversification would serve to limit potential errors—much in the same way an investor diversifies a financial portfolio—and to improve an agency's decision-making processes over time. In terms of deterrence, randomization would enable an agency to choose an approval rate that could either encourage more socially beneficial, or discourage harmful, applications for regulatory approval.

Death Penalty Research

Given the failings of research to date on the death penalty, **Manski** has also looked at how researchers can move forward to conduct scientifically valid research on the death penalty's deterrent effect and on deterrence in general. Manski and John Pepper of the University of Virginia examine how researchers using the same data but tweaking one factor in a model could arrive at the estimate that each execution costs 18 lives, flipping the results from the previous estimate of saving 18. In a *Journal of Quantitative Criminology* article, the economists tackle the selection problem in social policy analysis. They use state data from 1975 and 1977 to show that data alone cannot determine what treatment course one should follow. Instead, data must be combined with assumptions of varying strengths to draw conclusions about counterfactual outcomes. Thus, they explain how studies using the same data can arrive at conflicting assumptions about whether the death penalty increases or decreases homicides. They warn against the recklessness of applying too-strong assumptions, which though leading perhaps to more definite answers, also result in flawed and conflicting ones. Manski also discussed his recent work on a National Research Council committee evaluating research on the death penalty as a deterrent at a January 10 IPR/Law School event. He was joined by Carnegie Mellon criminologist **Daniel Nagin**, who served as the NRC committee chair, and IPR associate **Max Schanzenbach**, a law professor and criminal sentencing expert, who spoke about the unexplained component of murder rates (see p. 4).



From left: IPR political scientist and associate director James Druckman introduces Arthur (Skip) Lupia of the University of Michigan to the 110 political scientists and students at the Chicago Area Behavior Workshop.

Political-Legal Mobilization of Organized Business

IPR sociologist **Anthony Chen** continues to study the involvement of organized business in American politics, policymaking, and the law. He is laying the foundations of a long-term research project that aims to shed new light on whether and how the legal and political mobilization of business has shaped public policy in the United States. He is in the process of identifying cases that are suitable for analysis, and he plans to conduct surveys of public opinion and collect archival evidence. This year he has begun filling in his understanding of selected topics and trends in corporate taxation.

Gender and Leadership

IPR social psychologist **Alice Eagly** continued her research on gender and leadership, contributing a chapter to *The Oxford Handbook of Gender in Organizations*. In it, she reviewed current evidence that women have particular advantages and disadvantages as leaders. Eagly finds that women demonstrate a more transformational leadership style than men, and this way of leading has been linked to enhanced leadership and organizational performance. Women's higher emotional intelligence, ethical standards, and endorsement of benevolent and universalistic values might also confer benefits in some contexts. Women leaders, however, continue to experience prejudice, discrimination in pay and advancement, and difficulty obtaining desirable job opportunities across their careers. Given this blend of advantages and disadvantages, evidence of women's leadership effectiveness is mixed. Women leaders are more effective than men mainly in less masculine settings. Gender diversity enhances team performance only when

teams manage to overcome group conflict, and it improves corporate financial outcomes only in firms that are poorly governed or those that emphasize innovation. Yet increasingly favorable attitudes towards women leaders and the emergence of a more androgynous cultural model of leadership bode well for women leaders in the future. Eagly is James Padilla Chair of Arts and Sciences.

Female Executives in Latin America

Eagly also joined a team of American and Latin American researchers probing the mystery of how women in Latin American countries seem to fare relatively well in their careers despite encountering socioeconomic and cultural factors that could limit their possibilities of achieving higher management positions. They discover women in Latin America held comparable status in organizations to those in more economically advanced countries. In *Gender in Management*, Eagly and her colleagues reported on surveys and interviews that they conducted with successful Latin American businesswomen to understand their views on their challenges and successes. Interviewees disagreed on issues of discrimination, with many seeing few serious barriers to their professional careers, and regarded the work-life balance as their main challenge. They understood their success mainly in terms of individual factors such as personality characteristics, performance and results, and their own leadership traits. Most were mothers who integrated their family and business lives with the help of paid domestic employees and a support network of relatives. Most admitted that machismo limits women's access to executive positions. They recognized their ambition to attain positions of power was mainly for their own personal satisfaction, with their main goal being personal development and fulfillment.

Resilience in the Rust Belt

Since the 1970s, left-leaning parties around the world have been under pressure to adapt to changing economic and political conditions. With globalization and deindustrialization shrinking organized labor's membership base and undermining the credibility of traditional social-democratic policy agendas, these parties have faced incentives to develop new policy initiatives and court new electoral constituencies. The U.S. Democratic Party is usually thought to have responded to these incentives slowly, poorly, or not at all, and this is presumed to help explain their electoral difficulties since the Reagan presidency. But is this narrative correct? And if Democrats did have trouble adapting, then why? IPR political scientist **Daniel Galvin** turns to the Rust Belt—the region hit hardest by globalization-related trends—to investigate this question in his latest book project. He uncovers surprising variation in the adaptive capacities of Democratic parties in four of the heaviest manufacturing states—Michigan, Ohio, Indiana, and Wisconsin. Drawing upon extensive primary-source research, Galvin finds that these parties' historical ties to organized labor, urban machines, and liberal interest groups (in different proportions in each state) had important consequences for their downstream activities. This project has already turned up some surprising findings. In an IPR working paper, Galvin shows that the relationship between the Michigan Democratic Party and the United Auto Workers Union remained unusually strong between 1970 and 2010, yet Democratic politicians frequently promoted “third-way” policies that clashed with labor's longstanding priorities.



IPR political scientist Georgia Kernell talks about her work on how the consistency of political parties' election messages helps citizens form their views of the parties.

This odd coincidence—party adaptation despite strong party-union linkages—can be explained by the simple fact that union leaders deliberately supported adaptation by Democratic politicians. Contrary to the expectation that interest groups will always push party politicians to take more extreme positions, UAW leaders adopted a highly strategic approach to party politics as they sought to build a broader Democratic coalition.

The Partisan “Perceptual Screen”

IPR political scientist **Georgia Kernell** and IPR graduate research assistant **Kevin Mullinix** closely examine the scope of what political science researchers call the “perceptual screen”—the idea that party identification causes individuals to process information in a way that is favorable to their political orientation. They explore the effects of partisanship on voters' attitudes toward election miscounting. Using a nationally representative sample, they find that partisan winners are more likely to think votes are accurately counted than partisan losers. But when told that a nonpartisan body finds no evidence of miscounting, both winners and losers adjust their beliefs about electoral fairness in a similar fashion. They do not discover any evidence of an “anti-party” bias among Independent voters, but they do find that nonpartisans tend to exhibit “anti-system” attitudes—that is, they are skeptical of election counting no matter the outcome. Additionally, they uncover strong partisan differences for explanations of election misconduct, with Republicans identifying voter fraud as the primary reason and Democrats citing voter suppression.

Party Experience and Consistency

Examining political parties' organizations and records, **Kernell** proposes that electoral consistency and longevity could be critical factors shaping the ways in which citizens identify with a particular party and make voting decisions. She measures the effects of party consistency and experience on party identification and vote choice by analyzing data from 66 political parties in 20 parliamentary democracies. Her results show that individuals who are farther apart ideologically from a party are more likely to identify with and vote for that party if the party is ideologically inconsistent over time, as well as more ideologically diverse at a given time. She also finds that a person's experience with a party serves to increase his or her party identification—with the age of an individual, a party, and the party system all having independent, positive effects on the likelihood of adopting party attachments.

Identifying Issue Frames in Text

Research on framing has traditionally relied on controlled experiments and manually annotated document collections. IPR associate **Daniel Diermeier**, professor of managerial economics and decision sciences, and colleagues introduced a

new method in a *Public Library of Science* article that allows for quantifying the relative strengths of competing linguistic frames that can be efficiently applied to large bodies of text. They tested their method and demonstrated its effectiveness by tracking word co-occurrence patterns in two examples of issue framing in political debates in the U.S. Senate—the framing of terror as a military struggle over time following the events of 9/11, and the different framings of abortion by Democrats and Republicans. They used transcripts from Senate debates between 1989 and 2006 as their data. In the terrorism example, the distance between the words “terror” and “war” shrank from 2001–2006, while distance between “terror” and “crime” grew. In the abortion example, they examined *New York Times* articles as well as Senate transcripts. They realized Republicans were more likely than Democrats to use the word “mother” in the context of abortion and *The New York Times* is more likely to use the word “choice” than “life,” “woman,” or “mother.” Such techniques could be useful to researchers looking to confirm existence of issue frames in future work. Diermeier is IBM Professor of Regulation and Competitive Practice and was elected to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in 2013.

The News Gap

Do news organizations produce the kind of content readers want? Communications and technology researcher and IPR associate **Pablo Boczkowski** asks this question in his newest book, *The News Gap: When the Information Preferences of the Media and the Public Diverge* (MIT Press, 2013). With Northwestern graduate student Eugenia Mitchelstein, he examines the gap between the types of news stories major outlets feature—with many prominent spots going to politics, economics, and international relations—and the ones readers prefer—often entertainment, sports, and crime stories. They analyzed 50,000 stories posted on 20 news sites in seven countries in North and South America and Western Europe. Boczkowski and Mitchelstein underscore that the gap in news preferences exists regardless of a person’s ideological orientation or a country’s national media culture. It narrows during election cycles and major events when people feel compelled to inform themselves—and widens during quieter political times. The two point to troubling consequences for communication, technology, and politics resulting from this digital-age gap.

Unemployment and Attention to News

Do we pay more attention to bad news than good? In continuing research on economic news consumption, **Kernell** demonstrates that individuals are significantly more likely to seek out information about the economy when business conditions are bad or uncertain. Unemployment is the most significant macroeconomic predictor of attention to the news, but politics and international events also play a role. When a new party takes over the White House or the country



IPR media scholar Rachel Davis Mersey has been working with organizations on a study examining views on political expression in the Middle East.

experiences an international or environmental crises—like 9/11 or Hurricane Katrina—individuals increase economic monitoring. Kernell also finds that while a significant information gap exists across education groups, this gap does not increase in response to worsening conditions. All individuals ramp up consumption during hard times and decrease monitoring when economic conditions are stable. This research has important implications for understanding when individuals consume news, how they form economic assessments, and how they use these evaluations to hold politicians accountable.

Middle East Media Survey

IPR media scholar **Rachel Davis Mersey** worked extensively on multiple projects on Middle East media. She served as a research adviser to the Media Use in the Middle East study, an eight-nation survey conducted by Northwestern University in Qatar (NU-Q) and Harris Interactive. The landmark study received international media attention for its comprehensive look at media use and attitudes among residents of Lebanon, Tunisia, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Qatar, Jordan, and the United Arab Emirates. Results revealed that fewer than half of those surveyed thought it was safe to express political opinions online, and 46 percent thought people should be able to criticize governments online. Television remains the most popular medium in the region, but the Internet is gaining ground in many countries. Mersey is using the initial data collected by Harris for additional research on mobile media content innovation and strategies. Mersey was an NU-Q Research Fellow in 2013 and continues her work with NU-Q faculty and Al-Jazeera.

Political Engagement and the Internet

Many believe the 2008 presidential election between candidates Barack Obama and John McCain revolutionized the role of the Internet in political campaigns. IPR associates and communications researchers **Eszter Hargittai** and **Aaron Shaw** take a deep dive into the relationship between online engagement and political participation among young adults in an article published in the *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media*. Using 2009 survey data from about 1,000 college students who were eligible to vote in the 2008 election, they discover no significant association between Internet use and the likelihood of voting. They do, however, see a relationship between participation on social network sites and higher Web-use skills and other forms of political engagement, such as volunteering, signing a petition, donating to a campaign, or contacting elected officials. Their results imply that though Internet usage alone is unlikely to transform existing patterns in political participation radically, it might facilitate the creation of new pathways for political engagement. Hargittai is the Delaney Family Research Professor.

Embedded Experts on Juries

Continuing her work on juries and jury deliberations, law professor and psychologist **Shari Seidman Diamond**, an IPR associate, worked with colleagues to examine the behavior of jurors with specialized expertise during deliberations. In the *William & Mary Law Review*, they investigated how often citizens with specialized knowledge serve as jurors, how they behave when they do, and how legal professionals view the appropriateness of the contributions juror-experts might make. They analyzed surveys from attorneys and judges, as well as the deliberations of the 50 civil trials from the Arizona Jury Project. Ultimately, Diamond and her colleagues concluded that excusing potential jurors with specialized expertise is unwarranted and “inappropriately undermines the increasing heterogeneity on the jury that the elimination of occupational exemptions has worked to promote.” Diamond is Howard J. Trienens Professor of Law.

Unemployment Insurance and Housing

Following the housing market meltdown during the Great Recession, the federal government launched subsidies for mortgage modifications and other housing programs to buoy the market and head off foreclosures. New research by economist and IPR associate **Brian Melzer** and his colleagues shows that dramatic expansions of unemployment benefits also acted as a housing stabilizer. Their preliminary findings suggest that unemployment insurance extensions between 2008 and 2012 perhaps averted one million foreclosures. To understand this issue, the researchers exploit variation in unemployment benefits across the 50 states and over time. For example, a worker laid off in 2011 could collect

up to \$28,000 in benefits in Massachusetts but only \$6,000 in Mississippi. Maximum benefits also grew faster in some states, increasing by 20 percent in Florida but by 160 percent in New Mexico between 1992 and 2011. Melzer and his colleagues compare these changes in maximum benefits to trends in loan delinquencies. Their preliminary findings show that for every \$1,000 increase in maximum jobless benefits, delinquent mortgages drop by 2 percent, and evictions fall by 10 percent among unemployed homeowners. Focusing on recent differences due to unemployment insurance extensions in the Great Recession, they find similar effects.

Solidarity and the Optimal Fiscal Federal Structure

IPR associate **Therese McGuire** continues her work on fiscal federalism, incorporating prominent economic theories into her discussion of the optimal fiscal federal structure. With Xavier Calsamiglia and Teresa Garcia-Milà of Spain's Pompeu Fabra University, McGuire explores the optimal degree of fiscal decentralization when people's preferences for goods and services—which classic treatments of fiscal federalism place under the purview of local governments—exhibit specific egalitarianism or solidarity. They define solidarity as the preference for distributing some goods and services, those that determine life chances like education and healthcare, less unequally than people's ability to pay for them. They find that a system in which the central government provides a common minimum level of the publicly provided good, and local governments are allowed to use their own resources to provide an even higher local level, performs best from an efficiency perspective. The article was published in *International Tax and Public Finance*. McGuire is ConAgra Foods Research Professor in Strategic Management.



IPR associate and communication studies researcher Eszter Hargittai summarizes her work on the social and policy implications of online technology and media.



Providing Training to Boost Capacity for Robust Education Evaluations

IPR's Larry Hedges reviews a program with former RA Elizabeth Tipton, now at Columbia University.

RESEARCH TOPICS:

- Improving the design and quality of experiments
- Developing new methods for research in education
- Data use, quality, and cost in policy research
- Framing methods and pretreatment effects
- Interdisciplinary methodological innovation

IES-Sponsored Research Training

Aiming to increase the national capacity of researchers to develop and conduct rigorous evaluations of the impact of education interventions, the National Center for Education Research in the Institute of Education Sciences (IES), the research wing of the U.S. Department of Education, continued to support a training workshop, co-organized by IPR statistician and education researcher **Larry Hedges**, who is Board of Trustees Professor in Education and Social Policy.

Hedges, along with Michigan State's Spyros Konstantopoulos, led the seventh Summer Research Training Institute on Cluster-Randomized Trials (CRTs) in education from July 15–25 at Northwestern University. Thirty researchers from around the country participated in the two-week training, which focuses on the use of cluster-randomization—a methodological tool that helps account for the group effects of teachers and classrooms when measuring an intervention's effects on individual student achievement. The intensive sessions cover a range of specific topics in the design, implementation, and analysis of education CRTs, from conceptual and operational models to sampling size and statistical power. Participants also learn to use software such as STATA and HLM to conduct hierarchical data modeling and work in groups to create mock funding applications for an education experiment. IES also supported the development of the new Research Design Workshop for Faculty from

Minority-Serving Institutions that will launch in summer 2014. The three-day workshop aims to provide an introduction to the basics of quantitative research design and analysis used in education research and development. It also will seek to provide participants with a conventional set of terminology and perspectives that are widely used in the quantitative education research community. Hedges and Konstantopoulos will lead the workshop with Chris Rhoads, a former IPR graduate research assistant now at the University of Connecticut, and Jessaca Spybrook of Western Michigan University.

Regression-Discontinuity Designs

A type of regression-discontinuity design (RDD) known as “sharp” has three key weaknesses as compared with the randomized clinical trial (RCT). It has lower statistical power, it is more dependent on statistical modeling assumptions, and its treatment effect estimates are limited to the narrow subpopulation of cases immediately around the cutoff, which is rarely of direct scientific or policy interest. In an article in the *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, IPR social psychologist **Thomas D. Cook** and former IPR postdoctoral fellow Coady Wing of the University of Illinois at Chicago examine how adding an untreated comparison to the basic RDD structure can mitigate these three problems. They conducted a within-study comparison that evaluates the performance of the



IPR Colloquia Provide Opportunities for Interdisciplinary Feedback

During IPR's weekly colloquia series, scholars from myriad disciplines present their policy-relevant research seeking interdisciplinary feedback and promoting the cross-pollination of ideas.



pretest and post-test RDDs relative to each other and to a benchmark RCT. They evaluated the Cash and Counseling Demonstration Experiment, a study that compared health, social, and economic outcomes for Medicaid beneficiaries in three states that received spending accounts to procure home- and community-based health services. They show that the pretest-supplemented RDD improves on the standard RDD in multiple ways that bring causal estimates and their standard errors closer to those of an RCT, not just at the cutoff, but also away from it. Cook holds the Joan and Sarepta Harrison Chair in Ethics and Justice.

Propensity-Score Analysis

In an article published in the *Journal of Methods and Measurement in the Social Sciences*, **Cook**, William Shadish of the University of California, Merced and Peter Steiner of the University of Wisconsin–Madison, a former IPR postdoctoral fellow, critique previous research on propensity-score analysis. Cook and his colleagues agree that prior research was right to caution that propensity-score analysis might yield quite different results than those from a randomized experiment, but they question the “ideal” test of whether propensity-score matching in quasi-experimental data could approximate the results of a randomized experiment. Breaking down the previous researchers’ test by criteria, they reveal that it tells little about whether propensity-score analysis can work in principle. They urge methodologists in this field to come up with better ways to construct an empirically based theory of quasi-experimental practice—one that details the conditions under which nonrandomized experiments might provide good answers about cause-and-effect relationships.

Big Data Network

On October 10–11, more than 50 academics, policymakers, and practitioners gathered at Northwestern University for an inaugural meeting and workshop, organized by IPR. They aim to establish a network of faculty, policymakers, and practitioners from around the nation to examine construction of “next-generation” data sets. The National Science Foundation (NSF)-supported group is led by IPR Director and education economist **David Figlio** and Kenneth Dodge of Duke University. The federal government has spent more than half a billion dollars so far on building longitudinal, state-level data sets around the nation. While it has become a national priority, states’ data collection efforts are still in their infancy, with little in the way of best practices or minimum guidelines to optimize data collection, use, or a host of related issues. At the meeting, members of the network shared new research made possible by big data, and discussed how they can work to improve large-scale administrative data sets in the United States. The members of the network hope to create a prototype using data from North Carolina and Florida, states that already have such data sets. Creating a comprehensive data set requires close collaboration

ABOUT THE PROGRAM



Larry Hedges, Chair

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

between scholars, policymakers, and data administrators at many levels of government. Its members include three former governors, two state education superintendents, and the first IES director (see p. 3). The other critical element to making effective use of such data sets is cross-disciplinary knowledge and expertise. IPR faculty economists **Jonathan Guryan** and **Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach**, social demographer **Quincy Thomas Stewart**, psychobiologist **Emma Adam**, and biological anthropologists **Christopher Kuzawa** and **Thomas McDade** are all members.

New Parameters for State Test Scores

IES is also sponsoring a project co-led by **Hedges**, with IPR project coordinator **Zena Ellison**, that seeks to establish new design parameters for education experiments at state, local, school, and classroom levels. Many current education experiments use designs that involve the random assignment of entire pre-existing groups, such as classrooms and schools, to treatments, but these groups are not themselves composed at random. As a result, individuals in the same group tend to be more alike than individuals in different groups, a phenomenon known as statistical clustering. The sensitivity of experiments depends on the amount of clustering in the design, something difficult to know beforehand. This project seeks to provide empirical evidence on measures of clustering, such as intraclass

correlations and related design parameters, and make these available to researchers who design studies in education research. These will be publicly available on IPR's website.

The project has already produced important results, including new methods of calculating standard errors for intraclass correlations and software to perform them. Preliminary work indicates that two-level intraclass correlations (students nested within schools) vary across the participating states. However, in a study Hedges co-authored with Eric Hedberg of the National Opinion Research Center and IPR graduate research assistant **Arend Kuypers**, the researchers' findings from three-level models (students nested within schools nested within districts) suggest that this variation might be related to district structures, and that within-district intraclass correlations are more consistent across states.

Treatment Response for Social Interactions

IPR economist **Charles F. Manski** studies identification of treatment response in settings with social interactions, where personal outcomes might vary with the treatment of others. Defining a person's treatment response to be a function of the entire vector of treatments received by the population, he looks at identification when non-parametric shape restrictions and distributional assumptions are placed on response functions. An early key result of this work is that the traditional assumption of individualistic treatment response is a polar case within the broad class of constant treatment response (CTR) assumptions, the other pole being unrestricted interactions. Important non-polar cases are interactions within reference groups and anonymous interactions. His analysis consists of three parts: first examining identification under Assumption CTR alone, then strengthening this assumption to semi-monotone response, then discussing derivation of these assumptions from models of endogenous interactions. Manski, who is Board of Trustees Professor in Economics, sees these contributions that were published in the *Econometrics Journal* as providing a basis for further research.

Decision Theory for Statistical Agencies

Government data collections are tempting targets for budget cutters—not because the budgets are large, but because ignorance about data use makes the effects of data reductions hard to see. There is a reason that so little is known about data use, however: Inferring data-use impacts is a problem of assessing the causal effect of an intervention—people either observe what happened when the data program was conducted, or what happened when it was not conducted, but not both. With funding from the NSF, IPR statistician **Bruce Spencer** and **Manski** are conducting a cost-benefit analysis of the 2020 Census. Almost half a trillion dollars per year in federal funds are allocated by formulas that involve census data, so while lawmakers are looking to keep census costs down, it is imperative to question whether the cost controls will lead to



A participant from the IES-supported cluster-randomization workshop asks IPR group leader James Pustejovsky how best to construct a funding proposal.

acceptable levels of accuracy. Because data use is so complicated and difficult to study, Spencer argues that new theory is needed to develop, analyze, and interpret case studies for data use in policymaking and research. The practical implications of research findings are important for statistical agencies, in the long and short term, to understand and communicate the value of data programs the agencies might carry out. The researchers propose to extend and apply statistical decision theory to attack such basic questions. The research will focus on data use, data quality, data cost, and optimization.

Multiple-Frame Sampling for Population Subgroups

For studies where the objective is to estimate the prevalence rate of members of a sampled population who fall in a rare subgroup, **Spencer** and colleagues examine the advantages of multiple-frame samples compared with single-frame household samples for improving statistical precision of prevalence estimates for the same cost or less. In an article published in the *Proceedings of the Survey Research Methods Section*, they examine relative cost-efficiency for simple unclustered samples and then consider the effect of cluster sampling. Findings are illustrated for the case where the subgroup consists of victims of rape and sexual assault (RSA) in a civilian non-institutionalized population of persons 12 years and older. Two sample designs are considered: first, dual-frame sampling from a conventional household frame plus a frame constructed from police reports of RSA, versus single-frame sampling from the household frame. They conclude that a dual-frame design will be more cost-effective to the extent that RSA prevalence among police reports exceeds the RSA prevalence in the population as a whole. However, gains in the dual-frame design are diminished in direct relationship to the size of intraclass correlation when cluster sampling is considered.

Time-Sharing Experiments (TESS)

IPR sociologist **Jeremy Freese** has co-led TESS, or Time-Sharing Experiments for the Social Sciences, since 2008. Last year, TESS received renewed NSF funding and Freese was joined by IPR political scientist and associate director **James Druckman** as co-principal investigator. Launched in 2001, TESS offers researchers opportunities to test their experimental ideas on large, diverse, randomly selected subject populations. Faculty, graduate students, and postdoctoral researchers submit their proposals for peer review, and if accepted, TESS then fields the Internet-based survey or experiment on a random sample of the U.S. population at no cost. TESS is especially vital for scholars, insofar as it enables them to implement major research projects for free. This might be particularly relevant for younger scholars, and for this reason, they launched the first annual Special Competition for Young Investigators in 2013, open only to graduate students or individuals who completed their PhD within the past three years. TESS proposals are accepted based on external reviews. IPR political scientist **Laurel Harbridge's** work on Americans' bipartisanship preferences (see p. 41) and IPR social psychologist **Jennifer Richeson's** work on her "majority-minority" nation research (see pp. 14–15) were done in conjunction with TESS. Former IPR graduate research assistant **Thomas Leeper**, now at Aarhus University in Denmark, also received TESS funding for an examination of population-based studies.

TESS also offers the possibility of simultaneous cheap, diverse—but not representative or probability-based—recruitment using Amazon Mechanical Turk (MTurk). MTurk is an online crowdsourcing platform launched by Amazon in 2005, which connects "workers" with "requesters." According to Amazon's website, requesters ask workers to complete "HITs," or human intelligence tasks. HITs are self-contained tasks that a worker can work on, submit an answer, and collect a reward for completing. This allows researchers to compare their results from a representative population on a typical TESS study with one on the unrepresentative MTurk platform. Druckman, Freese and several graduate students are completing a number of studies comparing MTurk to TESS and other probability sampling surveys. Freese is Ethel and John Lindgren Professor of Sociology and Druckman is Payson S. Wild Professor of Political Science.

Research Prizes for Minorities

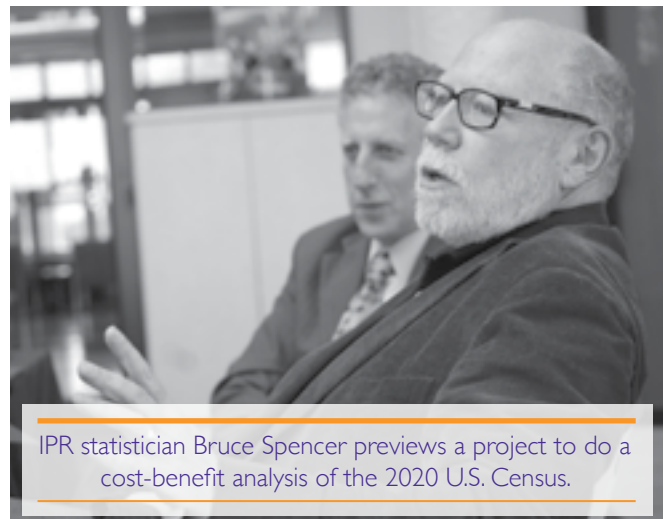
The need for the United States to compete globally in science continues to rise, but minority groups, despite being the fastest-growing segments of the population, are grossly underrepresented in these fields. One attempt at increasing the number of minority students entering careers in biomedicine is the use of prizes for undergraduate minority student research awarded by the Annual Biomedical Research Conference for Minority Students. Although research prizes are common in science, it is unclear whether they have effects on the careers of scientists, and if so, how they produce these effects. With funding from the National Institute of General Medical

Sciences, **Hedges** and **Evelyn Asch**, an IPR research associate, are conducting a study of this research prize competition that will explore the mechanisms by which research prizes might affect undergraduate minority students' career success as scholars. The project results will help provide answers about how to increase the number of minority students who become biomedical researchers and why such awards could be a potent tool in transforming students into scientists.

Advancing Education Research

The Society for Research on Educational Effectiveness (SREE) organized a conference in March on "Learning from Mixed Results" and one in September on "Interdisciplinary Synthesis." Members of the IPR community who presented research findings included fellows **Cook, Figlio, Hedges**, and **Jonathan Guryan**, as well as postdoctoral fellow **Martyna Citkowicz**, IPR graduate research assistant **James Pustejovsky**, and former IPR graduate RAs **Kelly Hallberg** of the American Institutes for Research, **Elizabeth Tipton** of Columbia University, and **Vivian Wong** of the University of Virginia. Plenary speakers at the conferences were, in March, **Christopher Jencks** and **Catherine Snow** of Harvard University, **Marshall Smith** of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, and **Aimee Rogstad Guidera**, founder of the Data Quality Campaign. **James Pellegrino** of the University of Illinois at Chicago and New York University's **Cybele Raver** spoke in September.

Hedges is co-founder of SREE, serving as its president since 2009 when the society established a base at IPR. During this time, the society's membership, composed in part of individuals in the social sciences, behavioral sciences, and statistics—all of whom endeavor to advance research on causal relations in education, has tripled. SREE's dissemination program includes the *Journal of Research on Educational Effectiveness*, a peer-reviewed research publication focused on education methods, evaluation, interventions, and policy, now in its seventh volume. Professional development activities include workshops and short courses, running from three hours to three days during conferences, and a summer program at Stanford University.



IPR statistician Bruce Spencer previews a project to do a cost-benefit analysis of the 2020 U.S. Census.



IPR Faculty Examine How Neighborhoods Influence Outcomes
From left: IPR's Jonathan Guryan and Mary Pattillo join a discussion with Harvard's Robert Sampson.

RESEARCH TOPICS:

- Urban poverty concentration
- Cross-national urban issues
- Race and income segregation
- Community policing and criminal justice
- Public and mixed-income housing

The Enduring Neighborhood Effect

At a special lecture on May 17, Harvard's **Robert Sampson** unpacked 10 years of wide-ranging, in-depth research on nearly 350 poor, middle-class, and wealthy neighborhoods throughout the city of Chicago from his 2012 book, *Great American City: Chicago and the Enduring Neighborhood Effect* (University of Chicago Press). The project's massive and sophisticated data collection consisted of two key parts: a longitudinal birth cohort study of 6,200 children—including 12,000 interviews from pregnancy to young adulthood—to examine the children's changing life circumstances, and an intensive study of each neighborhood's social, economic, organizational, political, and cultural structures. Their observations and data allowed them to document not just higher-order structural changes and community-level processes but also drill down into individual actions, suggesting that place still very much matters in shaping a person's outcomes. By isolating the character of the city's social structure and focusing on social processes and mechanisms, Sampson hoped to construct a more complete theory of neighborhood effects.

Co-sponsored by IPR, the 2013 Social Inequality and Difference Lecture was followed by a panel discussion after the lecture with several IPR faculty, including IPR political scientist **Wesley G. Skogan**, IPR economist **Jonathan Guryan**, and **Mary Pattillo**, an IPR associate, sociologist, and African American

studies researcher who is also Harold Washington Professor. Guryan pointed to the need to tailor poverty-reduction policies to individuals as well as communities. Skogan considered the "great mystery" of why crime is still dropping despite factors that would seemingly push it up. Pattillo discussed the importance of examining the effects of specific policies, such as school closings and urban renewal. Social policy professor **Dan Lewis**, an IPR associate, served as moderator.

Segregation as a Source of Inequality

IPR sociologist **Lincoln Quillian** is refining a formal model that demonstrates exactly how racial segregation contributes to poverty concentration. The model explains how segregation contributes to inequality by increasing the level of contextual advantage experienced by members of advantaged segregated groups and the level of contextual disadvantage of disadvantaged segregated groups. His model begins with two groups that differ along a dimension of average advantage and disadvantage, such as two racial groups that differ in their poverty rates. The model employs standard measures of segregation and contact, and it illustrates how the contextual advantages and disadvantages from segregation are affected by the size of the group and the rates of group advantage (or disadvantage). It also considers complexities that occur when the characteristics that define advantages or disadvantages,

such as income or poverty, have independent effects. The decomposition can be applied to understand how segregation contributes to contextual advantage for advantaged group members in a variety of situations, including neighborhoods, schools, and friendship networks.

Dynamic Models of Income Segregation

Housing trends in many U.S. cities reflect decades of racial segregation. But why do current residents continue to relocate along racial lines? In a project with Elizabeth Bruch of the University of Michigan, **Quillian** is examining the modern-day causes of urban racial segregation. One hypothesis is that a community's racial make-up directly affects the decision to move—or not move—to a certain community, either due to prejudice or to a preference for living among neighbors of one's own race. A second hypothesis is that race only appears to matter because it is associated with other characteristics that do matter to households, such as school quality or poverty and crime rates. To test these hypotheses, Quillian and Bruch have developed new methods for modeling residential mobility across neighborhoods. Their model shows that neighborhood racial composition is the strongest driver of neighborhood mobility decisions for whites. Racial composition is also a strong driver for blacks, however, their decisions are more likely to be influenced by additional factors like price and distance as well. These findings suggest that racial composition is a major factor in residential mobility decisions, even controlling for housing prices, economic status, and other factors of the communities to which people move. The research is supported by the National Institutes of Health.

Socioeconomic Segregation in the U.S. and France

An IPR working paper by **Quillian** and sociologist Hugues Lagrange of Sciences Po in France presents a unique comparative study of socioeconomic segregation in American and French cities. Gathering and analyzing census data from both countries, they see significantly higher levels of socioeconomic segregation in large cities in America than in France, with Americans more segregated on all three of the measures tested—income, employment status, and educational attainment. In measuring the levels of socioeconomic segregation in these cities, the two find U.S. cities are more segregated than French ones on all three measures tested: income, employment status, and education level. (The smaller French neighborhood units tend to produce higher segregation rates, indicating that the difference in socioeconomic segregation between the two countries is likely greater than estimated here.) The researchers also find the share of neighborhood income differences that can be explained by racial or ethnic composition is similar in the two countries. This suggests that racial segregation cannot account for the greater socioeconomic segregation in the United States.

Quillian and Lagrange, who are part of a wider research collaboration between IPR and Sciences Po, believe such

ABOUT THE PROGRAM



Lincoln Quillian, Chair

IPR's Urban Policy and Community Development faculty examine the shifting landscape of urban life, considering a variety of issues related to today's urban experience. Additionally, many IPR faculty work on projects that are closely tied to urban policy in areas such as education, housing, welfare reform, community policing, and performance measurement and rewards.

international comparisons are important because they "place each country in a broader context that increases understanding as to whether the level of socioeconomic variation is unusual." This is of particular concern in the United States as socioeconomic segregation has greatly increased here over the past 30 years. Their additional aims in comparing the two countries are to help researchers apply rigorous models from one country to the other—and to show how differences in national policies might play a role in addressing segregation.

Trading Democracy for Justice

The United States has a higher rate of incarceration than any other country in the world, with minorities and low-income individuals disproportionately represented. But mass incarceration affects more than just those imprisoned—because incarceration is concentrated within certain neighborhoods and racial groups, its impact also extends to the communities, family, and friends of those imprisoned. The political consequences of these effects are examined in political scientist and IPR associate **Traci Burch's** book *Trading Democracy for Justice: Criminal Convictions and the Decline of Neighborhood Political Participation* (University of Chicago, 2013). Looking at data from neighborhoods with imprisonment rates up to 14 times the national average, the book charts demographic features that include information about imprisonment, probation, and parole, as well as voter turnout and volunteerism. Burch shows that living in a neighborhood with high rates of its inhabitants in prison significantly decreases political participation and that people living in these neighborhoods are less likely to engage with their communities. The result is the political demobilization of entire

neighborhoods that undermines already disadvantaged communities. It also contributes to existing levels of inequality, even among others living in these areas who are not directly affected by the criminal justice system.

Job-Related Burnout in Policing

Employee burnout can affect workers' health, motivation, and job performance, as well as increase staff turnover. Research by IPR political scientist and policing expert **Wesley G. Skogan** with William McCarty of the University of Illinois at Chicago is looking at the role of civilians in police work, and how their burnout experiences differ from—or resemble—those of their sworn counterparts. The study, published in *Police Quarterly*, is based on surveys of both sworn and civilian employees of 12 police departments from across the United States. The study reveals that the burnout process is a universal one, with virtually the same factors driving it for both civilians and sworn officers. Difficulties balancing work and life responsibilities, the support they receive from coworkers and supervisors, the fairness of personnel policies, and personal factors contributed to burnout levels.

Procedural Justice and Legitimacy

Skogan is directing an evaluation of the Chicago Police Department's (CPD) Procedural Justice and Legitimacy initiative. The initiative is part of the CPD's relaunch of its 20-year-old community policing program known as the Chicago Alternative Policing Strategy (CAPS), which Skogan has extensively studied. The entire department will undergo training in how to better deal with the public. To date, more than 8,700 officers and 250 new recruits have taken part. The Procedural Justice and Police Legitimacy training is designed to teach officers how to treat residents fairly and with respect to earn their trust, demonstrate their importance in maintaining social order and manage conflicts, and ultimately improve officer safety and efficiency. Skogan's study focuses on this and other efforts by the Chicago police to reshape its relationship and rebuild its legitimacy in the eyes of minority communities, as well as to redirect the character of its internal supervisory and decision making processes. The MacArthur Foundation and Joyce Foundation are jointly providing funding for the project. A research conference is being organized on the topic in 2014 for researchers and police officials from three continents to discuss comparative research on procedural justice and policing.

Police Reform in Brazil

In a national study published in *Police Practice and Research*, **Skogan** examined self-reported use of force on the street by police officers in Brazil in the midst of a large police reform effort. The survey was conducted as part of an evaluation aiming to upgrade police professionalism, tighten standards for operations, and improve managerial practices. Consistent with decades of police research, the frequency of self-reported use of force was driven most strongly by perceptions of a risky work environment. Use of force was reported less frequently by officers who were satisfied with their careers, scored high on a personal professionalism index, and supported the reform program and community policing. Women, older officers, and those with more education reported less frequent use of force, however, most Brazilian officers were young, male, ill-educated, and poorly paid.

Community Policing in Rio de Janeiro

With scholars Vicente Riccio, Marco Ruediger, and Steven Ross in Brazil, **Skogan** evaluated the adoption of a new model for community policing in two communities in Rio de Janeiro. Community policing was introduced in two very poor areas (favelas) that were initially dominated by heavily-armed criminal gangs. The program's principal feature was a commitment to delivering honest, professional, and respectful policing. Six hundred residents were surveyed regarding the program and their concerns about crime and police misconduct. The survey found widespread support for the initial intervention, which aimed at damping the presence of armed criminal gangs and reducing omnipresent fear of crime. The findings suggest that it is possible for police to improve the quality of life and reduce concern about crime in one of the most difficult urban environments in the Americas. The article was published in *Police Practice and Research: An International Journal*.



From left: Visiting scholar Maarten Van Craen, IPR policing expert Wesley G. Skogan, and professor emeritus Timothy Earle compare police reforms in the U.S. and abroad.

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From left: Morton Schapiro, Kevin Soter, and David Figlio discuss their paper examining the impact of tenure-track faculty on student learning.

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- Socioeconomic Segregation in Large Cities in France and the U.S.** by Lincoln Quillian and Hugues Lagrange (WP-13-24)

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Anthony Chen

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Public Policy in an Uncertain World: Analysis and Decisions

by Charles F. Manski, Harvard University Press

With cutting-edge academic research playing an increasingly important role in public policy determination, several critical questions about the reliability of standard research methodology have surfaced. In his new book, *Public Policy in an Uncertain World*, IPR economist **Charles Manski** reveals how the assumptions on which most current research is based are highly flawed. He argues that first-tier research needs to shift from strong, unrealistic assumptions to less rigid assumptions that reflect the true, albeit partial, knowledge that researchers

actually have access to. Framing his argument around real-world topics such as the effects of the death penalty on homicide and the impact of unemployment benefits on unemployment rates, Manski posits that partial-knowledge assumptions with lower degrees of certainty might actually provide more reasonable and relevant research results—and thus, more effective policy outcomes.



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Burton Weisbrod

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Faculty Associates

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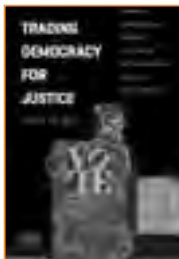
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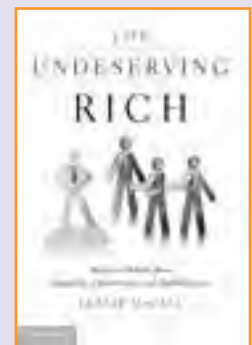


The Undeserving Rich: American Beliefs About Inequality, Opportunity, and Redistribution

by Leslie McCall, Cambridge University Press

Though the Great Recession and Occupy Wall Street movement have raised numerous questions about U.S. economic equality, income inequality has continued to rise. In her new book, *The Undeserving Rich*, IPR sociologist **Leslie McCall** overturns the long-established assumption that Americans care little about economic inequality. Using survey data and other media content, McCall explains that Americans are not indifferent to income inequality, but rather hold differing conceptions of how to approach the issue. Shifting the focus from the

long-studied poor and poverty-stricken to the “undeserving rich,” McCall explores the connection between the rich and the poor, showing that many Americans see wealth inequality as a function of inequality of opportunity. Rather than seeking solutions through spending and taxation programs, many Americans prefer instead to achieve these goals through the market, by targeting jobs, education, and fair-pay alternatives.



RECENT FACULTY BOOKS

Steven Epstein

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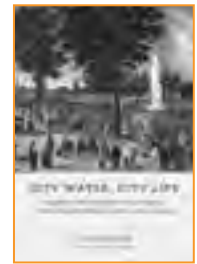


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Distinguished Public Policy Lectures

April 8, "A Conversation with Cecilia Rouse" by **Cecilia Rouse**, Dean, Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs; and Katzman and Ernst Professor in the Economics of Education, Princeton University; Former Member, Council of Economic Advisers under President Barack Obama, 2009–2011

October 28, "A Conversation with Katherine Baicker" by **Katherine Baicker**, Professor of Health Economics, Department of Health Policy and Management, School of Public Health, Harvard University; Former Member, Council of Economic Advisers under President George W. Bush, 2005–2007

IPR Fay Lomax Cook Monday Colloquia

January 7, "Long-Run Impacts of Childhood Access to the Safety Net" by **Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach**, Associate Professor of Human Development and Social Policy and IPR Fellow

January 14, "Grandfathers Matter(ed): Occupational Mobility Across Three Generations in the U.S. and Britain, 1850–1910" by **Joseph Ferrie**, Professor of Economics and IPR Associate

January 28, "Explanations for Racial/Ethnic Variation in Sleep Duration" by **Mercedes Carnethon**, Associate Professor of Preventive Medicine and IPR Associate

February 11, "Health-Related Resilience in Low Socioeconomic-Status Children" by **Edith Chen**, Professor of Psychology and IPR Fellow

February 18, "The Influence of Low-Income Children's Participation in Head Start on Their Parent's Educational Attainment" by **Lindsay Chase-Lansdale**, Professor of Human Development and Social Policy and IPR Fellow, and **Terri Sabol**, IPR Postdoctoral Fellow



Monica Prasad

February 25, "Gendered Risk Structures and Adolescents: Accounts of Parental Peer and Place Mentoring" by **Simone Ispa-Landa**, Assistant Professor of Human Development and Social Policy and IPR Associate

March 4, "The Rise of Independents: How News Coverage Decreases Individual Partisanship" by **Yanna Krupnikov**, Assistant Professor of Political Science and IPR Associate

April 15, "How the Politicization of Science Shapes Public Opinion" by **James Druckman**, Payson S. Wild Professor of Political Science; Chair of IPR's Program on Politics, Institutions, and Public Policy; and IPR Associate Director and Fellow

April 22, "Noncognitive Ability, Test Scores, and Teacher Quality: Evidence from Ninth Grade Teachers in North Carolina" by **Kirabo Jackson**, Assistant Professor of Education and Social Policy and IPR Fellow

April 29, "Policy Uncertainty and Voter Behavior" by **Georgia Kernell**, Assistant Professor of Political Science and IPR Fellow

May 6, "Black Picket Fences Revisited" by **Mary Pattillo**, Harold Washington Professor of Sociology and African American Studies and IPR Associate

May 13, "Adolescent Stress and Positive Well-Being: Implications for Adult Health" by **Emma Adam**, Professor of Human Development and Social Policy and IPR Fellow, and **Lindsay Till Hoyt**, Doctoral Student in Human Development and Social Policy and IPR Graduate Research Assistant

May 20, "Psychosocial Interventions in Prostate Cancer Survivorship: Considering Biobehavioral and Sociocultural Processes" by **Frank Penedo**, Roswell Park Professor of Medical Social Sciences; Program Leader, Cancer Control and Survivorship Research Program, Robert H. Lurie Comprehensive Cancer Center; and IPR Associate

October 7, "Are Tenure-Track Professors Better Teachers?" by **David Figlio**, IPR Director and Fellow, and Orrington Lunt Professor of Education and Social Policy and of Economics; **Morton Schapiro**, Northwestern University President, Professor, and IPR Fellow; and **Kevin Soter** (WCAS '12) Consultant, The Greatest Good

October 14, "Birth Weight, Breast-Feeding, and Chronic Inflammation: Early Origins of Health Disparities Among Young Adults in the United States" by **Thomas McDade**, Professor of Anthropology, IPR Fellow, and Director of IPR's Cells to Society (C2S): The Center on Social Disparities and Health

November 4, "Foreign Aid and Social Development" by **Monica Prasad**, Professor of Sociology and IPR Fellow

November 11, "The Suffocation of Marriage" by **Eli Finkel**, Professor of Psychology and Management and Organizations and IPR Associate

November 18, "Promoting Competition in Healthcare Markets: Takeaways from a Year at the Federal Trade Commission" by **Leemore Dafny**, Professor of Management and Strategy, Kellogg School of Management; Herman Smith Research Professor in Hospital and Health Services; and IPR Associate

COLLOQUIA AND EVENTS

November 25, "Fifty Shades of Fiscal Federalism" by **Therese McGuire**, Professor of Management and Strategy; ConAgra Foods Research Professor in Strategic Management, Kellogg School of Management; and IPR Associate

December 2, "The Great Divide: Elite and Mass Opinion About Social Security" by **Fay Lomax Cook**, Professor of Human Development and Social Policy and IPR Fellow

C2S Colloquia and Events

January 18, "Epigenetic Variation in Human Health and Disease" by **Michael Kobor**, Associate Professor, Department of Medical Genetics; and Scientist, Centre for Molecular Medicine and Therapeutics, University of British Columbia

November 12, "Psychobiology of Self Regulation: The Development of Executive Functions in Early Childhood" by **Clancy Blair**, Professor of Applied Psychology, New York University

Both C2S talks were co-sponsored with the Human Development and Social Policy Brown Bag Series.

Joint Economics/IPR Seminar Series

January 10, "Deterrence and the Death Penalty: Report of the National Research Council" by **Daniel Nagin**, Teresa and H. John Heinz III University Professor of Public Policy and Statistics, Carnegie Mellon University; and Chair, Committee on Deterrence and the Death Penalty, National Research Council

March 4, "Evolving Choice Inconsistencies in Selection of Prescription Drug Insurance: Do Choices Improve Over Time?" by **Jonathan Gruber**, Professor of Economics, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; and Healthcare Program Director, National Bureau of Economic Research

April 4, "The Effects of Poor Neonatal Health on Cognitive Development" by **David Figlio**, Orrington Lunt Professor of Education and Social Policy and of Economics, and IPR Director and Fellow

May 2, "Active vs. Passive Decisions and Crowd-Out in Retirement Savings Accounts: Evidence from Denmark" by **John Friedman**, Assistant Professor of Public Policy, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University

May 23, "Desegregation and (Un)Equal Opportunity: The Long March from *Brown* to the Mobility of *Brown's* Grandchildren" by **Rucker Johnson**, Associate Professor, Goldman School of Public Policy, University of California, Berkeley

May 30, "Survey Incentives for Teenagers" by **Sarah Reber**, Assistant Professor of Public Policy, Luskin School of Public Affairs, UCLA

October 3, "Directed Giving: Evidence from an Inter-Household Transfer Experiment" by **Dean Yang**, Associate Professor of Economics and Public Policy, Gerald R. Ford School of Public Policy, University of Michigan

November 14, "Local Economic Development, Agglomeration Economies, and the Big Push: 100 Years of Evidence from the Tennessee Valley Authority" by **Enrico Moretti**, Michael Peevey and Donald Vial Professor of Economics, University of California, Berkeley

November 21, "Breaking the Glass Ceiling: The Effect of Board Quotas on Female Labor Market Outcomes in Norway" by **Marianne Bertrand**, Chris P. Dialynas Professor of Economics, Booth School of Business, University of Chicago

Q-Center Colloquia

April 18, "Ratio-of-Mediator-Probability Weighting for Causal Mediation Analysis" by **Guanglei Hong**, Associate Professor of Comparative Human Development, University of Chicago

May 21, "Matching Designs for Observational Studies with Multilevel Data" by **Peter Steiner**, Assistant Professor of Educational Psychology, University of Wisconsin–Madison

May 29, "Women of the National Supported Work Demonstration" by **Jeffrey Smith**, Professor of Economics; and Researcher, Population Studies Center, Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan

Series on Performance Measurement

April 23, "Your Tax Dollars at Work! Chicago Police Lawsuit Payments: How Much, and for What?" by **Mark Iris**, Lecturer, Political Science and Mathematical Methods in the Social Sciences, Northwestern University

May 7, "Public Reporting of Hospital Infection Rates: Ranking the States on Report and Website Content, Credibility, and Usability" by **David Hyman**, H. Ross and Helen Workman Chair in Law; Director, Epstein Program in Health Law and Policy, College of Law, University of Illinois at Urbana–Champaign

October 8, "Technology Growth and Expenditure Growth in Healthcare" by **Jonathan Skinner**, James O. Freedman Presidential Professor of Economics, Dartmouth Institute for Health Policy and Clinical Practice, and Geisel School of Medicine, Dartmouth College

October 16, "Economic Analysis of Black-White Disparities in NYPD's Stop-and-Frisk Program" by **Nicola Persico**, Professor of Managerial Economics and Decision Sciences, Northwestern University

Conferences, Workshops, and Other Events

January 9, "Deterrence and the Death Penalty: Report of the National Research Council" by **Daniel Nagin**, Teresa and H. John Heinz III University Professor of Public Policy and Statistics, Carnegie Mellon University; and Chair, Committee on Deterrence and the Death Penalty, National Research Council
Co-sponsored with the School of Law and its Searle Center for Law, Regulation, and Economic Growth

March 7, IPR/John H. Hollister Lecture: "The Past, Present, and Future of Healthcare Reform" by **Jonathan Gruber**, Professor of Economics, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; and Healthcare Program Director, National Bureau of Economic Research

May 10, Chicago Area Behavior (CAB) Workshop, organized by **James Druckman**, Payson S. Wild Professor of Political Science, IPR Associate Director and Fellow, with keynote lectures and discussions by **Arthur Lupia**, Hal R. Varian Professor of Political Science and Research Professor at the Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan; **Leslie McCall**, Professor of Sociology and IPR Fellow, Northwestern University; **Kathleen Dolan**, Professor of Political Science, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee; **David Nickerson**, Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Notre Dame; and **Daniel Diermeier**, IBM Professor of Regulation and Competitive Practice and IPR Associate, Northwestern University
Co-sponsored with the Weinberg College of Arts and Sciences and its Department of Political Science

May 17, Social Inequality and Difference Lecture: "Neighborhood Effects and the New Social Transformation of the American City" by **Robert Sampson**, Henry Ford II Professor of the Social Sciences, Harvard University; Director of Social Sciences, Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study

Co-sponsored with the Department of Sociology, Department of Political Science, Center for Civic Engagement, and One Book, One Northwestern

November 14, Northwestern Distinguished Alumnus Lecture: "You Talkin' to Me? Response to Provocation, Development of Violent Behavior, and Preventive Intervention" by **Kenneth Dodge**, William McDougall Professor of Public Policy, Professor of Psychology and Neuroscience, and Founding Director of the Center for Child and Family Policy, Duke University

Co-sponsored with the Department of Psychology

November 20, Second Chicago LGBTQ Health & Wellness Conference, co-organized by **Brian Mustanski**, Professor of Medical Social Sciences, IPR Associate, and Director of Northwestern's IMPACT LGBTQ Health and Development Program. Keynote talks were by Dr. **Lawrence Tabak**, Deputy Director of the National Institutes of Health, and **Walter Bockting**, Professor of Medical Psychology and Co-Director of the LGBT Health Initiative, Division of Gender, Sexuality, and Health at Columbia University

Co-organized by the IMPACT Program and Center on Halsted, with silver-level support from IPR



Harvard healthcare economist Katherine Baicker, a former White House economic adviser for George W. Bush, discusses research and career options in policymaking with IPR graduate research assistants before her lecture.

FACULTY IN THE MEDIA—SELECTED MENTIONS

Two *New York Times* articles in January discussing the public sector and nonprofit and for-profit hospitals cited IPR economist **Burton Weisbrod**'s work on nonprofit institutions.

In a March 2 opinion piece in *The New York Times*, IPR sociologist **Monica Prasad** compared the United States and Europe, finding more poverty and inequality, as well as a more interventionist government in the United States.

A March 18 article in *The Washington Post* quoted IPR political scientist **Daniel Galvin** and referred to his work on president-party relations in discussing the relevance of political parties.

IPR associate and political scientist **Benjamin Page** co-authored a piece on how the wealthiest Americans enjoy greater access to policymakers and have very different priorities from most Americans in *The Los Angeles Times* on March 22.

In *Science News* on May 31, IPR sociologist **Jeremy Freese** discussed a link between genetic factors and how much schooling a person ends up with, warning against genetic determinism.

On June 4, many news sources including *The New York Times*, *Chicago Tribune*, *USA Today*, and NBC News reported communications studies researcher and IPR associate **Ellen Wartella**'s finding that a majority of American parents are not concerned about their children's media use.

On June 11, *The New York Times* cited IPR associate and healthcare economist **Leemore Dafny**'s study on hospital mergers as a means of increasing prices.

On June 18, TV outlets across the country featured oncofertility research by IPR associate and obstetrician **Teresa Woodruff**.

A study featured in *The Wall Street Journal* on June 24 and co-authored by IPR economist **Jonathan Guryan** revealed that people are encouraged to save when offered prizes.

US News & World Report, among other sources, reported the opening of the nation's first LGBT-focused clinical psychology track on July 25, directed by IPR associate **Brian Mustanski**.

IPR media scholar **Rachel Davis Mersey** appeared on WTTW's "Chicago Tonight" to discuss the launching of Al Jazeera America on August 21.

In August, The Huffington Post, NBC News, and radio stations covered IPR faculty **Thomas McDade** and **Emma Adam**'s finding that high debt is linked to higher blood pressure.

IPR education economists **David Figlio**, IPR's director, and **Morton Schapiro**, Northwestern's president, released a study of tenure- and nontenure-track teaching in September, authored with alumnus Kevin Soter. It received extensive coverage in *USA Today*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *The New York Times*, and others.

IPR economist **Kirabo Jackson** discussed changes in single-gender schooling, including the opening of public single-gender schools, in an August 11 article in the *Chicago Tribune*. His research on the impact of teachers on students' test scores and noncognitive skills was featured in a *Washington Post* story on relative standards for student success in October.

IPR psychobiologist **Emma Adam** discussed her collaboration with the athletic department to evaluate the sleep of Northwestern football players in the sports section of *The New York Times* on September 17.

On September 3, NBC News, *The Economist*, *Popular Science*, and others featured a study co-authored by IPR psychologist **Sandra Waxman**, finding that infants respond to lemur sounds in their first months, shedding light on the developmental origin of a crucial link between human language and core cognitive capacities. *Time* featured another study on how infants acquire new words in English, Korean, and Mandarin on October 1.

In an October 1 *New York Times* "Room for Debate," **Celeste Watkins-Hayes**, an IPR sociologist and African American studies researcher, called on the government to take small steps to improve borrowing for minority and underserved communities by bolstering existing entities to address lending deserts.

In September, IPR sociologist **Leslie McCall**'s research on perceptions of economic inequality was mentioned in a *Los Angeles Times* feature on how Americans identify their own level of prosperity. She was also cited in a *New York Times* column about what the government can do about inequality and contributed to a March 31 "Room for Debate" on pay equity and economic trends.

Between September 19 and 23, IPR economist **Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach**'s work on the costs and benefits of expanding access to preschool education was featured in *The Wall Street Journal*. Her study showing evidence of the long-term benefits of food stamps was cited by *New York Times* columnist Paul Krugman, and her study revealing potential disadvantages for students who are "redshirted," or held back for a year before enrolling in kindergarten, was discussed in *The New Yorker*.

In an October 9 WTTW "Chicago Tonight" show, IPR political scientist **Laurel Harbridge** weighed in on the federal government shutdown and debt-ceiling debates.

Healthcare economist and IPR associate **David Dranove** wrote opinion pieces regarding aspects of the Affordable Care Act that appeared in *Crain's* and *Business Insider* during the fall.

In October, *The Atlantic* and The Huffington Post wrote feature-length stories on the different perceptions of black girls and black boys in predominantly white, suburban schools, citing research by social policy researcher **Simone Ispa-Landa**, an IPR associate.

AWARDS, HONORS, AND PRESENTATIONS OF NOTE

Faculty Fellows

Emma Adam

Curt Richter Award and Lecture, International Society of Psychoneuroendocrinology, Leiden, Netherlands, August 20–22; 2013 Outstanding Professor Award, School of Education and Social Policy, Northwestern University

Lori Beaman

Faculty Early Career Development (CAREER) Award, National Science Foundation

P. Lindsay Chase-Lansdale

Featured Fellow, Science & Technology Policy Fellowship, 40th Anniversary, American Association for the Advancement of Science; Elected Member, National Academy of Education; Member, National Advisory Committee, Robert Wood Johnson Foundation Health and Society Scholars Program; Associate Provost for Faculty, Northwestern University

Edith Chen

“Psychological Resilience Among Low-Socioeconomic Status Youth: Implications for Inflammatory Profiles,” Symposium Presentation, American Psychosomatic Society Meeting, Miami, March 15

Fay Lomax Cook

Franklin L. Burdette/Pi Sigma Alpha Award, American Political Science Association; Visiting Scholar, Trachtenberg School of Public Policy, George Washington University

Thomas D. Cook

Visiting Scholar, Trachtenberg School of Public Policy, George Washington University; “Observational Studies That Reproduce Experimental Results,” Invited Talk, Evaluation Group, World Bank, Washington, D.C., May 1; “The Sweet Spots Where Observational Studies Often Reproduce Experimental Results,” Campbell Collaboration, Chicago, May 22; “Knowledge That Is ‘Good Enough,’” Invited Talk, Methodological Dilemmas in Developmental Intervention Research, Marbach, Germany, August 30

James Druckman

Franklin L. Burdette/Pi Sigma Alpha Award, Paul Lazarsfeld Best Paper Award in Political Communication, and Best Paper in Political Psychology Award, American Political Science Association; “Democratic Competition and Citizens’ Preferences: An Uneasy Tension,” Munro Distinguished Lecture, Stanford University, June 5

Alice Eagly

Leadership Legacy Lifetime Achievement Award, International Leadership Association; President-Elect, Society for the

Psychological Study of Social Issues; “Women as Leaders: Leadership Styles vs. Leaders’ Values and Attitudes,” Gender and Work Research Symposium, Harvard Business School, March 1

David Figlio

“The Effects of Poor Neonatal Health on Children’s Cognitive Development,” Keynote, International Workshop on Applied Economics of Education, Catanzaro, Italy, June 24

Jeremy Freese

Ethel and John Lindgren Professor of Sociology, Northwestern University

Daniel Galvin

Emerging Scholar Award, Political Organizations and Parties Section, American Political Science Association; AT&T Research Fellow, 2013–2015

Laurel Harbridge

W. Glenn Campbell and Rita Ricardo-Campbell National Fellow, Hoover Institution, Stanford University

Larry Hedges

Statistician of the Year Award, Chicago Chapter of the American Statistical Association, October 24; “Innovations in Data and Technology in Education Research: State Longitudinal Data Systems,” Presidential Invited Address, American Educational Research Association, San Francisco, April 30; “Methodological Challenges in Meta-Analysis for Policy Purposes,” Keynote, Campbell Collaboration, Chicago, May 21; “Economic Inequality and Academic Achievement,” Keynote, International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement, Research Conference, Singapore, June 27

Kirabo Jackson

Excellence in Refereeing Award, *American Economic Review*

Christopher Kuzawa

Translational Health Disparities Course Lecturer, National Institute of Minority Health and Health Disparities, National Institutes of Health, August 7

Charles F. Manski

President, Midwest Economics Association; Member, Committee on the Context of Military Environments, National Research Council; “Public Policy in an Uncertain World: Analysis and Decisions,” Institute for Futures Studies, Stockholm, January 21–22; and Invited Lecture, British Academy Policy Centre and the Economic and Social Research Council’s Centre for Microdata Methods and Practice (CeMMAP), London, March 27; “Medical Decision Making Under Ambiguity,” Keynote, Annual Meeting of the Canadian Health Economists’ Study Group, University of Manitoba, May 22; “Partial Identification and Policy Choice Under Ambiguity,” Sargan Lecture, Annual Meeting

AWARDS, HONORS, AND PRESENTATIONS OF NOTE

of the Royal Economic Society, London, April 3; “Forming Transportation Policy in an Uncertain World,” Keynote, Annual Meeting of International Transportation Economics Association, Northwestern University, July 10

Leslie McCall

“The Undeserving Rich: American Beliefs About Inequality, Opportunity, and Redistribution,” Chicago Area Behavior Workshop, Northwestern University, May 10, Institutions in Context: Inequality Symposium, University of Tampere, Finland, June 3–9, and Author Meets Critics Panel, American Political Science Association, Chicago, August 31; “Changing Beliefs About Inequality, Opportunity, and Mobility,” Presidential Panel, American Sociological Association, New York, August 12; Public Voices Fellowship, Northwestern University

Thomas McDade

Fellow, Program in Child and Brain Development, Canadian Institute for Advanced Research

Rachel Davis Mersey

Fellow-Assistant Researcher Award, Northwestern University; “Imagining Al Jazeera America,” Al Jazeera America Workshop, New York, March 20

Greg Miller

Keynote, “The Biological Residue of Early-Life Adversity,” Vancouver Brain Development and Learning Conference, July 24; Participant, Nature and Nurture: Genetic and Environmental Influences on Children’s Responses to Adversity, Eunice Kennedy Shriver National Institute of Child Health and Human Development Workshop, Rockville, Md., March 21–22

Monica Prasad

Distinguished Contribution to Scholarship Award, Section on Political Sociology, American Sociological Association; Barrington Moore Award, Section on Comparative and Historical Sociology, American Sociological Association; Viviana Zelizer Award, Section on Economic Sociology, American Sociological Association; Allan Sharlin Memorial Award, Social Science History Association; European Academy of Sociology Prize for Best Book; Invited Speaker, Social Science Research Council, Chaska, Minn., May 29–June 2, and Boston, September 18–22



Lincoln Quillian

Lincoln Quillian

Fellow, Russell Sage Foundation, New York City; Distinguished Contribution to Scholarship Award, Section on Population, American Sociological Association; Outstanding Article Award, Section on Inequality, Poverty, and Mobility, American Sociological Association; Outstanding Article Award, Section on Mathematical Sociology, American Sociological Association

Jennifer Richeson

John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Chair, Northwestern University; “On the Precipice of a ‘Majority–Minority’ Nation: How the Changing U.S. Racial Landscape Affects White Americans’ Racial Attitudes and Political Ideology,” Invited Address, 85th Annual Meeting, Midwestern Psychological Association, Chicago, May 2

James Rosenbaum

“New Research on Ways Community Colleges Can Create Pathways,” Conference on Creating Pathways to Prosperity, Harvard University, March 18

Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach

Raymond Vernon Memorial Prize for Best Paper in the *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*; “The Impacts of Expanding Access to High-Quality Preschool Education,” Brookings Panel on Economic Activity Conference, Washington, D.C., September 19; Public Voices Fellowship, Northwestern University

Wesley G. Skogan

“Procedural Justice and Police Reform in Chicago,” Keynote, Conference on Police Reform and Procedural Justice, Ministry of Justice, Buenos Aires, September 26; “Disorder and Decline: Where Are We Now?” Invited Address, Nederlands Studiecentrum Criminaliteit en Rechtshandhaving, Amsterdam, October 24

Celeste Watkins-Hayes

Jacquelyne Johnson Jackson Early Career Scholar Award, Association of Black Sociologists; Public Voices Fellowship, Northwestern University

Sandra Waxman

“That Which We Call a Rose: Links Between Language and Concepts in Infants and Young Children,” Keynote, Society for Research on Child Language Disorders, University of Wisconsin–Madison, June 6

Faculty Fellows

Emma Adam, Human Development and Social Policy
Lori Beaman, Economics (on leave)
Lindsay Chase-Lansdale, Human Development & Social Policy
Anthony Chen, Sociology
Edith Chen, Psychology
Fay Lomax Cook, Human Development and Social Policy
Thomas D. Cook, Sociology, Psychology, Education & Social Policy
James Druckman, Political Science
Alice Eagly, Psychology
David Figlio, Education and Social Policy
Jeremy Freese, Sociology (on leave)
Daniel Galvin, Political Science
Jonathan Guryan, Human Development and Social Policy
Laurel Harbridge, Political Science
Larry Hedges, Education & Social Policy, Statistics, Psychology
Kirabo Jackson, Education and Social Policy (on leave)
Georgia Kernell, Political Science
Christopher Kuzawa, Anthropology (on leave)
Charles F. Manski, Economics
Leslie McCall, Sociology
Thomas McDade, Anthropology
Rachel Davis Mersey, Journalism
Greg Miller, Psychology
Christine Percheski, Sociology
Monica Prasad, Sociology
Lincoln Quillian, Sociology
Jennifer Richeson, Psychology, African American Studies
James Rosenbaum, Education and Social Policy
Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach, Human Development and Social Policy
Morton Schapiro, University President; Economics, Kellogg, and Education and Social Policy
Rebecca Seligman, Anthropology
Wesley G. Skogan, Political Science
Bruce Spencer, Statistics

Quincy Thomas Stewart, Sociology
Lauren Wakschlag, Medical Social Sciences
Celeste Watkins-Hayes, Sociology, African American Studies
Sandra Waxman, Psychology
Burton Weisbrod, Economics

Faculty Associates

David Baker, Internal Medicine and Geriatrics
Henry Binford, History
Bernard Black, Finance, Law
Pablo Boczowski, Communication Studies
Ann Borders, Medical Social Sciences
Traci Burch, Political Science
Mercedes Carnethon, Preventive Medicine
Héctor Carrillo, Sociology
Jenifer Cartland, Pediatrics
David Cella, Medical Social Sciences
Carolyn Chen, Sociology, Asian American Studies
Joan Chiao, Psychology
Cynthia Coburn, Human Development and Social Policy
Jeanette Colyvas, Human Development and Social Policy, Learning Sciences
Leemore Dafny, Management and Strategy
David Dana, Law
Martha Daviglus, Preventive Medicine
Mesmin Destin, Human Development & Social Policy, Psychology
Shari Seidman Diamond, Law
Daniel Diermeier, Managerial Economics and Decision Sciences
Jack Doppelt, Journalism
David Dranove, Management and Strategy
Stephanie Edgerly, Journalism
Steven Epstein, Sociology
Joseph Ferrie, Economics
Eli Finkel, Psychology
William Funk, Preventive Medicine
Craig Garfield, Pediatrics

IPR COMMUNITY OF SCHOLARS AND STAFF

Loren Ghiglione, Journalism
Philip Greenland, Preventive Medicine
Shane Greenstein, Management and Strategy
Claudia Haase, Human Development and Social Policy
John Hagan, Sociology, Law
Eszter Hargittai, Communication Studies
Barton Hirsch, Human Development and Social Policy
Paul Hirsch, Management and Organizations
Jane Holl, Pediatrics
Simone Ispa-Landa, Human Development and Social Policy
Seema Jayachandran, Economics
Cynthia Kinnan, Economics
John Kretzmann, Research Associate Professor
Yanna Krupnikov, Political Science
Craig LaMay, Journalism
Carol Lee, Education and Social Policy, Learning Sciences
Donna Leff, Journalism
Dan Lewis, Human Development and Social Policy
Danielle Li, Management and Strategy
Jennifer Light, Communication Studies, Sociology
Lee Lockwood, Economics
Molly Losh, Communication Sciences and Disorders
Sarah Mangelsdorf, Psychology and Dean of the Weinberg College of Arts & Sciences
Maryann Mason, Pediatrics and Preventive Medicine
Michael Mazzeo, Management and Strategy
Therese McGuire, Management and Strategy
Brian Melzer, Finance
Brian Mustanski, Medical Social Sciences
Robert Nelson, Sociology
Daniel O’Keefe, Communication Studies
Thomas Ogorzalek, Political Science
Ann Orloff, Sociology
Benjamin Page, Political Science
Mary Pattillo, Sociology, African American Studies
Frank Penedo, Medical Social Sciences

Penelope Peterson, Human Development and Social Policy, Learning Sciences; Dean, School of Education & Social Policy
Robert Porter, Economics
Yi Qian, Marketing
Eva Redei, Psychiatry and Behavioral Sciences
Rachel Beatty Riedl, Political Science
Lauren Rivera, Management and Organizations
Andrew Roberts, Political Science
Daniel Rodriguez, Law, and Dean of the School of Law
William Rogerson, Economics
Leonard Rubinowitz, Law
Max Schanzenbach, Law
Heather Schoenfeld, Human Development and Social Policy
Madeleine Shalowitz, Institute for Health Services Research and Policy Studies
Aaron Shaw, Communication Studies
Michelle Shumate, Communication Studies
Carl Smith, English
Karrie Ann Snyder, Sociology
James Spillane, Education and Social Policy, Learning Sciences
Seth Stein, Earth and Planetary Sciences
Linda Teplin, Psychiatry and Behavioral Sciences
Susan Thistle, Sociology
Brian Uzzi, Management and Organizations
Ellen Wartella, Communication Studies
Charles Whitaker, Journalism
Teresa Woodruff, Obstetrics and Gynecology

Adjunct Faculty

Dennis Chong, University of Southern California
Greg Duncan, University of California, Irvine
Michelle Reininger, Stanford University

Faculty Emeriti

John Heinz, Law
John McKnight, Communication Studies

Executive Committee

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

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David Figlio, Director
James Druckman, Associate Director
Eric Betzold, Business Administrator
Patricia Reese, Director of Communications
Kenneth Mease, Research Coordinator

Administrative Staff

Arlene Dattels, Accounting Assistant
Ellen Dunleavy, Office Assistant
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Cynthia Kendall, Assistant to the Director
Audrey McLain, Assistant Editor
Amy Weiss, Editorial Coordinator
Beverly Zack, Program Assistant

Research Staff

Caitlin Ahearn and **Kennan Cepa**,* College-to-Careers Project
Zena Ellison, The Generalizability of Findings from Education Evaluations
Patricia Ferguson* and **Valerie Lyne**, Center for Improving Methods for Quantitative Policy Research (Q-Center)

*No longer with IPR.

Lauren Foley, Social Perception and Communication Lab
Allison Frost, Cells to Society (C2S):The Center on Social Disparities and Health
Michelle Farazi, **Robin Hayen**, **Adam Leigh**, and **Rebecca Weiland**, Foundations of Health Research Center
Aaron Miller, Laboratory for Human Biology Research

Research Associates and Scholars

Evelyn Asch, Prizes' Impact on Minority Students' Entry into Biomedical Research Careers
Ashley Cureton,* Chicago Truancy Project
Paki Reid-Brossard, Designing Evaluation Studies Project
Teresa Eckrich Sommer, Two-Generation Education Project

Visiting Scholars

Rob Greenwald, Society for Research on Educational Effectiveness
Juanna Joensen, Stockholm School of Economics
Michael Neblo, Ohio State University

Postdoctoral Fellows

Martyna Citkowicz, IES Postdoctoral Training Grant; Adviser: Larry Hedges
Katherine Ehrlich, Biological Embedding of Early-Life SES; Advisers: Emma Adam and Greg Miller
Cari Hennessy, Procedural Justice and Policing; Adviser: Wesley G. Skogan
Camelia Hostinar, Biological Embedding of Early-Life SES; Adviser: Greg Miller
Krzysztof Karbownik, Neonatal Health and Cognitive Development; Adviser: David Figlio
Cynthia Levine, Biological Embedding of Early-Life SES; Adviser: Edith Chen
Terri Sabol, Two-Generation Education Project; Adviser: Lindsay Chase-Lansdale
Yasemin Kisbu-Sakarya, Improving Quasi-Experimental Design; Adviser: Thomas D. Cook
Megan Workman, Modeling the Developmental Origins of Adult Disease Risk Factors; Advisers: Christopher Kuzawa and Thomas McDade



Emma Adam, IPR Psychobiologist and Stress Expert

Adam wins an international career award in 2013 and (above) discusses her research with young adults.



IPR Postdoctoral Fellows and Graduate Research Assistants

IPR students are an integral part of its community and intellectual life. From left: Krzysztof Karbownik, Stuart Jenkins, Kelly Iwanaga Becker, and Christina LiCalsi Labelle share a laugh.





Economist Lori Beaman Receives a CAREER Award

Beaman will use the five-year award to support her work examining how technology adoption in farming in developing countries could be increased to raise incomes and improve outcomes.

Graduate Research Assistants

Rayane Alamuddin, Human Development and Social Policy
Kendra Alexander, Human Development and Social Policy
Lauren Bauer, Human Development and Social Policy
Kelly Iwanaga Becker, Sociology
Derek Burk, Sociology
Sarah Cannon, Human Development and Social Policy
Wendy Chan, Statistics
Fiona Chin, Sociology
Katie Dahlke, Human Development and Social Policy
Cynthia DuBois, Human Development and Social Policy
Jennie Heissel, Human Development and Social Policy
Yu-Han Jao, Sociology
Stuart Jenkins, Human Development and Social Policy
Ashley Kendall, Psychology
Marcel Knudsen, Sociology
Arend Kuyper, Statistics
Christina LiCalsi Labelle, Human Development & Social Policy
Ijun Lai, Human Development and Social Policy
Jiffy Lansing, Human Development and Social Policy
Kevin Levay, Political Science
Heather Madonia, Political Science
Jess Meyer, Sociology
Rachel Moskowitz, Political Science
Kevin Mullinix, Political Science
Michael Murphy, Psychology
Kellie Owens, Sociology
Claudia Persico, Human Development and Social Policy
David Rodina, Economics
Emily Ross, Human Development and Social Policy
Zachary Seeskin, Statistics
Matthew Shirrell, Human Development and Social Policy
Yang (Tanya) Tang, Statistics
Mary Clair Turner, Human Development and Social Policy
Amy Wagner, Economics
Mary Zaki, Economics
Claudia Zapata-Gietl, Human Development and Social Policy

Summer Undergraduate Research Assistants

Andrew Ahn, Mathematics
Devika Basu, Psychology
Rodrigo da Costa Barros Braga, Weinberg College of Arts and Sciences
Emily Anne Burklow, Psychology
Ryan Chambers Miller, Social Policy
Chase Eck, Economics, Mathematics
Jimmy Feterman, Economics
Alexandria Fredenhall, Political Science, Mathematics
Alexandra Glancy, Anthropology, MMSS*
Carolyn Haeck, Psychology
Diego Henriquez-Garcia, Political Science, International Relations
Yuiang Huang, McCormick School of Engineering
Zong Yang Huang, Sociology
Grant Johnson, Economics
Emily Anne Karpinski, Social Policy
Pam Keller, Economics, Political Science
Do Hyung Kim, Economics, Mathematics
Layne Kirshon, Economics, Mathematics
Esther Li, Sociology
Hanqiao Lin, History, MMSS*
Camille Liu, Music, Weinberg College of Arts and Sciences
Kevin Malis, History, MMSS*
Jessica Powers, Psychology
Marlee Rich, Psychology, Theater
Kit Riehle, Mathematics
Danielle Rosenberg, Psychology
Katherine Scovic, Political Science
Noah Star, Journalism
Jasmine Stephens, Psychology
David Wang, Sociology
Tova Yampolski, Journalism
Alex Yu, Economics, Mathematics
Houren Zhu, Economics, Mathematics, MMSS*
Yuki Zou, Economics, Sociology, MMSS*

**Mathematical Methods in the Social Sciences*

FUNDING ORGANIZATIONS AND PROJECTS

Foundations and Organizations

Ascend at the Aspen Institute

Mobilizing Social Networks in Early Childhood Education Centers: A Pilot Study, **Lindsay Chase-Lansdale**

Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation

Secondary and Postsecondary Pathways to Labor Market Success: A Research Program to Improve Policy/Practice, **David Figlio**

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U.S. Department of Agriculture

New Evidence on Why Children's Food Insecurity Varies Across Households with Similar Incomes, **Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach**

U.S. Department of Education

Project READS: Using Data to Promote Summer Reading and Close the Achievement Gap for Low-SES Students in North Carolina, **Jonathan Guryan**

Institute of Education Sciences

National Center for Analysis of Longitudinal Data in Education Research (CALDER), **David Figlio**

Preventing Truancy in Urban Schools Through Provision of Social Services by Truancy Officers: A Goal 3 Randomized Efficacy Trial, **Jonathan Guryan**

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Proposal for a Cluster-Randomized Trials Training Institute, **Larry Hedges**

Representing and Combining the Results of Randomized Experiments in Education, **Larry Hedges**

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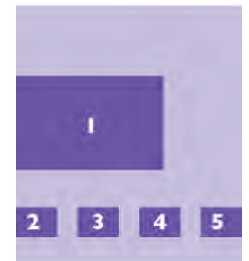


Matching Administrative Data to Inform Policy and Research

IPR hosted the first meeting of a national network that connects academics, policymakers, and practitioners.

COVER PHOTOS AND CREDITS:

(1) IPR health psychologists Edith Chen and Greg Miller demonstrate a cell sorter in their Foundations of Health laboratory. (2) Jens Ludwig (right) of the University of Chicago talks with (from left) Katherine Magnuson of the University of Wisconsin–Madison, Harvard University’s Raj Chetty, and IPR sociologist Quincy Thomas Stewart after a workshop session on the long-term impacts of teachers. (3) From left: IPR associate and journalism professor Charles Whitaker talks to then-Medill undergraduates Edwin Rios and Will Robinson-Smith after an IPR lecture. (4) IPR psychologist Jennifer Richeson (left) celebrates with then-IPR graduate research assistant Katie Rotella at Rotella’s graduation. (5) IPR fellows (from left) Jonathan Guryan, Alice Eagly, and Thomas D. Cook attend an IPR colloquium.



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