

Statistics Of, By, and For the People

Census director contrasts statistics' use, frameworks

In recounting his first days at the helm of the U.S. Census Bureau, **Robert Groves** recalled the eye-opening swath of operations surrounding this "unique, public event," in which "everyone is the target audience."



J. Reblando

Census Director Robert Groves reviews the role of statistics in government.

Groves delivered IPR's 2011 Distinguished Public Policy Lecture on May 2 at Northwestern University.

"We mailed out hundreds of millions of paper questionnaires," Groves said, referring to the most recent census. "We had 600,000 people knocking on 47 million household doors. I figured that we knocked 100 million times in all."

(Continued on page 13)

Inside this Issue

Honors and New Faculty ... 2-3

In Memoriam: Ray Mack ... 2

Faculty Research Briefs ... 4-5

Seed and New Grants ... 6-7

Books & Working Papers ... 8-11

Public Opinion, Inequality ... 15

IPR Announces Incoming Director for 2012

Prominent education economist to lead Institute

David Figlio, a nationally known education economist, will become the sixth director of the Institute for Policy Research at Northwestern University in September 2012.

Figlio is an IPR fellow and the Orrington Lunt Professor of Education and Social Policy, with a courtesy appointment in the department of economics. He is also the founding chair of IPR's research program in Education Policy.

"Vice President for Research **Jay Walsh** and I are delighted that David will take over leadership of the Institute," said **Fay Lomax Cook**, IPR's current director, who will continue as



L. Kossoff/LK Photos

David Figlio

a faculty fellow and professor of human development and social policy at Northwestern when her 16 years as director end. "David is an outstanding scholar, and we are confident that his leadership will play a crucial role in continuing to grow and support the excellent policy-relevant and interdisciplinary research for which IPR's community of scholars is known."

A leading national scholar on education policies and interventions, Figlio explores issues from school accountability and standards to welfare policy and policy design. His current research projects involve evaluating the Florida

(Continued on page 17)

How Environments Affect the Lifespan

IPR briefing examines their role in outcomes, mortality

At a recent IPR policy research briefing in Chicago, three experts discussed how the study of early life and physical environments, including later-life effects, informs understanding of human development and public health and policy.

Effects of Prenatal Smoking

Each year around half a million children are born to women who smoked while pregnant. The numbers, though falling, still remain high and the effects are considerable, according to developmental psychologist **Lauren Wakschlag**, a fellow in IPR's Cells to Society: The Center on Social Disparities and Health.



G. Ward Thomas

Lauren Wakschlag relates how early interventions allay problem behaviors.

Mentioning the "larger constellation of difficulties," such as family and psychosocial problems that surround these women, Wakschlag pointed to consistent evidence from dozens of

(Continued on page 16)

Faculty Recognition

Honors and Presentations of Note

IPR Faculty Fellows

The paper, "Dynamic Public Opinion: Communication Effects over Time," by political scientists **James Druckman**, an IPR fellow, and **Dennis Chong**, an IPR associate, was singled out for two awards from the American Political Science Association (APSA). It received the Franklin L. Burdette/Pi Sigma Alpha Award for the best paper presented at the previous year's annual meeting. The two IPR researchers received the same award in 2007. In addition, they received the award for best paper in political psychology also from the previous year. Both awards were presented at APSA's annual meeting this September in Seattle. Druckman was also elected as chair of APSA's political psychology section for 2011–12.

Druckman was the recipient of a Weinberg College Outstanding Freshman Advising Award for excellence in instruction, significant contributions to curricular innovation, exemplary mentoring of research and independent study, and the fostering of a sense of community both inside and outside the classroom.

Social psychologist **Alice Eagly** received the Berlin Prize from the American Academy in Berlin, where she is on leave as a residential fellow at the Hans Arnhold Center in fall 2011. She also took home the Raymond A. Katzell Award from the Society for Industrial and Organizational Psychology, recognizing a member whose research has made a difference in peoples' lives.

Economist **Charles F. Manski** delivered the Leverhulme Lecture on "Policy Analysis with Incredible Certitude" at London's Institute for Fiscal Studies in February. The lecture was featured in the *Financial Times*, and the resulting paper was published in *The Economic Journal* in August.



Charles Manski

P. Reese

Chase-Lansdale Recognized for Distinguished Contributions



Courtesy of SRCD

Lindsay Chase-Lansdale (center) with Nancy Hill and Oscar Barbarin, co-chairs of the SRCD Senior Awards Committee.

Lindsay Chase-Lansdale, an IPR developmental psychologist, was named the 2011 recipient of the award for Distinguished Contributions to Public Policy for Children by the Society for Research in Child Development (SRCD). It was presented on March 31 at the society's biennial meeting in Montreal.

Chase-Lansdale was honored for her pioneering research on child and family policy issues; her multi-disciplinary work on longitudinal studies of children and their families in low-income neighborhoods, which carefully documented the experiences of three-generational families; co-directing the first Washington, D.C. office of SRCD; and launching the society's quarterly publication, the *SRCD Social Policy Report*.

IPR Faculty Associates

Northwestern students elected several IPR faculty to the 2010–11 Faculty Honor Roll, in recognition of their outstanding teaching. They were political scientists **Daniel Galvin**, now an IPR fellow, and **Paul Friesema**, sociologists

(Continued on page 7)

Founding Director of IPR Dies

Noted sociologist and race expert Ray Mack leaves behind socially oriented legacy

Raymond W. Mack, a former provost at Northwestern University who in 1968 was founding director of the University's Center for Urban Affairs, now the Institute for Policy Research (IPR), died Aug. 25 in Chapel Hill, N.C. He was 84.

"It's hard to imagine anyone who has had such enduring influence on race relations and urban policy as Ray Mack," said **John McKnight**, the first associate director of the Center for Urban Affairs and professor emeritus of communication studies. "His disciples are everywhere building on the foundation he provided us. We are academics, activists, socially oriented business people, appointed and elected officials—each a grateful part of Ray Mack's legacy."

A professor of sociology for 40 years and a highly regarded expert on race relations and inequality, Mack also will be remembered as a transformative administrator—as well as a "pretty good drummer."

Mack, who served as provost under President Robert Strotz, was a key leader in founding and supporting many of the University's early interdisciplinary programs and centers.

(Continued on page 14)



Raymond Mack

Courtesy of NU Archives

IPR Welcomes Three New Faculty Fellows



Quincy Stewart

Quincy Thomas Stewart

Associate Professor of Sociology

PhD, Demography and Sociology, University of Pennsylvania, 2001

As a social demographer, Quincy Stewart is interested in the dynamic processes that create inequalities in socioeconomic status, health, and mortality. He has published on quantitative methods for studying inequality and estimating mortality, as well as on racial and ethnic disparities in socioeconomic status, health, and mortality.

Stewart's current work includes analyzing theories of racial inequality using agent-based models, examining the role of disease prevalence in mortality outcomes, and studying racial disparities in a range of outcomes including attitudes, socioeconomic status, and health. He will be part of IPR's research programs in Social Disparities and Health and in Poverty, Race, and Inequality.

In 2006, Stewart was a Robert Wood Johnson Foundation Scholar in Health Policy Research at the University of Michigan. Before joining Northwestern, he was a faculty member in sociology at Indiana University.



Georgia Kernell

Georgia Kernell

Assistant Professor of Political Science

PhD, Political Science, Columbia University, 2008

Georgia Kernell's research spans the areas of comparative politics, quantitative methodology, and American politics. In particular, she is interested in political parties, political behavior, electoral politics, gender quotas and representation, and measuring the ideology of voters and representatives. She will join IPR's research programs in Politics, Institutions, and Public Policy and in Quantitative Methods for Policy Research, also known as the Q-Center.

Kernell, who was a postdoctoral fellow in the program on Democracy, Citizenship, and Constitutionalism at the University of Pennsylvania in 2008–09, is turning her dissertation into a book. In it, she examines how party organization affects electoral success in parliamentary systems. She is also working on several projects that examine the institutions that regulate party diversity, the normative implications of party organizations for representation, and how political information shapes consumer sentiment.



Daniel Galvin

Daniel Galvin

Assistant Professor of Political Science

PhD, Political Science, Yale University, 2006

Daniel Galvin's primary areas of research and teaching include the American presidency, political parties, historical institutionalism, and American political development. He is the author of *Presidential Party Building: Dwight D. Eisenhower to George W. Bush* (Princeton University Press, 2010), several journal articles, and is co-editor, with Ian Shapiro and Stephen Skowronek, of *Rethinking Political Institutions: The Art of the State* (NYU Press, 2006). In a current study, he is examining how Democrats in the Rust Belt adapted to changing economic and political conditions since the 1970s, with varying degrees of success (see p. 6).

Galvin, who is part of IPR's research program in Politics, Institutions, and Public Policy, has been awarded fellowships from the National Science Foundation (NSF), the Miller Center of Public Affairs, the Center for the Study of the Presidency and Congress, the Harry Middleton Fellowship in Presidential Studies, the Eisenhower Foundation, and Yale University. His research has been featured in *The New York Times*, *Washington Monthly*, and *The Nation*, among others.

IPR Research Notes

Fathers Wired to Care for Their Children



Thomas McDade (left) and Christopher Kuzawa

A new, widely reported study by two IPR anthropologists and their colleagues provides compelling evidence that human males are biologically wired to care for their offspring, conclusively showing for the first time that fatherhood lowers a man's testosterone levels.

The effect is consistent with what is observed in many other species in which males help take care of dependent offspring. Testosterone boosts behaviors and other traits that help a male compete for a mate. After they succeed and become fathers, "mating-related" activities may conflict with the responsibilities of fatherhood, making it advantageous for the body to reduce production of the hormone.

"Humans are unusual among mammals in that our offspring are dependent upon older individuals for feeding and protection for more than a decade," said IPR anthropologist **Christopher Kuzawa**. "Raising human offspring is such an effort that it is cooperative by necessity, and our study shows that human fathers are biologically wired to help with the job."

Past studies showing that fathers tend to have lower testosterone levels were small and inconclusive regarding whether fatherhood diminished testosterone or whether

men with low testosterone in the first place were more likely to become fathers. The new study takes a novel approach by following a group of 624 males aged 21.5 to 26 years old in the Philippines who were not fathers and seeing whether their hormones changed after becoming fathers.

"It's not the case that men with lower testosterone are simply more likely to become fathers," said Northwestern doctoral student **Lee Gettler**, the lead author and a former IPR graduate research assistant. "On the contrary, the men who started with high testosterone were more likely to become fathers, but once they did, their testosterone went down substantially. Our findings suggest that this is especially true for fathers who become the most involved with childcare."

In the study, fathers experience an especially large, but temporary, decline in testosterone when the newborn comes home. This indicates a man's biology can change substantially to help meet the demands of fatherhood, Gettler said.

The findings might also indicate why single men often have poorer health than married men and fathers. "If fathers have lower testosterone levels, this might protect them against certain chronic diseases as they age," Kuzawa said.

The study, published in September's *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, was also co-authored by IPR anthropologist **Thomas McDade** and Alan Feranil of the University of San Carlos, Philippines. The National Science Foundation and the Wenner Gren Foundation supported the research.

Leadership Stereotypes Still Pose Barriers to Women



Alice Eagly

Much has changed since 1963, when Betty Friedan's influential *The Feminine Mystique* provoked a national discussion about the deep dissatisfaction women felt in their lives. Many came to feel that discrimination limited their opportunities, especially in terms of leadership roles.

But new research, conducted by IPR social psychologist **Alice Eagly**, who is James Padilla Chair of Arts and Sciences, and her colleagues, shows that even today leadership continues to be viewed as culturally masculine. Thus, women suffer from two primary forms of prejudice.

Women are viewed as less qualified or natural in most leadership roles, the research shows. And when women adopt culturally masculine behaviors often required by these roles, they may be viewed as inappropriate or presumptuous.

These reactions to women leaders reflect gender stereotypes. Previous research found that predominantly "communal" qualities, such as being nice or compassionate, are associated with women, and predominantly "agentic" qualities, such as being assertive or competitive, are associated with men.

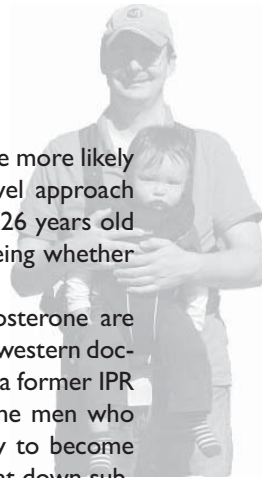
It is these agentic qualities that are believed to be essential to successful leadership. Because men fit the cultural stereotype of leadership better than women, they have better access to leadership roles and face fewer challenges in becoming successful in them.

The project's analyses indicate that this masculine construal of leadership is weaker now than it was in earlier years. Despite this shift toward more androgynous beliefs about leadership, it remains culturally masculine—just not as much as in the past.

"Cultural stereotypes can make it seem that women do not have what it takes for important leadership roles, thereby adding to the barriers that women encounter in attaining roles that yield substantial power and authority," Eagly said.

The innovative meta-analysis incorporated studies from three different research paradigms—think manager-think male, agency-communion, and masculinity-femininity—to examine the cultural masculinity of leadership stereotypes and the conditions under which such masculinity is more or less pronounced. These three research paradigms provide independent tests of leader stereotypes, Eagly said.

The study, co-authored with Anne Koenig, Abigail Mitchell, and Tiina Ristikari, was published in July's *Psychological Bulletin*.



IPR Research Notes

Food Stamps Seen as Efficient, Can Improve Health



Diane Whitmore
Schanzenbach

The federal food stamp program, now known as the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program, or SNAP, is one of the nation's largest transfer programs to the poor. As of May, more than 44 million low-income Americans were receiving food stamps, the most ever.

While Congress considers funding cuts to the program, little is known about the program's overall effects. Research by IPR economist **Diane**

Whitmore Schanzenbach and her colleagues provides some of the first direct evidence that poor families using food stamps can see substantial benefits, especially for newborns and their health.

In one study, she and Hilary Hoynes of the University of California, Davis examine how families changed their food-buying habits once food stamps were introduced in their county. Program adoption began in 1963, finishing in 1975.

Participating families sharply increased their food spending when the program was introduced—improving nutrition at a time when many poor suffered from hunger. The study also found that participants spent the benefits in the same way they would have spent an equivalent cash transfer. This suggests that food stamps are an economically efficient safety net program, providing empirical support for economic theory.

Though the program's main goal is to improve nutrition for America's poor, most research on food stamps has been unable to establish a strong causal link to improved health outcomes. In a related project, Schanzenbach, Hoynes, and Douglas Almond of Columbia University link the date the program was introduced in a particular county to data on pregnancy, birth weights, and neonatal deaths.

Their findings reveal that the introduction of food stamps led to improved infant health—an increase in birth weights and a decline in infant mortality. The impacts were largest among the frailest babies, reducing low-weight births by 7 percent for whites and between 5 and 11 percent for blacks.

Overall, food stamp benefits, which average around \$200 per household per month, show a significant improvement in the health of newborns born to poor families. In a new working paper, the researchers re-examined members of the cohort, who are now around 40 years old, finding that those exposed to food stamps in early life have measurably better health in adulthood.

"In these difficult times of budget cuts and fiscal wrangling, it's crucial for policymakers to have information that allows them to gauge the program's short- and long-term benefits, in particular for children, measured across a wide variety of outcomes," Schanzenbach said.

The studies were published in the *American Economic Journal*, *Applied Economics* and the *Review of Economics and Statistics*.



Better Food Labeling for Better Health



Ellen Wartella

If a snack has "0 grams of trans fat" written on its label, is it good for you? It might be hard to tell, as nutritional information on food packaging can vary widely from product to product.

A number of different front-of-package (FOP) labeling systems and symbols exist. Yet little evidence has been gathered about which, if any, actually help consumers make healthier

food choices—and by extension, could help attenuate the nation's growing obesity problem.

As chair of the national Institute of Medicine (IOM) Study Committee on Examination of Front-of-Package Nutrition Rating Systems and Symbols, communication studies researcher and IPR associate **Ellen Wartella** is leading the effort to review current FOP trends and suggest improvements. The committee, requested by Congress, is joint between the U.S. Department of Agriculture and the FDA.

Taking a public health standpoint, committee members began by identifying the FOP information most important to consumers, comparing the advantages and disadvantages of various approaches.

To be most effective, the committee finds, FOP labeling should aim for a broad audience and always prominently display serving size and total calories. Specifically, the labeling should focus on the number of calories, saturated fat, trans fat, and sodium—the nutritional elements most strongly linked to U.S. health concerns—rather than trying to provide a summary health rating or information about food groups.

"But the most important problem," Wartella said, "is the lack of common nutritional standards across companies."

In the grocery store, this means that products might appear to be healthier than they really are—for example, a snack that is advertised as "low on sodium" with no mention of its high sugar content.

"It's quite clear that each company's nutritional standard is there to meet the particular formulation of the products it's selling," explained Wartella, who is Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa Al-Thani Professor of Communication.

There has been a call for common standards across the food and beverage industry that would help consumers in identifying healthier foods, Wartella said. The IOM study committee also examined consumer behavior research to best identify how to inform consumers about front-of-package labeling. The report is available on IOM's website.

Planting Big Ideas

Seed grants seek to grow policy-relevant research projects

Big ideas often have small starts. This is why IPR awarded six seed grants to help its faculty grow small, policy-relevant research projects.

“The seed grant program furthers IPR’s core mission of excellence in interdisciplinary social science research by providing small amounts of money that we hope will lead to other awards or jump-start larger projects,” said IPR political scientist **Wesley G. Skogan**, head of the awards committee.

Postsecondary Education and Training Program

Lindsay Chase-Lansdale, an IPR developmental psychologist, and IPR research scientist **Teresa Eckrich Sommer** hope to expand a unique dual-generation intervention that links postsecondary education and training of low-income mothers to their children’s development through early childhood education centers (ECEs).

Said Chase-Lansdale, “ECEs are uniquely positioned to harness mothers’ hopes for their children as a source of motivation for their own educational progress.”

The researchers’ recent exploratory work also indicates that such a program provides mothers with a supportive community of staff and peers. In addition, it intervenes at a critical development point in their preschoolers’ lives, at which the impact of maternal educational improvement is likely greater than if the mothers were to wait until their children were in school. Finally, ECE programs address the need for childcare, which is one of the most oft-cited barriers to parents’ postsecondary education.

The seed grant is enabling the researchers to interview experts around the country in workforce development, postsecondary education, youth initiatives, and adult education to help refine the proposed intervention design. The initial seed grant has also led to a new award from the Administration for Children and Families in the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services for a pilot implementation (CareerAdvance) through the Community Action Project in Oklahoma.

Information Diffusion over Social Networks

IPR economist **Lori Beaman** is working with Andrew Dillon of the International Food Policy Research Institute on a project that is testing network theory by investigating the spread of agricultural knowledge through farmers’ social networks in the West African nation of Mali. In particular, the researchers are using an experimental design to track how

farmers in 30 villages share information about compost.

“It is puzzling that so many farmers in this region have not adopted various agricultural technologies, especially compost, so we hope to learn more about how this type of information does—or does not—get spread around,” Beaman said.

Farmers in randomly selected villages receive calendars with information on compost practices for crops common in their area. The researchers then track diffusion of the calendars and conduct follow-up interviews to see how well farmers spread the information.

Privatization of Public Housing

As head of the Illinois Families Study—a state-mandated research consortium looking at welfare reform—IPR social policy professor **Dan Lewis** has tracked the precipitous decrease in financial aid to poor mothers in the state. With this seed grant, Lewis now turns his attention to the dismantling of public housing in Chicago and its impact on residents.

The Chicago Housing Authority launched its “Plan for Transformation” in 2000 and began demolishing densely populated high-rise buildings. In their place came mixed-income developments, scattered-site public housing, and Housing Choice Vouchers (formerly known as Section 8). Lewis will interview and track the movements of residents in one of the last remaining large-scale public housing developments on Chicago’s North Side.

“In the last 10 years, 25,000 public housing units in Chicago have disappeared, and where are those residents now?” Lewis asked.



Lori Beaman (back center) meets with women in a farming village in Mali.

Party Organization and Policymaking

Does it matter if a political party is—or has been—heavily influenced or dominated by patronage-based “machines,” labor unions, or issue-oriented groups?

IPR political scientist **Daniel Galvin** is comparing organizational changes over three decades between the Democratic parties in the Rust Belt states of Ohio, Michigan, and Wisconsin. While it is assumed that organizational arrangements and alliances matter, he said, to date no one has clearly spelled out the relationship, nor fully understood the underlying causal mechanisms.

“Because these state parties are, in certain respects, a microcosm of the national Democratic Party’s three distinct organizational bases, we hope this project will help illuminate broader challenges facing the national party,” Galvin said.

(Continued on page 7)

Faculty Recognition *(Continued from page 2)*

Steven Epstein and **Karrie Snyder**, and education and social policy faculty members **Jeannette Colyvas** and **John Kretzmann**.

Media, technology, and society scholar **Pablo Boczkowski** received the 2011 Best Book Award from the Communication and Information Technology Section of the American Sociological Association for *News at Work: Imitation in an Age of Information Abundance* (University of Chicago Press, 2010).

Leemore Dafny, associate professor of management and strategy, was appointed to the Congressional Budget Office's Panel of Health Advisers.

Communication studies researcher **Jennifer Light** is on leave at the Institute for Advanced Study in its School of Social Science in Princeton, N.J., for 2011–12.

Cognitive psychologist **Sandra Waxman** was inducted as a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences at its annual meeting in Washington on February 19.

Faculty Grants

Developmental psychologist **Lindsay Chase-Lansdale** received a grant from the Administration for Children and Families to assess a dual-generation intervention known as CareerAdvance in Tulsa, Okla., (see p. 6).

The National Institute on Aging is providing funding for sociologist **Jeremy Freese's** research on the social and economic factors behind aging and the lifecourse, which uses data from the Wisconsin Longitudinal Study.

Economist **Jonathan Guryan** received funding from the U.S. Department of Education to evaluate READS, a summer reading program in North Carolina that seeks to narrow the achievement gap for low-income students by mitigating the learning loss common during summer break.

The Institute of Education Sciences, the research arm of the Department of Education, awarded two grants to education researcher and statistician **Larry Hedges**. The first is for continuing work with the Society for Research on Educational Effectiveness, which Hedges co-founded to advance and disseminate research on the causal effects of education interventions, practices, programs, and policies. The second



Kirabo Jackson

is for a study using data systems to compute state-specific design parameters to enhance evaluation studies in education. Additionally, the National Science Foundation (NSF) is supporting his research on designs and multilevel statistical methods used to evaluate math and science education.

Kirabo Jackson, a labor economist, is launching the first study on the importance of the match between teachers and schools for student achievement, thanks to a Spencer Foundation grant. He will also be among the first to analyze whether teacher value-added estimates are context specific.

Anthropologist **Thomas McDade** has obtained a new NSF grant to continue his study of the links between ecology, inflammation, and disease in Bolivia's Amazonian lowlands.

The National Cancer Institute has provided funding for sociologist **Lincoln Quillian's** project to better understand the causes of racial and economic residential segregation in American cities.

With support from the American Institute of Bisexuality and Northwestern, sociology and gender studies professor **Héctor Carrillo**, an IPR associate, is studying the sexualities of men who self identify as heterosexual but are sexually interested in both men and women.

Planting Big Ideas *(Continued from page 6)*

Scientific Collaboration in High-Impact Research

Prior to 1950, the lone scientist made most breakout scientific discoveries. Since then, teams of scientists have been responsible for almost all blockbuster discoveries.

Having documented this "near universal sea change" in scientific investigation, management and strategy professor **Brian Uzzi**, an IPR faculty associate, is using his seed grant money to access the ISIWeb of Science database and expand his study of interdisciplinary teams and networks, particularly in the public health and science policy arenas. Specifically, he and his colleagues are investigating how multidisciplinary teams affect scientific impact and whether increased funding for multidisciplinary teams is warranted.

"We also hope to see how this trend might affect U.S. leadership in science," said Uzzi, who is Richard L. Thomas Professor of Leadership and Organizational Change.

Research to Protect Juvenile Due Process

Jeannette Colyvas, social policy expert and an IPR associate, is exploring the role of empirical knowledge of child and adolescent development in the juvenile court system.

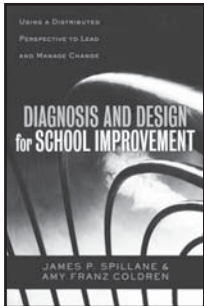
Since the 1960s, the U.S. juvenile justice system has shifted from its protective role to a more punitive one, Colyvas explained, and preliminary data indicate that courts rarely make use of relevant social science information. For example, the 14-year-old defendant in one recent case was determined by a psychologist to have the mental capacity of a 5-year-old, but the teenager was tried anyway and found guilty.

"We hope that our project will highlight the seriousness of the threat to the right to a fair trial for this vulnerable population," Colyvas said. She is working on the project with Northwestern graduate student April Faith-Slaker.

Recent Faculty Books

Diagnosis and Design for School Improvement: Using a Distributed Perspective to Lead and Manage Change

By James Spillane and Amy Franz Coldren
Teachers College Press, 2011, 144 pages

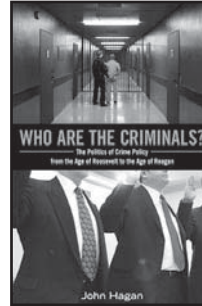


Drawing on 10 years of empirical study, education researcher and IPR associate **James Spillane** and his co-author argue that school leaders and managers cannot simply adopt and implement pre-packaged reforms to improve student learning. Rather, effective reforms are based on an understanding of both the formal and informal organizational structures of

each individual school, which creates a fresh perspective for school leaders and serves as a basis for mindful “design and redesign” of classroom policy and practice. Harvard’s Jerome Murphy calls it a 3D approach: “How problems are diagnosed; how forward steps are designed; and how leadership is distributed to make teaching and learning work for kids.” Written as a practical guide illustrated with vignettes and suggestions of useful tools, the book is intended for school administrators, teachers, and stakeholders.

Who Are the Criminals? The Politics of Crime Policy from the Age of Roosevelt to the Age of Reagan

By John Hagan
Princeton University Press, 2010, 314 pages



Sociologist, law professor, and IPR associate **John Hagan** divides the recent history of American criminal justice into two eras—the age of Roosevelt (roughly 1933 to 1973) and the age of Reagan (1974 to 2008). A focus on rehabilitation, corporate regulation, and the social roots of crime in the earlier period was dramatically reversed in the later era.

In the age of Reagan, the focus shifted to the harsh treatment of street crimes, especially drug offenses, disproportionately affecting minorities and the poor and creating the prison-industrial complex. At the same time, a massive deregulation of business provided new opportunities, incentives, and even rationalizations for white-collar crime—and helped cause the 2008 financial crisis and subsequent recession. Hagan reconsiders the relative harms and punishments of these crimes, providing a new understanding of Reagan’s policies.

Reputation Rules: Strategies for Building Your Company’s Most Valuable Asset

By Daniel Diermeier
McGraw-Hill, 2011, 256 pages

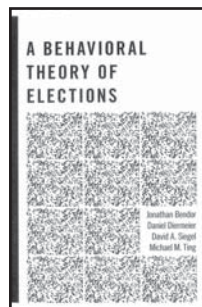


In an era increasingly marked by ubiquitous social media tools and rapid riposte, a company can face humiliation and possibly even ruin following a negative tweet or blog post. Recently, the images of companies such as BP, Goldman Sachs, and Toyota received serious blows that could have been reduced had their leaders implemented reputation management tools and

thinking into their business strategy and culture. A leading authority on corporate reputations, Kellogg management and strategy professor **Daniel Diermeier**, an IPR associate, uses case studies to reveal underlying frameworks, strategies, and processes to teach companies how to better manage their reputations.

A Behavioral Theory of Elections

By Jonathan Bendor, Daniel Diermeier, David Siegel, and Michael Ting
Princeton University Press, 2011, 264 pages



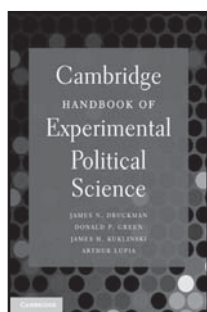
Daniel Diermeier, professor of strategy and management at Kellogg and an IPR associate, and his co-authors have mined the field of behavioral economics to provide a new theory of elections. The basis for their theory is rooted in the idea that politicians as well as voters are not fully rational, contrary to the assumption of most models, and learn via trial and error. From this

theory of adaptation, the authors construct formal models of party competition, turnout, and voter candidate preferences. In turn, these models predict substantial turnout levels, voters sorting into parties, and winning parties adopting centrist platforms—and generate results that are more consistent with actual election data. The book also provides a computational model, which can be used for further research.

Recent Faculty Books

Cambridge Handbook of Experimental Political Science

Edited by James Druckman, Donald Green, James Kuklinski, and Arthur Lupia
Cambridge University Press, 2011, 604 pages



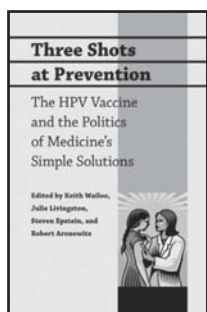
Called a “monumental undertaking,” the handbook is the first to provide a comprehensive overview of how experimental research is transforming the field. Co-edited by IPR political scientist **James Druckman**, the volume covers laboratory, survey, and field experiments. In addition to defining and explaining core concepts in experimental design and analysis, it provides an intellectual history of

the experimental movement. Written by the field’s leading scholars, including Shanto Iyengar, Alan Gerber, and Paul Sniderman, the chapters cover experimentation, decision making, institutions and behavior, and elite bargaining, among others. The following were authored or co-authored by IPR faculty members: Daniel Diermeier on coalition experiments, Dennis Chong on politics and minority populations, and Druckman on experimentation in political science, core concepts, and students as experimental participants.

Three Shots at Prevention: The HPV Vaccine and the Politics of Medicine’s Simple Solutions

By Keith Wailoo, Julie Livingston, Steven Epstein, and Robert Aronowitz

Princeton University Press, 2010, 352 pages



In 2007, Texas governor Rick Perry issued an executive order requiring that all females entering sixth grade be vaccinated against the human papillomavirus (HPV), igniting national debate that echoed arguments heard across the globe over public policy, sexual health, and the politics of vaccination. *Three Shots at Prevention*, co-authored by sociologist and IPR

associate **Steven Epstein**, explores the contentious disputes surrounding the controversial vaccine intended to protect against HPV, the most common sexually transmitted infection. The volume examines the role of gender in U.S. politics and provides insight into the deep moral, ethical, and scientific questions that must be addressed when sexual and social politics confront public health initiatives.

Fatal Invention: How Science, Politics, and Big Business Recreate Race in the 21st Century

By Dorothy Roberts
The New Press, 2011, 400 pages



In *Fatal Invention*, IPR law professor **Dorothy Roberts** focuses on the ways in which some scientists and biotech companies are trying to provide an updated version of race as a biological classification by using cutting-edge genomic science and technology, including biomedical research on the genetic causes of health disparities, race-specific medicine, and ancestry testing. In the past, typologies were

used to divide the human species into biological races, but the Human Genome Project has disproved this. In the book, Roberts brings science, law, commerce, and race ideologies under one canopy. Beginning with the invention of race as a mutable and socially defined political division supported by mainstream science, Roberts examines the contemporary consequences of a new racial science that claims racial differences exist at the molecular level—at a time when race appears less significant in a supposedly “post-racial society.”

Methods of Summer



From l.: Vanderbilt’s Mark Lipsey, IES Director John Easton, and IPR’s Larry Hedges meet before a training session.

Each summer since 2006, IPR has hosted faculty-led methodological workshops. This summer, three were on experiments in education, sponsored by the Institute of Education Sciences (IES)—one co-organized by IPR statistician **Larry Hedges** on cluster-randomized trials and two by IPR social psychologist **Thomas Cook** on quasi-experimentation. **Emma Adam**, **Thomas McDade**, and **Christopher Kuzawa** ran the sixth IPR/Cells to Society’s Summer Biomarker Institute, supported by the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development.

New IPR Working Papers

POLITICS, INSTITUTIONS, AND PUBLIC POLICY

The Prevalence of Smartphone Use Among a Wired Group of Young Adults (WP-11-01)

Eszter Hargittai (IPR/Communication Studies) and Su Jung Kim, Northwestern University

Despite cell phones' popularity, little is known about the extent to which people's devices include advanced functionalities and which features people use regularly. Mobile phones have the potential to help people overcome limitations in traditional ways of accessing the Internet. Who is most likely to use cell phones for going online and other advanced functionalities? Drawing on a unique data set representing a diverse group of young adults, this working paper looks at the prevalence and predictors of cell phone usage for a varied set of activities. Results suggest that African Americans adopt most features at higher rates than others. Hargittai and Kim also find that mobile devices seem to supplement traditional access to the Internet rather than replacing it.

Overwhelmed and Underinformed? How Americans Keep Up with Current Events in the Age of Social Media (WP-11-02)

Eszter Hargittai (IPR/Communication Studies), Northwestern University; W. Russell Neuman, University of Michigan; and Olivia Curry, Northwestern University

This working paper reports on a study of new media adopters' perceptions of—and reactions to—the shift from push broadcasting and headlines to the pull dynamics of online search. From a series of focus groups with adults from around the United States, the researchers document three dominant themes: First, most feel empowered and enthusiastic, not overloaded. Second, evolving forms of social networking represent a new manifestation of the two-step flow of communication. Third, although critical of partisan “yellers” in the media, individuals do not report cocooning with the like-minded—nor avoiding the voices of those with whom they disagree. The three co-authors also find that skills in using digital media do matter when it comes to people's attitudes and uses of the new opportunities afforded by them.

How Do the Elderly Fare in Medical Malpractice Litigation, Before and After Tort Reform? Evidence from Texas, 1988–2007 (WP-11-03)

Myungho Paik, Northwestern University; Bernard Black (IPR/Law), Northwestern University; David Hyman, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign; and William Sage and Charles Silver, University of Texas at Austin

The elderly account for a disproportionate share of medical spending, but little attention has been paid to how they are treated by the medical malpractice system and to how that treatment is affected by tort reform. The researchers compare paid medical malpractice claims (other than nursing home claims) brought by elderly and nonelderly plaintiffs from 1988 to 2007. Texas adopted a strict cap on noneconomic damages and other tort reforms in 2003. During the pre-reform period, elderly paid claims per inpatient day rose from roughly 20 percent to 50 percent of the adult nonelderly rate. The elderly received less per paid claim than the adult nonelderly and were far less likely to receive large awards, but mean and median awards converged. Post-reform, there was a sharp drop in claims and payouts per claim for all ages, no evidence of further convergence, and mild evidence of post-reform divergence in claiming by the very elderly. Thus, although tort reform had a substantial effect, the authors find little evidence of a disparate impact on the elderly.

Candidate Preferences and Expectations of Election Outcomes: Evidence from the American Life Panel

Adeline Delavande, RAND Corporation and Nova School of Business and Economics; and Charles F. Manski, (IPR/Economics), Northwestern University (WP-11-05)

Analysis of data from the American Life Panel shows that in the 2008 presidential election and multiple statewide elections in 2010, citizens exhibited large differences in their expectations of election outcomes. Expectations were strongly positively associated with candidate preferences, persons tending to believe that their preferred candidate is more likely to win

the election. Committed supporters of opposing candidates regularly differed by 20 to 30 percent in their assessments of the likelihood that each candidate would win. This work contributes new empirical evidence on the false consensus effect, the empirical regularity that one's own preferences tend to be positively associated with perceptions of social preferences. It does so by using new measures of preferences and perceptions that enable respondents to flexibly express uncertainty. In contrast, earlier work has not allowed respondents to express uncertainty about social preferences. The present evidence concerns a setting that would a priori seem inhospitable to false consensus, in which voters have easy access to substantial common knowledge of social preferences conveyed by media reports of election polls.

Interviewing Wealthy Americans (WP-11-07)

Benjamin Page (IPR/Political Science), Northwestern University; Larry Bartels, Princeton University; and Jason Seawright, Northwestern University

The sociopolitical attitudes and behavior of wealthy Americans are particularly important because the wealthy tend to exert more political influence than their less affluent fellow citizens. Yet little is known about these matters. Together with a number of colleagues, Page, Bartels, and Seawright have launched a Survey of Economically Successful Americans and the Common Good, which is attempting to reach respondents at and above the top 1 percent of U.S. wealth holders. The working paper discusses the methodological challenges the authors faced and the resulting research design. It offers a preliminary look at substantive results from a small, Chicago-area pilot study that NORC conducted.

EDUCATION POLICY

Information Is Not Enough: Cultural Capital, Cultural Capital Translators, and College Access for Disadvantaged Students (WP-11-04)

James Rosenbaum (IPR/Education & Social Policy) and Michelle Naffziger, Northwestern University

Taken-for-granted aspects of the college application process present serious cultural barriers to disadvantaged students. Analyzing ethnographic data collected at two low-income, public high schools, this working paper seeks to understand subtle cultural elements that impede disadvantaged students, how school staff in a new program try to identify and overcome these cultural barriers, and how students respond. Consistent with cultural capital theory, these staff act as “cultural capital translators” to help students acquire subtle, taken-for-granted information and skills that colleges require, and help them overcome barriers to college-related activities. The researchers find that students have difficulties with three cultural tasks in the college application process—seeing the pros and cons of the various college options, knowing how to identify which options match their own interests and needs, and knowing which attributes colleges value in admissions and how to present themselves accordingly. They consider how cultural capital translators help students understand these requirements and overcome the associated barriers, and implications for policy reforms to improve college access.

Can High Schools Reduce College Enrollment Gaps with a New Counseling Model? (WP-11-06)

Jennifer Stephan, American Institutes of Research; and James Rosenbaum (IPR/Education & Social Policy), Northwestern University

Despite planning to attend college, disadvantaged students enroll in two-year or less selective colleges at disproportionately high rates. Beyond cost and academic achievement, previous research finds that a lack of college-related social capital poses barriers. However, little research investigates whether schools can change students' social capital. The researchers examine whether, how, and for whom a new counseling model aimed at creating social capital improves college enrollment. Following nearly all Chicago public school seniors through the fall after high school, they find that coaches improve the types of colleges students attend by getting students to complete key actions, with the most disadvantaged students benefiting. This suggests that targeting social capital might improve the high school-to-college transition for disadvantaged students.

Political Identity and Ideology

Workshop examines how they affect America's political landscape

As presidential hopefuls start to build their campaigns for the 2012 election, what effects will the current polarized political climate have on candidates and voters? More than 80 social scientists and graduate students gathered to discuss the formation of political identity and ideology—as well as its effects on U.S. politics—at the fifth annual Chicago Area Political and Social Behavior (CAB) Workshop at Northwestern on May 6.

The workshop, organized by IPR political scientist **James Druckman** and co-sponsored by the Institute, included presentations from top political scientists from around the nation on the roles of geography, ideology, political elites, and misinformation in informing the U.S. political landscape.

Citizens' Ideologies and the Left-Right Divide

Ideological divisions among political elites have grown since the 1970s and show “no signs of letting up,” said Indiana University's **Edward Carmines**. Yet there is little consensus among scholars about the role of citizens in that trend. For the public, issues have remained split into two separate dimensions—one relating to economic and government spending issues and the other focused on social issues and cultural values, such as gun control, abortion, and gay marriage. However, among elites, both major issue dimensions have been fused into one broad, liberal-conservative dimension, resulting in a mismatch between elites and citizens and contributing to increasing polarization and a view of politics in only black-and-white terms. Thus, Carmines said, we need to “go beyond the divide” of simple liberal/conservative labels to appreciate the full complexity and magnitude of issues.

Mapping to Improve Measurement

Cara Wong of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign discussed the difficulties of defining context for measurement and research. One method Wong described as effective for measuring how people understand their environments is a map-based measure of context, which involves asking subjects to draw a map of their community and comparing the results across groups and against various statistical data. On both a local and national scale, Wong observed a high degree of variation in subject-drawn maps and she listed several ways that respondents learn to define their communities, including everyday observation, social networks, and the media.



Indiana's Edward Carmines discusses polarization as part of a panel with IPR's Laurel Harbridge.

P. Reese

Urban vs. Rural Views

Katherine Cramer Walsh of the University of Wisconsin–Madison presented her research on the “geography of power,” exploring rural perspectives of political inequality. To learn more about how people “make sense of politics,” she conducted a series of “listening investigations” in a mix of 27 rural, urban, and suburban communities across Wisconsin. Residents in the rural communities often expressed

frustration that resources and decision-making power seem to be concentrated in the states' two major metropolitan areas, Madison and Milwaukee. “For many reasons, we might think place is less important these days,” Walsh said, pointing especially to the Internet, “and yet, place still matters so much for the way people think about themselves.”

Rumor Has It

Did aliens land at Roswell? Was 9/11 an inside job? Ask enough about widespread political rumors and chances are that 70 percent of the U.S. public will believe at least one of them, according to MIT's **Adam Berinsky**. Berinsky set out to analyze the factors that make people believe or reject political misinformation. He designed a series of experiments where participants gave their views on healthcare reform before and after reading a false statement about the provision of “death panels” in the bill. Even after reading a correction to this rumor, many people continued to accept it as true. Overall, Berinsky said, the evidence shows that “rumors are sticky,” and their power increases the more they are repeated.

Polarization in Current Politics

The workshop concluded with a roundtable on political polarization, moderated by IPR political scientist **Daniel Galvin**. IPR political scientist **Laurel Harbridge** discussed U.S. public opinion and Congressional behavior, tracing a disconnect between the bipartisan cooperation voters say they want and the fact that many voters reward elected officials who “stick to the hard line” rather than compromise. **Geoff Layman** of Notre Dame noted that voters might be taking cues from party elites, whose views tend to be more extreme, but the polarization characterizing the current U.S. political climate might be closer to the historical average and only appear exceptional in light of the depolarization that occurred in the 1940s, 50s, and 60s.

Statistics Of, By, and For the People *(Continued from page 1)*

Groves, who was appointed by President Obama as the nation's 23rd director, moved from a 35-year career as one of the world's top survey methodologists to become the nation's head statistician in July 2009.

For the more than 100 attendees, the nation's census director also traced how his new job has changed his thinking about the fundamental uses and quality of statistical information in a democracy such as ours.

"In a democracy, the statistics produced by a government agency belong to the people," he said. "It's the only way you can keep the government honest."

The 2010 Census

Mandated by Article I, Section 2 of the U.S. Constitution, the census has taken place every decade since 1790. Its data are used for many purposes, the most newsworthy of which is the apportionment of seats in the House of Representatives.

More than \$13 billion was spent over a 13-year cycle to get the 2010 Census off the ground. It counted 308,745,538 million residents in some 134 million homes around the country. The data will eventually produce "billions of statistics," Groves said.

Census forms were available in six languages, with language assistance in 59 more, bringing it within the linguistic reach of 99.7

percent of the U.S. population. The national, award-winning outreach effort involved Super Bowl advertising, hip-hop and Karl Rove videos on YouTube, and K-12 education programs.

For the first time, the Census Bureau also paired with external partners, such as FedEx, Google, Best Buy, and Telemundo, who provided free advertising and informational placements like casting a census worker on a *telenovela*, a Spanish-language TV soap opera.

"It was a massive campaign, quite contrary to my experience in academia on large-scale surveys," Groves said.

The outreach effort, which also includes a regular blog by the director, has led him to do a lot of thinking about surveys and statistical information in general.

Statistics in Government and Academia

Groves flashed a slide of a widely used academic paradigm of statistical thinking on "total survey error." He pointed to the four commonly accepted sources of statistical uncertainty: the mode and administration of questionnaires, the interviewer, and the respondent. Bookshelves overflow with books on each of these topics, he noted.

As a social scientist, Groves described how it was his job to inform his peers and colleagues about the numbers—

good and bad—and then include lots of additional qualifying information about them.

Yet as a government statistician, his job is to produce unbiased data for the entire population, directly delivering simple statistics, such as means and percentages. Since these direct estimates are what are most often used for policy decisions and become official statistics, they alone become the focus—not the uncertainty attached to them as in academia, he said. For the public, he explained, "It's an odd thing to have someone fill in all sorts of qualifications about what it is that we know."

"If you examine the last five issues of the leading journals in social statistics, there is much more emphasis on analysis of existing data and construction of data," Groves said. "In my new life, I worry about measurement a lot more."

This has also led him to become more acquainted with a "revolutionary" quality framework called "fitness of use," in which the same number is used for completely different purposes. Thus, the quality of a statistic is driven by its end user, not its producer.

Keep It Simple

Rather than creating complex statistical experiments, Groves said that he now spends more time worrying about how to keep things simple so that they can be

easily communicated to the media and American public.

Simplicity is crucial as it allows Americans to understand how such figures might relate to their daily lives, Groves added. Studies have shown that when statistics are presented to people in ways that appear more relevant, the numbers themselves are seen as more believable. Plus, it is important that the process of giving information remains credible and transparent so that people feel comfortable providing their personal data—and they trust that the data are nonpartisan, he continued.

Credibility and transparency also rest upon fundamental assumptions that people have about the role of government in their lives, Groves noted. In the United States, low levels of statistical knowledge among citizens—even on hot topics like unemployment—have been compounded by a current wave of distrust in government.

The census needs to remain relevant, Groves said, yet in such a rapidly changing, heterogeneous country as the United States, this can be a tall task.

Is it more important to make apples-to-apples comparisons, evaluating the same things consistently over time? Or, he asked, should we try to measure new things to capture the

(Continued on page 14)



Provost Daniel Linzer (l.) and IPR Director Fay Lomax Cook congratulate Robert Groves following his lecture.

J. Reblando

Founding Director of IPR Dies *(Continued from page 2)*

“Building upon the foundation laid by Payson Wild, his predecessor as provost, Mack worked to bring Northwestern into the top group of American research universities,” said **John Margolis**, professor of English in the Weinberg College of Arts and Sciences and former dean of Northwestern University in Qatar. “His own scholarship led him to nurture interdisciplinary teaching and research that have become hallmarks of Northwestern. Beneath his consistently jolly public face was a scholar and administrator of deep principle and uncompromisingly high standards.”

He also was a knowledgeable jazz aficionado.

“Ray Mack was a pretty good drummer, a very good sociologist, and the world’s greatest university administrator,” said **Howard Becker**, professor of sociology at Northwestern from 1965 to 1991. “He was smart, sensitive, fair, and always worked to get things done in a way that advanced the common good.”

After Mack helped found the Center for Urban Affairs in 1968, he became its first director. For the first time, researchers from a number of disciplines around the University came together under one roof at Northwestern to understand the real-world sources and consequences of urban poverty and problems. The center was founded, Mack recalled, because “we needed to be addressing urban problems and expediting teaching, research, and action on those issues, something not easily done within a departmental framework.”

“Ray Mack’s vision of what an interdisciplinary, policy-relevant research center could be is still very much alive at IPR today,” said **Fay Lomax Cook**, IPR’s director and professor of human development and social policy.

“Ray Mack transformed the social sciences at Northwestern University,” said **Andrew Gordon**, a faculty member at Northwestern and IPR for 19 years and professor emeritus of public affairs at the University of Washington. “From the

time of his elevation to chair of the sociology department, he pursued the twin goals of excellence and relevance uncompromisingly, earning respect for his efforts and talents throughout the University—and the world.

“Of all the many urban research centers founded with support from the Ford Foundation in the late 1960s, Northwestern’s Center for Urban Affairs, now IPR, is by far the most successful and longest surviving—due almost entirely to the design implemented so skillfully by Ray Mack. He was one of a kind, and he will be missed, including by many who benefit from his legacy but do not know his name.”

Mack joined the Northwestern faculty in 1953. He was director of the Center for Urban Affairs from 1968 to 1971.

Mack served as the University’s vice president and dean of faculties from 1971 until 1974 when he became Northwestern’s provost. In 1987, Mack left administrative work and returned to full-time teaching and research. He retired from the University in 1992.

Mack wrote numerous articles and reviews for professional journals, especially on topics relating to social class, race relations, industrial conflict and occupa-

tional specialization. He also wrote, co-authored, or edited several books: *Sociology and Social Life* (with Kimball Young, 1959), *Principles of Sociology: A Reader in Theory and Research* (also with Kimball Young, 1960), *Race, Class and Power* (1963) and *Social Change in Developing Areas* (1965).

Mack received his master’s in 1951 and his PhD in 1953 from the University of North Carolina. Mack taught briefly at the University of Mississippi before joining the faculty of Northwestern.

Mack is survived by his wife, Ann; son, Donald (wife Susan); daughters Meredith, Margaret Hart (husband Allen), and Julia (partner Debbie Hill); two grandchildren; and his sister, Betty Mack (partner Carol Taylor).



Ray Mack (left) celebrates with the Institute’s former and current directors at IPR’s 40th anniversary in April 2009.

Statistics Of, By, and For the People *(Continued from page 13)*

different components of a changing economy? “That’s what makes relevance hard for me at the Census Bureau,” he said.

Groves later concluded, “My hunch is that relevance is the gateway to credibility. We have to make sure that what we do is relevant to peoples’ lives, and we have to be transparent.”

In commending Groves, IPR Director **Fay Lomax Cook** said, “There are few people who are as uniquely qualified to run the Census Bureau as Bob Groves—and

even fewer who can straddle the worlds of policymaking and social science research with such ease. His talk perfectly illustrated the usefulness—and importance—of social science research expertise in national discourse and decision making.”

For more information about this and previous lectures, see www.northwestern.edu/ipr/events/index.html.

Policy Perspective

Public Opinion and Inequality

By Leslie McCall

Understanding what Americans think about rising income inequality has been hampered by three problems.

First, polls rarely ask specifically about income inequality. They ask instead about government redistributive policies, such as taxes and welfare, which are not always popular. From this information, we erroneously assume that Americans don't care about inequality.

Second, surveys on inequality that do exist are not well known. For instance, since at least the late 1980s, a majority of Americans have agreed with the statement that income differences in the United States are too large. Similarly, 70 percent or more have said for decades that executives are overpaid, and a smaller share have said that lower-level occupations are underpaid. Americans say this despite underestimating how much executives earn (though we should not really expect people to know these figures).

Third, although I found that newsweeklies began covering the issue of rising inequality in the 1980s—and coverage increased at key junctures, as in the early to mid-1990s—politicians and the media do not consistently engage Americans on the issue.

In short, even though media coverage is uneven and Americans underestimate how much inequality exists, they still want less of it, as studies have shown since the 1980s. Therefore, hammering home how extreme inequality really is probably will not heighten public concern, though it may catch the attention of policymakers. This is why the media attention given to the article, "Building a Better America—One Wealth Quintile at a Time," by Harvard's Michael Norton and Duke's Dan Ariely was useful.

The other point to remember is that political scientists have done research on the role of "facts" in moving public opinion, and they often don't have much effect. A recent working paper by IPR political scientist James Druckman on democratic preferences and citizens' competence explores how citizens benefit from "forming preferences that support outcomes that maximize their welfare."

What we are missing is an understanding of why Americans desire less inequality. Far from believing naively in the American dream, Americans are well aware of barriers to opportunity, such as the dearth of good-paying jobs and accessible, quality education for those with middle and lower incomes.

My research suggests that, in times like these, Americans hold the rich partially responsible because of their reckless stewardship of the economy, spurred to some degree by rising inequality. Taxing the rich does not seem to be the most direct solution to these problems, whereas putting the economy back on track through equitable growth does. Thus,

Americans support regulation (including curbing executive pay), job growth and fair pay (as we've seen lately in Wisconsin), and education.

To shore up such programs as education, we've also seen rising support for levying progressive taxes on America's wealthiest citizens—a tide of concern that seems encapsulated by President Obama's recent deficit reduction plan to raise the tax rates of those who earn more than \$1 million—a rise publicly supported by billionaire investor Warren Buffett—and letting the 2001 Bush-era tax cuts expire. Most Americans say they favor progressive taxes on the rich, but often oppose tax increases in practice, so this is a significant shift.

Another recent, illustrative example was Oregon's 2010 special election ballot where two referenda—one to raise the personal income tax on households earning more than \$250,000 per year by 2 percent and another elevating the minimum corporate income tax—both passed, each by more than 50 percent.

While these signal American anxiety over the nation's growing inequality gap, tax policies are only a means to an end. Americans' concerns about inequality are ultimately tied to their desire for greater opportunity through programs such as Pell grants and Head Start, which are seen as vehicles to expand lower- and middle-class access to education. Unfortunately, in recent budget debates, it appears that these are more likely to come under the budget ax rather than benefit from a budget boost.

Americans, it is often said, care about opportunity and not inequality, but this is very misleading. Inequality can itself distort incentives and restrict opportunities. This is the lesson that episodes like the financial crisis and Great Recession convey to most Americans.

Leslie McCall is associate professor of sociology and an IPR fellow. A shorter version of this editorial originally appeared as "Americans Aren't Naive" in *The New York Times*' Room for Debate on March 23.



Leslie McCall

P. Reese

How Environments Affect the Lifespan

(Continued from page 1)



Jonathan Guryan (left) and Michael Greenstone answer a question about hospital access, prenatal care, and death rates.

studies, some of which she has led, confirming up to a five-fold increase in risk for conduct problems for their children from early childhood to adulthood.

Though causality is still a question mark, Wakschlag noted that it was still possible to use studies of mechanisms and developmental patterns to inform policy—in particular, since many of these children are more likely to run into thornier problems later on, including a much higher risk for becoming violent offenders as adults.

According to Wakschlag, patterns of disruptive behavior appear early enough that they can be identified via new types of developmentally based measurements that she and others have pioneered and through “protective risk buffers,” such as “responsive parenting.” Though such interventions exist, are effective, and could potentially save billions, they have not been widely adopted.

“We can tell very early in life whether we’re making a difference,” Wakschlag said. “You don’t have to wait until the handcuffs go on.”

Early Postnatal Health and Later Achievement

The black-white achievement gap has proved puzzling and stubbornly persistent for many decades—except for a brief period in the 1980s where it started to narrow, particularly for blacks living in the South.

IPR economist **Jonathan Guryan** and his colleagues traced the gap’s narrowing to an unexpected source—integration of Southern hospitals in 1965. From the late 1950s into the mid-1960s, the death rate for black newborns was increasing in the South relative to the Northeast, he noted.

“There was a dramatic decline in black, postneonatal mortality rates almost immediately after the hospitals integrated,” Guryan said.

The researchers decided to test the association between early health and later life outcomes by comparing death rates for 1-month to 1-year-olds—a period when healthcare quality and hospital access can strongly influence mortality—with later test scores for 17- and 18-year-olds from the Armed Forces Qualification Test (AFQT), taken by all U.S. military applicants between 1976 and 1991.

For African American males born between 1963 and the early 1970s, their AFQT scores showed dramatic improvement—especially in those Southern states where the racial gap in first-year mortality had declined the most.

“In terms of policy, these findings suggest that efforts to reduce racial achievement gaps and racial inequalities should look not just to when kids are in school and you can actually see the disparities,” Guryan continued, “but also look to early health as a place to narrow inequalities.”

Climate Change and Mortality

MIT economist **Michael Greenstone** presented results from a state-of-the-art climate change model depicting a rise in average temperature from 42 to 49 degrees between now and 2100. This would increase the number of days where the daily average U.S. temperature exceeds 90 degrees from the current average of only one per year to 30 by 2100.

“Going from 65 to 70 degrees doesn’t make that much of a difference—but going all the way to the extremes of 90-plus temperatures can have a big impact on well-being,” he said.

In looking at the deaths of 72 million Americans between 1968 and 2002, Greenstone and his colleagues predicted that moving a day from the 50-to-60-degree range into the 90-plus range translated into about one extra death per 100,000 people annually. In comparison, they used mortality data from 1955 to 2000 in India, a much poorer country with higher temperatures, finding that the impact on mortality of the same change in temperature is about 10 times larger.

“In the case of India, people are already dying from high temperatures, so they are likely to be focused on raising incomes in the near future—not making investments to prevent climate change that will pay off several decades from now,” he said. “And that helps to underscore why it’s going to be so difficult to find a global solution to climate change.”

“Each of these presentations shows how a particular aspect of environments can affect human outcomes and mortality,” said IPR management and strategy professor **Therese McGuire**, moderator of the May 23 event.

IPR
IPR Newsletter Staff

Editor: Patricia Reese
Asst. Editor: Audrey McLain
Layout: Alice Murray

With additional writing and editing by:
Sarah Levy, Hilary Hurd Anyaso,
Megan Fellman, and Yannell Selman

Questions? Comments? Suggestions?
E-mail us at ipr@northwestern.edu.

IPR Announces Incoming Director

(Continued from page 1)

Tax Credit Scholarship Program, the largest school-voucher program in the United States; conducting a large-scale study of school accountability in Florida using a state census of public school principals; and following children from birth through their school years to study issues related to early childhood policy and inequality. He received his PhD in economics from the University of Wisconsin–Madison in 1995.

Figlio has published in many of his field's top journals and has served as an inaugural editor of the American Education Finance Association's journal, *Education Finance and Policy* (MIT Press). He is co-editor of the *Journal of Human Resources* and associate editor of the *American Economic Journal: Economic Policy* and the *Journal of Urban Economics*. Media outlets, including *The New York Times*, *Newsweek*, and *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, have covered his research.

In addition to his Northwestern and IPR appointments, Figlio is also a research associate at the National Bureau of Economic Research and a member of the executive board of the National Center for the Analysis of Longitudinal Data in Education Research, or CALDER. He has been a member of many national education task forces and panels, such as the National Research Council's Panel on K-12 Science Assessment, and has advised several U.S. states, as well as foreign countries, on the design, implementation, and evaluation of education policies.

"IPR is an extraordinary and vibrant institution committed to producing the highest-quality and most relevant policy research possible," Figlio said. "Fay Cook has led IPR with creativity, wisdom, and vision, and I am honored to follow in her footsteps as IPR evolves to meet the policy research challenges of the future."

For 2011–12, Figlio has been named associate director, succeeding IPR political scientist **Wesley G. Skogan**, who stepped down after four years in the position.

Political Scientist Named as Associate Director

James N. Druckman,

Payson S. Wild Professor of Political Science, will become IPR's associate director in September 2012. Druckman has been an IPR fellow since 2005, when he joined Northwestern from the University of Minnesota, and serves as the chair of IPR's research program in Politics, Institutions, and Public Policy.



A. Campbell

James Druckman

Druckman's research focuses on political preference formation and communication and experiments in political science. An award-winning teacher and researcher, his projects have received support from the National Science Foundation, Russell Sage Foundation, and McKnight Foundation, among others. In 2008, he became the first political scientist to be named as an editor of *Public Opinion Quarterly*, which he still edits, along with the Political Science Network's *Political Methods: Experiments and Experimental Design eJournal*, which is part of the Social Science Research Network. He obtained his bachelor's from Northwestern in 1993 and his PhD in political science from the University of California, San Diego, in 1999.

MacArthur Scholar Works with IPR Community Policing Expert

In seeking a site to study community policing, Nigerian scholar **Aderemi Alarape** chose Chicago because he saw many similarities between the diverse, but insulated neighborhoods of the Windy City and those in his home country—plus, he would benefit from working with IPR's internationally known community policing expert **Wesley G. Skogan**.

Following the mixed results of a community policing pilot program in six Nigerian states, Alarape became interested in how it was implemented elsewhere. Thanks to a MacArthur Foundation grant, he was able to conduct research and interviews from April to July, examining how Chicago reformed its police force and how citizens acted to keep their communities safe. He found Chicagoans' concerns varied between neighborhoods—for example, shootings in black ones vs. public drunkenness in white ones. Overall, however, the University of Ibadan scholar finds Americans collaborate more closely with their police forces than in Nigeria, where

more trust needs to be built between the two. Alarape also noted how Chicagoans were good at using resources to spread information in their communities.

"Americans are taught ways to avoid crime," Alarape said, who plans to share his newfound knowledge at home. "Police in Nigeria need to help citizens be safety conscious and to know what to do in unsafe situations."

"Remi's visit illustrates the importance of criminal justice reform in societies around the world, and MacArthur's key role in supporting that change," noted Skogan. "He saw examples of reform strategies and evaluation efforts firsthand."



P. Reese

Wesley Skogan (left) and Aderemi Alarape examine crime data.

More than an Internship

Students gain hands-on research experience with IPR faculty



Summer undergraduate research assistants, here with program director James Rosenbaum (far right), and IPR Director Fay Lomax Cook (upper left), gain valuable research experience.

Although **Anne Nash** still has one more year before matriculating with her bachelor's degree in psychology, she has already collaborated with IPR fellow and social psychologist **Alice Eagly** on a major research project. Through IPR's Summer Undergraduate Research Assistants Program, Nash was able to work one-on-one with Eagly to study the relation between feminism, gender, and psychology.

"The setup parallels the work a lot of graduate students do, and I really liked the feeling of having a job and an office to come into every day where I was valuable. I was immediately treated like an equal," Nash said.

After a one-day training session on statistical methods and software at the beginning of the summer, Northwestern undergraduates work full-time on research projects led by IPR faculty. Being part of a sustained, ongoing project shows students how the skills they have learned in textbooks can be applied, but the faculty also benefit from the new ideas the research assistants bring with them.

"The students are indispensable because they're always thinking and coming up with new questions, as well as new ways to look at old ones," said **James Rosenbaum**, who currently directs the program, now in its 13th year.

This summer, IPR hosted 26 undergraduates who worked full-time with 21 IPR faculty members on a variety of projects in several disciplines, including political science, education and social policy, and anthropology.

The skills students learn from working with the faculty are useful for much more than just conducting research. The experience often makes an impact on their future education and career plans.

"The whole project has really changed my perspective on how research is done," said **Bill Russell**, a senior majoring in economics who worked on a research project with IPR economist **Burton Weisbrod** that examined performance measurement in the public and non-profit sectors, "but it also helped me learn more about what I'm interested in and how I can find a job doing something I enjoy, which is really what's most important."

21st Century Justice *(Continued from page 20)*

said. Twenty-three prisons were built in the state in just two decades, between 1984 and 2004, compared with 12 built in the century before 1964.

Once a pay-as-you-go state, California turned to voter-approved general obligation bonds for building prisons in the 1980s. However, voters rejected this type of funding in 1990, and all new prisons since 1992 have been funded by lease-revenue bonds (LRBs)—an "end run" around public funding that essentially adds a line item to the state budget each year.

Passed by legislators, LRBs require no voter support, do not use competitive bidding to award contracts, and generate annual fees for the financial institutions servicing the debt. LRBs were originally used to fund public projects such as toll roads, where the revenue from leasing paid a bond's interest. Yet those used to build prisons have no such revenue source, Hagan noted, and so by 2004, the state had assumed \$5 billion in prison debt, up from \$763 million in 1982.

Hagan's analysis shows that "crisis framing" marked the mid-1980s to early 1990s, when the construction of new prisons was justified to the public by gross overestimation of prison needs. In addition, harsher punishments for street crimes (e.g., three-strike rules), high unemployment in

sparsely populated counties, and lightly regulated LRBs fueled an economic incentive to build more.

Hagan concluded by pointing to how the codependency of "streets and suites" affects prison policy.

"On the one hand, we are ramping up the punishment of street crime, while we are deregulating financial institutions and instruments," Hagan said.

Gun Policy in a New Second Amendment World

With a population just over 300 million, the United States has more than 250 million guns in private hands, said **Jens Ludwig**, an economist and director of the Crime Lab at the University of Chicago.

Ludwig outlined the consequences of such pervasive ownership: 30,000 gun-related deaths, 80,000 injuries, and 500,000 gun-related crimes annually. The social costs of gun violence in Chicago alone amount to \$2.5 billion per year.

Despite such high mortality rates and costs, the current political and judicial environment does not lend itself to big changes in gun regulations, he said. Federal gun legislation that does pass is often watered down, like the Brady Act, while

(Continued on page 19)

Inequality Has No Borders

Researchers examine common, cross-national issues at joint workshop

Focusing on inequalities found in neighborhoods and institutions in France and the United States, 25 researchers came together for a two-day workshop to discuss issues related to education, health, and employment. Held on June 23–24, the second annual transnational workshop was co-sponsored by IPR and Science Po's Observatoire Sociologique du Changement (OSC) and took place at Northwestern University.

"In addition to deepening research ties between our two institutions, we hope that by taking a comparative look at common social issues, we can work together to find common solutions," said IPR sociologist **Lincoln Quillian**, one of the workshop's organizers.

The opening panel examined the relationship between neighborhoods and education. In France, a recent reform now allows students to apply to go to any public school within their district. The hope was that it would send more disadvantaged students to better schools.

Yet from interviews and comparing the reform's effects in two *départements* (counties), one more advantaged than the other, OSC sociologist **Marco Oberti** and professor emeritus **Edmond Préteceille** find the reform has instead



Lincoln Quillian (left) and Edmond Préteceille take part in a session on social mobility.

destabilized the system. Not only has it failed so far to create more educational opportunities for low-income students, it also seems to be contributing to growing stratification between schools. They hypothesize that it could serve to increase the interweaving with residential segregation in the Paris metropolitan area.

In the United States where levels of residential segregation are typically higher than in France, IPR social psychologist **Thomas D. Cook** and postdoctoral fellow **Coady Wing** discussed the results of three experiments with Housing Choice Vouchers, formerly Section 8, the main U.S. housing program for low-income families. Averaging around \$7,600 per family a year, this federal program amounts to \$40 billion per year, yet surprisingly little research has been conducted on it. Cook and Wing set out to trace how well the program has achieved its goals, such as better education, health, and financial outcomes for families, via improvements in the quality of housing units and neighborhoods and in growth of disposable income.

In examining the three major studies involving voucher programs—Moving to Opportunity, Chicago Housing Authority, and Welfare to Work—the two researchers find that all three experiments resulted in small improvements in moves to better neighborhoods and housing quality; however, the program basically serves as an income-support program. "All three pathways point to a health effect as the most likely positive outcome," Cook said. "If this \$40 billion per year is to be justified, it will likely be for this."

There were 22 presentations in all by faculty and graduate students from both institutions. Other topics covered included inequality in education and school choice, social mobility, long-term effects of childhood health and welfare programs, race and ethnicity, economic well-being, and segregation, crime, and social capital.

Additional organizers were IPR education economist **David Figlio** and OSC's Oberti. The Partner University Fund of the FACE Foundation, NYC supported the workshop.



Dorothy Roberts describes the racial geography of U.S. child welfare.

21st Century Justice *(Continued from page 18)*

local regulations are hard to enforce because of cross-jurisdiction spillovers like interstate gun transfers. The courts have struck down gun bans in both Washington and Chicago on Second Amendment grounds.

So if broad changes in regulation are unlikely, where can policymakers have the most impact? Ludwig suggested focusing on stepped-up enforcement efforts, and first attacking the problem by reducing gun access and usage by youth, including knocking down gun carrying as a status symbol.

The second strategy is to target illegal gun carrying. His research shows that "swift and certain punishment" for illegal carrying likely discourages gun use more than longer prison terms.

Third, most criminals obtain their guns via a network that starts with legal manufacturers. So strategies such as imposing owner liability to reduce theft and investigating sale points more thoroughly could crack down on the underground gun market.

In terms of policy and politics, focusing on enforcement seems to be the right way forward and more productive than engaging in drawn-out legislative battles with the National Rifle Association, Ludwig concluded.

For more, visit www.northwestern.edu/ipr/events/workshops/osc-ipr/2011workshop.htm.

Institute for Policy Research

Northwestern University
2040 Sheridan Road
Evanston, IL 60208-4100



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

Phone: 847-491-3395

Fax: 847-491-9916

Web: www.northwestern.edu/ipr

E-mail: ipr@northwestern.edu

21st Century Justice

IPR forum probes criminal justice research, policies

Three of the nation's leading researchers on crime and criminal justice discussed some of the recent, major changes in the American criminal justice system and policy implications at a March 28 IPR forum at Northwestern University.

Innovation in Policing

The first great lesson of policing innovation is that most major changes have been driven by external pressures, said IPR political scientist **Wesley G. Skogan**.

After presenting an inventory of policing reforms in operations, accountability, and management since the 1950s, Skogan pointed to the major role of the courts. "Lawsuit after lawsuit" has led to greater accountability and diversity in hiring and promotional practices. The U.S. Department of Justice has taken over a few major police departments, including in Los Angeles and Cincinnati, to clean up misconduct.

Not often discussed, however, are contributions from the broader policy community, Skogan noted. A wide range of individuals and organizations, from university researchers and think tanks to foundations, consultants, and software developers, have helped to launch innovations, such as crime mapping, throughout the country.

Politics and society—sometimes driven by crises—also play a decisive role in reforms. Skogan pointed to how popularity of community policing drove its spread, as well as how several state legislatures have passed mandatory arrest laws for certain situations, such as spousal assault.

Even though police reforms are enthusiastically brought forward, they often fail due to rapid turnover in leadership and poor inter-agency cooperation, Skogan said. Plus, reforms are usually met with widespread internal resistance—especially when they include fundamental organizational change.

"No police chief ever lost his job because the crime rate went up," Skogan said. "Police chiefs lose their jobs because



P. Reese

From left: National experts Wesley Skogan, John Hagan, and Jens Ludwig discuss their research on crime and policing with Chicago police lieutenant Michael Dejanovich, who attended the forum.

of corruption and misconduct, scandal and crisis."

"Also, it is not always clear that change is a good thing," Skogan continued, pointing to the deeply flawed research that backed mandatory arrest laws.

Looking ahead, Skogan remarked the promise of technological innovations—such as in-car cameras and data warehouses. He described how Cook County, Ill., deployed an important IT innovation in a mere 17 months. Without dedicated time and personnel, however, such innovations are unlikely to succeed, he concluded.

Crime, Punishment, and Prison Funding

Perhaps one of the biggest changes in the nation's crime policy over the past century has been the massive shift in how prisons are funded, said sociologist, law professor, and IPR associate **John Hagan**.

Between 1980 and 2008, the United States became the world's leading jailer, with California leading the nation, Hagan

(Continued on page 18)