

Northwestern | INSTITUTE FOR
POLICY RESEARCH



2016 YEAR IN REVIEW

2016 YEAR IN REVIEW

ON THE FRONT COVER:

IPR Director **David Figlio** (right) and Associate Director **James Druckman** (center) welcome three of IPR's eight new fellows in fall 2016: (from left) anthropologist **Sera Young**, economist **Seema Jayachandran**, and political scientist **Rachel Beatty Riedl** (see p. 4).

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05-17/3000/PR-SLS



IPR anthropologist **Christopher Kuzawa** discusses how maternal health and nutrition are passed along to offspring at a November 17 conference he organized for the Human Capital and Economic Opportunity Global Working Group (see p. 23), directed by economics Nobel laureate James Heckman at the University of Chicago.



From left: Education professor and social policy professor **James Spillane**, an IPR associate, IPR sociologist **Anthony Chen**, IPR social demographer **Christine Percheski**, and Harvard University's **Frank Dobbin** are among the 50 participants who attended the Northwestern Global Inequality Workshop on May 12–13 on the Evanston Campus, organized jointly by IPR and the Buffett Institute for Global Studies (see p. 4).

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MESSAGE FROM THE DIRECTOR



David Figlio, IPR Director

The political tumult of 2016, witnessed at home and around the world, reflects the wide variety in policy priorities that citizens have. But all people—whether in the political majority or minority—require rigorous, apolitical research on the pressing policy issues of our times.

For nearly five decades, IPR has been at the forefront of discovery and policy research, and we continue to produce the high-quality, nonpartisan research that has been our hallmark. This is the research that you find in the ensuing pages of our 2016 *Year in Review*.

At IPR, we are committed to studying the types of policy questions that most affect human lives—ranging from healthcare to education to housing and neighborhoods—and we seek to understand the social, economic, and political conditions undergirding policy choices, as well as the policy consequences. Increasingly, we study these questions on a global scale and look across policy domains as well as across disciplines for ideas and answers. For example, two of our program areas, education policy and social disparities and health, featured on pp. 6–7, have economists and anthropologists collaborating with pediatricians and psychologists. Such interdisciplinarity provides novel

insights, not readily apparent if we remain within the silos of our particular disciplines, and we bring them to the wider community as we did in May’s Global Inequality Workshop, co-hosted with the Buffett Institute for Global Studies (see p. 4).

Other projects taking this cross-disciplinary direction include a massive meta-analysis of more than 100 studies of hiring discrimination in eight countries, including the United States, by sociologist **Lincoln Quillian** and statistician **Larry Hedges** (see p. 15). Their preliminary findings will likely challenge how we think about racial bias in hiring practices at home and abroad. We also investigate how stress might affect teens’ health and long-term outcomes (see p. 25), with biological anthropologist **Thomas McDade**, IPR psychobiologist **Emma Adam**, and two other IPR faculty—and how we might improve earthquake hazard maps to save lives and avoid disasters like Japan’s 2011 Tohoku earthquake by statistician **Bruce Spencer** and geophysicist **Seth Stein** (see p. 40).

Such original research could not come without an investment in talent, and this year we were fortunate to welcome eight new fellows, all women, in one of the largest incoming faculty cohorts in our history (see p. 4). They represent five disciplines—economics, psychology, anthropology, political science, and sociology—and are bolstering IPR in subjects that are at the heart of social policy research. They join a cadre of established researchers, who are no strangers to accolades either, such as social psychologist **Mesmin Destin** and economist **Kirabo Jackson**, recognized by the W.T. Grant and Carnegie foundations, respectively, in April 2016 (see pp. 78–80).


Beyond producing research, we invest considerable effort in communicating it to the wider world through content and events, such as our May 17 Capitol Hill briefing on the benefits of early education hosted by U.S. Representatives **Dan Lipinski** (D-3rd) and **Bob Dold** (R-10th) of Illinois, or our distinguished lectures with leading academics and policymakers, like Johns Hopkins sociologist **Andrew Cherlin**’s prescient October 26 lecture on the discontent of white, working-class voters (see p. 5). We also launched a series of two-page, in-depth dives into timely topics, such as the short- and long-term benefits of federal food assistance by economist **Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach**, that are proving popular with the public, policymakers, and media.

While faculty are a key ingredient of our community, so are our staff and students, both undergraduates and graduates, who assist our faculty in their research while forging their own paths into research, policy, or business. These include students like former IPR graduate research assistant **CC DuBois**, who won Northwestern’s prestigious Presidential Fellowship in 2016 (see pp. 83–85).

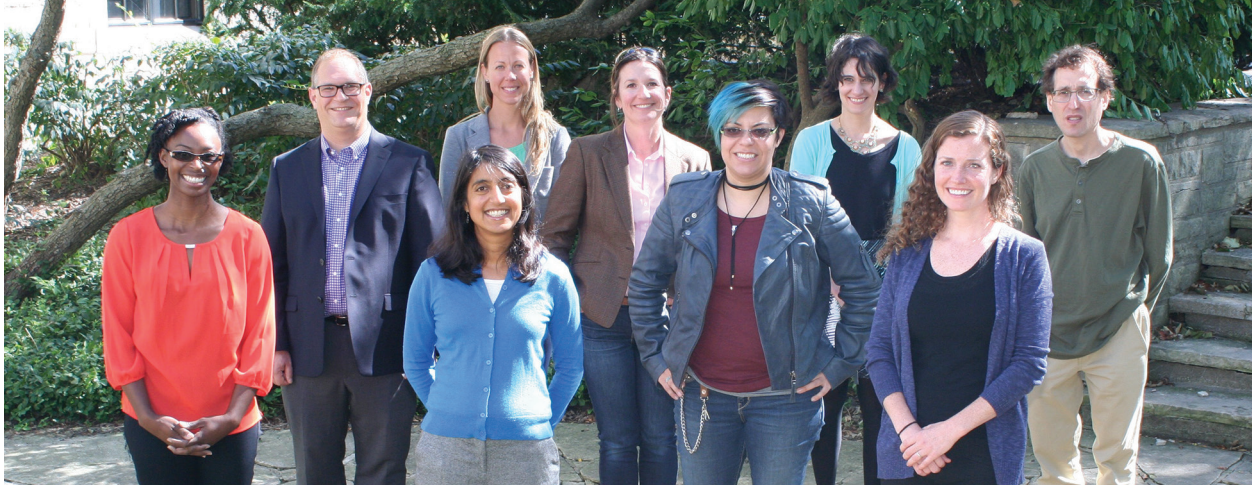
In polarized times such as these, people need unbiased, nonpartisan research, and that’s what IPR produces, making it available 24/7 at ipr.northwestern.edu. As always, we welcome the opportunity to contribute to policy research conversations wherever they may take place—in Evanston and Chicago, in D.C. and Doha.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'David Figlio'. The signature is fluid and cursive, written on a white background.

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



In May 2016, IPR co-hosted the Global Inequality Workshop with the Buffett Institute for Global Studies. The event welcomed 50 participants from seven countries, including (from left) IPR labor and education economist Kirabo Jackson, IPR economist Jonathan Guryan, and economist Kjell Salvanes of the Norwegian School of Economics, who discussed inequality in education.



IPR welcomed eight new fellows in 2016. Front row, from left: developmental psychologist Onnie Rogers, economist Seema Jayachandran, sociologist Beth Redbird, and political scientist Mary McGrath. Back row, from left: IPR Director and education economist David Figlio, political scientist Rachel Beatty Riedl, anthropologist Sera Young, sociologist Simone Ispa-Landa, and IPR Associate Director and political scientist James Druckman. Not pictured: sociologist and legal scholar Heather Schoenfeld.

IPR WELCOMES EIGHT NEW FELLOWS

In September, IPR welcomed one of its biggest incoming faculty cohorts ever. With research interests ranging from the economics and politics of developing countries to identity development and social inequality, these eight experts represent five disciplines. IPR sociologists **Simone Ispa-Landa** and **Heather Schoenfeld** look at key aspects of the U.S. criminal justice system, while political scientist **Mary McGrath** tackles issues related to distributive justice and voter turnout. Developmental psychologist **Onnie Rogers** examines how social and educational disparities shape the identities of marginalized youth, and sociologist **Beth Redbird** studies how forms of closure affect minority groups, including Native Americans. Three fellows, economist **Seema Jayachandran**, political scientist **Rachel Beatty Riedl**, and anthropologist **Sera Young**, investigate key issues related to inequality in developing countries.

GLOBAL INEQUALITY WORKSHOP

IPR collaborated with the Buffett Institute for Global Studies to host the 2016 Northwestern Global Inequality Workshop on May 12-13. The 50 participants, including researchers from Denmark, Canada, and Singapore, added to a more nuanced and interdisciplinary understanding of inequality in the world, with six panels covering issues from education and health to public opinion and organizations. Four IPR faculty presented: management and organizations professor and IPR associate **Lauren Rivera**, IPR economist **Kirabo Jackson**, IPR developmental psychobiologist **Emma Adam**, and IPR sociologist **Leslie McCall**. The intimate workshop

environment was designed to promote discussion and will set the stage for a more comprehensive joint event in the future, according to sociologist and Buffett Institute for Global Studies Director **Bruce Carruthers** and education economist and IPR Director **David Figlio**.

WORKSHOP EXAMINES POLITICAL BEHAVIOR

More than 100 faculty and graduate students took part in the 10th annual Chicago Area Political and Social Behavior workshop on May 6, organized by IPR political scientist and associate director **James Druckman**. The University of Pennsylvania's **Diana Mutz** addressed why Americans are willing to pay a premium for U.S.-made products, while **Thomas Holbrook** of the University of Wisconsin—Milwaukee discussed his research on public perceptions of corruption at the local and state level. IPR political scientist **Laurel Harbridge** examined how voters view legislative compromise, and under what conditions policymakers are punished for failing to achieve compromise. The University of Chicago's **Eric Oliver** focused on fundamentalist Christians to show how intuition-based thinking shapes beliefs across a number of issues.

MAJOR FACULTY AWARDS AND HONORS

Two IPR fellows received competitive awards in April: IPR labor and education economist **Kirabo Jackson** was named an Andrew Carnegie Fellow and IPR social psychologist **Mesmin Destin** became a William T. Grant Foundation Scholar. Several IPR faculty were selected for panels influencing government decision-making: IPR education researcher and statistician **Larry Hedges** was reappointed to the National Board for Education Sciences by President

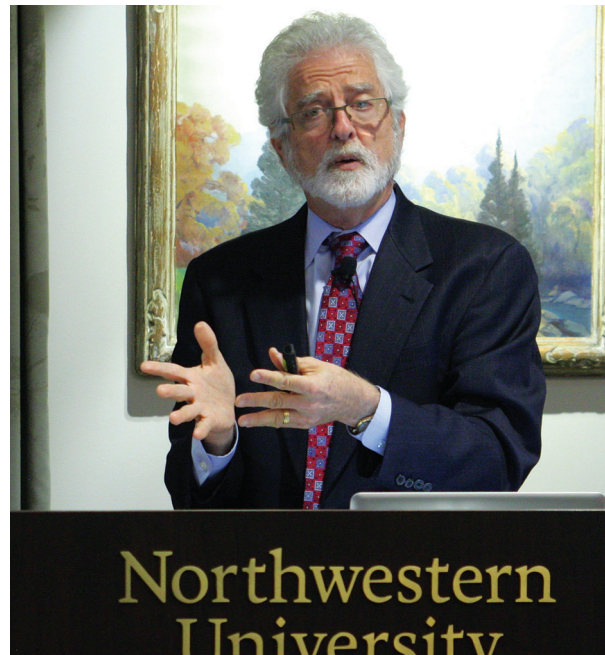
Barack Obama, and IPR political scientist **Wesley G. Skogan** participated in a task force examining Chicago's policing. IPR faculty also received awards for their career achievements. IPR economist **Charles F. Manski** was named a fellow of the American Statistical Association, IPR developmental psychologist **Sandra Waxman** was elected a fellow of the Cognitive Science Society, and education and social policy professor and IPR associate **Carol Lee** was named to the board of directors of the National Academy of Education (see pp. 78–80).

WHITE WORKING-CLASS DISCONTENT

Before working-class whites helped flip some states to Republican in the 2016 presidential election, Johns Hopkins sociologist **Andrew Cherlin** examined their deep economic distress and discontent. An expert on family policy and children's well-being, Cherlin explored "The Economy, the Family, and Working-Class Discontent" in front of more than 80 people as IPR's Fall 2016 Distinguished Public Policy Lecturer on October 26 in Evanston. He highlighted how in the 2014 General Social Survey, 20 percent of whites without a college degree said they were doing much, or somewhat worse, than their parents were at their age. Working-class whites were also more likely than those of other social classes to want the number of immigrants reduced and to have less confidence in Congress. Cherlin argued that politicians need to address the situation of those who sit in the middle of the labor market to win their votes.

D.C. BRIEFING HIGHLIGHTS PRE-K'S IMPORTANCE

IPR held its "Ready for School, Ready for Life" policy research briefing on Capitol Hill on May 17. IPR economist **Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach** addressed how policymakers should go about designing preschool programs, concluding that "free-for-all" should not necessarily be the goal; rather, it is reasonable for higher-income families to share the costs of education. Developmental psychologist and IPR associate **Terri Sabol** discussed her work on accurately measuring preschool quality, finding that class environment and teacher-child interactions led to added student benefits. Programs for children can be expanded to include education and job training for parents, IPR developmental psychologist **Lindsay Chase-Lansdale** explained. She highlighted CareerAdvance®, a model two-generation program that provides training in the healthcare sector to parents of preschoolers in Head Start, with free tuition to community colleges, career coaching, and peer-group support. The briefing was co-sponsored by U.S. Representatives **Bob Dold** (R-10th) and **Dan Lipinski** (D-3rd) of Illinois.



Johns Hopkins sociologist Andrew Cherlin discussed the discontent of the white working class—and how it related to support for Donald Trump in the 2016 election—as an IPR Distinguished Public Policy Lecturer on October 26.

TRAINING RESEARCHERS

Over the summer, IPR faculty led two Institute of Education Sciences-sponsored workshops: IPR education researcher and statistician **Larry Hedges** led the Cluster-Randomized Trials workshop, while IPR faculty emeritus **Thomas D. Cook** led another on Quasi-Experimental Design and Analysis (see p. 53). IPR faculty also worked with 35 Northwestern University undergraduates through the Summer Undergraduate Research Assistants program, organized by IPR education researcher **James Rosenbaum**, exposing them to the conceptualization and conduct of policy-relevant social science research (see p. 85).

NOTABLE MEDIA COVERAGE FOR IPR RESEARCH

IPR research featured prominently in the media in 2016. Time covered a study by IPR health psychologists **Edith Chen** and **Greg Miller**, who found decreased life expectancy for women who face abuse early in their lives. The Chicago Sun-Times detailed how the Becoming A Man program, evaluated by IPR economist **Jonathan Guryan** and his colleagues, reduced crime rates and increased high school graduation rates. IPR psychologist **Alice Eagly** spoke to NPR about how female leaders must navigate conflicting expectations for women and leaders. Communication studies scholar and IPR associate **Ellen Wartella** told *The Boston Globe* that more research is needed to understand how media use affects children (see pp. 81–82).

GETTING UNDER THE 'SKIN' OF EDUCATION

One of IPR's greatest strengths lies in how its faculty are pushing forward into exciting new directions through cross-disciplinary collaboration. One example is how two of its research programs—Education Policy and Cells to Society (C2S): The Center on Social Disparities and Health—bring together faculty in anthropology, psychology, sociology, medicine, and economics to radically rethink our basic understanding of human health and education. The sample of projects included here demonstrates various pathways and captures the cascading effects of social and health disparities.

SKIN-DEEP RESILIENCE

In a recent study, IPR health psychologists **Greg Miller** and **Edith Chen** and their colleagues reveal that African-Americans from disadvantaged backgrounds who display conscientiousness—meaning they are organized, self-disciplined, and purposeful—complete more schooling than their less conscientious peers. Additionally, they have fewer depressive symptoms and a higher quality of close relationships. These same individuals, however, are also more likely to become sick after being exposed to a virus that can cause a common cold. The results demonstrate that resilience might only be skin-deep: The traits that make one a good student can actually be associated with worse health for disadvantaged individuals.

PATHWAY | Adolescent Health and Development ➤ Education and Adult Health

STRESS AND TESTING

Children's bodies show signs of stress associated with standardized testing, according to a study by IPR psychobiologist **Emma Adam**, IPR Director and education economist **David Figlio**, and IPR graduate research assistant **Jennifer Heissel**. They discover that students' levels of the stress hormone cortisol are elevated in anticipation of standardized tests, with third graders taking their very first standardized tests showing particularly high levels. Students in sixth through eighth grades also register elevated stress hormone levels across the full day of testing during high-stakes exams. The researchers next plan to examine whether stress hormone levels can predict students' academic performance and emotional well-being.

PATHWAY | Childhood Health <=> Education and Achievement

BREASTFEEDING AND ADULT HEALTH

A team of researchers, including IPR biological anthropologist **Thomas McDade** and IPR psychobiologist **Emma Adam**, studied links between breastfeeding, birth weight, and chronic inflammation—an indicator of increased risk for heart attack and diabetes—for nearly 7,000 24- to 32-year-olds, uncovering dramatic disparities. More educated mothers, whites, and Hispanics were more likely to breastfeed. The research team finds lower birth weights and shorter periods of breastfeeding predicted higher inflammation levels in young adults, and thus a higher risk for disease. Their research indicates that efforts to promote breastfeeding 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.

PATHWAY

Parents' Education



Childhood Health and Development



Adult Health

ENVIRONMENTAL TOXICANTS AND COGNITION

What happens to children who were conceived when their mothers lived near a Superfund site—a toxic waste site identified by the Environmental Protection Agency as particularly severe? IPR Director **David Figlio**, an education economist, former IPR graduate research assistant **Claudia Persico**, now at the University of Wisconsin–Madison, and pediatrician **Jeffrey Roth** of the University of Florida find that distance matters: Children conceived to mothers living within two miles of a Superfund site before it was cleaned have lower test scores and are more likely to repeat a grade than their siblings who were conceived after the site was cleaned. Those living within one mile of a Superfund site before it was cleaned are also more likely to be diagnosed with a cognitive disability than their later-born siblings.

PATHWAY

Childhood Health



Education and Cognition

TESTOSTERONE AND EDUCATION OUTCOMES

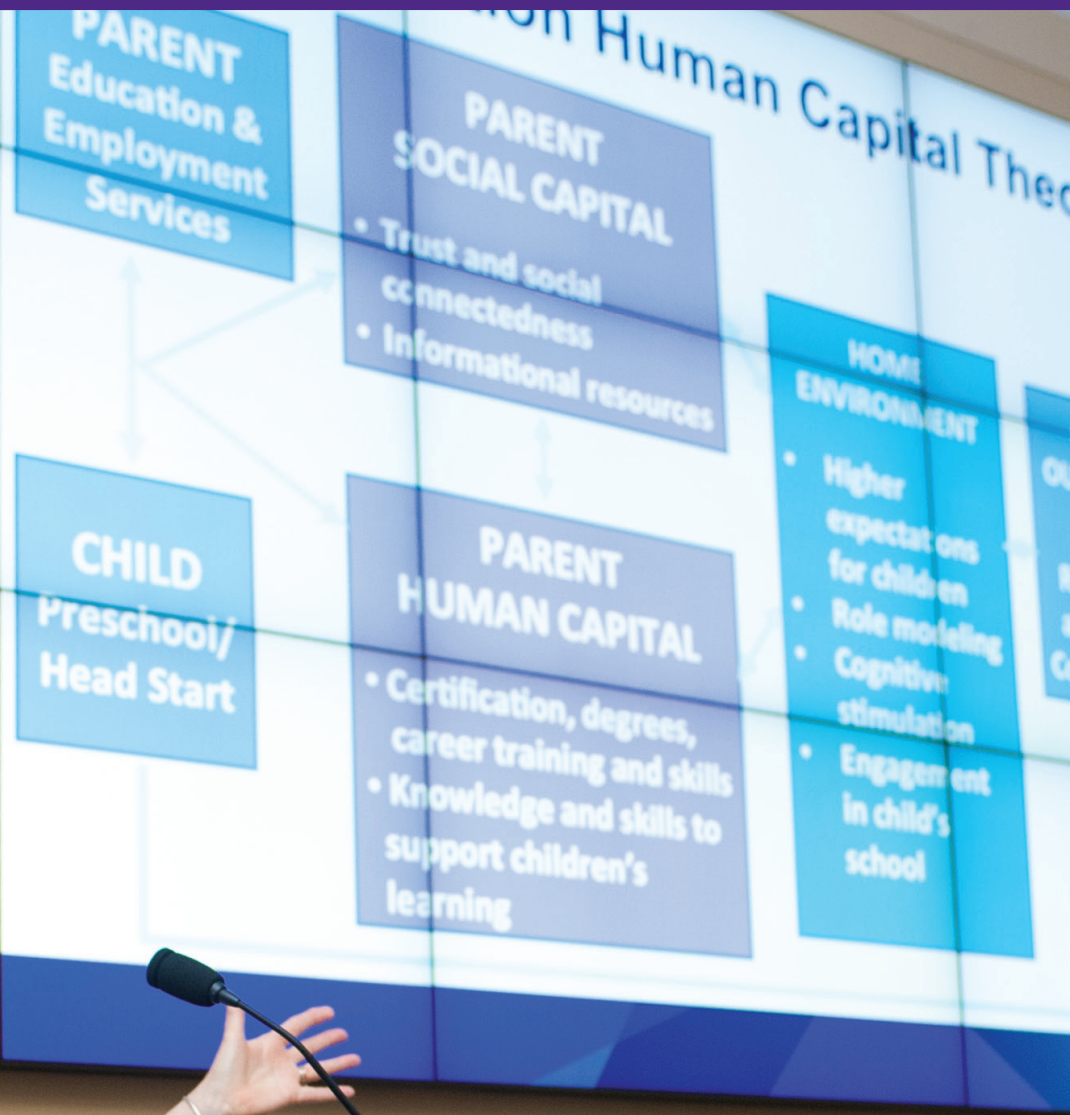
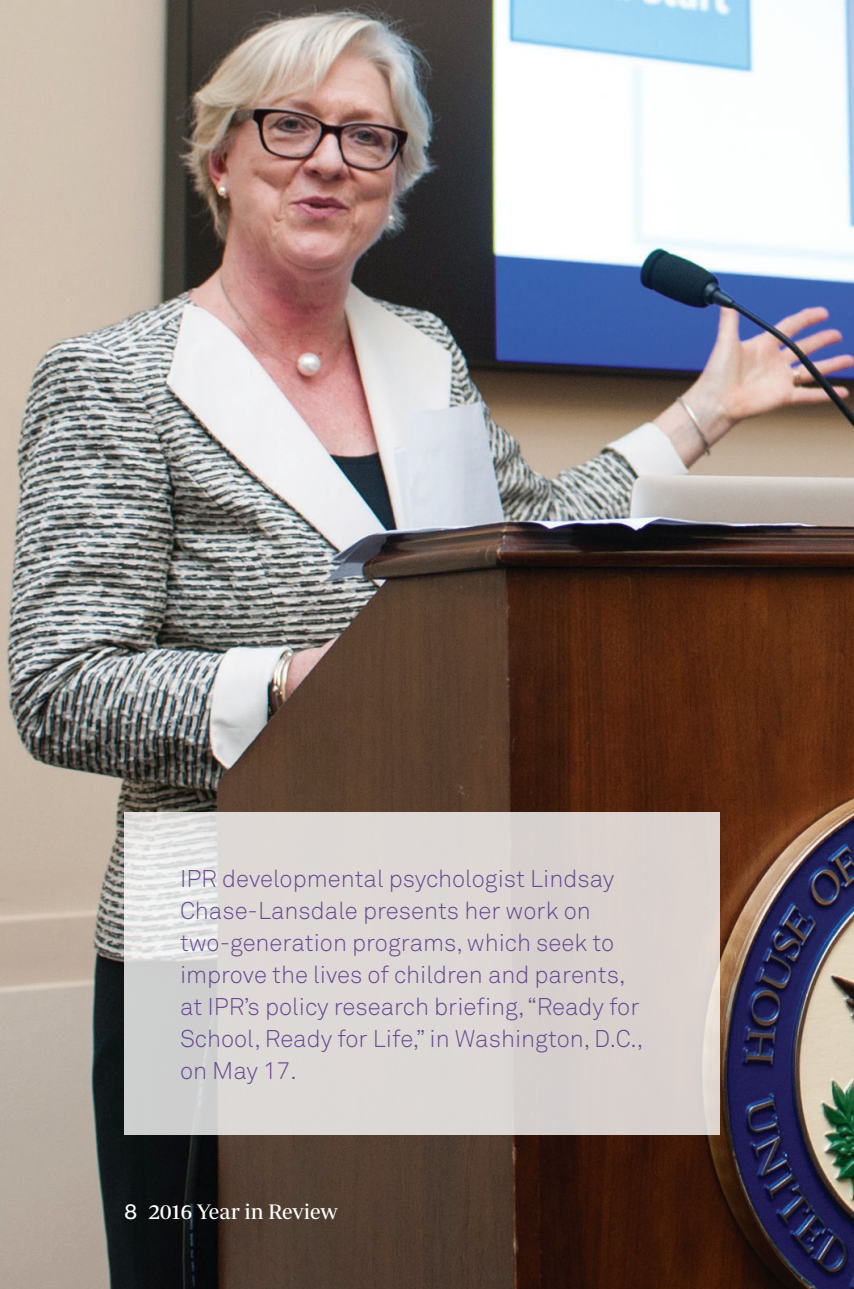
Using a longitudinal dataset from Cebu, Philippines, IPR biological anthropologist **Christopher Kuzawa** and his colleagues discover that men are biologically attuned for childcare: Becoming a father leads to a drop in testosterone that presumably makes them more likely to stick around and help raise their children. In a new project, the researchers are looking at how the size of declines in fathers' testosterone might affect subsequent events in their lives, including their parenting skills, relationships, and well-being. The researchers will also assess whether fathers' altered testosterone levels affect how well their children do in school.

PATHWAY

Parents' Health



Childhood Education and Achievement



IPR developmental psychologist Lindsay Chase-Lansdale presents her work on two-generation programs, which seek to improve the lives of children and parents, at IPR's policy research briefing, "Ready for School, Ready for Life," in Washington, D.C., on May 17.

RESEARCH TOPICS

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

TWO-GENERATION INITIATIVE EXPANDS STUDY

Northwestern's Two-Generation Research Initiative has received a \$1.4 million grant from the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services to study the expansion of CareerAdvance®, a program in Tulsa, Oklahoma, that combines quality early learning for preschoolers with career training in the healthcare field for their low-income parents. **Teresa Eckrich Sommer**, IPR research associate professor, is leading the project with IPR developmental psychologist **Lindsay Chase-Lansdale** and developmental psychologist and IPR associate **Terri Sabol**. Building on six years of research, they will examine the short- and long-term impacts of a scaled-up version of the program on parents' and children's education outcomes, as well as on parents' career success. They will also seek to discover why these impacts occur, assessing possible explanations such as changes in parents' and children's academic and career identities, increased language stimulation at home, and strategies for coping with the competing demands of family, school, and work. Chase-Lansdale is Frances Willard Professor of Human Development and Social Policy and Associate Provost for Faculty.

IMPROVING HEAD START ATTENDANCE

Head Start, the largest federally funded U.S. early childhood education program for low-income children, aims for minimum monthly attendance rates of 85 percent. **Chase-Lansdale, Sommer, Sabol**, and Harvard's Mario Small are conducting a randomized controlled trial, with support from Ascend at the Aspen Institute, to evaluate a low-cost intervention that promotes parents' social networks. Children in one group are assigned to classes based on the neighborhood they live in, while a second group also offers parents the opportunity to form partnerships to support their children's attendance. The intervention does not affect average yearly attendance, but it increases attendance in winter, when average attendance is lowest. Focus group analyses suggest that parents' levels of connection and trust and commitment to their children's education might be factors linked to expanded social capital for parents and improved attendance for children.

WOMEN'S EDUCATION AND THE LABOR FORCE

Female labor-force participation has been rising in developing countries over the past 30 years, while gender gaps in schools have been narrowing. What do these changes mean for the lives of women? In an IPR working paper, IPR economist **Seema Jayachandran** and Rachel Heath of the University of Washington discover a relationship between the two phenomena: As increases in education prompt more women to enter the labor force, improved labor-market opportunities also prompt increases in their education. The researchers note that both education and labor-force participation benefit women and achieve policy-relevant goals. For example, both delay fertility and lead to healthier children once a woman does conceive. Jayachandran and Heath call for more research to help in designing policies that allow women and society at large to enjoy the benefits of increased job opportunities while minimizing the potential costs.

FERTILITY DECLINE AND THE SEX RATIO

The desire for smaller families is believed to be one reason why some countries undergoing economic development have more males than females in their population than they should statistically. Wanting a smaller family could increase the use of sex-selective



DIANE WHITMORE SCHANZENBACH, CHAIR

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

abortion in cultures that greatly value having at least one son. **Jayachandran** quantifies the relationship between desired fertility and the male-to-female sex ratio, focusing on India. As family size falls, she finds, a couple's desire to have a son over a daughter increases. For example, in the hypothetical situation of having only one child, about 85 percent of participants express a desire to have a son, while if they had two children, just 12 percent wanted both to be boys. In larger families, parents might desire daughters because they can help care for siblings and perform household chores, Jayachandran hypothesizes. She also discovers the fertility decline can explain 30–50 percent of the increase in India's sex ratio over the past 30 years. The results suggest that policies to encourage lower fertility and smaller families have the unintended consequence of worsening the male-to-female ratio. The economic progress causing families to want fewer children, such as greater job opportunities for women, might also be contributing to the prevalence of sex-selective abortions.

CHANGING GENDER ATTITUDES IN INDIA

Jayachandran is also examining gender-discriminatory attitudes among adolescents in India. She is assessing an intervention aimed at eliminating these attitudes in 314 secondary schools in the Indian state of Haryana, which has one of the most skewed sex ratios in the world, with 914 females per 1,000 males. Half of the schools in the study were randomly assigned to receive the two-year intervention, in which staff of a human rights nongovernmental organization facilitated classroom discussions about gender equality. The researchers hypothesize that by getting adolescents to think about and discuss the human rights and economic rationales for treating women equally to men, the intervention will decrease gender-biased attitudes and therefore change behavior. Jayachandran and her colleagues are currently conducting a survey to determine whether the intervention successfully altered attitudes. They also plan to survey the participants once they become adults to examine if the program increased women's educational attainment and decreased sex-selective abortions.

PREGNANCY AND THE GREAT RECESSION

The Great Recession was associated with reduced fertility in the United States. But what was driving these reduced fertility rates? Using data from the 2006–10 National Survey of Family Growth, IPR social demographer **Christine Percheski** and Rachel Kimbro of Rice University exploit variation in state economic

indicators to assess the impact of economic conditions on the likelihood of an intended pregnancy, an unplanned pregnancy, or no pregnancy for adult women without a college education. They find that, overall, worse economic conditions predicted a lower risk of an unplanned pregnancy. However, women's odds of intentionally wanting to get pregnant varied by marital status. When economic conditions were poor, married women were less likely to want to get pregnant, but unmarried women living with a partner were more likely to have an intended pregnancy. Their findings suggest women responded to income constraints and general economic uncertainty by avoiding pregnancy during the Great Recession.

DISPARITIES IN BREASTFEEDING

Breastfeeding rates vary among racial and ethnic groups in the United States. To better understand these disparities, **Chase-Lansdale** and her colleagues, including former IPR graduate research assistant Chelsea McKinney and IPR adjunct faculty **Madeleine Shalowitz**, both of NorthShore University HealthSystem, analyze data from the Community and Child Health Research Network, examining which mothers start breastfeeding and for how long. Spanish-speaking Hispanic mothers are most likely to begin and continue breastfeeding, followed by English-speaking Hispanic mothers. African-American mothers are least likely to begin breastfeeding, and only breastfeed for 6.4 weeks on average, compared with 17.1 weeks for Spanish-speaking Hispanic women. The researchers explain in *Pediatrics* that in-hospital formula feeding can partially explain gaps between racial and ethnic groups' breastfeeding rates. They call for hospitals to limit in-hospital formula feeding and consider family history of breastfeeding to reduce these disparities.

PRETERM INFANTS' DEVELOPMENT

Preterm babies tend to encounter both health and cognitive obstacles, but a study by IPR psychologist **Sandra Waxman** shows a robust early link between language and cognition in preterm infants. In *Developmental Science*, Waxman and her colleagues compare preterm and full-term infants to identify when they begin to link language with how they categorize objects. Waxman's previous work has shown that by three months, infants successfully form object categories, which is considered a building block of cognition. Infants also exhibit a developmental shift around this age: At three months, they look longer at a familiar object, but from four months on, they look longer at a novel object. The new

study reveals this same shift in healthy preterm infants. Moreover, this developmental shift unfolds on the same maturational timetable as in full-term infants, so infants who were conceived at the same time develop along the same schedule, even if one is born a month earlier. The results show preterm infants, overall a vulnerable population, begin life with a strong foundation for linking language and meaning. Waxman holds the Louis W. Menk Chair in Psychology.

LINKING LANGUAGE TO MEANING

Over the first year of life, infants tune into the signals of their native language and begin to link sounds to meaning. **Waxman** and Northwestern University graduate student Brock Ferguson examine whether infants, like adults, can infer the communicative function of otherwise arbitrary signals, such as tone sequences, and link them to meaning as well. In *Cognition*, they assess 6-month-olds' object categorization with videos in which two people hold a conversation—one speaking in English and the other responding in beep sounds. When the beep sounds are embedded in this rich social exchange, infants interpret them as if they are language. The results reveal a remarkable flexibility in 6-month-old infants in identifying which signals in the ambient environment are communicative and in linking these signals to core cognitive capacities such as categorization.

TOUCHSCREENS AND YOUNG CHILDREN

Touchscreen devices like smartphones and tablets are now ubiquitous for American children, permitting even very young children to engage interactively in an intuitive manner with actions as simple as touching and swiping. However, little is known about the role these devices play in very young children's lives or their impact on early learning and development. In *Frontiers in Psychology*, **Waxman** and Northwestern University's Silvia Lovato focus on two areas that can be informed by existing research among children under the age of 3, for whom evidence remains sparse. The first measures transfer of learning, or how well children use information learned from screens to reason about events off screen. The second measures the impact of interactive screens on parent-child interactions and story comprehension during reading time. The two conclude more research is needed to clarify the pedagogical potential and pitfalls of touchscreens for infants and very young children. They call for research on the capabilities unique to touchscreens and on the social and cultural contexts in which young children use them.



IPR psychologist Sandra Waxman questions Johns Hopkins sociologist Andrew Cherlin about his work on the origins of discontent in the white working class.

STRESS AND TESTING

How do children respond biologically to the stress of standardized testing? IPR psychobiologist **Emma Adam** and her collaborators, including IPR Director **David Figlio**, an education economist, and IPR graduate research assistant **Jennifer Heissel**, are examining whether children's stress hormone levels are elevated during periods of high-stakes standardized testing, versus periods without testing or with medium-stakes testing. In the study supported by the Spencer Foundation, the researchers are also assessing whether stressors outside of school, such as worries about neighborhood safety, affect children's stress hormones. Additionally, the researchers plan to test whether stress hormone levels can predict students' academic performance and emotional well-being. In initial results, students' levels of the stress hormone cortisol are elevated in anticipation of standardized tests, including both internal school testing and statewide testing. Third graders taking their very first standardized tests show particularly notable elevations. Students in sixth through eighth grades also register elevated stress hormone levels across the full day of testing during high-stakes exams. Figlio is Orrington Lunt Professor of Human Development and Social Policy and of Economics.

STRESS AND EDUCATIONAL DISPARITIES

Schools, teacher quality, and family income all play a role in student success, but these factors do not fully explain academic differences in the United States between whites



IPR developmental psychobiologist Emma Adam explains her research on the connection between discrimination and chronic stress among racial and ethnic minorities.

and disadvantaged racial and ethnic minorities, including African-Americans and Hispanics. The psychological stress associated with perceptions of discrimination might help explain this gap, according to a new theoretical model proposed by **Adam, Heissel**, IPR adjunct faculty **Jennifer Richeson**, and former Northwestern graduate student Dorainne Levy, now a postdoctoral scholar at Indiana University. In *American Psychologist*, the researchers review previous studies suggesting that African-Americans and Hispanics experience more stress because of their race, as well as studies indicating alterations in their physical expression of stress when compared with whites, including differences in sleep duration and quality. Prior research by Adam, for example, has found that everyday feelings of discrimination can throw off the body's levels of the stress hormone cortisol. The researchers argue that understanding the origin of disparities in educational outcomes, such as those resulting from discrimination and stress, is key to reducing them.

INCREASING TEENS' HOURS OF SLEEP

Not getting enough sleep can be a problem for teens, whose bodies are wired to stay up later and sleep late. This tendency can lead to falling grades and other trouble at school. In a pilot study funded by an IPR seed grant, **Adam** randomly assigns high school students to either a control group or to a text message-based intervention aimed at getting teens to bed earlier to increase their overall hours of sleep on school nights. The text messages

provide nightly target bedtimes, personalized to participants' previous sleep-wake schedules. This intervention is associated with significantly more sleep for white students, but not for racial and ethnic minorities. These minority students might face barriers to increasing their sleep hours that sleep intervention researchers should identify and target, Adam concludes.

PREDICTING VERY-LOW FOOD SECURITY

The percent of households with very-low food security in the United States has almost doubled over the last decade, making it critical to understand how this issue affects children's long-term health and economic well-being. In the *Southern Economic Journal*, IPR economist **Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach** and her colleagues move beyond income measures to understand other causes of unmet needs of households with very-low food security. They determine that although households whose children have very-low food security are more likely to participate in various safety net programs, such as food stamps and housing assistance, nonetheless, they still struggle to meet their needs. The authors find that both physical and mental health issues in the head of the household are higher in households with very-low food security, suggesting that the types of issues facing households in extreme poverty often go unmeasured in standard economic data sets.

FOOD MARKETING TO CHILDREN ONLINE

One initiative to combat U.S. childhood obesity involves restricting television advertising of unhealthy foods to youth. Since children are spending more time online, however, are companies marketing to them there? Communication studies researcher and IPR associate **Ellen Wartella** and her colleagues examine online advertising that targets children in *Health Communication*. They analyze about 100 websites for food and beverage brands, uncovering 15 child-oriented ones. As the 2013 dataset shows a decrease versus 2006, the researchers suggest self-regulatory measures and general public pressure might have caused food companies to remove some child-oriented online marketing in the United States. Among those that did have child-oriented websites, though, 13 included games, and many of these promoted particularly unhealthy products, such as Pop-Tarts and Butterfingers. Wartella and her colleagues recommend further research on these "advergames," noting that with a stronger evidence base, advocates can call for

more detailed policies regulating the use of gaming features. Wartella is the Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa Al-Thani Professor of Communication.

CHILDHOOD ABUSE AND PREMATURE DEATH

Childhood abuse has been linked to a variety of adult psychiatric problems, but research led by IPR health psychologist **Edith Chen** also uncovers a link between self-reported childhood abuse and an increased risk of dying younger in women. Together with IPR health psychologist **Greg Miller** and psychologist and IPR associate **Daniel Mroczek**, Chen links reports of physical and emotional abuse in childhood to mortality rates in adulthood for a national sample of more than 6,000 adults. The women who self-reported physical or emotional abuse by a parent had an increased risk of death over the 20-year follow-up period. Women who reported severe physical abuse, for example, had a 58 percent higher risk of death. In *JAMA Psychiatry*, the researchers suggest abuse can heighten vulnerability to psychiatric conditions, and children who experience abuse might develop negative health behaviors like drug use to cope with their stress. Another possible explanation might be that childhood adversities “program” the response tendencies of immune cells in ways that perpetuate inflammation, increasing a person’s risk for cardiovascular disease and other conditions. Chen and her colleagues also advise that women who report child abuse might need greater attention in interventions aimed at promoting health.

EXPOSURE TO NATURAL DISASTERS

A growing body of research has documented negative effects of exposure to natural disasters on fetal development. A working paper by IPR research associate **Krzysztof Karbownik** and Anthony Wray of Hitotsubashi University adds to this literature by linking World War I draft registration cards to the 1940 U.S. Census, as well as using records of hurricanes that struck the United States from 1885–99, to measure maternal stress when the study participants were in utero. They discover that in-utero exposure to a hurricane is associated with 7.5 percent lower income later in life, as well as decreased educational attainment. Karbownik and Wray explain that these costs to child development and productivity add to the growing concern about the impact of climate change and the ongoing growth of coastal populations.

EMOTIONS AND PHYSICAL HEALTH

People who lose their temper during a fight with their spouse have an increased risk of cardiovascular problems like chest pain or high blood pressure later in life, according to a study in *Emotion*. Developmental psychologist and IPR associate **Claudia Haase** and her colleagues analyze 20 years of data, also finding that shutting down emotionally or “stonewalling” during marital conflict raises the risk of musculoskeletal issues such as a bad back. To track displays of anger, the researchers monitored 15-minute videotaped conversations between couples for behaviors like knitted brows and raised voices, while they also looked for facial stiffness, rigid neck muscles, and little or no eye contact to identify stonewalling behavior. This data was then linked to health symptoms, measured every five years over a 20-year span. The link between emotions and health outcomes was most pronounced for husbands, but some of the key correlations were also found in wives. The researchers conclude that people in unhappy marriages often have health problems, but that researchers have typically been unable to predict specific health outcomes. Their findings show that it is in fact possible to make specific predictions—based on just 15 minutes of observation.

POWER IN RELATIONSHIPS

People have social power when they can control or influence others’ desired outcomes, and they lack power when their needs and goals are dependent on the actions and preferences of others. Power dynamics are central to romantic relationships because people’s goals, desires, and happiness depend on their partner’s cooperation and investment. There are two types of power involved: relationship power—the general dependence and influence between romantic partners—and situational power—the power when people need to influence or depend on their partner for specific desired needs and goals. Social psychologist and IPR associate **Eli Finkel** examines the role of power in relationships in the *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*. Through five studies, he and his colleagues illustrate that low relationship power can produce aggressive responses, but only when men experience low situational power and feel they are unable to negotiate relationship interactions in ways that uphold masculine identities, such as when men are dependent on their partner for support. This suggests that the need to possess and demonstrate “manliness” represents a significant risk factor for psychological aggression in relationships. More broadly, the results demonstrate that to understand how power works in a romantic relationship, researchers must differentiate between relationship and situational power.



IPR sociologist Anthony Chen is currently working on a book detailing the history of affirmative action at colleges and universities.

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

THE ORIGINS OF AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

As debate over affirmative action continues, little remains known about the origin of such policies. IPR sociologist **Anthony Chen** is continuing work on his book manuscript on the subject with New York University's Lisa Stulberg. Through extensive archival research, he is chronicling the social, political, and intellectual origins of race-conscious affirmative action in college admissions in the early 1960s. He finds affirmative action originated as college and university leaders drew inspiration from the civil rights movement and began seeking new ways to racially integrate the Northern, Midwestern, and Western universities over which they presided. The book will help to clarify the circumstances under which affirmative action emerged and developed in the United States. Chen hopes that having a clear understanding of the past will help policymakers make sound decisions about affirmative action policy today—and in the future.

HOW MANY RACISTS?

IPR social demographer **Quincy Thomas Stewart** continues to work on his book examining the history of racial inequality from 1865–1965, as well as the social organizations involved in maintaining inequities between whites and African-Americans. The book, tentatively titled “How Many Racists? How Everyday People Contribute to a System of Social Inequality,” seeks to shed new light on the widely held belief that a large number of racists is needed to maintain institutional inequalities. Stewart puts recent research into context, pointing to a significant decline in the number of people who hold racist beliefs. However, parallel declines in racial inequality have not been registered, as statistics seem to refute the idea that the number of racists is what counts. Stewart's investigation demonstrates that a system supported by biased social institutions, even when they are run or used by nonracist individuals, can maintain racial inequality with a few, or even no, racists.

THE PERSISTENCE OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

Many assume that racial discrimination in hiring has decreased, but IPR sociologist **Lincoln Quillian** discovers levels of hiring discrimination in the United States remain largely unchanged over the past 25 years. Reviewing the literature, Quillian and his colleagues identify 28 field experiments of hiring discrimination, representing more than 55,000 applications submitted for about 26,000 positions. Their ensuing meta-analysis reveals that since 1989, whites received 36 percent more callbacks on average than African-Americans, and 24 percent more than Latinos. These ratios in callbacks have held steady since 1989. In another meta-analysis, Quillian examines how rates of hiring discrimination vary in six European countries, Canada, and the United States. Examining 81 field experiments, he finds considerable variation in hiring discrimination across these countries: France has the highest rates of discrimination, followed by Sweden, Great Britain, and Belgium. People of African and Middle-Eastern descent experience the highest rates of discrimination, closely followed by people of Asian ethnicity. The researchers also discuss the findings' implications for theories of discrimination.

WEALTH INEQUALITY AMONG DEPENDENTS

How does wealth inequality affect “America's dependents”—the elderly and households with children? Using Survey of Consumer Finances data from 1989–2013, IPR social demographer **Christine Percheski** and Christina Gibson-Davis of Duke University find the wealth gap between elderly and child households increased substantially over the period, and diverging trends in wealth accumulation exacerbated pre-existing disparities. Widening gaps are particularly pronounced among the elderly and child households with the least wealth. Percheski and Gibson-Davis also discover increasing wealth inequality within child households, as well as the rise of a “parental 1 percent.” The study, supported by the National Science Foundation (NSF), suggests the elderly have been able to maintain or increase their wealth, while many less wealthy households with children have experienced wealth declines. The findings imply that a lack of wealth assets in many households with children could inhibit the next generation's success.

RACIAL INEQUALITY IN WEALTH

Not only were unemployment rates during the Great Recession higher for African-American and Hispanic workers, declines in housing values and mortgage foreclosures were also higher in primarily minority neighborhoods. Did these changes lead to widening racial



JAMES ROSENBAUM, CHAIR

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

gaps in wealth during and after the Great Recession? In work supported by the NSF, **Percheski** and her colleagues use the Survey of Consumer Finances to examine racial differences in several measures of wealth from 2004–13 for families with children. They discover that by most measures, the Great Recession increased racial wealth inequalities. While the recession had almost no impact on the net worth of the wealthiest white families, it halved the net worth of the wealthiest African-American and Hispanic families. Wealth differences were also greater between white families and minority families in 2013 than before the recession, even after considering differences in earnings and demographic characteristics. As wealth is a strong predictor of health and educational attainment, the findings suggest increases in racial inequality in these domains, as well.

MEASURING MULTIGENERATIONAL MOBILITY

Studies of intergenerational mobility in the United States focus almost exclusively on the transmission of advantage or disadvantage from parents to children. But what about earlier generations—do grandparents and great-grandparents matter? In an IPR working paper, economist and IPR associate **Joseph Ferrie** links family lines across data from 1910–2013, measuring mobility across generations using educational attainment. Ferrie and his colleagues discover that conventional measures, which look solely

at parents and children, have underestimated mobility by 20 percent in contrast to their more extended measures of three generations or more. According to their study, a child whose parent has one more year of schooling than another child's parent is between 50 and 70 percent more likely to pick up an additional year of schooling. Because extra schooling leads to better opportunities and increased wages, social inequality is more likely to persist over time than previous estimates implied. The data also suggest grandparents matter in predicting the educational outcomes of children, but great-grandparents do not have a discernible effect.

CHILDREN'S UNDERSTANDING OF RACE, GENDER

How do children perceive their social identities in middle childhood, ages 6–12? IPR developmental psychologist **Onnie Rogers** explores the importance and meaning children assign to their racial and gender identities in *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*. Together with Andrew Meltzoff of the University of Washington, Rogers interviewed 222 African-American, white, and mixed-race children at three racially diverse schools. Overall, the children rate gender as a more important piece of their identity than race, but African-American and mixed-race children rank race as being more important than white children. In addition, children who state that race is not important are significantly more likely to define racial identity as “colorblind,” arguing that everyone is the same regardless of race. But children who say that race is important to them define their racial identity as creating a sense of pride and an awareness of group differences. The results highlight the ways that children engage with social categories, shedding light on how school curricula and parenting can address issues of race and gender.

RACING TOWARD EQUALITY

Youth get messages about who they can and cannot be through many channels, including their school curriculum, peers, parents, and media. One way to address the potentially harmful content of these messages is by building youths' capacity to engage in conversations about race and gender. Toward this goal, **Rogers** created two online learning modules for teachers, parents, and community members. The modules, offered free of charge through the Institute for Learning and Brain Sciences at the University of Washington, address what adolescents know about race and how their understanding of it evolves over time. They also give advice on how to talk to kids about race and discuss how societal ideas about race can

affect children’s ideas about themselves, drawing on Rogers’ interviews with school-age children. To “race toward equality,” the modules urge parents and educators to talk about equality, surround children with diversity, and be positive role models.

PUBLIC OPINION AND INEQUALITY

What are the political and policy responses to inequality in the United States, and how do they line up with public opinion? In a chapter in *The Dynamics of Opportunity in America* (Springer International Publishing, 2016), IPR sociologist **Leslie McCall** describes three approaches: “equalizing opportunity,” “equalizing outcomes,” and “equalizing outcomes to equalize opportunity.” She explains that the “equalizing opportunity” approach, which places greater emphasis on equality of opportunity than on outcomes, is one that conservatives tend to identify with more than liberals, but it has had broad appeal for much of U.S. history. Meanwhile, liberals strongly identify with the “equalizing outcomes” approach, which uses government tax and transfer policies to reduce disparities in disposable income. The last approach, which fuses concerns about both opportunity and inequality, is the most consistent with public norms today. McCall argues that the way forward is to eschew a one-sided focus on either equal outcomes or equal opportunities to better reflect Americans’ views.

MEDICAL STUDENTS AND MINORITY PATIENTS

Studies suggest that physicians contribute, often unintentionally, to racial healthcare disparities via biases in their decision making and poorer quality communication with minority patients. Psychologist and IPR associate **Sylvia Perry** and her colleagues test whether white medical students’ readiness to care for minority patients is positively associated with their individual and school-level learning orientation environment, or whether they are encouraged to learn from their mistakes during interracial interactions. The researchers gave questionnaires in the first and last semesters of medical school to almost 2,400 white medical students in 49 U.S. medical schools. Only part of the difference, they find, is attributable to school-level learning orientation. White medical students who perceive that their school places more emphasis on learning how to interact more effectively benefit more from their training to address disparities and feel more prepared to care. The results, published in *BMC Medical Education*, suggest medical school faculty should present interracial encounters as opportunities to practice bias-reducing skills, and faculty and students should be encouraged to learn from mistakes in interracial encounters.

LICENSING AND OCCUPATIONAL ACCESS

Researchers have traditionally believed that occupational licensing—like medical licenses for doctors—reduces the number of people entering the field, leading to increased wages for those who make it in. Yet IPR sociologist **Beth Redbird** finds the opposite: Using more than 15 million observations over 30 years of the Current Population Survey, she discovers that the licensing process increases access, particularly for women and racial minorities. Serious occupational entry standards, like the bar exam for lawyers, might be expected to make entry into the occupation more difficult, but these formal procedures are replacing informal barriers that tend to encourage discrimination and homogeneity, such as how “who you know” can affect job chances. These formal procedures are more colorblind, as they can be standardized, measured, and publicized. Redbird concludes that following the decline of unions, the “free market” of labor has given way to a new institutional form of closure that has a startling effect on who gets which jobs.

SOCIOLOGY AND THE GREAT RECESSION

Has the Great Recession fundamentally transformed poverty, inequality, and employment in the United States? In the *Annual Review of Sociology*, **Redbird** and Stanford University’s David Grusky examine the main trends in these outcomes, the causal effects of the recession on individuals’ behavior, and the recession’s influence on narratives about the labor market and its dysfunctions. Redbird and Grusky explain that sociologists have played a limited role in researching this “moment of cultural turmoil,” which they compare with the Great Depression. They call on sociologists to focus on cultural and political discussions during and after the recession. The Great Recession, they explain, has cast long-standing labor-market problems in sharp relief, while also uncovering new problems and worries, like rising credit-based consumption. They argue that the resulting narrative might reorient policy in the 21st century, just as the narrative of macroeconomics by economist John Maynard Keynes reoriented policy in the mid-20th century.

SOCIAL ROLE THEORY

IPR psychologist **Alice Eagly** is extending social role theory—which describes how a society’s division of labor influences gender stereotypes and fosters gender differences—to examine other social group stereotypes such as racial or socioeconomic ones. She demonstrates how social group stereotypes are generally accurate as



IPR economist Lori Beaman attends a policy outreach conference in Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso, on November 29–30. Much of Beaman’s work focuses on Africa, from women’s participation in the labor market to adopting new agricultural technology.

generalizations about groups because they reflect everyday observations of group members’ behaviors in their typical roles. Despite this accuracy, stereotypes are offensive to many groups and can have negative ramifications for individuals, including for women in leadership roles. Eagly’s research has shown that women in power often need to reassure people that they can take charge, but they can also face backlash for being “too tough.” Eagly points to the implications of social role theory for leadership behavior, as well as for other phenomena of gender. Eagly is James Padilla Chair of Arts and Sciences.

WOMEN IN LEADERSHIP

Eagly continues her exploration of gender and leadership, aiming to increase the understanding of women’s slow rise into major leadership roles. As editor of a special issue on the topic in *Leadership Quarterly*, she writes that interventions to increase women’s representation in leadership are likely to be more effective when guided by sound social science. Eagly highlights inconsistencies between research and the claims of advocates and policymakers, such as the belief that women’s participation in high-level corporate leadership enhances corporate performance. She argues that such simplistic messages are problematic, as they discourage research revealing the complexity of gender diversity’s consequences and can lead to disappointment, such as when positive outcomes of women’s presence fail to emerge.

In related work in the *Journal of Social Issues*, Eagly calls for scientists to serve as “honest brokers” by communicating consensus scientific findings to advocates and policymakers in an effort to encourage the exploration of evidence-based policy options.

THE DISCOURSE OF DESERVINGNESS

“Deservingness” is one of the main narratives used by government officials, the media, and the public to classify the poor. The groups characterized as undeserving of public assistance have changed over time, but stories of moral failings consistently provide a basis for the distinction between the deserving and undeserving poor. In a chapter in *The Oxford Handbook of the Social Science of Poverty*, IPR sociologist and African-American studies researcher **Celeste Watkins-Hayes** explores the concept of deservingness and how it fits into popular explanations of poverty and the distribution of public resources. Together with recent Northwestern PhD graduate Elyse Kovalsky, she highlights how race, gender, and citizenship have shaped narratives of deservingness in two key areas of social provision: cash assistance and healthcare. The researchers conclude that what political leaders and the public believe about the poor shapes whether they support a strong social safety net to protect the vulnerable or a free market to encourage the poor to improve their own situation.

THE ‘AID CURSE’

Scholars have recently argued that foreign aid actually hinders development, instead of contributing to it. However, East Asian countries developed rapidly in the 1960s despite receiving large amounts of aid. IPR sociologist **Monica Prasad** examines this disconnect with Northwestern University’s Andre Nickow in *The Journal of Development Studies*. They compare the mechanisms of the “aid curse” in South Korea and Pakistan, both countries that have been among the world’s largest aid recipients. Yet while South Korea has become a developed country, Pakistan continues to depend heavily on foreign aid and scores poorly on key development indicators. Prasad and Nickow discover that South Korea’s high levels of corruption did not hinder its development. Meanwhile, Pakistan had a strong bureaucracy, but this did not help the country grow. Prasad and Nickow pinpoint the key difference between the two countries as the strength of their tax systems: Foreign aid in the context of underdeveloped tax administration leads to increasing cycles of debt that undermine development. When foreign aid arrives in the context of strong taxation, a country can avoid the “aid curse.”

INCREASING FARMERS' TECHNOLOGY USE

How can researchers and policymakers increase technology adoption among farmers, particularly in less-developed areas like sub-Saharan Africa? To identify seed farmers to train in a new technology, IPR economist **Lori Beaman** compares social network targeting approaches with other strategies. Her work in 200 Malawian villages confirms that social network targeting can work, but most farmers need to learn about the technology from multiple people before they adopt it themselves. In additional work on how agricultural information spreads within social networks, Beaman is examining data from a composting study in Mali. She finds the spread of information decreases with social distance, or how socially close or far apart the member of one social group is to members of another. In addition, cumulative knowledge about composting does not increase when targeting people who are the most socially connected, and women are particularly disadvantaged in this respect. The results highlight a disadvantage of using social networks to spread ideas and information: Isolated individuals might be made worse off.

AGRICULTURAL INVESTMENTS IN MALI

Do farmers who take out loans have higher returns to capital than those who do not borrow? **Beaman** is measuring whether such a difference in returns exists through a two-stage loan and grant experiment. Beaman, Dean Karlan and Christopher Udry of Yale University, and Bram Thuysbaert of Belgium's Ghent University partnered with a microfinance institution that offers loans in randomly selected villages in Mali. In the 88 villages receiving loans, agricultural profits increase, and this persists into the next agricultural season. Profits, however, do not increase in villages that are not offered loans. Beaman and her colleagues uncover similar results for farmers offered grants: They have large positive investment responses and returns to grants. The results support providing microfinance loans for agriculture where they have not traditionally been offered.

SAVINGS ACCOUNTS AND SOCIAL NETWORKS

Savings accounts are becoming increasingly common in underdeveloped countries, but how do these accounts affect social networks? Through a partnership with Tanzanian mobile phone operator Zantel, IPR economist **Cynthia Kinnan**, Alfredo Burlando of the University of Oregon, and Silvia Prina of Case Western Reserve University distributed mobile savings accounts to about 1,500 participants in 33 rural and peri-urban areas of the country. In preliminary results, Kinnan and her colleagues

reveal that such accounts are not for everyone: 40 percent of people who expressed interest and were visited by a marketer signed up for an account, but only half of those actively used the account. This shows that costs are not the only—or perhaps even the main—barrier to adoption. The researchers are now completing an analysis of how savings accounts might affect adopters' social networks, such as by allowing account holders to either share cash with—or “shield” cash from—their friends and family.

THE ROLE OF MICROCREDIT

How did India's 2010 “microfinance crisis,” in which the state of Andhra Pradesh stopped all microcredit lending, affect the rest of the country? In an IPR working paper, **Kinnan** and Emily Breza of Harvard University use this “natural experiment” to show how the microcredit crisis rippled throughout the nation, affecting average borrowers via lenders' balance sheets. The inability of institutions to finance creditworthy borrowers outside of the district led to nationwide decreases in lending, consumption, earnings, wages, and agricultural yields. Even those who did not borrow were affected by the fall in wages, suggesting that evaluations that only focus on “likely borrowers” might miss significant impacts. In a related project with Breza, along with Abhijit Banerjee and Esther Duflo of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Kinnan is evaluating whether microcredit's effects persist once loans are no longer available. Results show that microcredit access leads to sustained increases in small business investment and gains in consumption, but only for a subset of borrowers. The researchers conclude that better targeting of microcredit might substantially increase its potential benefits.



IPR economist Cynthia Kinnan focuses on how people use financial products in developing countries to cope with risk.

Northwestern



Institute for Sexual
and Gender Minority
Health and Wellbeing



Brian Mustanski, professor of medical social sciences and IPR associate, discusses the state of LGBTQ health at an August 18 symposium organized by the Institute for Sexual and Gender Minority Health and Wellbeing (ISGMH), which he directs.

RESEARCH TOPICS

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

INCREASING AWARENESS OF PrEP

Young men who have sex with men have a high risk of HIV and stand to benefit significantly from pre-exposure prophylaxis (PrEP), a drug that prevents HIV infection. However, do these young men know about and use PrEP? In *AIDS and Behavior*, IPR associates **Gregory Phillips II** and **Brian Mustanski**, both medical social sciences faculty, explore awareness and use of PrEP among a sample of 759 racially diverse young gay men aged 18–29. While 67 percent reported being aware of PrEP, less than 9 percent said they used it. For those who did not use the drug, more than 30 percent had either never heard of PrEP, or had heard of it but did not know what it was. Among respondents who did know about PrEP, uncertainty about how to access it was the most common reason for not using the drug. Other barriers included its price, concerns about its side effects, and lacking health insurance. Phillips is currently working with the Chicago Department of Public Health on several projects that could inform future interventions to address the lack of awareness and uptake of PrEP. Both researchers are part of the Institute for Sexual and Gender Minority Health and Wellbeing, which Mustanski directs.

SAFETY NET HELPS HIV-POSITIVE WOMEN

How do women remake, not simply rebuild, their lives after trauma? Drawing upon data from her Health, Hardship, and Renewal Study of women living with HIV/AIDS, IPR sociologist and African-American studies researcher **Celeste Watkins-Hayes** presents a theory of transformative projects in her book “Remaking a Life, Reversing an Epidemic: HIV/AIDS and the Politics of Transformation,” which is under contract with the University of California Press. Watkins-Hayes argues that through a multidimensional process, individuals fundamentally shift how they conceptualize, strategize around, and address struggles related to inequalities that affect their everyday lives. This entails the adoption of a radically different set of approaches to negotiate

questions of physical, social, economic, and political survival in moments of crisis and extreme distress. Watkins-Hayes traces the unique safety net that has been critical in allowing HIV-positive women to launch successful transformative projects. She points out that the AIDS service and healthcare infrastructure offers important lessons for how to think about assisting other socially and economically marginalized populations, not just those with HIV/AIDS. As such, her book documents how radical improvements in social well-being occur and seeks to explain instances in which the efforts fail.

STRESS AND VULNERABILITY TO DRUG USE

Emerging research suggests that exposure to chronic stress affects health-related behaviors and forecasts chronic diseases later in life. In new research funded by the National Institutes of Health (NIH), IPR health psychologist **Greg Miller** is investigating whether stress specifically affects youth’s vulnerability to drug use and HIV. The study will examine the neuroendocrine, inflammatory, and neurocognitive pathways through which exposure to stress among rural African-American youth can lead to drug use and behaviors increasing the risk of HIV. Miller and his colleagues will also study what protects youth with chronic stress from engaging in drug use and HIV-related behavior. The researchers seek to translate their findings into new and refined preventive interventions.

HEALTH EFFECTS OF THE GREAT RECESSION

How did the Great Recession affect the health of African-American youth? IPR health psychologists **Edith Chen** and **Miller** investigate in *Brain, Behavior, and Immunity*. They follow 330 African-American adolescents in Georgia from 2007–10, dividing them into three groups: those with stable low economic hardship, those who moved down the socioeconomic ladder, and those who had stable levels of high economic hardship. Chen and Miller find that the longer adolescents experience economic hardship, the higher their epigenetic aging, meaning their cells look “older” than they are chronologically. More time spent under economic hardship also correlates with higher allostatic load scores—a measure that includes body mass index (BMI) and levels of stress hormones like cortisol—as well as a worse self-report of health. In addition, adolescents who experienced downward mobility have higher levels of allostatic load than teens who had stable levels of low hardship. The findings suggest that the health problems of African-American youth might partially be shaped by macroeconomic societal conditions, and effects on biological markers can be detected relatively early in life.

DEBT AND YOUR HEALTH

Do debtors have worse health than those who do not owe money? IPR anthropologist **Thomas McDade**, who is Carlos Montezuma Professor of Anthropology, is continuing research on the impact of financial debt on health, with funding from the National Institute on Minority Health and Health Disparities. The work builds on a 2013 study in *Social Science and Medicine*, which found a higher debt-to-asset ratio was associated with higher perceived stress and depression, higher diastolic blood pressure, and worse self-reported general health. To further elucidate the effects of financial debt on health, the current research team—which includes IPR anthropologist **Christopher Kuzawa** and IPR associate **Frank Penedo**, who is Roswell Park Professor in Medical Social Sciences—is analyzing results from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent to Adult Health (AddHealth) for three different biomarkers: glycated hemoglobin, C-reactive protein, and Epstein-Barr virus antibodies. They are also using analyses within the Panel Study of Income Dynamics to consider the potential intergenerational consequences of debt.

FINANCIAL TOXICITY AMONG CANCER PATIENTS

Cancer treatment is expensive, often leading to financial distress for patients. However, there is no validated, standardized patient-reported outcome measure to assess this distress. In *Cancer*, IPR associate **David Cella**, Ralph Seal Paffenbarger Professor of Medical Social Sciences, and his colleagues evaluate the Comprehensive Score for Financial Toxicity (COST) measure. The researchers collected data about 233 patients with stage IV tumors, which are the most aggressive type, including patients'

clinical trial participation, healthcare use, willingness to discuss costs, psychological distress, and health-related quality of life. The results validate COST as a measure of financial toxicity specifically developed for patients with cancer. In addition, the COST measure correlates with health-related quality of life, making it a clinically relevant patient-centered measure. Cella and his colleagues conclude that incorporating financial toxicity assessments into research and clinical trials will keep patients at the center of financial distress evaluations.

SKIN-DEEP RESILIENCE

African-Americans from low-income families who go on to succeed academically and socially might pay a price, according to research by **Miller**. Together with **Chen**, he examines how these positive outcomes are associated with worse health. In a study published in *Health Psychology*, the researchers had 514 healthy adults complete questionnaires about their socioeconomic condition, conscientiousness, lifestyle, and psychological and social health. Participants were then given a rhinovirus that causes upper respiratory infection and monitored for five days. African-Americans from disadvantaged backgrounds who scored high in conscientiousness—meaning they were organized, self-disciplined, and purposeful—fared better in terms of educational attainment, depressive symptoms, and quality of close relationships. However, individuals who displayed this “skin-deep resilience” were also more likely to become ill following inoculation. The results suggest resilience might be a double-edged sword for African-Americans from disadvantaged backgrounds, as the same characteristics associated with success predicted increased vulnerability to health problems.

THE PRICE OF EMPATHY

Parents who are able to empathize with their children help them to develop many important social-emotional characteristics, such as effective control of their emotions, less depression and aggression, and greater empathy themselves. Empathetic parents might also contribute to better physiological profiles in their children. But what are the psychological and physiological effects of being empathetic? Being empathetic might be psychologically beneficial, bringing feelings of self-esteem, pride, and satisfaction. However, at the same time, empathy might take a physiological toll on parents. To determine what costs empathy might take on parents' physiology, **Chen**, Northwestern psychology graduate student Erika Manczak, and Anita DeLongis of the University of British



From left: IPR health psychologists Greg Miller and Edith Chen question IPR sociologist Simone Ispa-Landa about her findings on the experiences of urban African-American students bused to suburban schools that are overwhelmingly white.

Columbia studied 247 pairings of one parent and one adolescent child. They examined blood samples from both parents and adolescents for markers of systemic inflammation. Parents reported on their feelings of empathy, well-being, and self-esteem, and also assessed their child's emotional regulation. Adolescents also recorded two weeks of daily diary entries on their ability to regulate their emotions. For adolescents, parental empathy was significantly associated with both better emotional regulation and less systemic inflammation. For their parents, on the other hand, being empathetic had mixed results: Empathy was associated with higher self-esteem and purpose in life, but also with higher systemic inflammation. The study was published in *Health Psychology*.

SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS AND HEART DISEASE

Over the past several decades, morbidity and mortality from coronary heart disease (CHD) have significantly declined. This trend, however, varies across demographic groups—low-income individuals continue to develop and die from CHD at higher rates more typical of the 1970s. **Miller** and his colleagues, including former IPR postdoctoral fellow Camelia Hostinar (now at the University of California, Davis), are investigating whether youth show socioeconomic disparities in immunologic, neural, and psychosocial development, and the implications for early risk of CHD. The researchers are conducting a multilevel study of 250 youth from economically diverse backgrounds, who were enrolled in the study as eighth graders and will be reassessed in tenth grade. The NIH-funded study aims to determine how socioeconomic status relates to children's brain and immune development, and what implications that has for behavioral and biological processes that increase the risk of CHD. Miller and his colleagues also seek to uncover whether youth from lower-SES backgrounds who encounter positive social influences—specifically role models and high levels of maternal warmth—will develop personal resources like trust, emotion-regulation skills, and self-esteem that help them navigate the challenges of high school and low-SES life more broadly. The researchers hypothesize those resources will shift low-SES youth off their expected risk trajectory, resulting in immune and neural patterns similar to higher-SES youth.

HOW MATERNAL HEALTH AFFECTS OFFSPRING

Do maternal health and nutrition have intergenerational effects on birth outcomes? With National Science Foundation (NSF) funding, **Kuzawa** is following women

in the Cebu Longitudinal Health and Nutrition Survey who have become pregnant. The women, who are now having children of their own, were in utero when the Cebu study began in 1983. Kuzawa and his colleagues, including **McDade** and **Miller**, are using the lifetime of information on mothers' nutrition, early-life morbidity, infant feeding, and growth to shed light on the factors that predict their offspring's birth weight. They also seek to discover when in a mother's life cycle these factors have the strongest intergenerational impacts. In addition, an NIH-funded proposal will enable the researchers to collect placentas from some of the women to assess epigenetic changes that might link a woman's early-life experience with her child's fetal growth rate and birth size. Kuzawa discussed this research at a November 17 Health Inequality Network conference that he organized as part of the Human Capital and Economic Opportunity Global Working Group, directed by economics Nobel laureate James Heckman.

TELOMERE LENGTH ACROSS GENERATIONS

People are increasingly putting off starting a family until later in life, leading to growing concern about the effects of mothers' and fathers' ages on the biology of their offspring. In another NSF-funded study, **Kuzawa** is examining telomere length, an important genetic marker of aging that is linked to cardiovascular disease and



THOMAS MCDADE, CHAIR

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

SOCIAL DISPARITIES AND HEALTH

poorer immune system regulation. In previous work with Dan Eisenberg, a former Northwestern graduate research assistant now at the University of Washington, he collected telomere data from Cebu participants. The data showed that the age of a person's father when he or she was conceived affected the length of the telomeres he or she inherited, and this effect was cumulative across two generations. Kuzawa is assessing whether this finding holds true over more than two generations, laying the foundation for questions related to the possible intergenerational health impacts of reproductive decisions. He is also examining intergenerational impacts of fathers' stress on offspring in Florida, in collaboration with IPR Director **David Figlio**, an education economist, IPR economist **Jonathan Guryan**, and IPR research associate **Krzysztof Karbownik**. Figlio is Orrington Lunt Professor of Human Development and Social Policy and of Economics.

WEIGHT GAIN IN FATHERHOOD

How does becoming a father affect BMI? Pediatrician and IPR associate **Craig Garfield**, IPR developmental psychobiologist **Emma Adam**, IPR developmental psychologist **Lindsay Chase-Lansdale**, and **McDade** studied more than 10,000 men over 20 years as they moved out of their teen years into fatherhood. The researchers find becoming a father is linked with an increase in BMI, whether or not the father lives with his child. Fathers who live in the same home as their child have the biggest overall increase in BMI, with the greatest increase occurring in early fatherhood. In the *American Journal of Men's Health*, the researchers conclude that their findings support the need for obesity prevention specifically designed for young men and men transitioning to fatherhood. They highlight the influence of fathers' weight on children's outcomes as a key reason to focus preventive efforts on young men. Chase-Lansdale is Frances Willard Professor of Human Development and Social Policy and Associate Provost for Faculty.

INVOLVING FATHERS IN THEIR CHILD'S CARE

Though mothers still shoulder the bulk of childcare, a recent clinical report from the American Academy of Pediatrics shows that fathers are now more involved in their children's lives than ever before. **Garfield** was the lead author of the report, which regroups a wealth of data from qualitative and quantitative studies produced since the previous report in 2004. The number of single dads raising children has increased 60 percent in the past 10 years, and the time fathers spent caring for their children more than doubled between 1965 and 2011. According to the report, this changing environment speaks to a need for

pediatricians to make greater efforts to engage fathers. The report offers recommendations for how pediatricians can involve fathers more in care and calls on pediatricians to promote flexible work schedules and policies such as the Family Medical Leave Act.

HOW TESTOSTERONE AFFECTS FATHERHOOD

A man's testosterone levels drop when he becomes a father, according to a groundbreaking 2011 study by **Kuzawa** and his colleagues, including **McDade**. Kuzawa is currently following up on the research, seeking to understand the role of biological changes that fatherhood initiates and if and how these changes predict relationship stability and the developmental outcomes of their children. The study, funded by the NSF, explores if new fathers who experience larger declines in testosterone are better parents and spouses than those with smaller declines, if a father's testosterone level affects his child's performance in school, and if living with his child affects his testosterone levels. The work is in collaboration with the Cebu study, which has followed the same families in the Philippines for more than three decades.

LATE-TERM VS. FULL-TERM BIRTHS

Late-term gestation is associated with an increased risk of health complications in the weeks after birth, but little is known about the long-term cognitive and physical outcomes associated with birth at 41 weeks, or one to two weeks later than a typical gestation. **Figlio** analyzed Florida birth certificates linked to Florida public school records for more than 1.4 million births. With **Guryan**, **Karbownik**, and pediatrician Jeffrey Roth of the University of Florida, he finds that late-term infants had higher average test scores in elementary and middle school than full-term infants, and they also had a higher chance of being gifted and were less likely to exhibit poor cognitive outcomes. Late-term infants, however, did not fare as well physically—they had a higher rate of physical disabilities by the time they were in school and higher rates of abnormal conditions at birth than infants born at 39 or 40 weeks gestation. The findings, published in *JAMA Pediatrics*, provide additional data for expectant parents and physicians when considering whether to induce delivery at full term or wait another week.

EFFECTS OF HAVING A DISABLED SIBLING

Figlio, **Guryan**, and **Karbownik** are continuing to investigate how having a disabled sibling influences a child's cognitive development. In families with three children, the researchers are comparing the school outcomes of first- and second-born siblings who have a younger sibling who is disabled to those

in families where the third child is not disabled. They discover that when the youngest child is disabled, the middle child has a cognitive disadvantage relative to the oldest child compared with the sibling outcomes in families without a disabled child. This suggests that, in addition to effects on all the children in a household with three children and the youngest disabled, the middle child will experience additional, negative effects from having a younger, disabled sibling.

INVESTIGATING ADOLESCENT STRESS

How does stress affect the health of adolescents? **McDade** has helped integrate biomarker data collection into Wave IV of the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent to Adult Health (AddHealth), a dataset he is using to investigate social status, neighborhood factors, and social relationships as sources of stress that affect mental and physical health in young adults. This is the largest ever study of stress to include objective indicators of physiological function and health, and findings from the research will advance the understanding of how social contexts “get under the skin” to affect health in young adults. The project, which received funding from the NIH, also involves **Adam, Chase-Lansdale**, and IPR faculty emeritus **Thomas D. Cook**.

DISCRIMINATION'S EFFECT ON STRESS

Adam is continuing her work on discrimination and health, examining 20 years of prospective data gathered from adolescence through young adulthood. The data include detailed information on exposure to stressors related to race, in addition to measures of family functioning and racial/ethnic identity. Adam is also looking at a wide range of stress-sensitive biological measures, including measures of gene expression relevant to the regulation of biological stress. The preliminary results indicate that a cumulative developmental history of higher perceived discrimination is linked with flatter cortisol diurnal rhythms and lower overall cortisol levels in early adulthood—both indicators of chronic stress. In addition, experiences of discrimination during adolescence have particularly strong effects on adult stress biology. Adam concludes that histories of discrimination help to explain racial and ethnic disparities in cortisol rhythms. She also reveals that positive resources, such as having a strong racial or ethnic identity, can help to reverse the negative effects of racial discrimination on adult stress biology.

CHILDHOOD IRRITABILITY AND MENTAL ILLNESS

In the Multidimensional Assessment of Preschoolers Study (MAPS), IPR clinical and developmental psychologist **Lauren Wakschlag** is assessing disruptive behavior,



IPR anthropologist Christopher Kuzawa (right) discusses the intergenerational transmission of health with psychologist and IPR associate Robin Nusslock.

including irritability and callous traits, which can indicate an increased risk for mental illnesses. Her goal is to identify whether such behaviors are normal as early as possible to offer early detection and prevention. She proposes a longitudinal follow-up of the study, linking the MAPS early childhood data to early school age and preadolescent outcomes. Wakschlag aims to specify dimensional attributes of temper loss and a lack of concern for others in early childhood that predict chronic clinical patterns and preadolescent neurocognitive disruptions. She is currently collaborating with **Figlio** to use the MAPS dataset to test mechanisms of early gender-related health disparities in child behavior and development. The study findings will lay the groundwork for targeted prevention designed to change the life span trajectories of mental disorder at its earliest stages.

THE WHEN-TO-WORRY STUDY

Wakschlag is also studying irritability in infants and young children in an effort to differentiate patterns that mark risk for clinical progression. With clinical psychologist and IPR associate **Amélie Petitclerc**, she is conducting a cross-sectional survey of 2,000 12–36 month olds and gathering bimonthly reports from some of the parents. Wakschlag is also assessing maturation of the prefrontal cortex, an area of the brain involved in personality expression and moderating social behavior, using the Language Environment Analysis (LENA) Pro device for real-time monitoring of irritable vocalizations. By specifying which factors of irritability are seen over time, she aims to improve predictions of irritability’s clinical progression and to map developmentally atypical patterns to disruptions in the maturation of certain brain regions.

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She hypothesizes that uncommon patterns of irritability will predict slowed executive function development and abnormal prefrontal cortex anatomy. IPR psychologist **Sandra Waxman** is collaborating with Wakschlag on how children vocalize their irritability.

THE ENVIRONMENT AND NEURODEVELOPMENT

How does the surrounding environment—including chemical, biological, social, and behavioral factors—affect children’s neurodevelopment? **Wakschlag** is leading the neurodevelopment section of the Environmental Influences on Child Health Outcomes: Patient Reported Outcomes (ECHO PRO) Measurement Core, which is headed by **Cella**. The NIH-funded ECHO PRO consortium is gathering adult and pediatric exposure to these factors and health assessments, as well as recording both observational and performance measures of child functioning. The data will help determine the longitudinal impact of prenatal, perinatal, and postnatal environmental exposures on pediatric health outcomes. Neurodevelopment is one of four focus areas, with investigators assessing outcomes like autism, attention-deficit hyperactivity disorder (ADHD), and depression.



IPR anthropologist Sera Young conducts a “go-along” interview in Kenya, traveling with a local woman as she gathers water to learn more about water insecurity.

TOXIC WASTE AND HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

Over the last 60 years, the United States produced millions of tons of hazardous wastes, which were dispersed into the air, water, and ground. What are the short- and long-term effects of prenatal exposure to these environmental toxicants? **Figlio**, Roth, and former IPR graduate research assistant Claudia Persico, now at the University of Wisconsin–Madison, use population-level data from Florida to ascertain the effects on children near a Superfund site—a toxic waste site identified by the Environmental Protection Agency as particularly severe. In an IPR working paper, they find children conceived to mothers living within two miles of a Superfund site before it was cleaned have lower test scores, are more likely to repeat a grade, and are more likely to be suspended from school than their siblings who were conceived after the site was cleaned. In addition, children conceived to mothers living within one mile of a Superfund site before it was cleaned are 10 percentage points more likely to be diagnosed with a cognitive disability than their later-born siblings.

IMPROVING HEALTH THROUGH PEER EDUCATION

IPR anthropologist **Sera Young** is assessing if an educational intervention focusing on nutrition, climate change, gender equity, and an ecological approach to agriculture can improve food security and infant feeding practices in Africa, while also empowering women. The curriculum, aimed at rural Tanzanian farmers, integrates information from a variety of disciplines. Each intervention village will choose two mentor farmers, one male and one female, who will receive training from existing mentor farmers in Malawi. These mentor farmers will conduct monthly visits to participating households, providing them with support as they experiment with agro-ecological practices and new behaviors regarding nutrition and gender equality. The researchers will measure dietary diversity scores once each year throughout the four-year study, and also assess the proportion of children who are stunted. According to Young, this novel, peer-based approach to improving health outcomes could prove highly sustainable.

FOOD AND WATER INSECURITY AMONG WOMEN

Young is investigating how water insecurity has an impact on adverse maternal and infant health outcomes among women. It is the first study to investigate the impacts of water insecurity on the physical, mental, and economic well-being of women and children during pregnancy and lactation. The study is evaluating both HIV-infected and uninfected pregnant and lactating women in western Kenya. Understanding the role of water insecurity could

change the way that prenatal care and HIV care are provided, according to Young. She hypothesizes that water insecurity is associated with greater viral load and suboptimal infant feeding practices in women with HIV. In another project that could affect prenatal care and HIV care, Young is studying food insecurity for HIV-positive women and their infants in Kisumu, Kenya. Both projects are with the Kenyan Medical Research Institute and Family AIDS Care and Education Services.

MENTAL HEALTH AMONG MEXICAN-AMERICANS

Mexican-American youth are disproportionately vulnerable to depression, anxiety, and suicide. Research has linked these mental health disparities to sociocultural and economic inequalities, but how do such inequalities affect the quality of mental healthcare? IPR anthropologist **Rebecca Seligman** is using both ethnographic and quantitative methods to examine how culture and ethnicity matter to Mexican-American patients, how healthcare providers deal with Mexican-Americans in mainstream adolescent psychiatric practices, and the experiences and responses to treatment of youth who receive care. Seligman seeks to assess which factors most strongly influence quality of care outcomes, including patient satisfaction, adherence to treatment, and retention. The findings have the potential to improve clinical practices and promote better social, emotional, and behavioral outcomes for already disadvantaged Mexican-American youth struggling with psychological distress. The study is part of an ongoing project investigating how sociocultural influences on the ways in which Mexican-American youth conceptualize and experience their emotions, relationships, and sense of self affect their help-seeking and the experience of mental healthcare.

MIND-BODY INTERACTIONS IN HEALTH

How do social and cultural meanings affect illness and healing? **Seligman's** chapter in the forthcoming “Handbook of Biology and Society” details the concept of “biolooping,” which sheds light on how social and cultural meanings affect bodily states. Building on the concept of biolooping described in her book, *Possessing Spirits and Healing Selves: Embodiment and Transformation in an Afro-Brazilian Region* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), Seligman examines cases of religious healing, as well as psychiatric disorders and treatments, to illustrate how interacting processes of the mind, body, and brain might condition health and illness. In related work, Seligman draws on research from psychology on “embodied cognition” to theorize the mechanisms through which cognition and bodily states are linked.

EARLY WARNING SIGNS OF SCHIZOPHRENIA

Psychologist and IPR associate **Vijay Mittal** and his colleagues have identified early warning signs of schizophrenia that can be spotted in young people before they develop a full-blown psychosis. This early identification could lead to early treatment, which might one day prove effective in mitigating or even preventing future onset of psychotic disorders. Mittal identifies unusual motor behavior, like coordination problems and involuntary jerking movements, as one risk factor. The same basal ganglia brain circuit that governs motor behaviors is implicated in schizophrenia, and people with schizophrenia tend to have irregularities in dopamine, a neurotransmitter that plays a role in starting movement, in that part of the brain. Mittal finds young people who exhibited unusual motor behavior were more likely to develop psychotic behavior than those without them. In addition, Mittal finds subtle handwriting abnormalities can predict schizophrenia risk. He is assessing the potential for tablet-based handwriting assessments for young people who are at high risk. Mittal is also testing whether exercise can help prevent schizophrenia in at-risk populations, and the preliminary results are promising.

REWARD RESPONSES AND MOOD DISORDERS

The human brain’s reward system is responsible for processing internal and external reward cues and motivating goal-oriented cognition and behavior. Studies have shown how activating this system in the brain can increase an individual’s motivation, goal-oriented cognition, and positive emotions such as happiness, while deactivation leads to decreased motivation to pursue incentives, less goal-oriented cognition, and more negative emotions. In an article published in *Behavior Therapy*, psychologist and IPR associate **Robin Nusslock** and his colleagues examine sensitivity to rewards in people with mood disorders such as depression and bipolar disorder. They find that unipolar depression and bipolar disorders sit on opposite ends of the reward sensitivity spectrum: Those with unipolar depression display low sensitivity to rewards, while heightened reward sensitivity appears to be a central characteristic of hypomania/mania. Their findings suggest that abnormal reward sensitivity might make individuals vulnerable to developing unipolar depression and bipolar spectrum disorders, so that identifying abnormalities in the brain’s reward system could hold important implications for identifying and treating mood disorders.



IPR social psychologist Mesmin Destin's work focuses on social and psychological factors that contribute to disparities in educational outcomes from middle school through early adulthood.

RESEARCH TOPICS

- Evaluations of education interventions and programs
- School spending and student outcomes
- Improving academic achievement
- College transitions and persistence

UPWARD MOBILITY'S PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECTS

Psychologists have long studied how people's socioeconomic status (SES) affects them, but less attention has been paid to the impact of changing SES on academic and psychological well-being. IPR social psychologist **Mesmin Destin** is conducting a study supported by the National Science Foundation (NSF) with fellow investigator, IPR adjunct faculty **Jennifer Richeson** of Yale University, that focuses on understanding the psychological effects of status changes. They are examining the academic achievement and psychological well-being of students during a critical time—the college years and just after—in their pursuit of upward mobility, which is a key mode of status transition. They hope to demonstrate that the uncertainty of status transition has an impact on college outcomes. By treating SES as a dynamic process, the project also opens the door for new research into the subtleties of how changes in an individual's SES can influence thoughts, behaviors, and important life outcomes. If the researchers can establish a causal relationship between the uncertainty of status-based identity and college achievement, they will be able to seek ways to improve college outcomes for students from low-SES backgrounds.

ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT AND HEALTH

Adolescents from low-SES backgrounds are likely to have health challenges even if they achieve success in school. **Destin** began a research study in collaboration with Evanston School District 202, which educates more than 3,000 high school students, to learn whether a school-based intervention to increase school motivation and academic outcomes for disadvantaged adolescents benefits students' health. The study will test whether participating in groups that encourage academic motivation and provide social support and connection leads to higher academic achievement and better health for low-SES students. The five-year project is supported by the William T. Grant Foundation.

OPENING PATHS TO THINK ABOUT COLLEGE

When middle-school students from families with fewer financial assets think about college, they tend to see it as too expensive. In two field experiments, **Destin** provided rising eighth graders with college financial-aid information. Control groups received no college handout in one experiment and a general handout about college costs in the other. In both experiments, the students who learned about possibilities for financial aid saw an “open path” for themselves to attend college. In the first study, the open-path information increased in-school motivation for children from families with lower assets, who demonstrated their intention to spend more time on schoolwork than the control group. In the second study, the students from low-asset families who saw an open path to college became more motivated to attend college and to pursue goals that require a college education. The findings appear in *The Journal of Early Adolescence*.

LOW-SES ENROLLMENT IN MATH AND SCIENCE

High school students from lower-SES backgrounds are less likely to enroll in advanced mathematics and science courses than their higher-SES peers. In research published in *AERA Open*, **Destin**, Northwestern graduate student Ryan Svoboda, and their colleagues use data from a longitudinal study to assess the role of parents' education and motivations on science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM) course-taking in high school and college. The researchers followed families starting in middle school through high school and college. They reveal that parents who attended college had higher aspirations for their children to take math and science courses and their children were more likely to enroll in such courses in high school and college. But they also find that motivated parents with any level of education who had high expectations for their children also influenced students to enroll in STEM courses, suggesting that there might be interventions to encourage students from lower-SES backgrounds to take STEM courses no matter their parents' education.

CULTURE AND SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT

Why do some immigrant children do better in school than others? Education economist and IPR Director **David Figlio**, finance professor and IPR associate **Paola Sapienza**, Paola Giuliano of the University of California, Los Angeles, and Umut Özek of the American Institutes for Research isolate the importance of immigrants' home country culture on their academic achievement. With access to linked education and birth records from Florida, with its more than four million foreign-born

inhabitants, the researchers find that immigrant students from cultures that emphasize the importance of delayed gratification perform better than students from cultures that do not. Students from such long-term oriented cultures, when compared with other immigrant students and native-born students, have higher test scores, fewer absences and disciplinary incidents, are less likely to repeat a grade, and are more likely to graduate from high school. They are also more likely to take advanced classes in high school, especially in scientific subjects. In an IPR working paper, the researchers validate their analysis using data from 37 countries, and the findings consistently indicate that the results also hold true for immigrants to countries other than the United States. Figlio is Orrington Lunt Professor of Education and Social Policy and of Economics, and Sapienza is the Donald C. Clark/HSBC Chair in Consumer Finance.

IMMIGRANTS AND ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT

In an additional study using the Florida data that match administrative records and student records, Figlio and Özek ask another question about immigrant students: Do first-, second-, and third-generation immigrants perform differently in school? They examine results from reading and math tests, disciplinary and truancy records, high school graduation rates, and readiness for college



JONATHAN GURYAN, CHAIR

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

upon high school graduation for Asian and Hispanic immigrants. They find that first-generation immigrants, who arrive in third grade or earlier, perform better than second-generation immigrants, who, in turn, perform better than third-generation immigrants. The U.S.-born children of foreign-born parents, no matter when they arrived in the United States, tend to do better than others from the same ethnicity who have lived longer in the country. These findings have implications for immigration policy: Policymakers should consider that although newly arrived immigrant children initially struggle in school and require considerable resources, they catch up very quickly to their native-born, ethnic peers, and the younger ones tend to outperform those peers.

SCHOOL QUALITY BENEFITS BOYS MORE

The high school graduation rate for girls is five percentage points higher than for boys, and the female college graduation rate exceeds the male rate by seven percentage points. Evidence indicates that the quality and quantity of inputs received in childhood affect boys differently than girls. School quality is one input that has received little attention. In their recent research published in the *American Economic Review* that used Florida school and birth records, Figlio, IPR research associate **Krzysztof Karbownik**, and their colleagues investigate opposite-sex siblings who attended the same set of schools. Looking at middle school test scores, absences, and suspensions, they find that attending higher-quality schools benefits boys more than girls.

RACE, PARENTS, AND PRINCIPALS

Research has shown that teachers who are the same ethnicity as their students rate their students' behavior in the classroom more favorably. But how does an educator's ethnicity affect how he or she perceives and manages school-related interactions with parents? IPR education sociologist **Simone Ispa-Landa** analyzed interviews with 26 white, African-American, and Hispanic principals in high-poverty, majority-black, and majority-Hispanic schools, resulting in 166 interviews and 71 hours of field observation of the principals. All of the principals shared the same views on what parents' proper role in schooling should be, but they had differences in how they tried to manage parents who did not meet their expectations. For example, only African-American and Hispanic principals sought one-on-one contact with parents they found challenging, while white principals reported routinely using the police to manage black and Hispanic parents.

FAMILY DISADVANTAGE AND THE GENDER GAP

Great gains have been made in closing the overall gender gap in academic achievement and attainment over the last 40 years. Looking more closely at these changes, **Figlio, Karbownik**, and their colleagues find that among minority families there remain systematically larger gender gaps in achievement scores and in rates of high school graduation and disciplinary problems. African-American and Hispanic girls have fared far better than boys in disadvantaged families compared with their white counterparts. Utilizing a dataset that matches Florida birth and school records, the researchers not only compare school-age boys' and girls' outcomes between ethnicities but also within families. In their working paper, the researchers conclude that a "sizable portion" of the difference in educational and behavioral gender gaps between whites and minorities is attributable to greater family disadvantage among minority families. Because more African-American families are low-SES, the gender gap is especially pronounced among them. An important finding is that the gender differences are not present at birth, even in low-SES families, but are rather a "causal effect" of disadvantaged family life on child development.

MATH TUTORING CLOSSES ACHIEVEMENT GAP

In an ongoing study, IPR economist **Jonathan Guryan** and researchers at the University of Chicago's Urban Education Lab, which he co-directs, continue to evaluate a daily two-on-one math-tutoring program called Match, provided by SAGA Innovations. Implementing a randomized controlled trial in neighborhood high schools in the Chicago Public Schools system, the researchers show that students enrolled in the tutoring program for just one year improved their performance on a standardized math test enough to reduce the test-score gap between black and white students by one-third, performed better in math and other classes, were more engaged in school, and were less likely to be arrested for a violent crime. In 2016, Guryan and his colleagues implemented and analyzed the results from an additional year of programming, and the results from that second year replicate their initial results, which are as strong or even stronger than the first year's. They are also analyzing results from the implementation of the tutoring program in New York City.

THE SCIENCE OF SCALE-UP

In another aspect of the Match/SAGA tutoring research, **Guryan** and his colleagues are undertaking a new study in Chicago Public Schools. Using a method they developed, they are studying the effectiveness of the tutoring program at a scale that is larger than it is currently implemented. In a March 28 presentation at The Hamilton Project in Washington, D.C., Guryan recommended a national scale-up of the intensive tutoring program because studies have found the program increases math test scores, and because it has the potential to narrow the black-white test score gap by almost one-third. He urged school districts to use their Title I funds to implement the program.

MENTORING IMPROVES SCHOOL ATTENDANCE

In testing the success of another program, **Guryan** evaluated an intervention intended to increase students' attendance and engagement at school. He and his co-investigators assess a mentoring, monitoring, and case management program called Check & Connect (C&C). In a four-year randomized-controlled trial, C&C was implemented in 23 neighborhood Chicago elementary schools, serving 765 students in first through eighth grades. Mentors were full-time employees who met regularly with 30–35 students over two years, monitoring their attendance and academic progress. The researchers find that students in fifth to seventh grades had significantly fewer absences and failed fewer courses, although there were no effects on grade point average or test scores. There were no significant effects on C&C participant students in first to fourth grade. The program's impact on the students was larger in the second year, suggesting that the mentor-student relationship is key to the program's successes. The U.S. Department of Education's Institute of Education Sciences, the Eunice Kennedy Shriver National Institute of Child Health and Human Development, and the William T. Grant Foundation provided research funding.

RATING EDUCATIONAL TECHNOLOGY

On March 28 at The Hamilton Project in Washington, D.C., strategy professor and IPR associate **Benjamin Jones** and Duke University's Aaron Chatterji discussed their proposal for an online platform, called EDUSTAR, to evaluate K-12 education technologies. The platform, which has been piloted since 2012, uses intuitive star ratings, similar to those of the nonprofit Consumer Reports, for educational technology programs. The platform is based on rigorous and continuous evaluation of educational technology, and the researchers believe that such evaluation can spur innovation in the



Then-U.S. Representative Bob Dold (R–10th) of Illinois discusses the evidence on early childhood education with IPR Director David Figlio (middle) and IPR economist Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach. Dold co-sponsored IPR’s policy research briefing, held on Capitol Hill.

educational technology market. Past research has found mixed results for new technology in schools, the researchers explain, and EDUSTAR will help teachers, parents, and schools make more informed choices about the most effective digital learning activities. Jones is Gordon and Llura Gund Family Professor of Entrepreneurship.

WHAT DO TEST SCORES MISS?

Standardized test scores are the traditional measure of teachers’ effects on students. But it is widely acknowledged that standardized tests do not measure many noncognitive skills, such as adaptability, self-restraint, and motivation, which are key to becoming successful adults. In work supported by the Smith Richardson Foundation, IPR economist **Kirabo Jackson** looks to provide evidence on how better to identify high-quality teachers who improve students’ outcomes in school and beyond. Using data on all public school ninth graders in North Carolina from 2005–12, he examines other, longer-term, outcomes beyond student test scores—absences, suspensions, course grades, and on-time grade progression—that he establishes are influenced by teachers. Compared with using only standardized test scores, using both test scores and the alternative measures more than doubles the predictable variability of teacher effects on these longer-run outcomes. His research will help school districts correctly value students’ noncognitive skills that teachers shape and allow them to evaluate teachers more comprehensively.

THE EFFECTS OF SINGLE-SEX SCHOOLS

Many parents and educators believe in the superiority of single-sex education, but existing studies on single-sex schooling are flawed because students who attend single-sex schools differ in unmeasured ways from those who do not. In 2010, the Ministry of Education in the Caribbean nation of Trinidad and Tobago converted 20 low-performing secondary schools from coed to single-sex. This change

provided **Jackson** an opportunity to isolate the causal effect of single-sex schooling from other confounding factors by comparing outcomes in coeducational and single-sex classrooms with the same teachers, schooling environments, and external supports. He finds that three years after being assigned to an either all-boy or all-girl secondary school, both boys and girls have higher scores on standardized tests. Five years later, they are more likely to take and pass advanced courses. Ultimately, both boys and girls are more likely to complete secondary school and continue to college. He also establishes that boys who attended the single-sex schools are less likely to have been arrested. Though Jackson’s findings might not hold in all contexts, he demonstrates that single-sex education can be an effective and low-cost way to improve student outcomes. The Spencer Foundation provided project funding.

‘OFF-THE-SHELF’ LESSONS

As online lesson plans become more accessible to teachers in traditional classrooms, questions remain about the effects of this new technology. In an IPR working paper, **Jackson** and IPR graduate research assistant **Alexey Makarin** conducted an experiment in which they randomly assigned middle-school math teachers to receive high-quality “off-the-shelf” lessons. They discover that providing teachers with online access to these lessons increased students’ math achievement by 0.06 of a standard deviation, while providing access to the lessons along with supports to promote their use increased math

achievement by 0.09 of a standard deviation. Yet they also uncover variation by teacher strength: Weaker teachers were more likely to benefit from access to these online lessons. Jackson and Makarin suggest that weaker teachers were able to use the lesson plans to compensate for their own skill deficiencies. The findings suggest that providing online access to high-quality instructional materials is more scalable and cost-effective than most policies aimed at improving teacher quality.

DELAYING KINDERGARTEN ENTRANCE

There is a widespread belief that being the oldest in the class is a good thing for students, which has led parents—particularly in affluent areas—to delay, or “redshirt,” their children’s entrance into kindergarten. In *Education Finance and Policy*, IPR economist **Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach** and Elizabeth Cascio of Dartmouth College tease out the components of the relationship between a child’s age and academic success: the child’s age at school entry, age at the time of standardized testing (the commonly used measure of academic achievement), and age relative to the peer group. They focus on the third of these—a child’s age in relation to his or her peers. Using a dataset from Tennessee’s Project STAR (Student-Teacher Achievement Ratio), they observe and compare children who entered school at the same age, but were randomly assigned to kindergarten classrooms with different class ages on average. Rather than observing benefits for children who were older relative to their classmates,



Developmental psychologist and IPR associate Terri Sabol examines how to assess preschool quality, adding to evidence that class environment and teacher-child interactions are key for students.

Schanzenbach and Cascio find younger students gained an advantage from being with older classmates. Students who were younger than their peers tended to have higher test scores up to eight years after kindergarten and were more likely to take a college-entrance exam.

MEASURING PRESCHOOL QUALITY

At IPR’s May 17 research briefing in Washington, D.C., “Ready for School, Ready for Life,” **Terri Sabol**, a developmental psychologist and IPR associate, noted that preschool “quality” has become a “buzzword.” To better define what quality preschool means, she enumerated two ways to think about it: classrooms’ structural features, which comprise issues of health and safety, class size, staff qualifications, and curriculum, or “process-oriented measures,” such as class environments and teacher-child interactions. Today, states mainly use the Quality Rating and Improvement System (QRIS) as their primary tool for gauging quality. The QRIS rates preschools on a number of key factors determined by each state, including both structural and process-oriented elements. The problem with such systems, Sabol explained, is that their rollout has “far outpaced the evidence.” To “get under the hood” of understanding high-quality preschool, Sabol and her colleagues tested whether current QRIS ratings are linked to better learning outcomes. They uncovered that structural improvements such as lower staff-child ratios and teachers with more education did not lead to added student benefits. What did matter, however, were class environment and teacher-child interactions. Sabol pointed out that these results are key for not only defining preschool quality and scaling up high-quality programs, but also for training teachers to engage in high-quality, high-impact interactions with their preschoolers.

ACCOUNTABILITY IN HIGHER EDUCATION

In the *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, **Figlio** and David Deming of the Harvard Graduate School of Education draw four lessons from 30 years of research findings in K-12 education, which could be applied to higher education. First, using strong rewards and sanctions leads schools to concentrate on what is measured—such as math—and neglect what is not—such as critical thinking, maturity, and open-mindedness. Second, the devil is in the details of accountability metric designs. If proficiency is emphasized, then schools have a strong incentive to focus on “bubble” students who are borderline; but if value-added gains on test scores over the previous year is the metric, then schools might reduce efforts in one testing period to make the measured

EDUCATION POLICY

improvement larger—the so-called “ratchet effect.” Third, the more accountability measures increase, the more strategic responses grow, and grow in complexity. Fourth, research has demonstrated that accountability works best at the lowest performing schools where students have the fewest choices. In the more complex world of higher education, where common goals and standards are rarer than in K–12 education, accountability might be elusive. The authors argue that accountability is likely to have the most impact on the parts of the higher education market that are the least competitive, are mostly taxpayer supported, and tend to have worse student outcomes, such as poor graduation rates.

SCHOOL FINANCE REFORM EFFECTS

“[S]chool finance reform is perhaps the most important education policy change in the United States in the last half century,” according to **Schanzenbach** and fellow researchers Julien Lafortune and Jesse Rothstein of University of California, Berkeley. In research supported by the Spencer Foundation and the Washington Center for Equitable Growth, the authors examine the impact of “adequacy” school-finance reforms in the 1990s that raised funding levels of poorer school districts to guarantee equal access to “an adequate education.” These reforms sometimes resulted in higher spending in these poorer school districts than in higher-income ones. Using data from the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP), also known as “the Nation’s report card,” for 1990–2011, the researchers determine that school finance reforms reduce the test-score gap between low- and high-income districts. “Money can and does matter in education,” they conclude. They find, however, that the test-score gap between low- and higher-income students in a state is not reduced by school finance reforms because the average low-income student does not live in a low-income district.

THE GAP BETWEEN PRACTICE AND POLICY

Many education researchers aim to provide research that educators will find useful, whether it is testing classroom innovations or the efficacy of policies and programs. Federal policy also encourages education research that can affect policy and practice. Yet there is a large gap between research and practice, and it is not clear how educational leaders view and utilize research. Social policy professor and IPR associate **Cynthia Coburn** and her colleagues from the University of California, Berkeley, and the University of Colorado

Boulder investigate what research school district leaders find useful in *Educational Policy*. Through surveys and interviews, the researchers learned that although district leaders did use research as federal policies intend—to select among curricula, programs, and interventions—the kinds of research the leaders find useful are not primarily peer-reviewed journal articles. Instead, they find frameworks and practical guidance from books more useful. District leaders can and do rely on research to make decisions, but they choose pieces produced by scholars that provide actionable frameworks for guiding action. These findings suggest that researchers need to better understand, and address, the needs of school district leaders when communicating results to them.

COMMON CORE’S IMPLEMENTATION

In *Educational Researcher*, **Coburn**, education and social policy professor and IPR associate **James Spillane**, and Harvard education professor Heather Hill state that we are at an important moment in education research. American public education is facing rigorous new standards—the Common Core State Standards (CCSS), adopted by more than 40 states—and new accountability mechanisms. The researchers provide a conceptual framework for investigating if and how the CCSS and new approaches to school accountability interact to influence teaching and learning in the classroom. They argue that existing variation across states and districts in both the strength of accountability and in the degree of alignment between policies and the educational infrastructure creates an excellent opportunity for work that can advance implementation research. The authors outline a systematic research agenda to gauge the extent of implementation and influence of the CCSS and accountability policies. Spillane is Spencer T. and Ann W. Olin Professor in Learning and Organizational Change.

COMMUNITY COLLEGE EXPECTATIONS

Many community college students have difficulty graduating. Only 37 percent of high school graduates finish an associate’s degree or higher in eight years, and disadvantaged students fare worse. Researchers have focused on how and why students have not met colleges’ expectations, but few have examined the expectations that students have for their college and college experience. In *Research in Higher Education*, IPR education researcher **James Rosenbaum**, Northwestern’s



IPR developmental psychologist Lindsay Chase-Lansdale and IPR education researcher James Rosenbaum discuss education policy with Charles Ashby Lewis (right), chairman of the Lewis-Sebring Family Foundation.

Kelly Iwanaga Becker, IPR graduate research assistant **Claudia Zapata-Gietl**, and former IPR research coordinator Kennan Cepa, now a graduate student at the University of Pennsylvania, ask instead: Do colleges fail to meet students' expectations? To answer this question, the authors define a new concept, "institutional confidence"—or students' level of certainty that their college will meet their expectations for future outcomes. Surveying 757 students in eight community colleges and two private occupational colleges, Rosenbaum and his colleagues find students' institutional confidence is lower in community colleges than in the occupational colleges in three key areas: dependable progress to credentials, relevant courses, and job contacts. When students lacked confidence in the college, they tended not to stay enrolled. Community colleges, the researchers conclude, can and should take action to improve students' institutional confidence and thereby improve students' degree completion, job placement, and earnings.

CAREERS FOR COMMUNITY COLLEGE GRADUATES

In additional work using the Education Longitudinal Study (ELS) to study community college students, **Rosenbaum** and his colleagues examine the education and employment of 2004 high school graduates compared with that of 1992 high school graduates, tracked in the National Education Longitudinal Survey (NELS). A key finding is that more high school graduates are completing certificate programs than before,

although there was almost no change in the completion of associate's and bachelor's degrees. In both two- and four-year schools, students in the bottom third of test scores and SES earned more certificates. The researchers confirm earlier studies about the economic benefits of obtaining sub-baccalaureate credentials, but they also try to understand the nonmonetary job rewards for these graduates. To do so, they use data from the

National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent to Adult Health (AddHealth). Their analysis reveals that job satisfaction was less strongly related to earnings than to rewards such as autonomy, career relevance, and career preparation. Both graduates with associate's and bachelor's degrees have similar nonmonetary job rewards, sometimes at the same level (autonomy, satisfaction, health benefits), and sometimes at a lower level (strenuous, irregular hours). Certificate holders report fewer job rewards than the degree holders but higher satisfaction, autonomy, and job status than high school graduates. Finally, the researchers examine how students' low-SES and low test scores might affect college completion. Although higher SES, higher test scores, and plans to graduate with a bachelor's degree all significantly increase the likelihood of students graduating with a bachelor's, these factors do not increase the odds of receiving an associate's degree or certificate—and might actually decrease them. Certificates and associate's degrees offer a "more level playing field" for students from low-SES backgrounds with low test scores. The researchers suggest that this perhaps surprising finding merits more research and better outreach about sub-baccalaureate programs to lower-income and lower-scoring students. The research appears in *RSF: The Russell Sage Foundation Journal of the Social Sciences*.

FLEXIBLE DUTY-HOUR POLICIES FOR RESIDENTS

IPR education researcher and statistician **Larry Hedges** and his colleagues investigate an important tension in the advanced education of surgeons. Work hours of surgical residents are limited to protect patients—the most important outcome—and the health and well-being of the residents. Yet restricted hours mean that residents have to interrupt the continuity of care of their patients and their own opportunity to learn and see procedures through. Beginning in 2003, the Accreditation Council for Graduate Medical Education (ACGME) began limiting resident on-duty shifts to 80 hours per week, capping overnight shift lengths, and mandating time off between shifts. Hedges and his fellow researchers conducted a cluster-randomized trial that divided surgical residency programs between those that adhered to the ACGME guidelines and those that allowed more flexibility in hours for surgical residents but still imposed limitations on shift length and time off. The flexible, less-restrictive duty-hour policies did not result in an increased rate of patient death or serious complications. Nor did the flexible hours lead to a lower rate of residents' own personal safety or satisfaction with the educational quality of their program. At the same time, however, residents who experienced the flexible duty-hour policy did recognize that their time for personal activities and rest were lessened, compared with their peers who followed the standard ACGME duty-hour policy. The study appeared in *The New England Journal of Medicine*, which recognized it as one of the 10 most significant articles published in the journal in 2016. Hedges is Board of Trustees Professor of Statistics and Education and Social Policy.

DEFINING EDUCATIONAL DESIGN RESEARCH

Design research, which focuses on developing effective solutions based on human needs and behaviors, holds promise for solving practical problems of education and developing theory to guide future interventions. However, IPR associates **Matthew Easterday**, a learning scientist, and **Elizabeth Gerber**, a designer and mechanical engineer, note in the *Australasian Journal of Educational Technology* that design research in the field of education remains underdeveloped. To further the paradigmatic development of educational design research, Easterday, Gerber, and Northwestern's Daniel Rees Lewis propose that design research products are arguments for how people should learn, and the practical products of design research are prototypes that can promote learning in the real world. Defining educational design research allows for better training for novice researchers and shows

fundors that the resources allocated for design research projects will result in theoretical and practical benefits for society, they write. The researchers conclude that educational design research projects aid in producing innovative interventions that directly impact learning more than other forms of research.

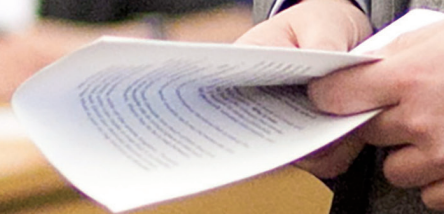
LEAD EXPOSURE AND TEST PERFORMANCE

Previous research by social policy professor and IPR associate **Dan Lewis** discovered that levels of lead in the blood were associated with lower standardized test scores in reading and math among Chicago Public Schools students. Interestingly, the risks varied modestly by race and ethnicity. In a new study in the *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, Lewis and his colleagues examine the effect of low-level lead exposure on school performance among third graders in three Hispanic subgroups: Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and children of other Hispanic ancestry. The researchers find that blood lead levels were significantly higher among Mexican children. Levels were also more elevated in boys, in children of less-educated mothers, and in children from low-income families. The results indicate that low levels of lead in the blood correlate with lower reading and math scores in all subgroups. The researchers estimate that 7 percent of reading failure and about 13 percent of math failure among Hispanic children can be attributed to exposure to blood lead levels of 5–9 micrograms per deciliter, a level which the U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention first defined as elevated in 2012.

ARE GREAT TEACHERS POOR SCHOLARS?

Colleges and universities aspire to excellence in both teaching and research, but does scholarly distinction come at a cost to teaching quality, or vice versa? Northwestern University President and IPR economist **Morton Schapiro**, along with **Figlio**, seeks to answer this question among tenured Northwestern faculty. Using data on the full population of all first-year undergraduates enrolled at Northwestern between fall 2001 and fall 2008, the researchers discover no relationship between teaching quality and research quality. This does not mean, though, that policymakers and administrators should replace high-priced scholars with untenured, lower-paid faculty, Schapiro and Figlio caution in a Brookings Institute report. They explain that illustrious research faculty provide a draw for both students and faculty, and having such highly regarded scholars teaching freshmen sends a signal to the community that the school takes undergraduate education seriously.

Healthcare economist and IPR associate Craig Garthwaite focuses on the effects of the Affordable Care Act, examining changes in hospitals' uncompensated care costs and variations in emergency department use before and after Medicaid expansion.



RESEARCH TOPICS

- Performance in government & nonprofits
- Healthcare markets and regulation
- Accountability in education

EMERGENCY DEPARTMENT USE UNDER THE ACA

With the passage of the Affordable Care Act (ACA), newly insured patients have made increased use of hospital emergency departments. But little is known about any change in the location or type of emergency department service as a result of broader insurance coverage under the new law. In the *Annals of Internal Medicine*, IPR economist **Matthew Notowidigdo**, healthcare economist and IPR associate **Craig Garthwaite**, and their colleagues compare changes in emergency department use at the end of 2013 with the end of 2014, when Medicaid expansion under the ACA took effect. They find that before 2014, emergency department use was the same in Medicaid expansion and nonexpansion states. After 2014, hospitals in states that chose Medicaid expansion saw uninsured visits to the emergency department decrease by over 47 percent, while states that did not enroll in the expansion saw no decrease. In the expansion states, visits to the emergency department for nonemergency conditions fell by almost 44 percent among uninsured patients and increased by almost 130 percent among Medicaid patients. The researchers also discovered that the average travel time decreased by more than 6 percent among all Medicaid patients in expansion states, but not in the nonexpansion states (see p. 88).

THE ECONOMIC IMPACTS OF HOSPITALIZATION

Fewer Americans are uninsured since the ACA's passage. But even insured patients might face a big financial price if they are admitted to the hospital. To assess the economic impacts of hospital admissions, **Notowidigdo**, along with colleagues from the University of California, Santa Cruz, and MIT, closely examines the health and financial records of Californians who entered the hospital between 2003 and 2007. Excluding pregnancies and people who had been in the hospital in the last three years, the researchers find the average hospital stay lasted about four days and had a sticker price of \$45,000—which is typically bargained down in later negotiations. Uninsured patients quickly fell into debt. Working-age adult insured patients were much less likely to carry major debt after being hospitalized, but

their financial health did suffer. For example, insured adults between the ages of 50 and 64 saw their annual incomes fall by over \$7,000, a decline of about 17 percent, and their out-of-pocket medical expenses rose by more than \$1,000 a year following hospitalization. In contrast, elderly patients, who had health insurance through Medicare for medical expenses and had small labor-market earnings, appeared to suffer little or no economic setbacks from being hospitalized. These findings underline that insurance in the United States, unlike some European countries, rarely covers any decline in earnings.

HOSPITALS AS INSURERS OF LAST RESORT

In the United States, hospitals are required to provide emergency medical care to the uninsured. How much does this cost them? In an IPR working paper, **Notowidigdo**, **Garthwaite**, and Tal Gross of Columbia University apply panel data methods and case studies from statewide Medicaid disenrollments, uncovering that hospitals' uncompensated care costs increased in response to the size of the uninsured population. The findings suggest each additional uninsured person costs local hospitals \$900 annually in uncompensated care. In addition, increases in the uninsured population lowered hospital profit margins, and hospitals could not pass along all increased costs to privately insured patients. For-profit hospitals were less affected by these factors, indicating that nonprofit hospitals hold a unique role as part of the social insurance system. Altogether, the results suggest that when uninsured individuals are unable to pay for emergency medical care, hospitals absorb much of the cost.

MEASURING THE ACA'S IMPACT ON HOSPITALS

The ACA created the largest expansion in health insurance coverage since the creation of Medicare and Medicaid in the 1960s. Issues that the ACA was designed to address include the rising financial burden on both patients and hospitals that provide uncompensated care for uninsured people. Because little is known about new insurance enrollees' hospitalization rates, or whether they were able to pay for medical services prior to the ACA taking effect, it is unclear how much uncompensated hospital care should have fallen as a result of the new legislation. In *Health Affairs*, healthcare economist and IPR associate **David Dranove**, **Garthwaite**, and Northwestern's Christopher Ody provide the first national estimates of the decline in uncompensated care as a result of the ACA. Using Medicare Hospital Cost Reports, they find that uncompensated care costs in Medicaid expansion states—28 states plus the District of Columbia in the

2013–14 period studied—fell from 4.1 percentage points of operating costs to 3.1 percentage points of operating costs. However, in the nonexpansion states, uncompensated care costs remained about the same, at approximately 5.7 percentage points of hospitals’ operating costs. The authors calculate that if the 19 holdout states on ACA Medicaid expansion had instead adopted it, uncompensated care costs would have decreased by 1.6 percentage points—nearly 30 percent of their current level. Although uncompensated care has dropped in the Medicaid expansion states, some hospitals provide considerably more uncompensated care than others. Nonprofit hospitals have benefited especially from the expansion—a direct transfer of taxpayer dollars to hospitals’ profits. The researchers’ findings could help guide consideration of tax policies intended to promote charity care. Dranove is Walter J. McNerney Professor of Health Industry Management.

THE HIGH PRICES OF PHARMACEUTICALS

While expanded health insurance access, such as the ACA and Medicare Part D, can offer treatments that patients might not be able to afford otherwise, such expansions might also have negative effects. **Dranove, Garthwaite**, and Northwestern’s David Besanko investigate by developing a demand model where customers cannot afford expensive lifesaving treatments without insurance. They predict that in this setting insurance unambiguously increases the prices for these innovative treatments and in many cases decreases consumer surplus. Additionally, they predict that requiring insurers to cover a wide range of treatments in a single insurance bundle allows manufacturers of innovative products to set prices that exceed the value they create. The authors use the model to better understand the impact of the 2003 passage of Medicare Part D, which substantially expanded the number of seniors receiving drug coverage. They find that this insurance expansion raised prices in the oncology market and increased the probability that new products would be priced above the value they create.

FREE HEALTH INSURANCE IN INDIA

Since 2008, India’s public health insurance has covered the poorest quarter of the population. The Indian government is considering expanding coverage to include households above the poverty line. To create the most effective policy for nearly 700 million people, it is vital to understand how care-seeking behavior works with and without insurance. IPR economist **Cynthia Kinnan** and fellow researchers from the United States, England, and India are currently

conducting a randomized controlled field experiment in Karnataka, India, to measure the effects of expanding the free inpatient public health insurance plan called Rashtriya Swasthya Bima Yojana (RSBY). RSBY is centrally funded, state-run, and provides hospitalization insurance to households below the poverty line. Some 11,000 households above the poverty line are participating in the study. The goal of the research is to quantify how the RSBY program benefits health and reduces poverty in the short and medium term.

THE PERILS OF PAY-FOR-PERFORMANCE

Government and nonprofit activities are often difficult, if not impossible, to measure and assign monetary value to in ways that are broadly acceptable. These difficulties prevent the adoption of incentive systems that align rewards with “performance.” IPR economist **Burton Weisbrod** is writing a book, under contract with Stanford University Press, to consider the unintended—but foreseeable and counter-productive—consequences of the rising tide of efforts to reward performance measures, such as standardized tests for schoolchildren and crime rates for police. These involve adopting measures that are both incomplete and biased and then rewarding them. Titled “The Perils of Pay-for-Performance: Why Strong Rewards in Government and Nonprofit Organizations



BURTON WEISBROD, CHAIR

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

PERFORMANCE MEASUREMENT AND REWARDS

Do Not Work,” the book will cover a wide array of public and nonprofit sector services, such as K-12 and higher education, hospitals, policing and jails, museums, charities, and the federal judiciary. For example, the debate surrounding No Child Left Behind (NCLB) has centered on whether the strong rewards and penalties for performance—and its increasing reliance on measurability—should be expanded to other areas of government and the nonprofit world. Weisbrod emphasizes how the forces at work in these systems cause strong rewards to be strategically “gamed,” so that it is not truly good performance that is rewarded, but measured performance—even when that is systematically overstated. He explains why the two concepts are in conflict—why, for example, larger rewards in public schools might improve test scores but not learning. Weisbrod directs IPR’s Seminar on Performance Measurement series, which features presentations by researchers studying healthcare, education, policing, and other social service industries. He is Cardiss Collins Professor of Economics.

IMPROVING ACCOUNTABILITY UNDER ESSA

In a strategy paper for The Hamilton Project, its director, IPR economist **Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach**, and her co-authors apply some lessons from NCLB to the nation’s new education accountability law, the Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA). ESSA gives states more freedom to create their education policies, but requires annual measurement of five indicators toward each state’s educational goals. Four of the five are defined, with the “fifth indicator” of “school quality or student success” left up to the states. It must, however, be evidence-based, systematically measurable, and related to improvements



IPR economist Matthew Notowidigdo (right) follows up with Rourke O’Brien of the University of Wisconsin–Madison after O’Brien’s presentation on how Medicaid leads to improved intergenerational economic mobility.

in student achievement and high school graduation. The authors recommend chronic absenteeism as their “fifth indicator.” More than six million students were chronically absent—defined as 15 days or more during a school year—in 2013–14. After analyzing how accountability indicators were measured and used under NCLB, the researchers conclude that chronic absenteeism is valid, reliable, comparable, and easy to measure. Rates of chronic absenteeism meaningfully differentiate between schools within each state and relate to school-wide measures of students’ achievement, growth, and graduation rates. The authors find evidence that reducing the rate of chronic absenteeism would likely increase student achievement and raise graduation rates.

NO CHILD LEFT BEHIND AND OBESITY

In *Education Finance and Policy*, **Schanzenbach**, with Patricia Anderson of Dartmouth College and Kristin Butcher of Wellesley College, looks at how accountability pressure from the NCLB might have had the unintended consequence of affecting students’ body weight. They create a unique dataset that combines NCLB rules, test scores, and students’ body mass index. What is the connection? Schools might respond to the threat of sanctions under NCLB rules in a variety of ways. They might allocate time formerly used for physical activity to instructional activities, for example, taking time from recess or gym for more classwork and homework. Schools on the margin of NCLB sanctions have a 0.5 percentage point higher growth rate in their students being overweight. These results provide direct evidence that the NCLB accountability rules appear to have unintended adverse effects for students’ weight and, therefore, health.

THE PERFORMANCE OF EARTHQUAKE MAPS

In 2011, the 9.0 magnitude Tohoku earthquake and resulting tsunami killed more than 15,000 people and caused nearly \$300 billion in damages. The shaking from the earthquake was significantly larger than Japan’s national hazard map had predicted. Such hazard-mapping failures, which can cause major damage in areas forecast to be relatively safe, prompted three Northwestern researchers—IPR statistician **Bruce Spencer**, geophysicist and IPR associate **Seth Stein**, and IPR graduate research assistant **Edward Brooks**—to assess the performance of earthquake hazard maps. Such maps are used around the world to make costly policy decisions for earthquake-resistant construction. To gauge the performance of the Japanese maps, the

researchers created uniform and random maps of the Japanese earthquake hazards. The authors' overall finding is that the Japanese national hazard maps are not performing as well as might be hoped. They consistently overpredict shaking—the expected shaking occurred at a much lower fraction of sites than predicted. At the same time, the national maps describe the observed shaking better than a uniform or randomized map. In other words, there are multiple and complex aspects to earthquake map prediction. In some metrics, the national maps do better—and in others worse—than the uniform or randomized maps. The scholars stress that seismologists need to know a lot more about how these maps work to improve them. Stein is William Deering Professor of Earth and Planetary Sciences.

CASH FOR CARBON: DOES IT WORK?

Climate change is an enormous challenge, yet we have little evidence on what policies can mitigate it cost effectively. Reducing carbon emissions through forest conservation is widely considered cost effective, and thus it plays a key role in international climate policy. Various programs have been launched to slow down deforestation in developing countries, where most of it occurs today. IPR economist **Seema Jayachandran** and her colleagues conducted a randomized controlled trial to determine whether a program that paid Ugandan forest owners to conserve their forests led them to cut down fewer trees, and how the payment program's benefits compare to its costs. Over two years, 121 villages in western Uganda participated in the experiment. In 60 of them, forest owners were paid to conserve their trees. Tree cover was measured with high-resolution satellite imagery before and at the end of the two-year trial. Forests in the villages where payments were made declined by 2–5 percent compared with 7–10 percent in the control villages during the study period. The researchers calculate the cost-effectiveness of the program in terms of averted carbon dioxide (CO₂) emissions. They estimate that for every 25 cents in payments, or 57 cents in total program costs, a ton of CO₂ emissions due to deforestation was delayed. Using the accepted “social cost of carbon,” they conclude that the social benefit of the delayed carbon dioxide emissions is \$1.11 per ton, or almost twice the 57-cent program cost.

THE MARGINAL PROPENSITY TO CONSUME

Ten years after an individual declares bankruptcy, the record of that bankruptcy is removed from his or her credit report, leading to an immediate increase in credit

score. In an IPR working paper, **Notowidigdo** and his co-authors examine the effects of this “bankruptcy flag” removal. Using a sample of 160,000 bankruptcy filers whose bankruptcy records were removed between 2004 and 2011, they determine that, in the year following flag removal, credit card limits increased by \$780 and credit card balances increased by about \$290. These findings point to a Marginal Propensity to Consume (MPC) out of liquidity—or the change in spending in response to the change in available assets—of 0.37. Focusing in on the years 2007–09—during the Great Recession—they identify a 20–30 percent increase in MPC. The results are consistent with typical models, where liquidity constraints become more important during recessions.

COMBINING INSIGHTS FROM LITERATURE AND ECONOMICS

Morton Schapiro, Northwestern University president, professor, and IPR economist, and Gary Saul Morson, Lawrence B. Dumas Professor of the Arts and Humanities and professor of Slavic languages and literatures, have been co-teaching extremely popular undergraduate courses on decision-making and alternative choices since 2011. The collaboration between the economist and the humanist has resulted in their second book, *Cents and Sensibility* (Princeton University Press). It breaks down the barriers between the academic bailiwicks of economics and the humanities to address issues ranging from the economics of the family to the development of poor nations. In one chapter, Schapiro and Morson discuss higher education, unpacking the well-known U.S. News & World Report college rankings. They examine the ways in which universities calculate and report statistics such as admission rate, incoming students' standardized test scores, and alumni giving. How do the economist and humanist view the case of a university recording an alumni group's \$20,000 donation as 20,000 \$1 donations to raise its alumni giving rate, and thus its overall ranking? Schapiro and Morson call on literary examples—such as portrayals of dishonesty in Tolstoy's *Anna Karenina*—to explore the ethical implications of reporting potentially inaccurate statistics. Through their discussion of higher education and numerous other topics, the scholars argue that the study of literature offers economists ways to improve their models and predictions, as well as ways to shape more effective policies. At the same time, they underscore, examining literature through the lens of real-world economic problems can help to revitalize its study.



After the presidential election, IPR experts spoke at a panel forecasting what to expect in the next four years, including a presentation by political scientist and IPR associate Julie Lee Merseth previewing the Trump administration's immigration policies.

RESEARCH TOPICS

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

MINORITY POLITICAL ENGAGEMENT

Language barriers are often cited as a main reason for low levels of political engagement among Latino and Asian-American voters. In a study with Bernard Fraga of Indiana University, political scientist and IPR associate **Julie Lee Merseeth** examines how language minority provisions in the Voting Rights Act (VRA), which require multilingual election assistance when certain population thresholds are met, affect electoral behavior. The researchers use an individual-level voter file database to study Latino and Asian-American participation in almost 1,500 counties and municipalities across the country. Focusing on the 2012 election, they utilize a regression discontinuity design to compare participation rates in jurisdictions that were just above and just below the threshold for VRA coverage. Their analysis reveals a significant increase in Latino voter registration and Asian-American turnout in places covered by the VRA. The findings point to the positive results of enforcing language minority provisions to bolster political engagement among these fast-growing minority groups.

GROUP DISCUSSIONS AND PARTISAN IDENTITY

Politically charged group discussions were seemingly unavoidable in 2016, as the country was swept up in a presidential election. In *Research and Politics*, IPR political scientist **James Druckman** digs deeper into how group discussions affect the political attitudes and partisanship of those who engage in them. Along with the University of Pennsylvania's Matthew Levendusky and Yale University's Audrey McClain, a former IPR assistant editor, Druckman conducted an experiment where participants discussed current political affairs. They were either part of a group where all members self-identified as being in the same political party, or in a group where members identified with different parties. The researchers then compared these two groups with the control group, which did not participate in any group discussion. While previous research has shown that group discussion can lead to more extreme political

attitudes, Druckman and his co-authors also looked at the effects on attitude strength. They find that discussion does, in fact, generate strong attitudes, especially in the politically homogenous groups. These results highlight a tradeoff, as people engaged in group discussions develop stronger political attitudes and are more likely to become politically engaged, but are also more likely to become more partisan. Druckman is Payson S. Wild Professor of Political Science.

IMPROVING SCIENTIFIC COMMUNICATION

When it comes to climate change, about half of the U.S. public believes that humans are the primary drivers of climate change and the other half believes it is a naturally occurring phenomenon. **Druckman** is investigating public opinion on climate change to better understand how to effectively communicate information on seemingly controversial scientific topics. In an IPR working paper, he examines how a person's political party affiliation affects whether they agree with the scientific consensus surrounding climate change. Druckman and Toby Bolsen, a former IPR graduate research assistant now at Georgia State University, asked more than 1,300 randomly selected participants from across the political spectrum to what extent they think humans cause climate change versus it being naturally occurring. One group of participants then received "consensus information" that supported the idea that climate change is primarily due to humans, while another received this same information along with a statement highlighting the political debate over the issue. The consensus information did not lead all participants to higher levels of belief in human-induced climate change. One group in particular—Republicans with higher-than-average political and scientific knowledge—was less likely to believe that human activity fuels climate change after reading the consensus information. The research reveals the difficulty of effectively communicating scientific research surrounding climate change.

DIVERSITY'S ADVOCACY-SCIENCE SPLIT

In the *Journal of Social Issues*, IPR social psychologist **Alice Eagly** outlines the "chasm that can develop" between research findings and advocates' claims on social inequality issues such as racial and gender diversity. Advocates typically claim that having women on corporate boards leads to better firm performance and that more diverse work groups perform better. While policymakers might also believe these generalizations, repeated meta-analyses—which aggregate and

statistically integrate a large number of studies—have found little to no correlation between the proportion of women on corporate boards and their firm's performance or between racial and gender diversity in groups and overall group performance. Eagly underscores the need for research that better identifies the conditions under which diversity helps or hinders performance. She also calls on social scientists to go beyond looking at performance to account for other important effects of diversity, such as promoting social justice. She also stresses that social scientists must be “honest brokers,” who communicate relevant scientific findings rather than distort them to fit specific advocacy or policy goals. Eagly holds the James Padilla Chair of Arts and Sciences.

COLLABORATION AND DISTRIBUTIVE JUSTICE

Psychological theory suggests that humans have an innate concept of distributive justice—the idea that goods should be allocated justly throughout a society—that is rooted in collaboration with others. IPR political scientist **Mary McGrath** and Alan Gerber of Yale University are exploring how collaboration affects decisions about sharing resources and shapes who we think of as fellow team members. First, they are conducting an experiment to test whether collaboration can alter “distributive preferences,” such as by making people view their

collaborators as more worthy of receiving their “fair share.” In fact, the researchers find that people collaborating in groups are more likely to support a fair allocation of resources within the group, mainly because they feel indebted to other group members. In the second part of the project, the researchers are investigating the relationship between group identification and collaboration. Early results suggest that people treat their collaborators differently depending on whether they are of the same race, for instance, and by whether or not they are naturally group-oriented. The results also point to the ways that collaboration can affect general views about redistributive policy, showing how working in a group setting can shape wider policy preferences.

POLITICAL OPINION FORMATION

With a fragmented media environment and the prevalence of so-called “fake news,” many lamented the difficulty of separating fact from fiction in 2016. In an ongoing project, **McGrath** is investigating how factual information affects political opinions. Her study will rely on a novel treatment that prompts people to take time to process factual information and use facts to inform their opinions. Though still in its early stages, the project could have wide-ranging implications for how encouraging the use of facts in information processing could help shape how people arrive at their political opinions.



JAMES DRUCKMAN, CHAIR

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

IDEOLOGICALLY EXTREME CANDIDATES

Republican Barry Goldwater's landslide loss in the 1964 presidential election and George McGovern's similar defeat in 1972 seem to suggest that ideologically extreme candidates do not fare well among the American electorate. Yet do these two cases really represent a broader pattern? In *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, **McGrath** and her colleagues examine whether candidates at the ideological extremes of their parties paid an electoral price in the 17 presidential elections between 1948 and 2012. To gauge ideological extremism, they measure each presidential candidate's position on a liberal-conservative spectrum, as well as how extreme each candidate was relative to his opponent in the election. They then use electoral outcomes from the 17 presidential races to determine whether more extreme candidates fared worse. Despite the Goldwater and McGovern examples, their results show little evidence of “extremism penalties” for presidential candidates, suggesting that ideologically extreme candidates do not necessarily pay in the form of votes.

VOTERS' VIEWS ON LEGISLATIVE COMPROMISE

How do voters view legislative compromise, and under which conditions are policymakers punished for failing to reach compromise? IPR political scientist **Laurel Harbridge Yong** finds that legislators are generally viewed more positively when they compromise than when they do not, at least when legislative action is at stake, but certain conditions provide “cushions” for legislators to avoid compromise without facing voter backlash. In *Political Behavior*, she and her colleagues reveal that voters are more willing to overlook a lack of compromise when their legislator belongs to the same party as they do, and when they see the issue at stake as aligning with the legislator’s gender. For example, voters are more forgiving of male legislators who do not compromise on “male-dominated” energy issues and female legislators who do not compromise on the more “female-oriented” issue of early childhood education. Voters are less forgiving, however, of legislators who refuse to compromise on issues considered outside of their expertise. The results emphasize the way in which voter penalties for not compromising can vary across legislators and political contexts.

BLAME FOR CONGRESSIONAL INACTION

Americans’ approval of Congress stood at less than 20 percent for most of 2016, as congressional gridlock persisted. In an IPR working paper, **Harbridge Yong** and David Doherty of Loyola University Chicago identify one explanation for this continued pattern of gridlock: Legislators, they find, are able to avoid voter penalties for inaction by “passing the buck,” or shifting the blame away from themselves. For instance, when legislators place blame on the opposite party or other actors, voters’ evaluations of these other actors fall. The researchers conducted a content analysis of legislators’ communications with constituents along with a survey experiment to assess how legislators explain gridlock and whether they can avoid voter penalties by “passing the buck.” Their findings reveal that legislators are often able to avoid electoral punishment for inaction by placing the blame on others. More broadly, the research shows how blame-shifting on the part of individual legislators can affect larger party and institutional reputations.

OVERCOMING OBSTACLES TO COMPROMISE

It is widely assumed that legislative compromise does not happen because legislators lack common ground. In an IPR working paper, **Harbridge Yong** and her co-authors consider another possibility: Legislators might choose not to support policies even when they

reflect commonalities. Along with Sarah Anderson of the University of California, Santa Barbara, and Daniel Butler of Washington University in St. Louis, **Harbridge Yong** examines why electors might refuse to compromise even when they stand to benefit from doing so. The ongoing research project will use national representative samples to test possible solutions for failure to compromise, including voter-based communication solutions and elite-based negotiation processes that might challenge legislators’ unwillingness to accept compromise proposals. The work will also speak to the broader issue of negotiation in politics and what solutions might bring about more successful compromise.

THE ORIGINS OF REAGAN’S 1981 TAX CUT

Tax cuts have been a central element of the rise of “neoliberalism” in America—a free-market philosophy that promotes markets over government intervention, which President Ronald Reagan endorsed during his time in office. Drawing on recently released archives from the Reagan Presidential Library, IPR sociologist **Monica Prasad** is examining the origins of Reagan’s first major tax cut, part of the Economic Recovery Tax Act of 1981. Also known as the “Laffer curve” tax because of its relationship to “supply-side” economics—which economist Arthur Laffer theorized in 1974—the 1981 tax cut lowered marginal tax rates across the board and set the tone for the decline of progressive taxation over the ensuing years. Prasad is working on a book about Reagan’s first tax cut, and the effects of the tax-cut movement on inequality and political conservatism today. More broadly, her book will look at the overall role that money plays in American politics, including in the passage of tax-cut policies. This project is supported with funding from Prasad’s National Science Foundation CAREER award.

WHITE WORKING-CLASS VOTER PREFERENCES

While between one-third and one-half of the white working class in America has voted Republican for the past several decades, scholars disagree as to why this group votes Republican. Is it due to their preferences on economic issues or their cultural and moral ones? While past research has relied solely on survey data, **Prasad** and her colleagues took a new approach, conducting in-depth interviews with 120 white working-class voters. The researchers uncover that these voters primarily support Republican economic policies—and even associate “conservatism” with avoiding debt and excessive consumption rather than a general respect for tradition. At the same time, they explain why economic preferences might



IPR political scientist Laurel Harbridge Yong's research suggests there will not be much bipartisan action in the 115th Congress with Republicans in control of both the House and Senate, as well as the presidency.

be misunderstood as moral and cultural beliefs: By and large, white working-class voters believe morality and personal responsibility will help them prosper economically—a phenomenon the researchers call “walking the line.” This finding sheds light on how beliefs about morality inform the economic preferences of white working-class voters and adds nuance to the ongoing academic, and political, debate about why this group votes Republican.

COMBATING CORRUPTION

From bribing an official to issue a birth certificate to political graft, corruption in government affects societies across the globe. Given its ubiquity and many forms, can it be curbed, and if so, how? In ongoing work, **Prasad** takes an interdisciplinary approach to studying the varied sources of corruption and potential solutions for combating it. Along with political scientist and IPR associate **Jordan Gans-Morse**, Prasad wrote a report for the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) outlining “Interdisciplinary Approaches to the Study of Corruption.” The report emphasizes the need for a wide range of scholarly perspectives in studying corruption. Prasad and Gans-Morse also organized a workshop that brought together scholars from across disciplines to discuss the USAID report along with their own research findings and insights. The presentations, which covered topics ranging from the success of anti-corruption strategies and views of political corruption in Brazil to the challenges of using digital technologies to fight corruption, further highlighted the need for an interdisciplinary approach to studying and combating corruption in its many forms around the world.

AUTHORITARIAN TRANSITIONS

Why do some regimes move toward authoritarianism while others move away from it? In an ongoing research project, IPR political scientist **Rachel Beatty Riedl** and her colleagues examine authoritarian transitions, looking at whether regimes that shift away from authoritarianism move toward democracy, as in the cases of Tunisia and Indonesia, or toward political instability, as in Syria and Burundi. The researchers draw on existing theories of democratization and propose their own, in which regime change is determined by strategic management of the incumbent authoritarian party. In 2017, Riedl and her colleagues are set to host a conference on this topic, co-sponsored by IPR and the Buffett Institute for Global Studies, to discuss what leads to democratization versus what triggers democratic breakdown in the wake of authoritarianism. The findings will have implications for international organizations that promote democratization efforts as well as the domestic actors involved in authoritarian transitions across the globe.

FINDING SOCIAL ORDER IN TIMES OF CIVIL WAR

War zones are often thought of as confusing and chaotic environments. However, in a new book, *Rebelocracy: Social Order in the Colombian Civil War* (Cambridge University Press, 2016), political scientist and IPR associate **Ana Arjona** challenges this conception by highlighting wartime social order in Colombia. Arjona advances a theory that emphasizes interactions between fighters and civilians, and how such interactions can have an impact on wartime institutions. The book calls on years of original fieldwork during Colombia's civil war to test

the theory, including qualitative and quantitative data on communities, armed groups, and individuals within conflict zones. The results give teeth to the theoretical framework, highlighting the importance of the civilian-armed group relationship in affecting wartime institutions and social order. As armed groups strive to rule civilians in the territories they occupy, civilians can in turn influence the armed group's ability to rule through threats of collective resistance. Arjona documents a range of successes on the part of rebel groups, from “rebelocracy”—where the armed group achieves a high degree of governance—to “aliocracy”—in which the armed group has only a minimal ability to rule—and shows how civilian-armed group relationships shape the rebel group's success or failure. Beyond the context of Colombia, the book speaks to a more complex understanding of social order in times of civil war, and how institutions, local governance, and nonviolent resistance can bring order out of chaos.

RELIGION AND POLITICAL ENGAGEMENT

Across sub-Saharan Africa, religious organizations—with their large numbers of followers and built-in communication and organization networks—seem ripe for political mobilization. Yet religious organizations in this region span a range of political engagement, from total disengagement to nonpartisan positions, and ultimately, direct partisan support. In an ongoing book project, **Riedl** investigates the different patterns of political engagement by religious organizations in sub-Saharan Africa. First, through a database of newspaper reports, she maps out the political actions of religious groups across 15 African countries. She argues that beyond the political salience of religion in these countries, political factors such as party-system competitiveness are important in understanding political engagement on the part of religious organizations. This focus allows for a better understanding of how religious identities gain and lose salience in the political arena, and what institutional avenues are available for religious groups to mobilize politically. This evidence, combined with surveys of local religious and political leaders in four sub-Saharan African countries, will provide a better picture of religious mobilization in the political sphere. Riedl drew upon ethnographic studies of Islamic, Pentecostal, and mainline Christian political engagement as a Fulbright Scholar in 2015–16 at Les Afriques dans le monde, an interdisciplinary institute of African diaspora studies housed in Sciences Po Bordeaux.

A HISTORICAL APPROACH TO PARTY POLITICS

Historical institutionalism—an approach to studying politics that emphasizes the role of institutional structures over time—can be used to study myriad political elements. In a chapter of the *Oxford Handbook of Historical Institutionalism*, **Riedl** outlines the usefulness of the approach for studying political parties. She argues that the processes of party creation, competition, and adaptation are structured over time, so that understanding contemporary political outcomes requires understanding the timing and sequence of previous events. Riedl highlights how a historical approach to party politics sheds light on instances when long-term political party legacies are shaped and developed versus times when party systems remain resilient to change or reordering. In the context of studying party development and changes over time, Riedl emphasizes the historical institutionalist approach and its emphasis on identifying why certain outcomes persist over time and when and why change occurs.

URBANIZATION AND POLITICAL ACCOUNTABILITY

Urban and rural voters are often thought of as separate groups with little in common. While theories of modernization suggest that urban voters have distinct policy preferences that promote democratization and development, **Riedl** digs deeper to understand how urban communities remain tied to rural ones. She posits that in many countries in the global South, urban dwellers have strong family, spiritual, and economic ties to rural environments, and that these ties shape political preferences in urban areas. Focusing on Nairobi, Kenya,



At a workshop she co-organized, IPR sociologist Monica Prasad (left) and Northwestern graduate student Mariana Borges discuss government corruption and ways to combat it.

Riedl examines how living in urban areas while maintaining rural linkages shapes the political strategies of urbanites. She identifies a tradeoff: Connections to rural areas might limit political engagement and accountability within the city, but urbanites maintain a degree of political power in rural areas by sustaining strong rural ties. The results suggest that urban population growth across sub-Saharan Africa might not translate into typical “urban” policy preferences that promote development. They also highlight how institutional reforms that link urban voters to their urban constituencies might improve political accountability within cities.

BUILDING THE PRISON STATE

In a forthcoming book titled “Building the Prison State: Race and the Politics of Mass Incarceration” (University of Chicago Press), IPR sociologist and legal scholar **Heather Schoenfeld** traces the development of U.S. mass incarceration between 1950 and the present. She draws on a detailed case study of Florida to study the forces that brought the carceral, or prison, state into being. Through the case study, she pinpoints how the United States’ history of racial subordination, partisan politics, and federal crime control policy contributed to expansions in the state’s capacity to arrest, process, and then imprison criminal offenders. This incremental increase in the capacity to imprison individuals, she finds, also allowed “tough on crime” to become a popular 21st-century political stance. By tracing the carceral state’s emergence, she will suggest ways for policymakers to learn from the past as they seek to develop policies to address mass incarceration going forward.

PRISON REFORM IN RED AND BLUE STATES

The United States houses 25 percent of the world’s prison population, making it the world’s biggest jailer. But over the last 10 years, a number of states—including characteristically “red” or conservative states like Texas and Georgia—have passed policies aimed at reducing their prison populations. In an ongoing research project, **Schoenfeld** examines why certain states have passed such decarceration reforms while others have not. Using a series of paired state-level case studies—comparing similar states with different reform trajectories—Schoenfeld seeks to understand how state-level actors and organizations, the resources they deploy, and their norms work to create or prevent decarceration reforms. The project, published in part in the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, seeks to combine archival and legislative documents,

media content, and interviews with key players to capture a more holistic view of the forces leading to policy change. Not only will the results speak to current theories of penal change, they will also point to the strategies, resources, and processes that might be effective in reducing incarceration within different states.

PROTECTING WORKERS THROUGH POLICY

Raising the minimum wage continues to be a hot button topic in the United States, with 21 states set to increase their minimum wages in 2017. IPR political scientist **Daniel Galvin** is diving deep into one under-covered aspect of this debate: wage theft—when employers pay their employees below the minimum wage. While most research has focused on the relatively weak federal regulations meant to deter wage theft, Galvin looks at the effects of state-level policies. Using an original state-by-state analysis of wage-and-hour laws and minimum wage violation rates from 2005–14, he shows that about 16 percent of low-wage workers in the dataset were paid less than the minimum wage and that wage theft is very costly to the worker. According to Galvin’s analysis, victims of minimum wage violations lose about 26 percent of their income on average. Yet state-level policy can make a difference, as workers were significantly less likely to be paid below the minimum wage in states with stricter wage-theft laws. Galvin outlines three necessary conditions for these state policies to be effective: favorable partisan majorities in state government, determined coalitions of workers’ advocates lobbying for change, and the enforcement of stringent new penalties. His findings indicate that while policy is important, the structure and enforcement of wage theft policy matters a great deal. The research, published in *Perspective on Politics*, received an award for “best paper on public policy” from the American Political Science Association in September.

EMPLOYMENT LAW AND WORKER ACTIVISM

In the past, labor laws served as the primary protection for worker rights and against workplace exploitation. More recently, employment law—which deals with the rights and protections of the individual rather than a group of workers—has replaced labor law as the primary legal channel for U.S. workers. Most existing research has argued that this shift reduced incentives for workers to engage in collective action and led to the weakening of the labor movement in general. **Galvin** challenges this argument by suggesting that existing studies overlook the expansion of state employment laws and their contribution to new forms of worker organization

and activism. Through an original state-by-state dataset of all employment laws passed between 1975 and 2010 and a number of case studies, Galvin documents the expansion of employment law at the state level. He also points out how the shift from labor to employment law has not done away with collective action, but rather has changed how workers organize.

ENFORCEMENT OF WAGE AND HOUR LAWS

Under the Obama administration, the Department of Labor's Wage and Hour Division (WHD) increasingly relied on a policy of "strategic enforcement" to enforce the nation's wage and hour laws. Instead of relying solely on complaints or random inspections, the WHD targeted specific industries where violations were greatest and where workers were least likely to complain. Galvin and his collaborators are studying the effectiveness of California's deployment of this type of strategic enforcement policy after it was adopted in 2012.

Under California State Labor Commissioner Julie Su, the state enforced its wage and hour laws by relying on cooperation with community-based workers' groups in specific industries. In examining California's strategy, Galvin's study will be one of the few to test the effectiveness of strategic enforcement. He will also examine what "effectiveness" means in the context of wage and hour law enforcement and which indicators of enforcement are most reliable. The results will inform the wider conversation surrounding government enforcement of wage and hour laws.



IPR political scientist Daniel Galvin's work suggests that stronger penalties can serve as an effective deterrent to wage theft, although enforcement matters a great deal.

GOVERNMENT OLD-AGE SUPPORT

As more and more baby boomers enter retirement, the strain on Social Security and other old-age support programs continues to increase. In an IPR working paper, economist and IPR associate **Lee Lockwood** and his co-author, Daniel Fetter of Wellesley College, analyze how the Old Age Assistance Program (OAA), created under the 1935 Social Security Act, affected employment. In 1940, OAA was bigger than Social Security, giving out benefits to 22 percent of Americans aged 65 and older. By capitalizing on state variation in eligibility requirements and benefit levels, Lockwood and Fetter capture how this large-scale program affected employment by providing incentives for not working. The researchers find that OAA reduced the employment of men aged 65–74 by 5.7 percentage points, accounting for almost half of this group's employment decline between 1930 and 1940. Looking at Social Security, they determine that the program could account for 50–70 percent of the large decline in late-life work between 1940 and 1960. As the country grapples with an increasingly aging population today, the results emphasize the large labor-supply effects of government programs that provide work disincentives for older Americans.

'CASH FOR CLUNKERS' AND LIQUIDITY

The federal government's 2009 Car Allowance Rebate System (CARS) allowed people who traded in old, fuel-inefficient cars and trucks to receive up to \$4,500 in credit to purchase or lease a new, more fuel-efficient vehicle. The trade-ins were scrapped. In nearly 680,000 transactions over two months, CARS provided \$2.85 billion in credits. Using data from the Consumer Expenditure Survey, Environmental Protection Agency, Edmunds.com, and R.L. Polk, economist and IPR associate **Brian Melzer** and his colleagues compared purchases by owners of CARS-eligible vehicles with those of ineligible vehicles just above program cutoffs. They find that the large response to the CARS credits was amplified by the liquidity it provided; with the credit in hand, people could meet the down payment for a car loan. For future programs, the authors suggest that immediate credits, rather than year-end tax incentives, are important to maximize take-up of durable goods subsidies.

ENGAGEMENT WITH MOBILE MEDIA IN QATAR

In 2014, a report from Qatar's Ministry of Information and Communications Technology revealed stark differences in mobile media use between Qataris and expatriates in Qatar. Working with scholars on Northwestern's Doha campus, IPR mass media scholar **Rachel Davis Mersey** is diving deeper into how the public in Qatar engages



IPR mass communication scholar Rachel Davis Mersey examines the use of media across different populations, including whether the top earners in the United States consume media differently than the other 99 percent.

with mobile media content. Specifically, Mersey and her colleagues in Doha are comparing mobile media engagement of Qatari nationals with that of members of expatriate communities. This comparison is the first of three phases to collect time-series data, which will provide snapshots of media engagement over time. The use of time-series data will also allow the researchers to capture changes in mobile media innovation, as well as consumer adoption of mobile media over the period of study. The work builds on Mersey's body of research on mobile media use in the Arab world, and in Qatar specifically.

THE MEDIA HABITS OF THE ONE PERCENT

As the wealth gap between the highest- and lowest-earning Americans continues to grow, a large body of research has focused on how America's top earners differ from the rest of the population. Yet little research exists on how the top one percent stand out in terms of media consumption. In an in-progress book project, tentatively titled, "Well-Off, Well-Read: Media Habits of America's One Percent," Mersey is investigating whether the top U.S. earners consume media differently than the other 99 percent. The project will examine how the wealthiest Americans' media environment differs from everyone else's and how these differences might affect political agenda setting. While an abundance of research points to the outsized political influence of the wealthy, Mersey's research will seek to fill the gap on what informs their perspectives and policy orientations.

FACEBOOK USE DURING ELECTIONS

On Election Day in 2016, more than 10 million Facebook users shared that they had voted on their pages. For the weeks and months before that, Facebook served as a common avenue for people to like, share, and comment on millions of political posts. A study by media scholar and IPR associate **Stephanie Edgerly**, published in the *Journal of Information Technology and Politics*, examines political expression on Facebook four years earlier, during the 2012 presidential debates. She and her University of Southern California co-authors emphasize how the 2012 debates represented a shift in communication surrounding political events, as debate viewers, and the campaigns, could react in real-time on social media sites like Facebook. Looking closely at how individuals and organizations crafted social media responses to the debates, the researchers emphasize the "appropriation" of existing media content, such as images, campaign links, and news stories. In fact, 99 percent of the most popular posts, those that "went viral," included a link to outside content or video. The results emphasize Facebook's role as an avenue for news-sharing during the 2012 election, and how the influence of organizations producing shareable content can be passed on through the online activity of individual Facebook users.

REPUTATION AND ANTICORPORATE ACTIVISM

From Pepsi to Amazon to L.L. Bean, a number of high-profile companies were caught in the crossfires of corporate boycotts in 2016. IPR associate **Brayden King**,

Max McGraw Chair in Management and the Environment, examines how anticorporate social movements affect corporate outcomes in a chapter in *The Consequences of Social Movements* (Cambridge University Press, 2016).

While bringing about corporate change is often an aim of anticorporate movements, King considers an important question: Why do corporations bend to activists who are less powerful and who lack decision-making authority within the organization? Examining recent instances of anticorporate activism, King outlines the way activists have relied on new tools, such as web-based boycotts, to influence firms' behavior. Yet this still does not explain why today's anticorporate activism—which often does not entail mass mobilization—creates certain types of corporate outcomes. King offers two mechanisms that might account for the success of these movements: reputational threat, which includes drawing media attention to a corporation's practices, and the creation of risk perceptions, which can occur when shareholders take up activist aims to recommend corporate changes. He emphasizes that while reputational threat is sometimes met with more symbolic action, shareholder activism has the potential to bring about more concrete action on the part of the corporation.

INFLUENCE OF BUSINESS IN POLITICS

In an ongoing research project, IPR sociologist **Anthony Chen** is examining the influence of organized business in American politics, policymaking, and the law. In one paper, he explores the existing literature to assess what is known about the impact of business influence on the quality of democratic representation in the United States. In a second project, Chen and IPR graduate research assistant **Joshua Basseches** are looking at changes in bankruptcy law, corporate taxation, and the regulation of medical devices to develop a new perspective on the structural sources of business power. Through a series of case studies, Chen and Basseches hope to show the value of their theoretical framework for understanding the political influence of organized business.

IMPROVING THE ORGAN TRANSPLANT PROCESS

As policymakers work to convince more living people to donate organs, finding ways to reduce errors in transplantation is critical. In ongoing research, pediatrician and IPR associate **Jane Holl** applies a common manufacturing technique—a Failure Mode Effects and Criticality Analysis (FMECA)—to identify opportunities for improvement in the organ transplantation process, which involves procuring organs and transplanting them from donor to recipient. Holl and her co-authors identified

the two most commonly reported errors: issues with data entry and organ labeling. To address these issues, the researchers created an app and wireless label printer to standardize the procurement process and reduce human errors. Using lab-based simulations, they find that the app and printer system addressed about 65 percent of the high-risk failures, namely by reducing the number of donor-recipient matching errors.

RACE AND COLLEGE ATHLETICS

Recent debates over whether college athletes should be paid to play or allowed to unionize—including an attempt by some Northwestern University football players to unionize—have gained national attention. Looking at public opinion surrounding these contentious issues, **Druckman**, with graduate students **Adam Howat**, an IPR research assistant, and Andrew Rodheim, unearths a sharp racial divide. Using a nationally representative survey experiment, they discover that African-Americans are much more supportive of “pay for play” and athletes unionizing than respondents from other races and ethnicities. Their research suggests that African-Americans view these as a form of affirmative action that might enhance educational experiences. Respondents of other races and ethnicities, on the other hand, focus more on the enjoyment of consuming college athletics. While these respondents can be convinced to view “pay for play” and unionization through a race-based lens—as African-Americans do—this reframing does not eliminate the race gap in attitudes.

SCHOOL SHOOTINGS AND UNEMPLOYMENT

Many researchers have tried to understand why school shootings are a uniquely American phenomenon, but past studies have presented fragmented and even contradictory findings. A new study takes a novel approach to the data and reveals a surprising predictor of increases in U.S. school shootings—times of economic hardship. For the study in *Nature Human Behavior*, sociologist and IPR associate **John Hagan** and his colleagues gathered statistics from six datasets on 535 shootings at K-12 schools and universities and colleges from 1990–2013. The researchers discover that there have been two periods of elevated gun violence at schools: 1992–94 and 2007–13. These periods are significantly correlated with periods of economic insecurity, measured by greater unemployment, higher foreclosure rates, and lower consumer confidence. The researchers explain the findings highlight the importance of strengthening linkages between educational programming and employment opportunities in times of economic insecurity. Hagan is John D. MacArthur Professor of Sociology and Law.

QUANTITATIVE METHODS FOR POLICY RESEARCH

At the 10th annual Cluster-Randomized Trials (CRT) Summer Research Training Institute led by IPR statistician Larry Hedges, participants learned how to apply CRT methods to education research studies.



RESEARCH TOPICS

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

IES-SPONSORED RESEARCH TRAINING

The 10th Summer Research Training Institute on Cluster-Randomized Trials (CRT), sponsored by the Institute of Education Sciences (IES) and its National Center for Education Research (NCER) in the U.S. Department of Education, took place from July 18–28 in Evanston. Organized by IPR statistician **Larry Hedges**, Board of Trustees Professor of Statistics and Education and Social Policy, and **Spyros Konstantopoulos** of Michigan State University, the institute seeks to provide researchers from around the country with a rigorous methodological framework and perspective. The sessions encompassed a range of topics in the design and execution process, from relevant statistical software to more conceptual challenges, such as framing results. The institute culminated in a mock proposal process, allowing groups to receive feedback from their fellow participants and institute faculty, thereby improving their readiness to apply for competitive IES grants. IPR faculty emeritus **Thomas D. Cook** ran another IES/NCER Summer Research Training Institute on Design and Analysis of Quasi-Experiments in Education. Other organizers included former IPR graduate research assistant **Vivian Wong**, now at the University of Virginia, and former IPR postdoctoral fellows **Coady Wing**, now at Indiana University, and **Peter Steiner** at the University of Wisconsin–Madison. The 2016 institute exposed participants to a variety of quasi-experimental designs, which are distinct in their use of methods other than randomization to compare groups. Working closely with workshop leaders and fellow attendees to understand and analyze these designs, participants were able to hone their methodological skills while networking with other education researchers from around the nation.

MATCHED ADMINISTRATIVE DATA NETWORK

With support from the National Science Foundation (NSF), IPR Director **David Figlio**, an education economist, continues to lead a national effort to bring scholars,

policy-makers, and administrators together to develop “next-generation” datasets that link administrative data, such as welfare and school records, to population data, such as birth certificates and death records. While creating these large-scale datasets requires complex collaboration across levels of government and scholarly disciplines, it also creates opportunities to obtain valuable insights and knowledge, especially when evaluating early childhood investments and interventions. In one IPR working paper, Figlio, finance professor and IPR associate **Paola Sapienza**, and their colleagues use population-level administrative birth and education records from Florida to study the relationship between long-term oriented attitudes and educational attainment in immigrants (see p. 29). A number of IPR scholars are part of the ongoing data network, including economists **Jonathan Guryan** and **Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach**, social demographer **Quincy Thomas Stewart**, psychobiologist **Emma Adam**, and biological anthropologists **Christopher Kuzawa** and **Thomas McDade**. Figlio is Orrington Lunt Professor of Human Development and Social Policy and of Economics, McDade is Carlos Montezuma Professor of Anthropology, and Sapienza is Donald C. Clark/HSBC Chair in Consumer Finance.

RENEWED SUPPORT FOR TESS

Since 2002, the NSF-funded project, Time-Sharing Experiments in the Social Sciences (TESS), has enabled researchers to conduct survey experiments with nationally representative samples, free of cost. In 2016, TESS—which is co-led by IPR political scientist **James Druckman** with former IPR sociologist Jeremy Freese, now at Stanford University—began a partnership with AmeriSpeak,[®] a new online data collection platform at the University of Chicago. AmeriSpeak is a U.S. household panel that combines the speed and cost effectiveness of panel surveys with enhanced representativeness of the U.S. population. Druckman expects that the panel will generate high-quality, representative data, allowing scholars to make strong causal inferences that generalize to large populations. The panel will be used to recruit participants for experiments in TESS’ Short Studies Program, which allows researchers to field brief population-based survey experiments on a general population of at least 2,000 adults. To date, TESS has fielded more than 350 studies in a variety of disciplines. Renewed support from the NSF will allow the platform to continue fielding studies at no cost to their researchers. Druckman is Payson S. Wild Professor of Political Science.

COMPOSITION OF MTURK SAMPLES

More and more, survey researchers are turning to online convenience samples—nonprobability samples made up of people who respond to online surveys—through Amazon’s Mechanical Turk (MTurk). Yet scholars are debating whether MTurk samples are representative, noting certain social and political differences, such as in age and partisanship between MTurk and population-based samples. In research published in *SAGE*, **Druckman** and Freese, along with Northwestern graduate student Kevin Levay, investigate the extent to which MTurk samples differ from population samples. They do so by replicating part of the 2012 American National Election Study (ANES) with an MTurk sample. Though they find that MTurk respondents differ significantly from the 2012 ANES respondents, the researchers determine that most of these differences are easily controllable. Their analysis indicates that if one can control for political and demographic differences, MTurk respondents are not fundamentally different from population-based samples and thus would be useful for samples. The results emphasize the usefulness of MTurk samples for researchers, especially when they can measure and control for political and demographic variables when necessary.



LARRY HEDGES, CHAIR

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

REDUCING SELECTION BIAS

While quasi-experiments can eliminate selection bias and generate the same causal results as randomized experiments, it is not always clear when the necessary theory-specified assumptions are met. **Cook** is leading a research program to translate the relevant statistical theory into concrete operations that researchers can use to design quasi-experiments that will usually give similar results to those from experiments characterized by the same treatment and measurement details. One line of work involves meta-analysis of results from 15 studies that deliberately compared experimental and regression discontinuity results at the treatment cutoff. Another involves meta-analysis of results from five studies that compared the results of experimental and comparative regression discontinuity results away from the treatment cutoff. A third study conducts a meta-analysis of correspondence between the results of nine experiments and nine comparative interrupted-time series studies that shared the same treatment. A fourth study involves meta-analysis of 49 studies that deliberately contrasted experimental estimates with those from nonequivalent control group designs. This study explores two things: The individual and joint roles played by local versus distant comparison group choice, matching on pretest measures of the study outcome or not, and collecting a “rich” set of covariates. Second, it examines which type of variables among the “rich” covariates reduces most of the initial bias found in quasi-experiments. Finally, three original studies assess how local comparison group choice, pretest measures of the study outcome, and various combinations of “rich” other covariates cumulatively affect bias reduction.

METHODS FOR STUDYING REPLICATION

From medicine to psychology, many research fields are facing a “replicability crisis,” in which researchers have not been able to replicate major findings. While scholars agree on the importance of replicability in research, they find little consensus on how to evaluate how well a series of studies replicates another. Across research fields, different papers use different criteria to measure replication without any clear standards of what replicability means. In an ongoing research project, **Hedges** is working to develop a coherent statistical framework for studying replication. Doing so will allow for a more systematic approach of responding to the so-called replicability crisis, as it persists in the “hard” science fields, like medicine, and works its way into the social sciences, too. Hedges also outlined the replicability crisis while speaking at the annual meeting of the Society

for Research on Educational Effectiveness (SREE), which he helped to found. In his address, Hedges emphasized one key to beating back the replicability crisis in education research: teaching sound methodologies to up-and-coming researchers. At the 2016 SREE conference, he also accepted the inaugural, eponymous Hedges Award, endowed by the Spencer Foundation, William T. Grant Foundation, and American Institutes for Research, to honor his lifetime achievement in education research.

IMPROVING GENERALIZABILITY

With support from the NSF and the Spencer Foundation, **Hedges** is working to improve the generalizability of education research findings. Specifically, Hedges seeks to identify methods for formalizing subjective concepts of generalizability and external validity, which refer to the extent to which research findings apply beyond the sample and setting being studied. The first part of the project involves theoretical work, looking at ways to quantify generalizability concepts in terms of bias and variances of estimates of average population treatment effects. The project also entails developing methods to improve generalizability from existing experiments, as well as case studies of retrospective generalizability. While improving generalizability is applicable across a variety of research contexts, the findings will have particularly important implications for education research, as Hedges identifies methods for planning education experiments to be generalizable to policy-relevant populations.

PROTECTING PRIVACY IN STATE DATA

The IES has spent more than \$600 million helping states develop longitudinal data systems to better understand and improve the performance of American school systems. Yet concerns about protecting privacy and the Federal Education Rights and Privacy Act (FERPA) have created data-access barriers for researchers. With funding from IES, NSF, and the Spencer Foundation, in addition to the cooperation of a dozen states, **Hedges** and his research team are investigating methods to make large datasets available while still protecting individuals' privacy. Their initial objective is to show state education agencies that it is possible to create protected datasets that meet FERPA standards. Using 20 synthetic datasets for fourth and eighth graders in seven states, they show that these data can reproduce statistics such as means, proportions, and standard deviations, while also protecting information at risk for disclosure. As the project moves forward, Hedges and his team will incorporate more complex statistical testing—including capturing longitudinal



IPR economist Charles F. Manski has proposed choosing sample size in medical experiments to achieve near-optimal treatment rules rather than statistical power.

trends—to show that state data can remain informative while also protecting privacy.

SAMPLE SIZE OF ONE?

First introduced in the 1920s, hypothesis testing has long been medical researchers' go-to method for determining sample size in randomized clinical trials. However, a study published in the *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* by IPR economist **Charles F. Manski** and Aleksey Tetenov, a former IPR graduate research assistant now at the University of Bristol (U.K.), proposes an alternative method to better inform treatment choice in the medical field. The researchers first highlight a shortfall of hypothesis testing: This method relies on statistical power to determine sample size, yet there is no clear connection between statistical power and effective treatment choice. Accordingly, Manski and Tetenov propose an alternative method, rooted in statistical decision theory, that uses near-optimal treatment rules, rather than statistical power, to determine sample size. In the case when a given treatment's average effects are unknown—which is the standard case in clinical settings—these near-optimal rules allow researchers to select treatments acceptably close to what they would have selected had they known the effects of each treatment. The proposed method also drastically reduces the sample size needed to run an informative clinical trial. A sample size of 145 under near-optimal rules can be as accurate as a hypothesis test based on a sample of almost 8,000. Though the study focuses on the medical setting, the researchers emphasize that the findings hold true across randomized experiments in other fields. Manski is Board of Trustees Professor in Economics.

JUDGMENTS IN MEDICAL RISK ASSESSMENTS

In an IPR working paper, **Manski** studies a problem that arises when clinicians seek to personalize patient care: How can doctors use informal clinical judgments about their patients, beyond the predictors of evidence-based risk assessments, to make clinical decisions? Taking the example of risk assessment for breast cancer, Manski examines the National Cancer Institute's Breast Cancer Risk Assessment (BCRA) Tool, which is widely used in clinical practice. The tool generates a probability that a woman will develop an invasive breast cancer based on eight factors, which include a patient's current age, genetic BRCA mutations, history of cancer, and race/ethnicity, among others. While the BCRA Tool personalizes a woman's predicted risk of breast cancer in multiple respects, it does not include other personal attributes that a doctor might observe, such as excessive consumption of alcohol, also associated with a higher cancer risk. The doctor could either choose to ignore such observable traits and just follow the BCRA Tool's recommendations, or she could incorporate her informal clinical judgments into her assessment. Empirical psychological research has shown that clinical judgments are typically less effective than evidence-based ones. Manski, however, offers a middle ground that would allow doctors to combine evidence with judgment to reach well-grounded predictions. His analysis shows how doctors can make coherent and informative personalized risk assessments in situations where they only have partial knowledge of patient risk or illness outcomes using, for instance, maximin and minimax-regret rules that take account of all observed patient attributes.

ENHANCING SURVEY METHODOLOGY

IPR statistician **Bruce Spencer** is participating in an expert panel on methodological enhancements to the National Intimate Partner and Sexual Violence Survey. The ongoing survey was developed by the U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention to collect national and state data on intimate partner violence, sexual violence, and stalking. Started in 2010, the survey has discovered that about 19 percent of women and almost 2 percent of men have been raped, and an estimated 44 percent of women and 23 percent of men have experienced other forms of sexual violence. Future years of the survey aim to track trends in these types of crimes.

MORE DATA OR BETTER DATA?

When an agency designs a new household survey, it faces crucial questions about how much time and effort to invest in the quantity and quality of the data it collects.

To study the issue, **Manski** and consultant Jeff Dominitz apply statistical decision theory—specifically, the Wald framework, which considers both sample design and how the resulting data will be used. They use it to examine a simple allocation for a data budget by pairing different random sampling processes by their risk, examining differences in data collection costs and the resulting data quality. For example, when allocating a budget for data collection in a household survey, allocating more to a low-cost process collects more data, while allocating more to a more expensive process collects better-quality data. Manski and Dominitz then investigate two additional cases. In both, they find a more expensive sampling process accurately measures each sample member's outcome, but using a low-cost process yields important differences: One low-cost process leads to survey nonresponse, while the other provides a low-resolution interval measure of each sample member's outcome. In both of these cases, the researchers show how using a minimax-regret sample design can predict a real-valued outcome under square loss, which is a design that minimizes maximum mean square error. The design proves particularly informative in cases where data quality is a variable—and improves upon the current practice where survey planners focus on variance, without considering bias. The study is forthcoming in the *Review of Economic Studies*.

COST-BENEFIT ANALYSIS FOR A CENSUS

A growing number of countries, from Canada to Nigeria, are grappling with whether to carry out a quinquennial census, or a census conducted every five years. Since countries rely on census data for a variety of purposes, such as allocating government funds and resources, it is important to understand the costs and benefits of conducting censuses more frequently. In the *Journal of Official Statistics*, **Spencer** and his colleagues outline the uses and limitations of cost-benefit analyses by examining South Africa's debate over whether to conduct a 2016 census. They show that South Africa faced a choice leading up to 2016: Conduct another census or rely on increasingly inaccurate data on births, deaths, and migration from its 2011 census. The benefits of conducting a census would have included more accurate population estimates to inform allocation of government funds, but it would have been expensive to carry out. Using the performance of past estimates, Spencer and his colleagues estimated the expected reduction in errors in fund allocation if the 2016 census were carried out. They then quantified the expected improvement in allocation using a loss function. Drawing



Thomas Brock (middle), commissioner of the National Center for Education Research (NCER), congratulates IPR statistician Larry Hedges (left) and Spyros Konstantopoulos of Michigan State University on completion of the 10th Summer Research Training Institute on Cluster-Randomized Trials, a summer workshop sponsored by NCER and the Institute of Education Sciences.

from this analysis, South Africa ultimately decided against conducting a 2016 census; instead, it focused on improving its existing data and capacity to produce more accurate postcensal estimates.

FORECASTING THE 2020 CENSUS

Conducting a census is a large-scale operation that involves deciding whether and how to use different operational programs. These decisions might include whether to build address lists using in-office technologies or by canvassing in the field, whether to collect data via paper forms or online, and whether to use administrative records and/or third-party data to follow up with people who do not answer—known as nonresponse follow-up (NRFU). In collaboration with the U.S. Census Bureau, **Spencer** is examining these alternative census operational programs, considering both the output and accuracy parameters that characterize them. For instance, when looking at output, one might consider what fraction of the housing units designated for NRFU can be classified as vacant based on administrative records versus what fraction really requires a follow-up. In terms of accuracy, one might then ask how many of the houses labeled as vacant in the administrative records are actually occupied and thus only mislabeled as vacant. While the exact parameters cannot be known ahead of time for the 2020 census, Spencer and his collaborators are working

to forecast parameters at the national and state level. Doing so will allow for the specification of error distributions for the population figures determined by the Census, which are used for important functions like allocating funds and apportioning congressional seats.

PROMOTING METHODOLOGICAL INNOVATION

Over the course of 2016, IPR hosted five speakers from a variety of disciplines as part of the Q-Center Colloquia Series. Organized by **Hedges** and IPR graduate research assistants **Jacob Schauer** and **Wendy Chan**, now at the University of Pennsylvania, the series is designed to showcase and promote discussion of methodological innovation. Two speakers looked at issues related to healthcare: **Alan Zaslavsky**, professor of biostatistics at Harvard University, presented two novel multivariate modeling applications to healthcare quality data, and Johns Hopkins biostatistician **Thomas Louis** discussed the benefits and challenges of individuals self-selecting into epidemiological studies and surveys. In education, **Li Cai** of the University of California, Los Angeles examined the role of flexible item response theory models in evaluation and assessment models, and **James Kim** of Harvard University detailed a method for scaling evidence-based literacy interventions. In addition, **Uri Simonsohn** of the University of Pennsylvania proposed a valid test of U-shaped relationships.



At an IPR colloquium on October 17, IPR sociologist Lincoln Quillian introduces IPR political scientist Wesley Skogan (right), who presented on the origins and consequences of “stop and frisk,” which has become the crime-prevention strategy of choice in U.S. policing.

RESEARCH TOPICS

- Community policing and criminal justice
- Delinquency and criminal records
- Race and income segregation

SEGREGATION IN FRANCE VS. THE U.S.

In major cities across the world, families tend to live near other families with a similar socioeconomic status. But how do these levels of segregation vary across countries? In *Demography*, IPR sociologist **Lincoln Quillian** and Hugues Lagrange of the French National Center for Scientific Research compare metropolitan areas with a population of more than 1 million in France and the United States. They discover that large U.S. metropolitan areas have much higher socioeconomic segregation than in France, and the United States has a strong pattern of low-income neighborhoods in central cities, whose residents experience high unemployment and low levels of education. Those with higher incomes and lower unemployment are far more likely to live in U.S. suburbs. In contrast, the location of low-income neighborhoods varies across metropolitan areas in France. Some are similar to the U.S. pattern, such as Marseille and Lille, while others differ, such as Paris, where the poor neighborhoods are concentrated in the *banlieues*, or suburbs. The researchers also find that government-assisted housing is disproportionately located in the poorest U.S. neighborhoods, but it is spread across neighborhoods of different income levels in France. Quillian and Lagrange conclude that differences in government provision of housing assistance, and in levels of income inequality, likely contribute to differences in socioeconomic segregation between the two countries.

SEGREGATION AND CONTEXTUAL ADVANTAGE

How does segregation contribute to inequality? **Quillian** provides a formal demographic model of how segregation affects an individual's social context—a neighborhood, school, or even social network. Quillian's model builds on the idea that better contexts provide people with contextual advantage and that poorer social contexts result in contextual disadvantage. He includes two groups that differ along a dimension of average advantage and disadvantage—for example, two racial groups that differ in their poverty rates. His model illustrates how contextual advantages and disadvantages from

segregation are affected by demographic conditions like group relative size and the rates of group advantage and disadvantage. Quillian outlines a series of 11 conclusions from the theoretical model, applying the model to understanding racial segregation effects on racial group neighborhood poverty contact in U.S. cities.

SCHOOL DISCIPLINARY PROGRAMS

Under the Obama administration, the U.S. Department of Education began gathering and publishing national data on school discipline. The release of the data led to national concern over racial disparities in punishment, with researchers highlighting the problems associated with practices that erode the line between the criminal justice system and schools, such as police surveillance and arrest. Perhaps in response to these problems, many school districts have adopted restorative justice programs that allow youth to negotiate with each other and with adults to resolve misbehavior. IPR education sociologist **Simone Ispa-Landa** is examining how these very different disciplinary channels interact in schools, noting policy often encourages school administrators to implement programs that place police in schools, as well as to offer restorative justice programs—with no attention paid to how these two programs might represent conflicting goals and strategies for reducing student misbehavior. Ispa-Landa describes several hypotheses for how these multiple channels could deepen race and class inequality in punishment. Her hypotheses outline a program of research on school disciplinary practices and racial inequality.

COPING WITH A CRIMINAL RECORD

For people with criminal records, expungement—the process by which criminal records are legally removed—can make it easier to find a job, get into college, and apply for loans. Yet what happens to those whose records are not eligible for expungement? **Ispa-Landa** conducted in-depth interviews with people deemed ineligible for expungement because of past felony convictions to understand how they coped with a permanent criminal record. During the interviews, participants challenged the social stigma surrounding ex-felons and displayed resentment and frustration with the criminal justice system. These reactions underscored interviewees' beliefs that they were undeserving of the ongoing stigma and discrimination they faced due to their criminal records. At the same time, Ispa-Landa observed that participants were optimistic in talking about their futures; by and large, they believed they would succeed through hard work and persistence despite their records. According to Ispa-Landa, these hopeful

beliefs suggest that participants were aware of the stigma surrounding people with criminal records but did not necessarily see themselves as lost causes. The results speak to the willingness of ex-felons to communicate their views of themselves as upstanding people and to take an active role in challenging wider negative views of those with criminal records.

OVERCOMING CRIMINAL RECORDS

U.S. criminal records are more accessible than ever, but little research exists on how people with criminal records seek to overcome the negative consequences associated with such a past. In research published in *Criminology*, **Ispa-Landa** and the University of Pennsylvania's Charles Loeffler interviewed 53 Illinoisans who petitioned the courts to expunge their criminal records; 46 percent had extensive criminal records, while the rest had more minor ones. Both those with extensive and minor records tried, but failed, to persuade potential employers and landlords to overlook their records. Due to their records, it was common for them to experience rescinded job offers, rejected apartment applications, and more difficulty accessing financial aid for continuing education. Participants also expressed their distress over how their contact with the criminal justice system could follow them throughout their lives, subjecting them to stigma. The researchers suggest that policymakers consider how publicly available criminal records might differentially affect those with extensive records—who cannot obtain expungement—versus those with minor ones, who might be eligible to have their records expunged.

NATIONAL CRIME VICTIMIZATION SURVEY

IPR political scientist and policing expert **Wesley G. Skogan** is participating in the redesign of the National Crime Victimization Survey. This federal survey, conducted continuously by the U.S. Census Bureau since 1972, is the nation's leading source of information on crime and victims. Each year, the survey collects data from a nationally representative sample of households on the frequency, characteristics, and consequences of nonfatal personal crimes and household property crimes, both reported and not reported to police. The redesign aims to expand the list of crimes to include online fraud, identity theft, stalking, and LGBTQ harassment. Skogan is playing a major role in developing new questions for the survey regarding the police, community conditions, and anti-crime activities at the neighborhood level. A field test of the final instrument is planned for 2018, and the new questionnaire should be introduced in January 2020.

SENSATION SEEKING AND DELINQUENCY

Spending time with deviant peers and sensation seeking—when people search for varied and intense experiences and are willing to take risks for such experiences—are known to be risk factors for adolescent delinquency. Psychologist and IPR associate **Jennifer Tackett** studies this relationship in the *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, using a sample of more than 500 teenage twins to test how both peer deviance and sensation seeking affect delinquency. The study shows sensation seeking is a genetically influenced trait, and adolescents with higher sensation seeking are more likely to become friends with deviant teens and engage in delinquent behavior themselves. Compared with low sensation-seeking teens, high sensation-seekers are also more vulnerable to the social influences of their deviant peers. The research suggests both socialization processes and genetics contribute to delinquent behavior.

DELINQUENTS AND DRUG USE DISORDERS

Abuse of and dependence on “hard drugs,” such as cocaine, hallucinogens, or opiates, are far less common among delinquent African-American youth than delinquent Hispanics and non-Hispanic whites, according to a recent Northwestern Medicine study co-authored by IPR associate **Linda Teplin**, Owen L. Coon Professor of Psychiatry and Behavioral Sciences. Published in the



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

American Journal of Public Health, the 12-year longitudinal study follows 1,829 male and female youth from when they were detained at the Cook County Juvenile Temporary Detention Center in the 1990s until their late 20s. During the 12 years after their detention, Hispanics and Caucasians were between 20 and 30 times more likely to abuse cocaine when compared with African-Americans. Yet African-Americans are incarcerated at much higher rates than either of these two groups. The study also finds gender differences: Just over 91 percent of males and nearly 79 percent of females had a substance-use disorder by their late 20s. Females were more likely than males to abuse or be dependent on cocaine, opiates, amphetamines, and sedatives, while males were more likely to abuse or be dependent on marijuana and alcohol.

‘STOP AND FRISK’ AND TRUST IN POLICE

For police departments across the country, “stop and frisk”—an investigative procedure where an officer stops and questions an individual and then searches him or her—has become the strategy of choice for deterring crime. **Skogan** examines the consequences of such a policy in Chicago, focusing on how police encounters affect public trust in police. His major finding? “Stop-and-frisk” policies can serve to lower the public’s trust in the police. For his study, Skogan conducted a representative in-person survey of 1,450 Chicagoans in December 2015, nearly 30 percent of whom reported being stopped by police in the previous 12 months. He uncovered that Chicagoans’ encounters with police, or lack thereof, varied widely across demographic groups, and that police encounters shaped public trust in police. Only 11 percent of older, white females came into contact with police, but 68 percent of young African-American males reported a police encounter. Being stopped and frisked was “extremely common”: 75 percent of those who encountered police were stopped and frisked, compared with just 25 percent who were stopped for a violation. Racial minorities were more likely to report an abrasive or forceful encounter with police; only 17 percent of white respondents experienced police use of force, compared with more than 30 percent for other racial/ethnic groups. Across all racial and ethnic groups, those who had no police contact were more likely to trust police, and Skogan found that “stop-and-frisks” reduced trust in police at roughly the same level as other police stops, though these levels varied widely by race/ethnicity. Less than a third of black respondents who were stopped and frisked reported trust in police, compared with three-quarters of white respondents.

CPD ACCOUNTABILITY TASK FORCE

Skogan was one of 46 experts on the Chicago Police Accountability Task Force, serving on its Community Engagement Committee and advising the Police Oversight Committee. The task force’s lengthy report, released in April, begins with the “tipping point” of the shooting of 17-year-old Laquan McDonald by a Chicago police officer in October 2014, and goes on to document widespread racial disparities, excessive use of force, accountability failures, and inadequate recruitment and training. Beyond these “hard truths,” the report also offers more than 100 recommendations to address the current ills facing the Chicago Police Department (CPD) that include relaunching community policing, dismantling several current agencies and boards, making statutory changes, improving training, renegotiating with police unions, and adding body cameras. The recommendations were informed, in part, by the 2015 survey that Skogan led (see “Stop-and-Frisk and Trust in Police”), asking randomly selected Chicagoans about their experiences with the CPD. The survey results showed that almost 70 percent of young African-American males in Chicago reported being stopped by police in the previous 12 months, a number far higher than any other demographic group.

RIGHT-TO-CARRY GUN LAWS AND CRIME

In the wake of mass shootings like the attack on Pulse Nightclub in Orlando, Florida, public debate erupts over the role of U.S. gun laws. But do such laws deter crime, or lead to more of it? When it comes right-to-carry (RTC) gun laws—which allow individuals to carry concealed handguns—the academic jury is still out. Despite dozens of studies using the same datasets, researchers have come to vastly different conclusions about the effects of RTC laws. In an IPR working paper forthcoming in the *Review of Economics and Statistics*, IPR economist **Charles F. Manski** and John Pepper of the University of Virginia present their own research on how RTC laws affect crime rates. In their analysis, they highlight the usefulness of considering varying assumptions to make it clearer how different assumptions affect the results. This type of analysis permits researchers to assess if the effects of RTC laws might vary across states, years, and crimes. After analyzing how RTC laws affected crime in Virginia, Maryland, and Illinois, they find the effects vary. Under some assumptions, RTC laws appear to have no effect on crime rates. Under others, RTC laws seem to increase rates for certain crimes, decrease them for some crimes, and have varying effects for others. While the results provide no easy answer, they highlight why researchers using the same data can arrive at such vastly different results and how different assumptions shape findings.

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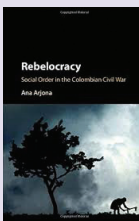
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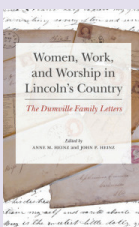
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Current IPR faculty and student names are in bold. Current Northwestern colleagues and former students are in italics.

FACULTY BOOKS



Rebelocracy: Social Order in the Colombian Civil War by **Ana Arjona**, Cambridge University Press (2016).



Women, Work, and Worship in Lincoln's Country: The Dumville Family Letters by **Jack and Anne Heinz**, University of Illinois Press (2016).

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The Oxford Handbook of Cultural Neuroscience, ed. by Joan Chiao, Shu-Chen Li, **Rebecca Seligman**, and Robert Turner. Oxford University Press (2016).

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School Quality and the Gender Gap in Educational Achievement by David Autor, **David Figlio**, **Krzysztof Karbownik**, Jeffrey Roth, and Melanie Wasserman (16-01)

Government Old-Age Support and Labor Supply: Evidence from the Old Age Assistance Program by David Fetter and **Lee Lockwood** (16-02)

What Do Test Scores Miss? The Importance of Teacher Effects on Non-Test Score Outcomes by **Kirabo Jackson** (16-03)

School Finance Reform and the Distribution of Student Achievement by Julien Lafortune, Jesse Rothstein, and **Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach** (16-04)

The Price Effects of Cross-Market Hospital Mergers by **Leemore Dafny**, Kate Ho, and Robin Lee (16-05)

Inequality Before Birth: The Developmental Consequences of Environmental Toxicants by Claudia Persico, **David Figlio**, and Jeffrey Roth (16-06)

Using Frames to Make Scientific Communication Effective by **James Druckman** and Arthur Lupia (16-07)

Stop-and-Frisk and Trust in Police in Chicago by **Wesley G. Skogan** (16-08)

Insurance and the High Prices of Pharmaceuticals by David Besanko, **David Dranove**, and **Craig Garthwaite** (16-09)

Cross-Generational Differences in Educational Outcomes in the Second Great Wave of Immigration by Umut Özek and **David Figlio** (16-10)

Simplifying Teaching: A Field Experiment with “Off-the-Shelf” Lessons by **Kirabo Jackson** and **Alexey Makarin** (16-11)

Long-Term Orientation and Educational Performance by **David Figlio**, Paola Giuliano, Umut Özek, and **Paola Sapienza** (16-12)

Equilibrium Impacts of Credit: Evidence from the Indian Microfinance Crisis by Emily Breza and **Cynthia Kinnan** (16-13)

Motivated Responses to Political Communications: Framing, Party Cues, and Science Information by **James Druckman**, Thomas Leeper, and Rune Slothuus (16-14)

Do Grandparents and Great-Grandparents Matter? Multigenerational Mobility in the U.S., 1910–2013 by **Joseph Ferrie**, Catherine Massey, and Jonathan Rothbaum (16-15)

Do Disagreeable Political Discussion Networks Undermine Attitude Strength? by Joshua Robison, Thomas Leeper, and **James Druckman** (16-16)

Long-Run Consequences of Exposure to Natural Disasters by **Krzysztof Karbownik** and Anthony Wray (16-17)

The Effect of Mentoring on School Attendance and Academic Outcomes: A Randomized Evaluation of the Check & Connect Program by **Jonathan Guryan**, Sandra Christenson, Amy Claessens, Mimi Engel, **Ijun Lai**, Jens Ludwig, Ashley Cureton Turner, and **Mary Clair Turner** (16-18)

Credible Ecological Inference for Personalized Medicine: Formalizing Clinical Judgment by **Charles F. Manski** (16-19)

The Marginal Propensity to Consume Over the Business Cycle by Tal Gross, **Matthew Notowidigdo**, and Jialan Wang (16-20)

Partisan Group Identity and Belief in Human-Caused Climate Change by Toby Bolsen and **James Druckman** (16-21)

The Causes and Consequences of Increased Female Education and Labor Force Participation in Developing Countries by Rachel Heath and **Seema Jayachandran** (16-22)

The Effect of Single-Sex Education on Academic Outcomes and Crime: Fresh Evidence from Low-Performing Schools in Trinidad and Tobago by **Kirabo Jackson** (16-23)

The Economic Consequences of Hospital Admissions by Carlos Dobkin, Amy Finkelstein, Raymond Kluender, and **Matthew Notowidigdo** (16-24)

Cash for Carbon: A Randomized Controlled Trial of Payments for Ecosystem Services to Reduce Deforestation by **Seema Jayachandran**, Joost de Laat, Eric Lambin, and Charlotte Stanton (16-25)

Accelerator or Brake? Cash for Clunkers, Household Liquidity, and Aggregate Demand by Daniel Green, **Brian Melzer**, Jonathan Parker, and Arcenis Rojas (16-26)

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



Michelle Shumate, a communication studies scholar and IPR associate, discussed how partnering with other organizations does not lead to greater capacity for nonprofits.

IPR DISTINGUISHED PUBLIC POLICY LECTURE

October 26, “The Economy, the Family, and Working-Class Discontent” by **Andrew Cherlin**, Benjamin H. Griswold III Professor of Public Policy, Johns Hopkins University

IPR POLICY RESEARCH BRIEFING

May 17, Washington, D.C., “Ready for School, Ready for Life” by **Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach**, Professor of Education and Social Policy and IPR Fellow, **Terri Sabol**, Assistant Professor of Human Development and Social Policy and IPR Associate; and **Lindsay Chase-Lansdale**, Frances Willard Professor of Human Development and Social Policy, and IPR Fellow. *Co-hosted by U.S. Representatives Bob Dold (R-10th) and Dan Lipinski (D-3rd) of Illinois*

IPR FAY LOMAX COOK MONDAY COLLOQUIA

January 4, “Do Violent Video Games Make People More Violent?” by **Larry Hedges**, Board of Trustees Professor of Statistics and Education and Social Policy, Professor of Psychology, and IPR Fellow

January 11, “Medicaid and Intergenerational Economic Mobility” by **Rourke O’Brien**, Assistant Professor of Public Affairs, University of Wisconsin–Madison

January 25, “The Indirect Effects of Educational Expansions: Evidence from a Large Enrollment Increase in STEM Majors” by **Nicola Bianchi**, Assistant Professor of Strategy and IPR Associate

February 1, “How Do Right-to-Carry Laws Affect Crime Rates? Coping with Ambiguity Using Bounded-Variation Assumptions” by **Charles F. Manski**, Board of Trustees Professor in Economics and IPR Fellow

February 8, “Debunking the Mythical Relationship Between Nonprofit Networking and Organizational Capacity” by **Michelle Shumate**, Associate Professor of Communication Studies, Director of the Network for Nonprofit and Social Impact, and IPR Associate

February 15, “The Long Reach of History: Intergenerational Pathways to Plasticity in Health and Human Capital” by **Christopher Kuzawa**, Professor of Anthropology and IPR Fellow

February 22, “Addressing Perinatal Depression in Low-Income Women” by **Darius Tandon**, Associate Professor of Medical Social Sciences, and Director of the Center for Community Health, Feinberg School of Medicine

February 29, “The Effects of Local Downturns on Children and Youth” by **Elizabeth Ananat**, Associate Professor of Public Policy Studies and Economics, Duke University

March 7, “Race-Related Stress and Health & Academic Disparities: New Models and Mechanisms” by **Emma Adam**, Professor of Human Development and Social Policy and IPR Fellow

April 4, “A Mixed-Methods Experimental Study: Promoting Parents’ Social Capital to Increase Children’s Attendance in Head Start” by **Lindsay Chase-Lansdale**, Frances Willard Professor of Human Development and Social Policy, Associate Provost for Faculty, and IPR Fellow; and **Teresa Eckrich Sommer**, IPR Research Associate Professor

April 11, “Using Linked Survey and Administrative Data to Better Measure Income: Implications for Poverty, Program Effectiveness, and Holes in the Safety Net” by **Bruce Meyer**, McCormick Foundation Professor, Harris School of Public Policy, University of Chicago

April 18, “Family Disadvantage and the Gender Gap in Educational and Behavioral Outcomes” by **David Figlio**, Orrington Lunt Professor of Education and Social Policy and of Economics, and IPR Director and Fellow

April 25, “Architecture 101: Why This Matters for Population Health” by **Melissa Simon**, George H. Gardner, MD, Professor of Clinical Gynecology; Professor of Preventive Medicine and Medical Social Sciences

May 2, “New Media for New Voters: Youth News Exposure in an Age of Media Choice” by **Stephanie Egerly**, Assistant Professor of Journalism and IPR Associate

May 9, “Polarity in Social Media Spaces: Do Online Discussions Lead to Changed Opinions?” by **Jolie Matthews**, Assistant Professor of Learning Sciences and IPR Associate

COLLOQUIA AND EVENTS

May 16, “Evidence About Evidence-Based Social Policy” by **Thomas D. Cook**, Joan and Sarepta Harrison Chair of Ethics and Justice; Professor of Sociology, Psychology, and Education and Social Policy; and IPR Fellow

May 23, “Organizations and Technology to Empower Collective Innovation” by **Elizabeth Gerber**, Associate Professor of Mechanical Engineering, Faculty Founder of Design for America, and IPR Associate

June 6, “Cash for Carbon: A Randomized Controlled Trial of Payments for Ecosystem Services to Reduce Deforestation” by **Seema Jayachandran**, Associate Professor of Economics and IPR Fellow

October 3, “The Opportunity Model of Beliefs About Inequality and Redistribution” by **Leslie McCall**, Professor of Sociology and IPR Fellow

October 10, “Antiracism Without Antiracists: City Representation and Racial Realignment, 1933–63” by **Thomas Ogorzalek**, Assistant Professor of Political Science and Urban Studies, and IPR Associate

October 17, “Stop-and-Frisk and Police Legitimacy in Chicago” by **Wesley G. Skogan**, Professor of Political Science and IPR Fellow

October 24, “Improving the Productivity of Subsistence Farmers: Policy Lessons from Mali” by **Lori Beaman**, Associate Professor of Economics and IPR Fellow

October 31, “Redesigning Transplant Organ Labeling and Identification: An Innovative Approach to Improve Patient Safety” by **Jane Holl**, Mary Harris Thompson, MD, Professor of Pediatrics and Preventive Medicine and IPR Associate

November 7, “Assessing and Mitigating Natural Hazards: How Can We Do Better?” by **Seth Stein**, William Deering Professor of Earth and Planetary Sciences and IPR Associate

November 21, “Local Governance and the New Political Economy” by **Daniel Rodriguez**, Dean and Harold Washington Professor, Northwestern Pritzker School of Law, and IPR Associate

November 28, “Family, School, and Gender: Comparing Enrolled vs. Waitlisted Black Students for an Urban-to-Suburban Busing Program” by **Simone Ispa-Landa**, Assistant Professor of Human Development and Social Policy and IPR Fellow

JOINT ECONOMICS/IPR SEMINARS

March 31, “Incarceration, Recidivism, and Unemployment” by **Magne Mogstad**, Gary S. Becker Professor in Economics, University of Chicago

April 14, “Export Destinations and Input Prices” by **Eric Verhoogen**, Associate Professor of Economics and International Affairs; Vice Dean, School of International and Public Affairs; and Co-Director, Center for Development Economics and Policy, Columbia University

May 19, “Group-Average Observables as Controls for Sorting on Unobservables When Estimating Group Treatment Effects: The Case of School and Neighborhood Effects” by **Joseph Altonji**, Thomas Dewitt Cuyler Professor of Economics and Professor in the Institute for Social and Policy Studies, Yale University

May 26, “Does Privatized Health Insurance Benefit Patients or Producers? Evidence from Medicare Advantage” by **Neale Mahoney**, Assistant Professor of Economics, Booth School of Business, University of Chicago

June 2, “Marriage, Social Insurance, and Labor Supply” by **Alessandra Voena**, Assistant Professor in Economics, University of Chicago

October 6, “Longevity, Education, and Income: How Large Is the Triangle?” by **Hoyt Bleakley**, Associate Professor of Economics, University of Michigan

October 13, “Subsidized Home-Ownership Programs, Transaction Costs, and Domestic Violence” by **Martín Rossi**, Associate Professor of Economics, University of San Andrés, Argentina

November 10, “Leveraging Lotteries for School Value-Added: Testing and Estimation” by **Christopher Walters**, Assistant Professor of Economics, University of California, Berkeley

November 17, “Effects of Emigration on Rural Labor Markets” by **Ahmed Mushfiq Mobarak**, Professor of Economics, Yale University

December 1, “Internal Labor Markets and the Competition for Talent” by **Benjamin Friedrich**, Assistant Professor of Strategy, Northwestern University

December 8, “Re-evaluating Agricultural Productivity Gaps with Longitudinal Microdata” by **Edward Miguel**, Oxfam Professor in Environmental and Resource Economics and Faculty Director of the Center for Effective Global Action, University of California, Berkeley

Q-CENTER COLLOQUIA

January 27, “Evaluation of the Teacher Incentive Fund: Implementation and Impacts of Pay-for-Performance After Two Years” by **Jill Constantine**, Vice President and Director, NJ Human Services Research, Mathematica Policy Research

April 6, “Multilevel Multivariate Models for Healthcare Quality Data” by **Alan Zaslavsky**, Professor of Healthcare Policy, Harvard Medical School

April 20, “Perils and Potentials of Self-Selected Entry to Epidemiological Studies and Surveys” by **Thomas Louis**, Professor of Biostatistics, Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health

May 11, “The Role of Flexible Item Response Theory Models in Evaluation and Assessment Studies” by **Li Cai**, Professor of Education and of Psychology, and Co-Director, National Center for Research on Evaluation, Standards, and Student Testing, University of California, Los Angeles

October 12, “Strategic Replication: A Method for Scaling Evidence-Based Literacy Interventions” by **James Kim**, Associate Professor of Education, Harvard Graduate School of Education

October 19, “Two-Lines: The First Valid Test of U-Shaped Relationships” by **Uri Simonsohn**, Professor of Operations, Information and Decisions, and Associate Professor of Marketing, The Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania

C2S WORKSHOP

May 25, “Structural Stigma and Sexual Orientation Health Disparities: Research Evidence and Future Directions” by **Mark Hatzenbuehler**, Associate Professor and Co-Director, Center for the Study of Social Inequalities and Health, Mailman School of Public Health, Columbia University. *Co-sponsored with the Institute for Sexual and Gender Minority Health and Wellbeing*

PERFORMANCE MEASUREMENT AND REWARDS SERIES

June 1, “The Role of Civilian Allegations in Detecting Police Misconduct: An Analysis of Chicago Data,” by **Max Schanzenbach**, Seigle Family Professor of Law and IPR Associate

WORKSHOPS AND OTHER EVENTS

September 12, “Links Between Aging, Cortisol Secretion, and Cognitive Function” by **Angela Clow**, Professor, University of Westminster, London. *Co-sponsored with the Human Development and Social Policy (HDSP) Brown Bag Series and the Department of Physical Therapy and Human Movement Sciences*

September 27, “Intervening Early to Promote School Readiness: A Randomized Control Trial of the Preparing for Life Program” by **Orla Doyle**, Lecturer in Economics, University College Dublin. *Co-sponsored with the HDSP Brown Bag Series*

October 11, “Will Evidence-Based Policy Improve the Nation’s Social Programs?” by **Ron Haskins**, Co-Director, Center on Children and Families, Brookings Institution. *Co-sponsored with the HDSP Brown Bag Series*

May 6, “Chicago Area Political and Social Behavior Workshop,” organized by **James Druckman**, Payson S. Wild Professor of Political Science, with keynote lectures by **Diane Mutz**, Samuel A. Stouffer Professor of Political Science and Communication, University of Pennsylvania; **Eric Oliver**, Professor of Political Science, University of Chicago; **Laurel Harbridge Yong**, Associate Professor of Political Science and IPR Fellow; and **Thomas Holbrook**, Wilder Crane Professor of Government, University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee. *Co-sponsored with the Weinberg College of Arts and Sciences and the Department of Political Science*

May 12–13, “Northwestern Global Inequality Workshop,” organized by **David Figlio**, IPR Director, and **Bruce Carruthers**, Buffett Institute Director. Welcome by Provost **Daniel Linzer** and **Jay Walsh**, Vice President for Research, Northwestern University; “Inequality: A Global Perspective” by **Miles Corak**, University of Ottawa; **Chris Hann**, Max Planck Institute; **Jeffrey Winters**, Buffett/Northwestern University; moderated by **Lindsay Chase-Lansdale**, IPR/Northwestern University. “The Tails of the Distribution” by **Carola Frydman**, Northwestern University and Boston University; **Olivier Godechot**, Sciences Po; **Ariell Reshef**, Paris School of Economics/CNRS; moderated by **Stephen Nelson**, Buffett/Northwestern University. “Recent Developments in Inequality Research” by **Leslie McCall**, IPR/Northwestern University; **Branko Milanovic**, CUNY Graduate Center; **Jessica Pan**, National University of Singapore; moderated by **Mary Pattillo**, IPR/Northwestern University. “Organizations and Inequality” by **Jerry Davis**, University of Michigan; **Frank Dobbin**, Harvard University; **Lauren Rivera**, IPR/Northwestern University; moderated by **James Spillane**, IPR/Northwestern University. “Inequality and Education” by **Kirabo Jackson**, IPR/Northwestern University; **Kjell Salvanes**, Norwegian School of Economics; **Marianne Simonsen** and **Helena Skyt Nielsen**, Aarhus University; moderated by **Jonathan Guryan**, IPR/Northwestern University. “Inequality and Health” by **Emma Adam**, IPR/Northwestern University; **Tom Boyce**, University of California, San Francisco; **Mark Stabile**, INSEAD; moderated by **Christopher Kuzawa**, IPR/Northwestern University. *Co-hosted with the Buffett Institute for Global Studies*

July 18–28, “Summer Research Training Institute on Cluster-Randomized Trials,” directed by **Larry Hedges**, Board of Trustees Professor of Statistics and Education and Social Policy, Professor of Psychology, and IPR Fellow. *Supported by the National Center for Education Research in the Institute of Education Sciences, U.S. Department of Education*

August 1–12, “Summer Research Training Institute on Design and Analysis of Quasi-Experiments in Education,” directed by **Thomas D. Cook**, Joan and Sarepta Harrison Chair of Ethics and Justice; Professor of Sociology, Psychology, and Education and Social Policy; and IPR Fellow. *Supported by the National Center for Education Research in the Institute of Education Sciences, U.S. Department of Education*

November 14, “Policy Implications of the 2016 Presidential Election,” with presentations by **Anthony LoSasso**, Professor of Health Policy and Administration, University of Illinois at Chicago, and Institute of Government and Public Affairs; **Laurel Harbridge Yong**, Associate Professor of Political Science and IPR Fellow; **Andrew Koppelman**, John Paul Stevens Professor of Law and Professor of Political Science; and **Julie Lee Merseeth**, Assistant Professor of Political Science and IPR Associate

AWARDS, HONORS, AND PRESENTATIONS OF NOTE

FACULTY FELLOWS

Emma Adam, “Race-Related Stress and Academic Disparities: New Models and Mechanisms,” Invited Panel, Education and Inequality in 21st Century America, May 20, Stanford University

Lindsay Chase-Lansdale, Elected Member, Board of Overseers, Harvard University

Edith Chen, Distinguished Fellow, Sage Center for the Study of the Mind, University of California, Santa Barbara; “Protective Psychosocial Factors, Childhood Socioeconomic Status, and Health,” Henry N. Ricciuti Memorial Lecture, September 12, Cornell University

Fay Lomax Cook, “Social and Behavioral Science Across Federal Agencies,” Consortium of Social Science Associations, March 15, Washington, D.C.; “Opportunities and Challenges in the Social, Behavioral, and Economic Sciences,” Distinguished Lecture Series, April 27, Carnegie Mellon University; “Forensic Science Research at the National Science Foundation,” Keynote, Human Factors and Ergonomics Society, September 20, Washington, D.C.

Mesmin Destin, William T. Grant Scholars Award; Visiting Scholar Fellowship, Russell Sage Foundation

James Druckman, “Political Polarization,” Invited Talk, Kettering Foundation, June 15, Dayton, Ohio

Alice Eagly, Distinguished Scientific Contribution Award, Attitudes and Social Influence Interest Group, Society of Personality and Social Psychology; “How Can Stereotypes Be So Accurate Yet So Wrong?” Keynote, Society for Australasian Social Psychologists, April 2, Brisbane, Australia; “Observations of the Roles of Social Groups Shape the Content of Their Stereotypes,” Invited Address, International Congress of Psychology, July 25, Yokohama, Japan

David Figlio, Presidential Address, Association for Education Finance and Policy, March 17, Denver; “Culture and the Intergenerational Transmission of Human Capital,” Keynote, Nordic Labor Economics Meeting, June 12, Bergen, Norway; and Keynote, European Society of Population Economics, June 17, Berlin

Daniel Galvin, Winner, Best Paper on Public Policy Award for “Deterring Wage Theft: Alt-Labor, State Politics, and the Policy Determinants of Minimum Wage Compliance,” American Political Science Association

Jonathan Guryan, “Improving High School Outcomes for Poor Adolescents: Scaling up the Match/SAGA

Tutorials,” Report and Presentation, The Hamilton Project, March 28, Washington, D.C.

Laurel Harbridge Yong, R. Barry Farrell Prize for Excellence in Teaching, Department of Political Science, Northwestern University; “Partisanship, Gridlock, and Governance in Contemporary Politics,” February 26, Contemporary Club of Chicago

Larry Hedges, Appointed Member and Chair, National Board for Education Sciences, U.S. Department of Education; “Challenges in Building Usable Knowledge in Education,” Larry V. Hedges Inaugural Lecture, Society for Research on Educational Effectiveness, March 3, Washington, D.C.; “Developing Empirical Evidence on Design Parameters to Improve Field Experiments,” Invited Address, NORC’s 75th Anniversary Symposium, April 14, Chicago

Simone Ispa-Landa, “Our Community—How It’s Changed, How It’s Changing,” Keynote, Illinois Humanities Continuing Education Program, Senn High School, November 14, Chicago; “Subtle Inequality—When Things Look Equal, But Really Aren’t,” Invited Talk, Poynter/McCormick Specialized Reporting Institute Seminar, October 13, Chicago

Kirabo Jackson, Andrew Carnegie Fellow

Seema Jayachandran, Board of Reviewing Editors, *Science*; “Cash for Carbon: A Randomized Controlled Trial of Payments for Ecosystem Services to Reduce Deforestation,” Development Plenary, Econometric Society, June 17, University of Pennsylvania

Cynthia Kinnan, “Microcredit in Partial and General Equilibrium: Evidence from Field and Natural Experiments,” Invited Panel: Helping the Poor Gain Access to Credit, World Bank-CEGA Financial Inclusion Workshop, June 28, Washington, D.C.

Christopher Kuzawa, “Setting the Stage: The Opportunities and Challenges of Harnessing the Plasticity of Fetal Life,” Presenter and Invited Organizer, Human Capital and Economic Opportunity Global Working Group led by Nobel Economist James Heckman, November 17–18, University of Chicago

Charles F. Manski, Elected Fellow, American Statistical Association; “Perspectives on Microeconomic Analysis of Public Policy,” Easter School Lectures, Royal Economic Society, April 13, University of Essex, U.K.

AWARDS, HONORS, AND PRESENTATIONS OF NOTE

Rachel Davis Mersey, “The Power of Social Media for Professionals,” Keynote, Best Practices Forum, April 20, Northwestern University

Greg Miller, President Elect, Academy of Behavioral Medicine Research; Highly Cited Researcher, Thomson Reuters; Distinguished Fellow, Sage Center for the Study of the Mind, University of California, Santa Barbara; “Long-Term Health Consequences of Childhood Poverty,” Keynote, International Pelvic Pain Society, October 15, Chicago

Matthew Notowidigdo, “Economic Consequences of Hospital Admissions,” Keynote, Empirics and Methods in Economics Conference, October 1, Northwestern University

Monica Prasad, “Taking Stock of the State in 19th Century America,” Keynote, Center for the Study of Representative Institutions, April 15, Yale University; “Combatting Corruption Among Civil Servants,” U.S. Agency for International Development, September, Washington, D.C.; “Running to Stay in Place: Money in American Politics,” Keynote, Global Histories of Taxation and State Finances Since the Late-19th Century, December 2, University of Basel, Switzerland

Lincoln Quillian, “Neighborhood and Metropolis in the Intergenerational Transmission of Poverty,” Invited Talk, Research on the Early Years of Life Conference, Institute for Research on Poverty, April 21, University of Wisconsin–Madison

Rachel Beatty Riedl, Fulbright Scholar, Les Afriques dans le Monde, Sciences Po Bordeaux; “Religion, Redistribution, and Political Participation in Sub-Saharan Africa,” Blavatnik School of Government, January 27, Oxford University; “Security and Stability in the Sahel,” Sciences Po, May 26, Paris

Onnie Rogers, “‘They Say We’re Dumb, But That’s Not True’: Black Children’s Resistance to Stereotypes,” Opening Plenary, National Black Child Development

Institute Conference, October 3, Orlando; “Boys of Color and Resisting Dehumanization: A Contextual and Developmental Process,” Keynote, Society for Research on Child Development, October 8, Tampa, Florida

James Rosenbaum, “A Roadmap Through Community College Transitions,” Invited Panel, Conference on College Changes Everything, July 21, Tinley Park, Illinois; “What Do Open-Access Colleges Teach That Matters in the Long Run?” Panel, Midwestern Educational Research Association, October 27, Evanston, Illinois

Morton Schapiro, “The Importance of Art,” Invited Talk, Why Art Matters, June 6, Northwestern University

Wesley G. Skogan, “Race and the History of Policing,” Opening Address, Conference on Race and Policing: Defining the Problem and Developing Solutions, Institute for Policing in Society, October 7, University of California, Irvine; Subcommittee Member, National Policing Task Force; Member, Chicago’s Community Policing Advisory Panel

Bruce Spencer, “A 2016 View of 2020 Census Quality, Costs, and Benefits,” NSF–Census Bureau Research Network, U.S. Census Bureau, May 10, Washington, D.C.; Member, Sponsored Expert Panel on Methodological Enhancements, National Intimate Partner and Sexual Violence Survey

Celeste Watkins-Hayes, Faculty and Administration Honor Roll 2016–17, Northwestern University; “Remaking a Life, Reversing an Epidemic: HIV/AIDS and the Politics of Transformation,” Doris P. Slesinger Lecture, March 8, University of Wisconsin–Madison; Founding Editorial Board Member, *Perspectives on Public Management and Governance*

Sandra Waxman, Elected Fellow, Cognitive Science Society

Burton Weisbrod, Cardiss Collins Professorship

IPR GRADUATE RESEARCH ASSISTANT

CC DuBois, Presidential Fellowship, The Graduate School, Northwestern University

From left: IPR political scientist Wesley Skogan, IPR social policy professor Fay Lomax Cook, IPR statistician Larry Hedges, IPR adjunct faculty Jennifer Richeson, and IPR Director David Figlio discuss a presentation on evidence-based social policy.



AWARDS, HONORS, AND PRESENTATIONS OF NOTE

FACULTY ASSOCIATES AND ADJUNCTS

Katherine Amato, Azrieli Global Scholars Program, Canadian Institute for Advanced Research

Ana Arjona, Kellogg Visiting Fellow, University of Notre Dame

Bernard Black, Fellow, American Academy of Arts and Sciences

David Cella, Ralph Seal Paffenbarger Professorship; Gustav O. Lienhard Award, National Academy of Medicine; Highly Cited Researcher, Thomson Reuters

Jeannette Colyvas, Academic Leadership Program Fellow, Committee on Institutional Cooperation

Shari Seidman Diamond, Ronald Pipkin Service Award, Law and Society Association

Steven Epstein, Mildred Londa Weisman Fellow, Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study

Jordan Gans-Morse, Fulbright Scholar Award (Ukraine)

Elizabeth Gerber, Charles Deering McCormick Professor of Teaching Excellence; Impact Design Hub's 40 Under 40

Eszter Hargittai, Public Sociology Award, American Sociological Association

Benjamin Jones, "A Case Study of EDUSTAR," Report and Presentation, The Hamilton Project, March 28, Washington, D.C.

Brayden King, Max McGraw Professorship in Management

Carol Lee, Fellow, American Academy of Arts and Sciences; Board of Directors, National Academy of Education

Julie Lee Merseth, Hewlett Curricular Fellowship, Weinberg College of Arts and Sciences, Northwestern University

Vijay Mittal, Early Career Impact Award, Federation of Associations in Behavioral & Brain Sciences; Early Career Award, Society for Research in Psychopathology

Daniel O'Keefe, Charles Deering McCormick Professor of Teaching Excellence

Mary Pattillo, "School Choice?" Keynote, Social Justice and the City, March 10, Tulane University

Destiny Peery, Outstanding Professor in Small Class; Faculty Appreciation Award, Northwestern University

Sylvia Perry, Diversity and Climate Committee Admired Scholar, Society for Personality and Social Psychology

Lauren Rivera, William J. Wilson Early Career Award; Mary Douglas, Max Weber, and Sociology of Law Book Awards, American Sociological Association

Leonard Rubinowitz, Joyce A. Hughes Legacy Award, Black Law Students Association, Northwestern University

Paola Sapienza, Highly Cited Researcher, Thomson Reuters

Michelle Shumate, April McClain Delaney and John Delaney Research Professorship

James Spillane, "Distributed Leadership," Keynote, School Sustainable Development, Amsterdam, October 17

Seth Stein, President-Elect, Focus Group, American Geophysics Union

Matthew Easterday, Elizabeth Gerber, Craig LaMay, Robin Nusslock, and William Rogerson, Faculty and Administration Honor Roll 2016-17, Northwestern University

IPR associates Elizabeth Gerber (far right), a mechanical engineer and communication studies scholar, and Matthew Easterday (far left), a learning scientist, emphasize design thinking methodology, a human-centered, problem-solving approach that involves working in diverse groups to generate ideas.



FACULTY IN THE MEDIA—SELECTED MENTIONS



IPR political scientist Rachel Beatty Riedl studies local governance, institutional development in new democracies, and religion and politics in sub-Saharan Africa.

In a *Washington Post* op-ed, Northwestern University President and Professor **Morton Schapiro**, an IPR economist, explained the importance of safe spaces on college campuses, which he considers “the best hope we have of creating an inclusive community,” January 15.

IPR psychologist **Sandra Waxman** and IPR education sociologist **Simone Ispa-Landa** penned an op-ed in *U.S. News & World Report* imploring colleges and universities to address academia’s “baby penalty”—the high levels of success of men in the profession as compared with women, especially women with children, February 11.

The New York Times cited research by IPR associate **Lauren Rivera**, a management and organizations associate professor, that found hiring practices at the nation’s top financial, consulting, and law firms favor graduates of prestigious universities, February 25.

A *Pacific Standard* article focused on IPR developmental psychologist **Lindsay Chase-Lansdale**’s research on two-generation initiatives, which combine education and job training to help low-income children and parents simultaneously, March 4.

In the *Chicago Sun Times*, sociologist, African-American studies researcher, and IPR associate **Mary Pattillo** wrote that the city of Chicago should incentivize public housing in middle- and upper-class neighborhoods, March 21.

An article on Nigerian democratic development in news aggregator *AllAfrica* cited work by **Rachel Beatty Riedl**, who studies conflict and instability in Africa, March 31.

Inside Higher Ed covered work by IPR education researcher **James Rosenbaum** that highlights issues with the “college for all” movement, April 8.

In *The Christian Science Monitor*, IPR political scientist **Wesley G. Skogan** noted that the Chicago Alternative Policing Strategy (CAPS) was very effective in its first decade of use, and its reinstatement could help rebuild community trust in the Chicago Police Department, April 13.

In a *Huffington Post* op-ed, law professor and IPR associate **David Dana** outlined what led to the pension crisis in Illinois and explained the public trust case for pension reform, April 25.

Communication studies researcher and IPR associate **Ellen Wartella** told *The Boston Globe* that more research is needed to understand the impact of media use on children, May 3.

Bloomberg highlighted research by IPR education economist **David Figlio** and former IPR graduate research assistant Claudia Persico that found children who grow up near toxic waste sites experience negative cognitive effects, May 25.

The Atlantic featured a report co-authored by IPR economist **Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach** that found the proportion of low-income families’ budgets devoted to basic needs has increased, possibly leading families to cut back their spending on food, June 2.

The Chicago Sun-Times detailed IPR economist **Jonathan Guryan** and his colleagues’ finding that the Becoming A Man program reduced crime rates and increased high school graduation rates, June 27.

The 74 Million, an education blog, cited research by IPR economist **Kirabo Jackson** on positive correlations between per-pupil spending in public schools and short- and long-term outcomes for students, June 27.

The Washington Post featured a study by IPR development economist **Seema Jayachandran** that demonstrates how paying farmers not to cut down trees reduced deforestation and delayed carbon emissions, July 6.

The New Yorker covered research by IPR developmental psychobiologist **Emma Adam** and IPR adjunct faculty **Jennifer Richeson** on the link between the perception of racism and poor health outcomes for African-Americans, July 16.

In *U.S. News & World Report*, cultural anthropologist and IPR associate **Ana Aparicio** described the structural disadvantages that students of color face in America’s public schools and proposed potential solutions to the system’s pervasive opportunity gap, July 29.

The Wall Street Journal highlighted research by IPR economist **Matthew Notowidigdo** on how declines in U.S.

FACULTY IN THE MEDIA—SELECTED MENTIONS

manufacturing led to fewer job opportunities for less-educated workers during the Great Recession, August 11.

Time featured a study by **Edith Chen** and **Greg Miller**, IPR health psychologists, who found decreased life expectancy for women who face abuse early in their lives, August 17.

WBEZ interviewed **Brian Mustanski**, professor of medical social sciences and an IPR associate, about efforts to use the internet to inform LGBTQ youth about HIV risks, August 17.

In a *Los Angeles Times* op-ed, **Monica Prasad** explained that “paying what you owe” is a central aspect of identity for white, working-class voters who are conservative, August 18.

Minnesota’s *Star Tribune* covered healthcare economist and IPR associate **Craig Garthwaite**’s finding that hospitals in Medicaid expansion states have experienced declines in uncompensated care costs, August 22.

PBS Newshour talked to IPR associate **Carol Lee**, the Edwina S. Tarry Professor of Education and Social Policy, about the meaning of “cultural competency” for teachers who enter schools with diverse student bodies, August 30.

U.S. News & World Report explored whether irrelevant events can affect political preferences, citing IPR political scientist **James Druckman**’s study on the correlation between the results of football games and the president’s approval rating, September 7.

Craig LaMay, a journalism professor and IPR associate, noted in *Newsweek* that gender plays a role in the public’s expectations of how presidential candidates act during a debate, September 24.

IPR psychologist **Alice Eagly** spoke to *NPR* about how female leaders must navigate conflicting expectations for women and leaders, October 18.

Education Week highlighted IPR social psychologist **Mesmin Destin**’s finding that low-income college students’ uncertainty about their own social status and identity had a significant impact on their achievement and effort, before and during their first year of college, October 25.

The New York Times quoted political scientist and IPR associate **Thomas Ogorzalek** on why Republicans do not have to win in cities, but simply to compete in them, to be able to win a state’s electoral votes, November 2.

IPR sociologist **Lincoln Quillian** discussed racial tension in Chicago’s white, working-class neighborhoods with

The Chicago Tribune, discussing why these communities typically oppose racial integration, November 12.

The Guardian referenced data collected by mass communication scholar and IPR associate **Pablo Boczkowski** on social media popularity during the presidential campaign and its connection to the outcome of the race, November 13.

In *The Washington Post*, IPR political scientist **Daniel Galvin** wrote that while President Barack Obama left a strong political legacy, he did not use his position to sufficiently strengthen the Democratic Party, November 16.

Reuters covered behavioral scientist and IPR associate **Linda Teplin**’s finding that most youth—and African-Americans and Hispanics in particular—fare poorly after leaving juvenile detention through their early 30s, December 19.

IPR sociologist and African-American studies researcher **Celeste Watkins-Hayes** explained to *NBC News* that smoking might act as a coping mechanism for people with HIV, helping them to deal with poverty and other stressors in their lives, November 21.

IPR sociologist and African-American studies researcher Celeste Watkins-Hayes is working on a book about how HIV-positive women transform their lives.



FACULTY

WEINBERG COLLEGE of Arts and Sciences

African American Studies Fellow

Celeste Watkins-Hayes

Anthropology Fellows

Christopher Kuzawa
Thomas McDade *
Rebecca Seligman *
Sera Young

Anthropology Associates

Katherine Amato
Ana Aparicio

Earth and Planetary Sciences Associate

Seth Stein

Economics Fellows

Lori Beaman
Seema Jayachandran
Cynthia Kinnan
Charles F. Manski
Matthew Notowidigdo
Morton Schapiro
Burton Weisbrod

Economics Associates

Joseph Ferrie
Lee Lockwood
Robert Porter
William Rogerson

History Associate

Henry Binford

Linguistics Associate

Annette D'Onofrio

Political Science Fellows

James Druckman
Daniel Galvin
Laurel Harbridge Yong
Mary McGrath
Rachel Beatty Riedl
Wesley G. Skogan

Political Science Associates

Ana Arjona
Jordan Gans-Morse
Julie Lee Merseth
Thomas Ogorzalek
Benjamin Page
Andrew Roberts
Galya Ruffer
Chloe Thurston

Faculty are listed by their primary appointment.

*On leave for the academic year.

Psychology Fellows

Edith Chen
Mesmin Destin *
Alice Eagly
Greg Miller
Onnie Rogers
Sandra Waxman

Psychology Associates

Eli Finkel
Vijay Mittal
Daniel Mroczek
Robin Nusslock
Sylvia Perry
Jennifer Tackett

Religious Studies Associate

Laurie Zoloth

Sociology Fellows

Anthony Chen
Leslie McCall *
Christine Percheski
Monica Prasad
Lincoln Quillian
Beth Redbird
Quincy Thomas Stewart

Sociology Associates

Héctor Carrillo
Steven Epstein
John Hagan
Robert Nelson
Mary Pattillo
Michael Rodríguez-Muñiz
Susan Thistle

Statistics Fellows

Larry Hedges
Bruce Spencer

School of EDUCATION and SOCIAL POLICY

Fellows

Emma Adam *
Lindsay Chase-Lansdale
Fay Lomax Cook *
David Figlio
Jonathan Guryan
Simone Ispa-Landa
Kirabo Jackson
James Rosenbaum
Diane Whitmore
Schanzenbach
Heather Schoenfeld

Associates

Cynthia Coburn
Jeannette Colvyas

Matthew Easterday
Claudia Haase
Barton Hirsch
Carol Lee
Dan Lewis
Jolie Matthews
Quinn Mulroy
Penelope Peterson
Terri Sabol
James Spillane
Reed Stevens

MEDILL School of Journalism, Media, Integrated Marketing Communications

Fellow

Rachel Davis Mersey

Associates

Jack Doppelt
Stephanie Edgerly
Craig LaMay
Donna Leff
Charles Whitaker

FEINBERG School of Medicine

Medical Social Sciences Fellow

Lauren Wakschlag

Medical Social Sciences Associates

Ann Borders
David Cella
Brian Mustanski
Frank Penedo
Amélie Petitclerc
Gregory Phillips II

General Internal Medicine and Geriatrics Associate

Joseph Feinglass

Obstetrics and Gynecology Associates

Melissa Simon
Teresa Woodruff

Pediatrics Associates

Jenifer Cartland
Craig Garfield
Jane Holl

Preventive Medicine Associate

William Funk

Psychiatry and Behavioral Sciences Associates

Eva Redei
Linda Teplin

KELLOGG

School of Management

Finance Associates

Brian Melzer
Paola Sapienza

Management and Organizations Associates

Paul Hirsch
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IPR social demographer Quincy Thomas Stewart examines the dynamic processes that create inequities in socioeconomic status, health, and mortality.

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Cynthia Blanco, *Project on Child Development, Adviser: Sandra Waxman*
 Marshall Jean, *IES Postdoctoral Training Grant, Adviser: Larry Hedges*
 Arend Kuyper, *IES Postdoctoral Training Grant, Adviser: Larry Hedges*
 Cynthia Levine, *Biological Embedding of Early-Life SES, Adviser: Edith Chen*
 William Schneider, *Two-Generation Research Initiative, Adviser: Lindsay Chase-Lansdale*

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From left: IPR postdoctoral fellow Arend Kuyper, IPR Director David Figlio, IPR education researcher James Rosenbaum, and IPR research associate Krzysztof Karbownik discuss how family disadvantage contributes to the gender gap in educational achievement.



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FOUNDATIONS AND ORGANIZATIONS

Carnegie Corporation of New York

Learning Infrastructure for 100Kin10,* **Kirabo Jackson**

Foundation for Child Development

Community Action Project of Tulsa (CAP) Family Life Study Extension: Evaluation of a Model Dual-Generation Program, **Lindsay Chase-Lansdale**

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Supporting Urban Community College Student Success: An Implementation Study of Comprehensive Support Programming, **James Rosenbaum**

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After Completion: The Dynamics of Career-Entry from Public and Private Two-Year Colleges, **James Rosenbaum**

School Finance Reform and the Distribution of Student Achievement, **Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach**

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U.K. Department for International Development

A Novel Tool for the Cross-Cultural Assessment of Household-Level Water Insecurity: Scale Refinement, Validation, and Manual Development,* **Sera Young**

U.S. GOVERNMENT AGENCIES

National Science Foundation

Findings from Empirical Within-Study Comparisons About the Role of Pretests and Proxy Pretests in Adjusting for Selection Bias in STEM Quasi-Experiments,

Thomas D. Cook

The Downside of Social Mobility: Status-Based Identity Uncertainty, Academic Achievement, and Psychological Well-Being, **Mesmin Destin**

Time-Sharing Experiments for the Social Sciences (TESS): Proposal for Renewed Support, 2016–19,

James Druckman

Leveraging Matched Administrative Datasets to Improve Educational Practice and Long-Run Life Outcomes:

Toward Building a National Interdisciplinary Network,

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Improving the Generalizability of Findings from Educational Evaluations, **Larry Hedges**

The Effect of School Finance Reforms on the Distribution of Spending, Academic Achievement, and Adult Outcomes, **Kirabo Jackson**

Longitudinal Study of Human Male Reproductive Ecology: Biological and Behavioral Responses to Changing Social Roles and Impacts on Offspring and Relationship Quality, **Kirabo Jackson**

The Evolutionary Biology of Telomeres in the Philippines,* **Christopher Kuzawa**

Collaborative Research: Early Environments, Epigenetics, and Inflammation During Pregnancy, **Thomas McDade**

Family Structure and Inequality in Contemporary America, **Christine Percheski**

Census Bureau Data Programs as Statistical Decision Problems, **Bruce Spencer**

U.S. Census Bureau

The Use of Commercial Data to Adjust Housing Estimates for Survey Nonresponse, **Bruce Spencer**

U.S. Department of Agriculture

School Lunch After the Healthy Hunger-Free Kids Act (HHFKA): Selection, Nutrition, Health, and Achievement,*

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

Proposal to Conduct Annual Workshops on Better Quasi-Experimental Design and Analysis, **Thomas D. Cook**

**Indicates a subaward.*

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

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

Advanced State-Specific Design Parameters for Randomized Field Experiments,* **Larry Hedges**

A Summer Cluster-Randomized Trial (CRT) Training Institute for Established Researchers, **Larry Hedges**

Postdoctoral Research Training Fellowship in Education Sciences, **Larry Hedges**

State Longitudinal Data Systems Public-Use Project, **Larry Hedges**

U.S. Department of Health and Human Services

Administration for Children and Families

CareerAdvance®: A Dual-Generation Program's Effects on Families and Children, **Lindsay Chase-Lansdale**

Expanding the Cycle of Opportunity: Simultaneously Educating Parents and Children in Head Start, **Lindsay Chase-Lansdale**

The Northwestern University Two-Generation Study of Parent and Child Human Capital Advancement, **Teresa Eckrich Sommer**

Two-Generation Child and Family Outcomes Study of CAP Tulsa's CareerAdvance® Program,* **Teresa Eckrich Sommer**

National Institutes of Health

Eunice Kennedy Shriver National Institute of Child Health and Human Development

A Randomized Study to Abate Truancy and Violence in Grades 3–9, **Jonathan Guryan**

Remediating Academic and Non-Academic Skills Deficit Among Disadvantaged Youth,* **Jonathan Guryan**

Pathways Linking Social Disparities, Inflammation, and Health Across Generations, **Thomas McDade**

How Housing Vouchers Affect Biology and Health,* **Thomas McDade**

The Reproductive Window in Young Adult Cancer Survivors,* **Thomas McDade**

Self-Regulation as a Health-Protective Factor in Adverse Socioeconomic Conditions, **Greg Miller**

Rural African-American Young Adults' Pathways to Psychosocial and Physical Health,* **Greg Miller**

Linking Language and Cognition in Infancy: Entry Points and Developmental Change, **Sandra Waxman**

National Heart, Lung, and Blood Institute

Parents' Dense and Supportive Social Networks Facilitate Children's Health, **Edith Chen**

Multilevel Understanding of Social Contributors to Socioeconomic Status Disparities in Asthma, **Edith Chen**

Childhood Origins of Coronary Heart Disease (CHD) Disparities: Neural and Immune Pathways, **Greg Miller**

Adolescent Family Stress and Early Cardiovascular Risk: Psychosocial and Behavioral Pathways, **Greg Miller**

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Multidimensional Pathways to Healthy Aging Among Filipino Women,* **Thomas McDade**

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Vulnerability to Drug Use and HIV: Advancing Prevention for Rural African-Americans,* **Greg Miller**

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Why Do Research Prizes Have Effects on Minorities' Biomedical Research Careers? **Larry Hedges**

National Institute of Mental Health

Health Consequences of Food and Nutrition Insecurity for HIV-Positive Women and Their Infants, **Sera Young**

Health Consequences of Water Insecurity for HIV-Infected Mothers and Their Infants, **Sera Young**

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The Price of Debt: The Unequal Burden of Financial Debt and Its Impact on Health,* **Thomas McDade**

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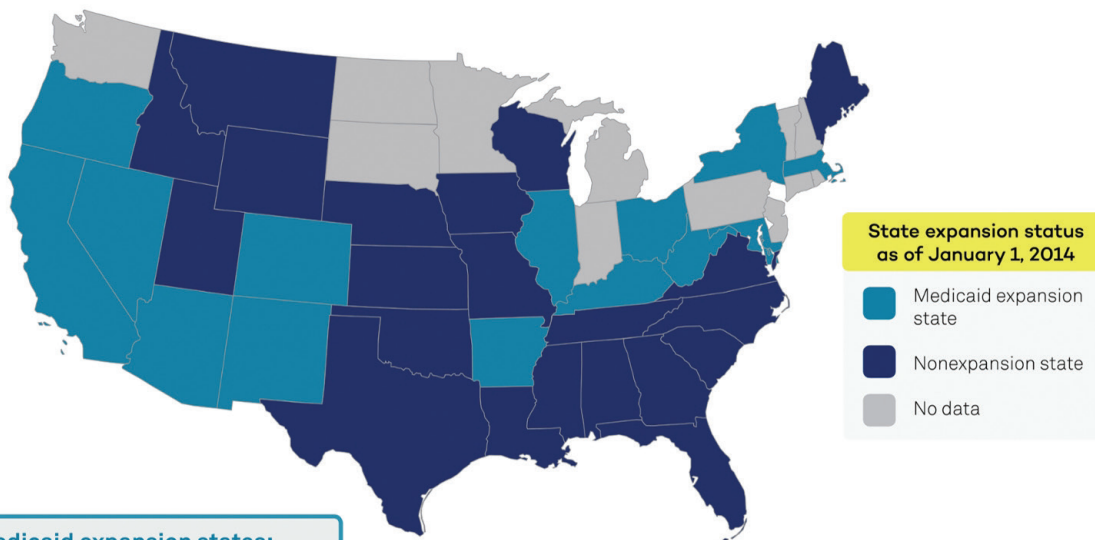
National Institute of Justice

The Intergenerational Consequences of Incarceration, **Jonathan Guryan**

IPR statistician Bruce Spencer is currently conducting a cost-benefit analysis related to the 2020 census.



IPR FACULTY FIND MEDICAID EXPANSION LEADS TO REDUCED TRAVEL TIME TO HOSPITAL



State expansion status as of January 1, 2014

- Medicaid expansion state
- Nonexpansion state
- No data

In Medicaid expansion states:

- Medicaid visits to the emergency department (ED) rose 126%, versus an 11% increase in **non-expansion states**.
- The proportion of uninsured patients seen by EDs fell 47%.
- Average travel times to the ED dropped 6.2%.



Getting to the hospital even five minutes earlier can lead to better outcomes for heart attacks and other emergencies.



Matthew Notowidigdo

New evidence supports the Affordable Care Act (ACA): A study in the *Annals of Internal Medicine* suggests the ACA enabled low-income patients to access emergency care more quickly.



Craig Garthwaite

IPR economist **Matthew Notowidigdo** and healthcare economist and IPR associate **Craig Garthwaite** find that Medicaid expansion led to more Medicaid patients in the emergency room, and those patients were able to get to the hospital in less time than before states expanded the program.

Together with Tal Gross of Columbia University and John Graves of Vanderbilt University, they examined data on more than 1 million emergency department visits for adults on Medicaid in 2013 and 2014 at 126 for-profit hospitals.

Prior to 2014, these hospitals had similar proportions of uninsured patients. But by the end of the year, the proportion of uninsured patients seen by emergency departments in Medicaid expansion states fell 47 percent.

Meanwhile, the number of Medicaid visits in expansion states rose 126 percent, versus an 11 percent increase in states that did not expand the program.

The researchers also find that in 2014, average travel times to the hospital for emergency department care dropped 6.2 percent in 17 states that expanded Medicaid coverage. The estimated changes in travel time are averages across all Medicaid visits, not just those by newly insured patients. Taking this into account, the data imply a reduction of 24 percent, or 3 minutes, among newly insured patients.

“Our hypothesis is that there’s probably a perception among the uninsured that certain hospitals are more likely to accept them and more likely to treat them,” Notowidigdo said. “If it is an emergency, hospitals do still have to treat you, even without insurance, but it might be that many uninsured don’t understand that.”

Reducing travel time might be one way that Medicaid can improve health, as getting to the hospital even 5 minutes earlier can lead to better outcomes for heart attacks and other emergencies. Medicaid might also be bringing people to higher-quality hospitals, according to Notowidigdo.

“The U.S. has enormous variation in hospital quality,” he said. “If Medicaid actually affects what hospital you go to, it opens up a whole new line of inquiry of whether Medicaid brings people to hospitals that are going to do a better job treating them.”

For other infographics, go to www.ipr.northwestern.edu/about/news/infographics.html

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