

## IPR Marks 40 Years

Conference takes stock of inequality, sets course for new research directions

On April 16–17, some of the nation's leading researchers analyzed and debated the character of inequality in the United States over the last four decades at a conference, "Dynamics of Inequality in America from 1968 to Today." It was organized by Northwestern's Institute for Policy Research to mark its 40th anniversary.



Former IPR directors (from l.): Louis Masotti, Burton Weisbrod, Margaret Gordon, and Raymond Mack.

"The urban and racial inequities of the 1960s drove the decision to launch a center to conduct policy-relevant research in the 1968–69 academic year at Northwestern," said **Fay Lomax Cook**, IPR's director. "Inequality has remained a major theme woven through much of our faculty research

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## Promising CAREERs

Two IPR sociologists receive young faculty awards

IPR sociologists **Monica Prasad** and **Celeste Watkins-Hayes** were recently named as recipients of the National Science Foundation's Faculty Early Career Development (CAREER) Awards for 2009.

Each of these faculty members will receive more than \$400,000 for their distinctive research projects. Prasad will explore the paradox of how the United States developed the world's most progressive tax code, while restricting the development of an extensive welfare state. Watkins-Hayes, who holds a joint appointment in the departments of sociology and African

American studies at Northwestern, will study the economic and social experiences and processes of people living with HIV/AIDS.

The NSF's highly competitive CAREER awards program recognizes promising young tenure-track "teacher-scholars" with a demonstrated talent for integrating their research with educational activities. Prasad and Watkins-Hayes join six other Northwestern faculty

as recipients of the award this year—in addition to their colleague IPR anthropologist Thomas McDade, who received one in 2002.

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Monica Prasad (l.) and Celeste Watkins-Hayes share ideas on launching their NSF CAREER projects.

## Experimentation in Political Science

IPR fellow leads conference for topic's first handbook

On May 28–29, more than 100 political scientists and graduate students from across the country gathered at Northwestern University to discuss and critique papers that will be included as chapters in the first "Handbook of Experimental Political Science."

IPR's **James Druckman** was the conference organizer, and IPR was a co-sponsor. As one of the handbook's



Skip Lupia of Michigan (l.) talks to James Druckman about the forthcoming book.

co-editors and the first political scientist named as a lead editor of *Public Opinion Quarterly*, he is leading the charge to improve methodology in the field.

The participant list read like a who's who of pioneers of experimental methods in the field—Shanto Iyengar

and Paul Sniderman of Stanford, Alan Gerber and Donald Green of Yale,

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## Faculty Awards and Honors

### Recent Faculty Fellow Grants

Developmental psychologist **P. Lindsay Chase-Lansdale** is collaborating with the Ounce of Prevention Fund to study Educare Centers as part of a national college completion initiative led by the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation.

The National Science Foundation (NSF) provided funding for the Experimental Political Science conference, organized by political scientist **James Druckman** (see cover story).

Sociologist **Jeremy Freese** also received NSF support to continue developing the online platform Time-sharing Experiments for the Social Sciences (see p. 9).

Education researcher and statistician **Larry Hedges** is studying environmental and biological variation and language growth with support from the Eunice Kennedy Shriver National Institute of Child Health and Human Development (NICHD). With an NSF grant, he is establishing the Center for Advancing Research and Communication in Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics with University of Chicago colleagues at the National Opinion Research Center.



Larry Hedges

Anthropologist **Christopher Kuzawa** is working on a model of developmental origins of adult risk factors with an NICHD grant.

Social policy professor **Dan A. Lewis** is starting a study of welfare reform's impact on crime with support from the Joyce Foundation.

Economist **Charles F. Manski** received an NSF grant for identification and decision problems in the social sciences.

The NSF selected sociologist **Monica Prasad** for a CAREER award to study taxation and welfare (see cover story).

With Spencer Foundation support, sociologist **Lincoln Quillian** is analyzing "promise scholarships," in which states make college tuition awards to academically qualified students.

Under two new NSF grants, social psychologist **Jennifer Richeson** is expanding her project on the psychological and physiological implications of managing a stigmatized identity and beginning another on fostering positive interracial interactions.

**James Rosenbaum's** grant from the Spencer Foundation will allow him to further study the high school procedures that best promote "college for all."

The National Institute of Justice selected political scientist **Wesley G. Skogan** to help develop a new national platform for research on policing.

Sociologist and African American studies professor **Celeste Watkins-Hayes** will use her NSF CAREER award and Robert Wood Johnson grant for research on the economic survival strategies of women with HIV/AIDS (see cover story).

Senior research associate **Peter Steiner** received a W. T. Grant Foundation award to study propensity score analyses.

### Honors and Presentations of Note

#### IPR Faculty Fellows

The Midwest Political Science Association awarded political scientist **James Druckman** and his co-authors the 2009 Pi Sigma Alpha Award for "The Content of U.S. Congressional Campaigns." In September, *Science Watch* noted Druckman's 2004 article "Political Preference Formation" was the most cited paper in economics and business. He was also appointed Payson S. Wild Professor in Political Science.

Psychologist **Alice Eagly** became one of three recipients of the 2009 Distinguished Scientific Contribution Award from the American Psychological Association (APA). (See back cover.) She also received the Gold Medal for Life Achievement in the Science of Psychology from the APA's American Psychological Foundation.

Sociologist **Jeremy Freese** was elected president of the Evolution, Biology, and Society Section of the American Sociological Association (ASA).

Education researcher and statistician **Larry Hedges** was installed as president of the Society for Research on Educational Effectiveness (SREE) for 2009–10.

Economist **Charles F. Manski** was elected to the National Academy of Sciences in recognition of his distinguished and continuing research achievements (see back cover). He gave a plenary address on "Policy Choice with Partial Knowledge of Policy Effectiveness" at SREE's annual conference in Arlington, Va., on March 2 and delivered the *International Economic Review's* Lawrence R. Klein Lecture on "Diversified Treatment Under Ambiguity" at the University of Pennsylvania on April 16.

Sociologist **Leslie McCall's** article "Inequality, Public Opinion, and Redistribution" with Lane Kenworthy of the University of Arizona was selected by the *Socio-Economic Review's* editors as the best paper submission of 2008.

**Michelle Reininger**, an assistant professor of education, social policy, and learning sciences, was voted Outstanding Professor of the Year by students in the School of Education and Social Policy.

**Jennifer Richeson**, a social psychologist, received a 2009 APA Distinguished Scientific Award for Early Career Contributions in social psychology (see back cover).

Based on his book *Mission and Money: Understanding the University*, economist **Burton Weisbrod** delivered a talk to the Spencer Foundation's Board of Trustees on June 9.



Leslie McCall

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## New Faculty Fellows

### Micaela di Leonardo

Professor of Anthropology  
PhD, Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley, 1981



I. K. MacKoe

Cultural anthropologist Micaela di Leonardo studies race- and gender-inflected social and economic inequality, with a focus on street-level American urban life. Much of di Leonardo's work aims to connect "the global and the local" in innovative ways. *New Landscapes of Inequality: Neoliberalism and the Erosion of Democracy in America*

(SAR Press, 2008), co-edited with Jane Collins and Brett Williams, adds to the now-standard critique of neoliberal functioning at home and abroad and the contention that American neoliberal practices are fundamentally raced and gendered. The volume includes di Leonardo's theoretical introduction and her case study on the neoliberalization of American consciousness.

di Leonardo's awards and honors include a National Endowment for the Humanities Resident Scholarship in 2005–06 at the School for Advanced Research in Santa Fe, N.M. She also holds an appointment in performance studies.

### Rebecca Seligman

Assistant Professor of Anthropology  
PhD, Anthropology, Emory University, 2004



L. Seligman

Rebecca Seligman is a medical and psychological anthropologist who focuses on transcultural psychiatry, or the study of mental health in cross-cultural perspective. Her research interests involve critical examination of the social and political-economic forces that affect the experience and distribution of mental and physical

illness, with an emphasis on how such forces become physically embodied.

In particular, Seligman is interested in the relationships between psychosocial stress and traumatic experience and related outcomes, such as post-traumatic stress disorder, depression, somatization, and dissociation. Her current research seeks to address these issues among Latino immigrants to the United States.

Before joining Northwestern's faculty, Seligman completed a postdoctoral fellowship, funded by the Canadian Institute of Health Research, in McGill University's psychiatry department.

### Morton Schapiro

Professor of Economics and Northwestern University President  
PhD, Economics, University of Pennsylvania, 1979



P. Borreiros

Alongside his role as Northwestern University's 16th president, Morton Schapiro joined IPR as a faculty fellow this fall. He is one of the nation's foremost experts on the economics of higher education, with a particular focus on college financing and affordability. He also holds appointments in the Kellogg School of Management and the

School of Education and Social Policy.

An economist, Schapiro has published more than 100 articles in academic journals such as the *American Economic Review*, *Science*, and *Demography*. He has written five books and edited two others, including the recently published *College Success: What It Means and How to Make it Happen* (College Board, 2008). This volume, co-edited with his longtime co-author and Spencer Foundation President Michael McPherson, examines the issue of how to define and measure college success from various perspectives, including those of students, faculty, and the college itself.

Schapiro spent the past nine years as president of Williams College in Williamstown, Mass. From 1991 to 2000, he was a professor at the University of Southern California, where he served as dean of the College of Letters, Arts, and Sciences and as vice president for planning for his last two years.

### Laurel Harbridge

Assistant Professor of Political Science  
PhD, Political Science, Stanford University, 2009



P. Reese

Laurel Harbridge's research focuses on legislative behavior, organization, and the interplay between elections, Congress, and public policy. Her dissertation examined whether bipartisanship can persist in the U.S. Congress under periods of high party polarization. By focusing on the electoral incentives of members of Congress, she explores

the persistence of bipartisanship despite increased party polarization.

Her other research interests include comparative politics and methodology in political science research. Harbridge will spend the year conducting research as a College Fellow and begin teaching as an assistant professor in fall 2010.

For more information about these and other IPR faculty, please visit  
[www.northwestern.edu/ipr/people/faculty.html](http://www.northwestern.edu/ipr/people/faculty.html).

## IPR Research Notes

### Making a Game Plan for Applying to College



J. Reblando

James Rosenbaum

In Chicago's public high schools, 83 percent of students plan on attending college, but less than two-thirds of those students actually make it there. If they have the grades, the scores, and the skills for higher learning, what is holding the others back?

Research by IPR Faculty Fellow **James Rosenbaum** points to the complexity of the admissions process.

Without a certain cultural knowledge, students can become discouraged in applying to schools and eventually abandon their college plans altogether, he said.

"Fortunately, our research indicates that college coaching programs in high school might help more students successfully enter college out of high school," said Rosenbaum, a professor of education and social policy.

To this end, the Chicago Public Schools (CPS) adopted a new advising model in a subset of high schools in 2005. In this program, "college coaches" are charged with identifying and reducing cultural barriers to college access for disadvantaged students. The program focuses on explaining college options and helping students assess colleges, make appropriate college

choices, apply to multiple colleges, apply for scholarships, and complete the complex federal financial aid form (FAFSA).

Rosenbaum—with IPR graduate research assistants Jennifer Stephan, Michelle Naffziger, Lisbeth Goble, and Kelly Hallberg—is now embarking on a new project to estimate the impact of the program on college enrollment using a survey of all high school seniors in the district, both before and after the onset of the program. Analyzing ethnographic data, the researchers seek to understand the subtle cultural elements that impede disadvantaged students, how college coaches try to identify and overcome these cultural barriers, and how the students respond. In addition, they use the CPS senior survey to determine the extent to which individuals' actions and specific college plans mediate coach effects and to discern whether effects vary by students' social status, academic achievement, and race/ethnicity.

Their results so far suggest that coaches improve some types of college enrollment by helping students with general college plans to form more specific plans and take concrete steps.

"In particular, college coaches benefit students who are typically not well-served by high school counselors," Rosenbaum said. "This finding shows potential for coaching programs to fill in this gap in student support."

### Performance Measurement in Schools



P. Reese

David Figlio

In nonprofit work from education to medical care, private and governmental organizations are facing increased scrutiny over the efficiency of their operations. Reliable measures of their performance are hard to come by, but even when available, the question remains of when and how the organizations' stakeholders actually use such information.

In an IPR working paper (see p. 13) now published in the *Journal of Public Economics*, IPR education economist **David Figlio** and Lawrence Kenny of the University of Florida provide the first analysis of stakeholder behavior in the education sector with a look at Florida public school ratings and their impact on the receipt of donations.

In 2002, Florida changed its ratings system, which grades schools A to F based heavily on student performance on state tests. The researchers compared each school's grade with its reported receipt of donations, using three waves of survey data from the 1999–2000, 2001–02, and 2003–04 academic years.

"Receiving a high grade does not generally increase voluntary contributions to a school, but receiving a low grade

reduces a school's private financial support," Figlio said.

The finding that less money is contributed to poorly run schools is consistent with existing evidence that "donors are reluctant to throw good money at inefficient organizations," Figlio said. Yet school grades affected donations to different schools in different ways.

For example, parents of gifted students are more likely to monitor school performance on their own—and are therefore less likely to rely on external measures like the state ratings system. As a result, low grades had little effect on schools that serve relatively large numbers of gifted students.

On the other hand, donations to schools serving poor or minority families were especially sensitive to the school grade. These schools saw the largest reductions in private financial support after receiving an "F" grade, but they also saw larger gains when their grades improved. Where high achievement and improvement were least expected—in schools with large numbers of disadvantaged students—a grade bump was likely to spur a significant boost in donations.

Figlio said this last finding especially supports the notion that accountability systems can improve school performance, as it reveals the biggest incentives for the worst performing and most disadvantaged schools.

## IPR Research Notes

### Environments Embodied: A New Look at Racial Disparities



P. Reese

When doctors could not pinpoint the source of African Americans' elevated rates of heart disease, hypertension, and diabetes, most assumed genetics was the cause. But these and other health disparities could be the result of racism across generations, according to IPR anthropologist **Christopher Kuzawa**.

*Christopher Kuzawa* "Genes are important, the environment is important, but we are now learning that this is not the whole story," Kuzawa said.

One missing piece is the malleability of the "epigenetic code," or the process by which early environments can alter the chemical structure of chromosomes. Whereas fetal undernutrition and low birth weight were previously seen only as poor outcomes in and of themselves, they are increasingly being studied as markers of health risks much later in life.

In previous work, Kuzawa has examined the influence of fetal/infant nutrition and growth on adult health and function in the Philippines. The Cebu Longitudinal Health and Nutrition Survey follows more than 3,000 Filipino mothers, who were all pregnant in 1983, and their children—who are now

young adults and having children of their own. Using this longitudinal data, Kuzawa and his collaborators measured blood pressure and other cardiovascular risk factors in young adulthood and linked it back to prenatal and early life conditions. They found that low birth weight actually augmented disease risk, especially when combined with other known predictors, such as adult weight gain. These results suggest that prenatal environments can lead to persistent changes in biology and health, with effects that linger far beyond childhood.

Now Kuzawa is bringing this intergenerational model of biology and health to the problem of U.S. health disparities. Evidence has already shown that maternal stress, whether nutritional or psychosocial, has harmful effects on the fetus, slowing the growth rate and altering epigenetic pathways. Kuzawa and former IPR graduate research assistant Elizabeth Sweet reviewed evidence linking problems faced by many in the African American community, such as discrimination and socioeconomic disadvantage, with maternal stress during pregnancy. Finding a strong correlation between maternal stress, low birth weight, and risk for cardiovascular disease in adulthood, their model emphasizes the important role of environmental factors in shaping "race-based" health disparities—and perpetuating those disparities across generations.

### Poverty Concentration and Public Housing



P. Reese

Public housing has come to symbolize the problems of urban, high-poverty neighborhoods. "But to what extent are public housing projects really to blame for concentrated areas of poverty?" asked **Lincoln Quillian**.

*Lincoln Quillian* Quillian, an IPR sociologist, has developed a new model to examine the formation of high-poverty areas across the United States, including the influence of both public and private housing markets. The model is part of ongoing work with Elizabeth Bruch of the University of Michigan to develop realistic, data-based simulation models of neighborhood formation.

The first demographic research on public housing and spatial concentration of poverty dates back to professors Douglas Massey and Shawn Kanaiupuni's 1993 study. Looking at public housing construction in Chicago between 1950 and 1970, the researchers found that poverty had gone up 11 percent by 1980 in those areas where projects were located.

While past research has done a good job of documenting mobility in surrounding neighborhoods after public housing construction, it overstated the impact of housing projects on poverty concentration. Quillian explained this is because

earlier studies failed to account for where residents would live if not in public housing.

Using data on all U.S. public housing sites, Quillian generated a series of demographic simulations. He avoided the methodological trap of previous studies that "just shift the poor around" by creating more realistic simulations in which public housing residents are relocated in the private market.

Overall, public housing has had some effect on concentrated poverty in "creating some tracts with extreme poverty rates," Quillian said, "but it's not a main cause of concentrated poverty nationwide." He pointed out that public housing represents less than 1 percent of total U.S. housing—and even if public housing were eliminated, most residents would wind up in similarly poor and racially segregated communities. Since poverty rates in these neighborhoods would increase, poverty concentration would decrease very little, if at all.

Quillian's results suggest that shifting from fixed-site to portable forms of housing assistance, such as vouchers, will tend to reduce the number of extreme-poverty neighborhoods, or census tracts with poverty rates above 50 percent, but increase the number of moderate and high poverty neighborhoods.

"Broader reductions in concentrated poverty would require breaking down race and class segregation in the private housing market," he said.

## Treating Ambiguity with Diversification

IPR economist shows how to make more informed policy choices



P. Reese

Ambiguity is part of our everyday lives—consider the recent performance of your 401(k) portfolio or the likelihood of your company announcing layoffs due to the current economic crisis. Yet dealing with ambiguity in research and policymaking circles is problematic.

“The scientific community rewards those who produce unambiguous findings, and the public rewards those who offer clear-cut policy

recommendations,” said **Charles F. Manski**, IPR faculty fellow and Board of Trustees Professor of Economics.

“But all too often, policy choices are made with no clear understanding of which policy would provide the best outcomes,” Manski continued. “Research typically only provides part of the knowledge needed to make an informed decision.”

This uncertainty stems from inherent statistical imprecision and identification issues—or trying to apply what one might have learned from a relatively small sample group to a larger or a different population.

Some of these limits are linked to measurement problems. “We often want to understand the long-term outcomes of treatments, but studies often reveal only immediate outcomes,” Manski clarified. “So, for example, trying to extrapolate how preschool policies might affect adult outcomes, such as college enrollment, employment, and criminal behavior, can be extremely challenging.” Plus, Manski noted that researchers often interpret their data using assumptions that have little or no foundation.

Manski illustrated the problem with a what-if scenario: Imagine that a virulent new disease, X-Pox, sweeps through a community, infecting everyone in its path. So far every infected person has died, and the community’s remaining inhabitants seem certain to follow. Two possible treatments are proposed—only one is life-saving. Yet no one knows which one, and administering the two in combination to each person would prove fatal. Treatment must begin immediately if there is to be any hope. How can health officials intelligently pick a treatment course for the entire community when they do not know which treatment saves lives and which one kills?

Manski suggested using a diversified treatment plan,

or “adaptive diversification,” as one would for a financial portfolio. “You’ve heard that you should diversify to avoid having all your financial nest eggs in one basket,” Manski said. “This can also apply to policy treatments.”

In this case it means dividing the community’s entire population, say into two halves, and administering Treatment A to one and Treatment B to the other. Half of the population will die, but the other half will be saved. The alternative would be administering only one of the two treatments to the entire population such that all would either live or die.

One could reasonably argue for either option, Manski said, but the argument for using diversification strengthens if the infection occurs in two waves instead of one. In this case, those falling ill in the first wave are split into two groups who receive different treatments. By the second wave, policy makers might have gleaned enough knowledge to choose the life-saving treatment for everyone.

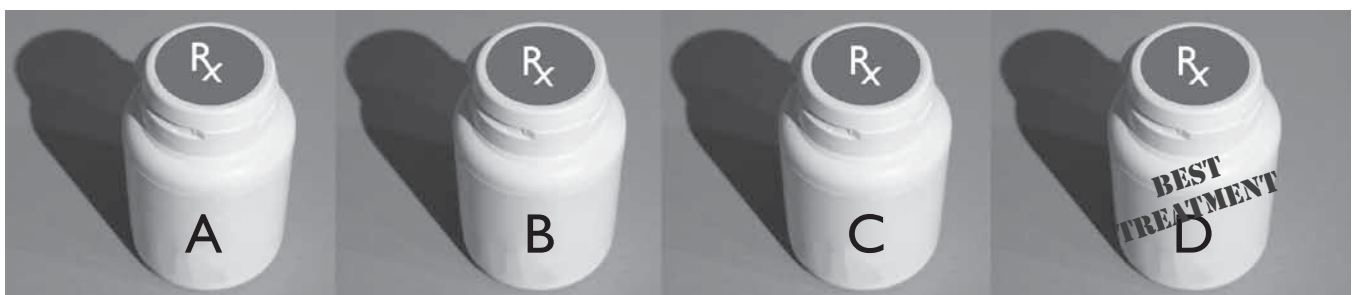
“This amounts to conducting a randomized experiment that will yield hard evidence on treatment response, thus allowing health officials to save the remaining population with lower loss of life,” Manski continued. “It copes with ambiguity in the short run and reduces it in the long run.”

Manski’s idea of adaptive diversification holds potential application for myriad social issues, from how to treat disease to providing assistance to the unemployed to sentencing juvenile offenders. However, ethical considerations might inhibit wide adoption of the idea.

“It violates the democratic idea of equal treatment for equals that is exemplified in the U.S. Constitution’s 14th Amendment, the Equal Protection Clause,” Manski said. But random tax audits, drug testing, and airport screening show that Americans are sometimes willing to accept “unequal” treatment, at least when they face equal probabilities for treatment.

Manski concluded that while choosing the optimal policy with limited knowledge of outcomes is generally not feasible, researchers and policymakers can try to make more reasoned choices. “They should not hide behind shaky assumptions, but face up to ambiguity in their decision making and seek to reduce it over time,” he urged.

For more information, see the related working paper online at [www.northwestern.edu/ipr/publications/workingpapers/wpabstracts09/wp0902.html](http://www.northwestern.edu/ipr/publications/workingpapers/wpabstracts09/wp0902.html).



## Policy Perspective

# A Golden Rule for Public Deliberation

By Fay Lomax Cook



L.K. Kossoff

Fay Lomax Cook

Angry shouts, boos, and jeers punctuated, and sometimes overwhelmed, more than a few discussions on healthcare reform across the United States this past August—a series of spectacles that might come to be known as the “Summer of Raucous Town Hall Meetings.”

Some commentators—especially on the Right—saw this as deliberative democracy at its finest: Citizens were going to the meetings to raise their voices and discuss an issue of vital importance to them and their communities. No one would argue against the view that citizen discourse and deliberation are integral parts of a healthy democracy. Yet recent research by my colleagues Larry Jacobs and Michael Delli Carpini and me places these particular outbursts in a decidedly undemocratic light.

In our new book, *Talking Together: Public Deliberation and Political Participation in America*, we lay out the results of the most comprehensive study ever undertaken on public discourse and deliberation. Conducted over two months in 2003 with a random, national sample of 1,501 U.S. citizens, our in-depth telephone survey maps how Americans actually deliberate—day in and day out—in their homes, in town halls, even online.

In our examination of the deliberative process, we studied a variety of formal and informal contexts where citizens come together to talk about policy issues, from calling up a friend or family member to organized meetings, Internet chat rooms, and e-mail exchanges. Perhaps most surprising is how widespread and vibrant deliberative engagement is: Eight out of 10 Americans said they participated in discussions of public issues, with one-fourth engaged in more taxing, formally organized, face-to-face group discussions, such as town hall meetings.

Not all public deliberation is created equal, however. In dissecting the deliberative process, we combed through the various theories that political scientists have proffered over the years to construct a cohesive framework. With it, one can distinguish five characteristics of public deliberation that can go in either democratic or undemocratic directions.

On the democratic side, public deliberation heeds all concerned voices, includes all relevant viewpoints, is rooted in logic and facts, forges a path to consensus, and strengthens the democratic process and policy outcomes. On the undemocratic side, public deliberation is exclusive, registers only elite voices that represent entrenched social and economic hierarchies, appeals to emotion and works to coerce, intensifies disagreement and divisions, and has

either a null or negative effect on the democratic process and policy outcomes.

Viewed within this framework and in light of our in-depth exploration of deliberative forums, many of the August town hall meetings on healthcare reform clearly register on the undemocratic side of the spectrum. The angry shouting drowned out the voices of those too poor, too sick, too timid, or perhaps simply too well-mannered to jump into the fray. Even normally confident and outspoken representatives of Congress were cowed—or booed—into silence. Meanwhile, the loudest cries often came from representatives of vested, elite interests—such as insurance corporations and well-financed conservative groups, or those dispatched on their behalf. In the end, meaningful dialogue was mostly shot down in the crossfire.

Given what is at stake with healthcare reform, the conversation is bound to be complex, often frustrating, and divisive. Nonetheless, each American deserves the opportunity to respectfully voice his or her concerns and hear the opinions of others—both necessary steps to arriving at an inclusive consensus on the policies at stake. Perhaps this could be best summed up as a “Golden Rule” for public deliberation: “Deliberate with others as you would have them deliberate with you.”

*Fay Lomax Cook is director of IPR and professor of human development and social policy. She co-authored Talking Together: Public Deliberation and Political Participation in America (2009, University of Chicago Press) with Lawrence Jacobs, University of Minnesota, and Michael Delli Carpini, University of Pennsylvania.*

### Talking Together Featured at Political Science Conference

The book *Talking Together* was featured in a panel discussion at the 2009 American Political Science Association meeting on September 5 in Toronto. Discussants were Archon Fung of Harvard, Diana Mutz of the University of Pennsylvania, Simone Chambers of the University of Toronto, and Katherine Cramer Walsh of the University of Wisconsin–Madison.

“This book makes great leaps forward in establishing the overall patterns of everyday public deliberation in American life,” Fung said. “One of the richest parts of the book comes from the over-sample of active deliberators—a special and unique source of insight.”

## “From the Beginning”

### IPR gives undergraduates unique, early start in research

**Evelyn Carter** was first exposed to the research process as a study participant—a requirement for her Introduction to Psychology class. Now a senior psychology major, Carter is running her own study of interracial interactions in the Social Perception & Communication Lab led by IPR social psychologist Jennifer Richeson.

“I’ve never put a whole study together before, but I oversaw this project from the beginning,” Carter said, describing her original study of how mental strain alters perception of subtle racial bias.

Coming in with some experience in coding and running simple studies, Carter saw IPR’s Summer Undergraduate Research Assistants Program as a chance to take her skills to the next level. She said the experience of coming up with a study—and seeing it through to the end—has given her extra confidence in applying to graduate school.

“Students gain a real advantage in their careers—whether in academia, social service, or other policy-related areas—when they are introduced to research early on in their education,” said **Emma Adam**, who directs the IPR program, which hosted a total of 25 undergraduates working with 23 IPR faculty members this year.

Many of the IPR summer undergraduate research assistants have little or no prior research experience, so the program is designed to lay out the basics and let students build their skills along the way. To help them get started, IPR graduate students conduct a three-day training on statistical methods and software at the beginning of the summer.

Senior **Stephan Bilharz**, a double-major in math and economics, already had some statistical training, but he learned a new software program and refined his coding and data modeling skills while working this summer on several projects with IPR Faculty Associate Daniel Diermeier, a Kellogg professor of managerial economics and decision sciences. For Diermeier’s research on the origin of “zero-sum



*IPR Summer Undergraduate Research Assistants: (back) Stephan Bilharz, Matthew Boucher, Faith McAuliffe, IPR Director Fay Lomax Cook, and Jared Salisbury; (middle) Jonathan Eng, Miles McGinley, Lauren Troy, Rachel Park, and Manoj Budidha; (front) Pei Chen, IPR Summer Undergraduate Program Director Emma Adam, and Evelyn Carter.*

bias”—or the “I lose if you win” attitude—in negotiations, Bilharz got to run a study for the very first time.

“I’ve had the opportunity to go into preschools and interact with subjects—it always amazed me that they were only 4 years old but had the concentration to figure this out,” Bilharz said.

Back in the office, Bilharz appreciated the chance to experiment with his own ideas—a key benefit to this type of research program, he said.

“In my experience, you get a lot of freedom in modeling the data,” Bilharz said. “It requires a lot of independence and initiative. It’s a great skill set.”

## Experimentation *(Continued from page 1)*

Diana Mutz of the University of Pennsylvania, and Arthur “Skip” Lupia of the University of Michigan, to name a few.

Druckman pointed out why Northwestern made such a great intellectual venue for the conference. “NU is where the father of quasi-experimentation, Donald Campbell, spent most of his career,” he said. He also noted the contributions of his father, Daniel Druckman of George Mason University, who played a role in the early development of experiments at Northwestern working with Campbell and Harold Guetzkow.

Fast forward several decades, IPR is still a vibrant intellectual center for research and training on experimental methods. Social psychologist Thomas D. Cook, Campbell’s longtime collaborator and a leading authority in his own right, continues to unravel questions of quasi-experimentation, particularly in the field of education. The Institute houses

the Center for Improving Methods for Quantitative Policy Research, or Q-Center, led by statistician and education researcher Larry Hedges, an international authority on meta-analysis. Sociologist Jeremy Freese is leading a revamp of the online project Time-sharing Experiments for the Social Sciences, or TESS, that Mutz and Lupia launched in 2002 and for which Druckman is an associate PI (see p. 9).

“In fact, more than eight Northwestern alumni or faculty are involved in the volume,” Druckman said.

Many at the conference marveled at how the trend in using experimentation has shifted. Today, it has become more acceptable—even “fashionable”—for papers to feature experimental methods. This stands in stark contrast to years, in the not too distant past, where reviewers often dismissed

*(Continued on page 9)*



# Harnessing the Power of the Internet

## IPR sociologist leads revamp of innovative platform for experiments

IPR sociologist **Jeremy Freese** and University of Chicago psychologist Penny Visser received a grant from the National Science Foundation (NSF) to revamp the groundbreaking Internet infrastructure project Time-sharing Experiments for the Social Sciences (TESS).

TESS was launched in 2002 by Diana Mutz of the University of Pennsylvania and Arthur Lupia of the University of Michigan and originally funded by NSF. Since then, the flexible and cost-efficient data-collection platform has fielded more than 150 population-based experiments from 250 researchers in various fields, from sociology, psychology, and political science to public health, economics, and law.

"It has opened doors for faculty, graduate students, and even some undergraduate students to run nationally representative experiments when they would not have been able to do so in the past," Freese said.

While TESS has exceeded all initial expectations, seven years in Internet time is probably the equivalent of a mid-life crisis for a Web platform and Web site portal. Thus, Freese and Visser have begun a major overhaul of the site, starting with its design. The site now sports a cheerful Bordeaux-and-saffron facelift with more intuitive navigation. They have also streamlined many policies for submitting proposals and increased the size of experiments that can be conducted. Plans for more improvements are underway, such as expanding data search functions and interdisciplinary coverage.

The start-up costs for launching any kind of large data collection are substantial. But by harnessing the power of the

Internet, piggybacking projects on common observational platforms, and using pre-recruited panels, TESS keeps fixed costs low. This allows investigators to include even just a few questions on their surveys and receive their data at a price almost too good to be true—free—once their project has been accepted.

Thus, TESS gives investigators the opportunity to run Internet-based experimental designs on a large-scale, random sample of the population. A cadre of multidisciplinary, nationally recognized associate principal investigators, including IPR researchers Eszter Hargittai and James Druckman, shepherd a comprehensive, online submission and peer-review process, screening proposals for innovative contributions to science and society. The quick turnaround process also reduces the time it takes to get experiments into the field.

"TESS offers innovative researchers exciting new opportunities to work more quickly," Freese said. "It also allows them to provide more timely and relevant results to the public and policymakers, hopefully at a point in policy discussions where such information could generate more immediate benefits."

To visit TESS, go to <http://tess.experimentcentral.org>.



Jeremy Freese



## Experimentation *(Continued from page 8)*

journal submissions outright for inclusion of such methods.

"We are no longer the lunatic fringe," noted **Don Kinder** of the University of Michigan.

Still, many nagging questions about experiments remain. Thus, conference participants held a two-day "running conversation" on some of the pressing issues of experimental methods, covering not only the nuts and bolts of running experiments—limitations of internal and external validity, causality, design and analytic challenges—but also specific considerations for experiments measuring particular phenomena, such as vote choice, elite bargaining, and political attitudes.

Kinder wrapped up the exhaustive two-day overview of political science experimentation with some general comments for the chapter authors.

"For any particular area of research, the more experiments included, the higher the chance for confusion on the reader's part," Kinder pointed out. "Literature reviews that try to cover everything are dangerous."

Kinder suggested that the researchers concentrate on a few exemplary experiments that reveal unexpected findings. He also recommended that they try to be "embracingly ecumenical in spirit" and expand their discussions to include a variety of different methods, including field experiments, lab experiments, and observational studies.

"What can we learn from various forms of social science research?" Kinder queried.

Druckman was pleased with the conference proceedings.

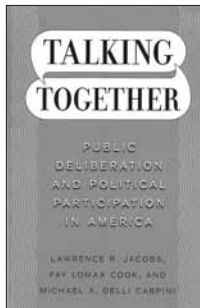
"We more than fulfilled the basic goals set out for the conference—to situate experiments in the broader discipline, present important methodological issues, and review the contributions of experimental research," he said. "We are well set to meet the challenge of combining everything into a unified volume."

Druckman is Payson S. Wild Professor in Political Science and an IPR fellow. "The Handbook of Experimental Political Science" will be published by Cambridge University Press.

## Recently Published Books

### Talking Together: Public Deliberation and Political Participation in America

By Lawrence Jacobs, Fay Lomax Cook, and Michael Delli Carpini  
University of Chicago Press, 2009, 224 pages

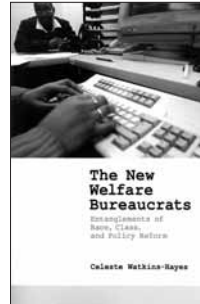


Challenging the conventional wisdom that Americans are less engaged than ever in national life and the democratic process, *Talking Together* paints a comprehensive portrait of public deliberation in the United States, revealing how, when, and why citizens talk to each other about the issues of the day. In settings ranging from one-on-one conversations to e-mail exchanges to larger and more formal gatherings, a

surprising two-thirds of Americans regularly participate in public discussions about such pressing issues as the Iraq War, economic development, and race relations. With original and extensive research, IPR director Fay Lomax Cook and her co-authors pinpoint the real benefits of this public discourse while considering arguments that question its importance—ultimately offering concrete recommendations for increasing the power of talk to foster political action.

### The New Welfare Bureaucrats: Entanglements of Race, Class, and Policy Reform

By Celeste Watkins-Hayes  
University of Chicago Press, 2009, 328 pages

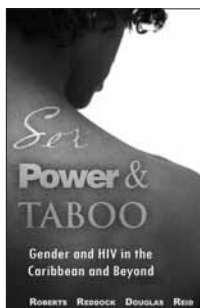


As the recession worsens, more and more Americans must turn to welfare to make ends meet. Once inside the agency, the newly jobless will face a bureaucracy that has undergone massive change since the advent of welfare reform in 1996. IPR sociologist and African American studies assistant professor Celeste Watkins-Hayes offers a behind-the-scenes look at bureaucracy's human face in a compelling study of welfare officers and how they

navigate the increasingly tangled political and emotional terrain of their jobs. Based on extensive fieldwork in two distinct communities in the Northeast, her analysis shows how the shift from simply providing monetary aid to helping recipients find jobs has made caseworkers more involved in their clients lives—and increased the importance of their own racial, class, and professional identities in the process.

### Sex, Power, and Taboo: Gender and HIV in the Caribbean and Beyond

Edited by Dorothy Roberts, Rhoda Reddock, Dianne Douglas, and Sandra Reid  
Ian Randle Publishers, 2008, 356 pages

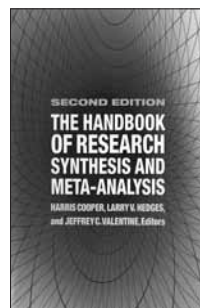


Co-edited by IPR law professor Dorothy Roberts, this edited volume provides an interdisciplinary exploration of how gender affects HIV risk and prevention. Together the essays shift the paradigm of HIV/AIDS research from traditional public health approaches by illuminating the influence of gender ideologies, norms, and power relationships on sexuality and the impact of gender on HIV risk and prevention within and outside of the

Caribbean. From the diverse Caribbean and international perspectives, the contributors—including IPR sociologist Celeste Watkins-Hayes—investigate the relationship between gender and sexuality for academics, policymakers, advocates, and public health workers.

### The Handbook of Research Synthesis and Meta-Analysis (2nd edition)

Edited by Harris Cooper, Larry Hedges, and Jeffrey Valentine  
Russell Sage Foundation, 2009, 615 pages

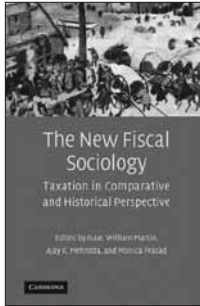


When the first edition of *The Handbook of Research Synthesis* was published in 1994, it quickly became the definitive reference for researchers in both the social and biological sciences. In the second edition, IPR education researcher and statistician Larry Hedges and his co-editors update the original text and add new chapters on such topics as computations from clustered data and the increasing use of research synthesis in the formation of

public policy. The volume also includes updated techniques for locating hard-to-find “fugitive” literature, ways of systematically assessing the quality of a study, and progress in statistical methods for detecting and estimating the effects of publication bias.

## The New Fiscal Sociology: Taxation in Comparative and Historical Perspective

Edited by Isaac Martin, Ajay Mehrotra, and Monica Prasad  
Cambridge University Press, 2009, 328 pages



This volume, co-edited by IPR sociologist Monica Prasad, demonstrates that the study of taxation can illuminate fundamental dynamics of modern societies. The chapters offer a state-of-the-art survey of the new fiscal sociology that is emerging at the intersection of sociology, history, political science, and law. The contributors, who include some of the foremost comparative historical scholars in these disciplines

and others, approach the institution of taxation as a window into a changing social contract. Their research addresses the social and historical sources of tax policy, the problem of how taxes persist, and the social and cultural consequences of taxation. They also trace fundamental connections between tax institutions and macrohistorical phenomena, such as wars, shifting racial boundaries, religious traditions, gender regimes, and labor systems.

## The Quality of Democracy in Eastern Europe: Public Preferences and Policy Reforms

By Andrew Roberts  
Cambridge University Press, 2009, 256 pages

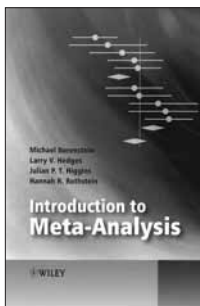


How does democracy work in the new democracies of Eastern Europe? Do the people actually rule as one would expect in a democracy, or have the legacies of communism and the constraints of the transition weakened popular control? This book presents a new framework for conceptualizing and measuring “democratic quality” and applies the framework to multiple countries and policy areas. Defining democratic quality

as the degree to which citizens are able to hold leaders accountable for their performance and keep policy close to their preferences, IPR political scientist Andrew Roberts comes to the surprising conclusion that citizens in Eastern European democracies exercise considerable control over their rulers, despite facing difficult economic circumstances and an unfavorable inheritance from communism.

## Introduction to Meta-Analysis

By Michael Borenstein, Larry Hedges, Julian Higgins, and Hannah Rothstein  
Wiley, 2009, 450 pages



This book provides a clear and thorough introduction to meta-analysis, or the process of synthesizing data from a series of separate studies. As meta-analysis has become a critically important tool in diverse fields, from medicine, pharmacology, and epidemiology to education, psychology, business, and ecology, IPR education researcher and statistician Larry Hedges and his co-authors outline the role of meta-

analysis in the research process. They cover various practical and theoretical issues, from how to compute and compare effect sizes to the fixed-effect and random-effects models, clarifying concepts with formulas and examples. The authors also explain how to avoid common mistakes and discuss the controversies associated with meta-analysis. They also provide an overview of computer software that can be used to conduct a meta-analysis.

## Research Confidential: Solutions to Problems Most Social Scientists Pretend They Never Have

Edited by Eszter Hargittai  
University of Michigan Press, 2009, 312 pages



This collection of essays aims to fill a notable gap in the existing literature on research methods in the social sciences. While the methods literature is extensive, rarely do authors discuss the practical issues and challenges they routinely face in the course of their research projects. As a result, communication studies researcher and IPR Faculty Associate Eszter Hargittai argues, each new cohort makes the same mistakes that previous

generations have already confronted and resolved. *Research Confidential* seeks to address this failing by supplying new researchers with the kind of detailed, practical information that can make or break a project. The book, designed for graduate students and educators, is written in an accessible and engaging manner by a group of prominent young scholars—including IPR’s Emma Adam and Jeremy Freese.

(Continued on page 18)

# New IPR Working Papers

## URBAN POLICY AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

### **Does Changing Neighborhoods Change Lives? The Chicago Gautreaux Housing Program and Recent Mobility Programs** (WP-09-01)

James Rosenbaum, Institute for Policy Research/Northwestern University; and Stefanie DeLuca, Johns Hopkins University

Many policy reforms try to improve education or employment while individuals remain in the same locations—and often fail. Such policies might be fighting an uphill battle as long as individuals live in the same social contexts. Findings from Chicago’s Gautreaux Program suggest that residential mobility is a possible lever. By moving into more advantaged neighborhoods, with higher quality schools and better labor markets, mothers had improved employment, and children had access to better educational settings and jobs. However, a subsequent mobility program (MTO) was conducted with a randomized field trial, and child and family outcomes were more mixed. Rosenbaum and DeLuca speculate about what kinds of moves and social settings are required to effect improved economic and social outcomes.

## POLITICS, INSTITUTIONS, AND PUBLIC POLICY

### **Diversified Policy Choice with Partial Knowledge of Policy Effectiveness** (WP-09-02)

Charles F. Manski, Institute for Policy Research/Northwestern University

An important objective of policy research is to provide information useful in choosing new policies. Consider a planner who must choose treatments for members of a population. A standard exercise specifies a set of feasible treatment policies and a welfare function. The planner is presumed to know how persons respond to treatment. Unfortunately, available research typically yields only partial knowledge of treatment response, so planners cannot determine optimal policies. This paper explains why research typically provides only part of the knowledge needed to choose optimal policies, as well as how planners can cope with ambiguity and make reasonable policy choices with the knowledge available. Manski also discusses how we can reduce ambiguity, enabling better policy choices.

### **Framing, Motivated Reasoning, and Opinions About Emergent Technologies** (WP-09-03)

James Druckman, Institute for Policy Research/Northwestern University; and Toby Bolsen, Graduate Student, Institute for Policy Research/Northwestern University

To understand how individuals form opinions about new technologies and the role of factual information in that process, the authors incorporate two critical dynamics typically ignored in extant work: competition between information and over-time processes. They present results from experiments with carbon nanotubes and genetically modified foods, showing that factual information is of limited utility: It does not have a greater impact than other background factors, it adds little power to newly provided arguments/frames, and it is perceived in biased ways once individuals form clear initial opinions. Their findings provide insight into how individuals form opinions, over time, when presented with novel technologies and also bring together various distinct literatures, including work on information, framing, and motivated reasoning.

### **Students as Experimental Participants: A Defense of the “Narrow Data Base”** (WP-09-05)

James Druckman, Institute for Policy Research/Northwestern University; and Cindy Kam, Vanderbilt University

In contrast to common claims—including David Sear’s widely cited proclamation that students are a “narrow data base”—the authors argue that student subjects do not intrinsically pose a problem for a study’s external validity. They use simulations to identify situations when student subjects are likely to constrain experimental inferences and briefly survey empirical evidence that provides guidance on when researchers should be particularly attuned to taking steps to ensure appropriate generalizability from student subjects. They conclude with a discussion of the practical implications of their findings, and a call for the burden of proof—of student subjects being a problem—to rest with critics rather than experimenters.

### **Timeless Strategy Meets New Medium: Going Negative on Congressional Campaign Web Sites, 2002–2006** (WP-09-06)

James Druckman, Institute for Policy Research/Northwestern University; Martin Kifer, Mathematica Policy Research; and Michael Parkin, Oberlin College

The World Wide Web is now a standard part of candidates' campaign tool kits, with frequent visits by voters and journalists. In this paper, Druckman and his co-authors look at one of the most enduring and widely debated campaign strategies: "going negative." Comparing campaign Web sites from more than 700 congressional candidates over three election cycles (2002, 2004, and 2006) with television advertising data, they show that candidates go negative with similar likelihoods across these media. While similar dynamics drive negativity on the Web and in television advertising, some notable differences likely stem, in part, from the fact that many candidates do not produce television ads.

### **Issue Engagement on Congressional Candidate Web Sites, 2002–2006** (WP-09-07)

James Druckman, Institute for Policy Research/Northwestern University; Cari Hennessey, Graduate Student, Northwestern University; Martin Kifer, Mathematica Policy Research; and Michael Parkin, Oberlin College

When candidates engage in robust policy debate, it gives citizens clear choices on issues that matter. Previous studies of issue engagement have primarily used indicators of campaign strategy that are mediated by reporters (e.g., newspaper articles) or indicators that might exclude candidates in less competitive races (e.g., television ads). In this study, issue engagement is examined through congressional candidates' Web sites, which are unmediated and representative of both House and Senate campaigns. The authors find that the saliency of issues in public opinion is a primary determinant of candidate engagement. Despite the Internet's unique capacity to allow a greater number of issues, candidates continue to behave strategically, selecting only a few issues on which to engage their adversaries.

## **EDUCATION POLICY**

### **Coupling Administrative Practice with the Technical Core and External Regulation: The Role of Organizational Routines** (WP-09-04)

James Spillane, Institute for Policy Research/Northwestern University; Leigh Mesler, Graduate Student, Northwestern University; Christiana Croegaert, Mount Holyoke College; and Jennifer Zoltners Sherer, University of Pittsburgh

The institutional environment of America's schools has changed substantially over the past few decades. Government regulation has focused increasingly on schools' "technical core"—classroom instruction. In this paper, Spillane and his co-authors examine administrative response to government efforts to regulate the technical core. School leaders espouse theories that suggest their newly designed organizational routines were intended to couple the administrative with both the external environment and the technical core. Results show that school policy and classroom instruction featured prominently, if selectively, in the performance of organizational routines.

### **Public Sector Performance Measurement and Stakeholder Support** (WP-09-08)

David Figlio, Institute for Policy Research/Northwestern University; and Lawrence Kenny, University of Florida

This paper provides the first evidence of stakeholder financial reactions to changes in performance measurements in the education sector. The authors use rich, population-based survey data to measure changes in school contributions after a major exogenous change to Florida's school grading system in 2002. They find that schools with low grades ("D" and especially "F") receive substantially fewer donations, especially in relatively low-income schools and those with small gifted populations. This negative reaction is present regardless of whether students have become eligible for school vouchers because of the poor grade. Similar to findings from social psychology and marketing, the results seem to reflect a general aversion to "throwing good money after bad." (See related article on p. 4.)

## Across Decades and Disciplines

### Forty years of policy-relevant research at IPR

Since its founding in 1968 as the Center for Urban Affairs, the Institute for Policy Research (IPR) has brought together social scientists from fields ranging from sociology to economics, law, political science, psychology, anthropology, and education to tackle the policy-relevant issues of the day.

With Chicago as its laboratory, IPR's first studies concentrated on improving the quality of urban life. Its early research projects focused on high school dropouts, redlining, determinants of urban health, environmental concerns, delivery of city services, and migrants' labor market experiences.

"These initial studies planted the seeds for some of the major, and often intertwining themes, that have defined IPR throughout its four decades—racism, poverty, criminal justice reform, public housing, and education," said Fay Lomax Cook, IPR's director.

One of the Institute's very first projects was a 1972 study by sociologist Andrew Gordon and communication studies professor John McKnight that uncovered redlining practices in Chicago. Their research paved the way for passage of the Community Reinvestment and Home Mortgage Disclosure acts.

The same decade also saw IPR undertake several major crime studies using previously unavailable data sets, including a study to assess reactions to crime and another to gauge the effects of government programs on crime rates.

In 1983, political scientist Wesley G. Skogan began a pathbreaking body of work with his evaluation of Chicago's Community Alternative Policing Strategy, or CAPS, the nation's first community policing initiative.

IPR faculty have also been involved in groundbreaking housing and mobility research. Following the Supreme Court's 1976 *Gautreaux* decision mandating desegregation of Chicago public housing, professors James Rosenbaum (education and social policy) and Leonard Rubinowitz (law) began studying how residents who moved fared. In 1994, the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development launched the random-assignment Moving to Opportunity (MTO) program, providing vouchers to poor families in five U.S. cities, based on the results of the Center's *Gautreaux* studies.

During the Reagan-era recession of the early 1980s, sociologist Christopher Jencks and Fay Lomax Cook led a collaborative effort by four area universities to measure economic hardship in Chicago, concluding that income distribution became more unequal during this period. Later in the decade, IPR hosted a national poverty conference, resulting in the volume *The Urban Underclass*, co-edited by Jencks.

In 1996, IPR received funding from the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services to launch the Joint Center for Poverty Research, in partnership with the University of Chicago. Economists Greg Duncan and Rebecca Blank led the Center for IPR. Blank, who published *It Takes a Nation: A New Agenda for Fighting Poverty* in 1997 while at IPR, is now Under Secretary for Economic Affairs at the U.S. Department of Commerce.

That same year, Clinton signed the landmark 1996 welfare reform act (Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act). Soon thereafter followed several studies tracking those who moved from welfare to work, including the Three-City Study, co-led by developmental psychologist P. Lindsay Chase-Lansdale, and the Illinois Families Study, directed by social policy professor Dan A. Lewis.



*IPR sociologist and African American studies professor Mary Pattillo asks a question about race relations.*

Founded in the Civil Rights era, IPR has always been keenly attuned to the role of race in the nation's social, economic, and political affairs. Its faculty continue to examine the issue from creative angles, from sociologist and African American studies professor Mary Pattillo's analysis of the black middle class to law professor Dorothy Roberts' exploration of race and biotechnology research. Social psychologist Jennifer Richeson, recipient of a 2006 MacArthur "genius grant," studies how racial bias affects the mind, brain, and behavior.

IPR researchers have also long studied aspects of feminism and gender. Pioneering work by Jane Mansbridge culminated in her 1985 book *Why We Lost the ERA*, and Margaret Gordon and Stephanie Riger published their revelatory findings in the 1977 book *The Female Fear: The Social Cost of Rape*. Alice Eagly—one of the nation's foremost scholars on the psychology of attitudes—has contributed significantly to scholarship on gender, most recently through her study of men's and women's leadership styles.

Public opinion regarding social and political phenomena has been another hallmark of the Institute. IPR director Fay Lomax Cook studies the dynamics of Americans' support for programs such as Social Security and Medicare. At the intersection of race, politics, and public opinion, Victoria DeFrancesco Soto researches the effects of Latino-targeted advertising on voters, including in the 2008 presidential election. James Druckman is examining the online campaign strategies of congressional candidates and has established a new theory of framing effects with Dennis Chong.

*(Continued on page 18)*

## IPR Marks 40 Years

(Continued from page 1)

over the years—research that began with studies of racial disparities and redlining in Chicago and expanded to encompass issues of poverty, gender, health, crime, and education, with an emphasis on providing hard data and workable models for policy-relevant solutions.”

In dissecting inequality in its various manifestations, the scholars scrutinized a host of topics over the two-day conference. They discussed persistent racial/ethnic and education gaps, concentrated poverty and housing, inequality in men’s and women’s wages, links between poverty and crime, and the widening chasm between the richest and poorest Americans and how it is contributing to a rift in the democratic process. While each of the speakers noted the progress made, they also outlined the substantial challenges—and opportunities for research—that remain.

### Costs and Consequences of Economic Inequality

In the opening keynote, **Christopher Jencks**, formerly an IPR faculty fellow and currently a sociologist in Harvard’s Kennedy School of Government, set the stage for the conference. He pointed to the explosion in incomes among the richest 10 percent of America’s households over the last two decades.



Christopher Jencks

Conceding that increases in the top incomes are usually followed by slightly faster economic growth, Jencks asked, “How long will it take for the bottom 90 percent to get back what they lost because we now allocate 43 percent of the nation’s personal income—

instead of 33 percent—to the top decile? The answer is that it takes about 13 years before the bottom 90 percent get to the break-even point.”

In comparing Western democracies, Jencks found that those countries with tighter market regulation had lower rates of inequality. He presented data challenging the free-market argument that reducing economic inequality has usually translated into lower per capita income or decreased worker efficiency. Furthermore, he pointed to the hidden costs of sustained economic inequality—limited opportunities, in particular for poor children, and widening disparities in political influence.

### Unequal Democracy

Princeton political scientist **Larry Bartels** plunged into an explanation of why American democracy has become more unequal. Why do some Americans, especially the working poor, who have done better overall under Democratic presidents

since 1948, consistently ignore their economic interests and vote for Republicans? It is not an issue of values, Bartels finds, but rather short-sightedness. Voters generally cast their vote for an incumbent based on election-year income growth—and Republicans have done a better job of increasing income in election years.



Larry Bartels

Bartels’ analysis of Senate votes between 1989 and 1994, however, reveals that both parties are equally guilty of ignoring the interests of low-income voters and catering to special interests and the wealthy. Extraordinary events can lead to seismic changes in the political landscape, Bartels said. Yet a person’s vote remains a powerful means to have an impact on the political process, he concluded.

### Why Does Inequality Matter?

Economist **Rebecca Blank** wrapped up the two-day conference with a Distinguished Public Policy Lecture on changes in economic inequality over the past 50 years. Blank is a former IPR faculty fellow and former dean of Michigan’s Ford School of Public Policy. She recently left the Brookings Institution to become Under Secretary for Economic Affairs at the U.S. Department of Commerce.

Changes in family structure over the past 30 years, such as more women in the workforce and more marriages between higher-earning men and women, account for about one-third of the observed increase in household income inequality. The rest, Blank noted, can be attributed to increased earnings inequality—CEOs are taking home more than ever, while minimum wage has failed to keep up with inflation.

At the same time, as inequality widens, overall incomes are shifting upward, Blank said. “In general, we would have preferred to see these big upward shifts in the income distribution occurring because of rising real wages rather than because of rising work effort,” she remarked.

Blank agreed with Bartels that only remarkable circumstances can reverse those forces that have led to a trend of rising inequality. She optimistically concluded that in a time of economic or catastrophic shock, a different social climate could



Rebecca Blank

(Continued on page 17)

## Agenda of IPR's 40<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Conference, April 16–17, 2009

# “Dynamics of Inequality in America from 1968 to Today”

*Inequality has been one of the major themes of interdisciplinary faculty research at the Institute for Policy Research (IPR) since it was founded in the 1968–69 academic year. IPR's 40th anniversary offered a unique moment to take stock of what we know about inequality, to look at how IPR research has contributed to that knowledge base, and to chart a course for where we need to go next in terms of research and policy. (See the related cover story, “IPR Marks 40 Years.”)*

### Thursday, April 16

- **Welcome:** *Fay Lomax Cook*, IPR Director and Professor of Human Development and Social Policy, IPR/Northwestern University

- **Keynote: “Economic Inequality: How Much Is Too Much?”**

*Christopher Jencks*, Malcolm Wiener Professor of Social Policy, Kennedy School, Harvard University  
*Dan A. Lewis* (Introduction), Professor of Human Development and Social Policy, IPR/Northwestern University

- **Race and the Dynamics of Inequality**

*Mary Pattillo*, Professor of Sociology and African American Studies, IPR/Northwestern University  
*Lawrence Bobo*, W. E. B. Du Bois Professor of the Social Sciences, Harvard University  
*Ronald Angel*, Professor of Sociology, University of Texas at Austin  
 IPR Organizers: *Dorothy Roberts* and *Mary Pattillo*

- **The City and the Dynamics of Inequality**

*Wesley G. Skogan*, Professor of Political Science and IPR Associate Director, IPR/Northwestern University  
*Robert Sampson*, Henry Ford II Professor of the Social Sciences, Harvard University  
*John Mollenkopf*, Distinguished Professor of Political Science and Sociology and Director, Center for Urban Research, City University of New York (CUNY)  
 IPR Organizers: *Wesley G. Skogan* and *Lincoln Quillian*

### Friday, April 17

- **Education and the Dynamics of Inequality**

*James Rosenbaum*, Professor of Education and Social Policy, IPR/Northwestern University  
*Charles Payne*, Frank P. Hixon Professor, School of Social Service Administration, and Faculty Affiliate, Center for Urban Education Research, University of Chicago  
*Joseph Altonji*, Thomas DeWitt Cuyler Professor of Economics, Yale University  
 IPR Organizers: *James Rosenbaum* and *David Figlio*

- **Health and the Dynamics of Inequality**

*P. Lindsay Chase-Lansdale*, Professor of Developmental Psychology and Director, IPR's Cells to Society (C2S) Center, IPR/Northwestern University; and *Thomas McDade*, Weinberg College Board of Visitors Research and Teaching Professor, Associate Professor of Anthropology, and C2S Associate Director, IPR/Northwestern University  
*Dolores Acevedo-Garcia*, Associate Professor of Society, Human Development, and Health, School of Public Health, Harvard University

*Christopher Kuzawa*, Associate Professor of Anthropology, IPR/Northwestern University  
 IPR Organizers: *P. Lindsay Chase-Lansdale*, *Jennifer Richeson*, and *Thomas McDade*

- **Lecture: “Politics, Public Opinion, and Inequality”**

*Larry Bartels*, Donald E. Stokes Professor of Public and International Affairs and Director, Center for the Study of Democratic Politics, Princeton University  
*Benjamin Page* (Discussant), Gordon S. Fulcher Professor of Decision Making and Professor of Political Science,

IPR/Northwestern University  
 IPR Organizers: *Benjamin Page* and *James Druckman*

- **Gender and the Dynamics of Inequality**

*Alice Eagly*, James Padilla Chair of Arts and Sciences and Professor of Psychology, IPR/Northwestern University  
*Paula England*, Professor of Sociology, Stanford University  
*Jane Mansbridge*, Adams Professor of Political Leadership and Democratic Values, Kennedy School, Harvard University  
 IPR Organizers: *Alice Eagly* and *Leslie McCall*

- **2009 Distinguished Public Policy Lecture: “Why Does Inequality Matter, and What Should We Do About It?”**

*Rebecca Blank*, Under Secretary for Economic Affairs at the U.S. Department of Commerce  
*Burton Weisbrod* (Discussant), John Evans Professor of Economics, IPR/Northwestern University



*Christopher Kuzawa* (r), *Dolores Acevedo-Garcia*, and *Thomas McDade* assess health disparities.

P. Reese



## IPR Marks 40 Years

(Continued from page 15)

allow for more redistributive policies and that such policies would then have a real chance at reversing the trend of increasing inequality in this country.

### Race and Inequality

Interspersed between these keynote talks were five panel discussions, beginning with the topic of race. IPR sociologist and African American studies professor **Mary Pattillo** introduced the panel by reviewing some of the key IPR research contributions in this area, including work on housing and discrimination, the black middle class, and child welfare. Sociologists **Lawrence Bobo** of Harvard University and **Ronald Angel** of the University of Texas looked at how African Americans and Hispanics are still held back by structurally embedded beliefs and policies. According to Bobo, a general belief that blacks are responsible for their own disadvantaged status is growing—even within the black community—and this trend has translated into declining support for government intervention.

### Gender and Inequality

In opening the panel on gender and inequality, IPR psychologist **Alice Eagly** looked back at some of IPR's pioneering gender studies in the era of second-wave feminism. By some measures, women in the United States are faring better in 2009 than in 1968. But Harvard political scientist **Jane Mansbridge** explained how cultural and familial barriers, rather than outright prejudice, hold the percentage of national legislative seats filled by women in the United States to a meager 15 percent, or 83rd in the world. Stanford sociologist **Paula England** pointed out that advances in gender equality have been largely one-sided—with women earning higher degrees and moving into male-dominated fields without reciprocal changes in men's career patterns—and that even this progress has leveled out since 1990. Both Mansbridge and England are former IPR fellows.

### The City and Inequality

In the panel on cities, Harvard sociologist **Robert Sampson** bolstered the “broken windows” theory of crime and neighborhood decline—which IPR political scientist and panelist **Wesley G. Skogan** was one of the first to test empirically—with evidence that perceived disorder strongly predicts later rates of poverty and racial/ethnic composition in urban neighborhoods. Political scientist and sociologist **John Mollenkopf** of the CUNY Center for Urban Research decried the decline in urban studies and offered hope that the Obama administration might spark a resurgence of interest in seeking solutions for the nation's urban ills.

### Education and Inequality

On the education panel, University of Chicago sociologist **Charles Payne**, a former IPR faculty fellow and former graduate student of IPR's founding director Raymond Mack, cited evidence that students have fewer absences and failures in schools that foster relationships and trust. Yale economist **Joseph Altonji**, a former IPR associate director and faculty fellow, talked about his work on U.S. skill distribution, linking a 6 percent increase in skill acquisition since 1979 to parental education levels. But overall skill distribution within race and sex groups continues to widen, shrinking employment opportunities for workers at the bottom. IPR education and social policy professor **James Rosenbaum** gave examples of changing priorities, such as in higher education, where the challenge has shifted from college access to college completion.

### Health and Inequality

Developmental psychologist **P. Lindsay Chase-Lansdale** and anthropologist **Thomas McDade**, who lead IPR's Cells to Society Center and opened the panel, described how a growing realization of linkages between social contexts and outcomes is creating the need for a more interdisciplinary approach in health disparities research. In linking health and social disparities, IPR anthropologist **Christopher Kuzawa** related how environmental forces, such as socioeconomic status and discrimination, affect fetal development and can account for disparities in cardiovascular disease rates for minorities (see p. 5). Harvard public health researcher **Dolores Acevedo-Garcia** detailed the linkages between poor health outcomes for minority children and residential segregation.



(From l.) Leslie McCall moderates a panel on improvements and challenges for reaching gender equality with Alice Eagly, Jane Mansbridge, and Paula England.

graduation rates and face higher risks for heart disease and diabetes. Crime in major metropolitan areas is down from all-time highs in the early 1990s but still affects low-income, minority neighborhoods disproportionately. Women earned about 58 cents on the dollar compared with men in 1968 and 78 cents today, but only a handful lead Fortune 500 companies or wield substantial political power.

“While there are areas where progress has been made, inequality is still with us, as a persistent and pernicious force, a threat to social, economic, and political progress in our nation,” Cook said. “Yet this remarkable cadre of academics, including many current and former IPR faculty, embody the Institute's hallmark—that rigorous scholarship can help us better understand social inequality and pave the way to the development of creative and coherent policies to tackle these disparities.”

## Promising CAREERS *(Continued from page 1)*

### Women of Color Living with HIV/AIDS

Watkins-Hayes will use her award, in addition to a Robert Wood Johnson grant that she received this year, to study the economic survival strategies of women living with HIV/AIDS.

The two-year, in-depth study will follow 100 to 200 Chicago-area women of a variety of racial and socioeconomic backgrounds. While most previous HIV research has focused on prevention or on gay white males, this project will address the experiences of low-income women of color—one of the fastest growing population groups affected by the disease.

“In looking at the epidemic’s next frontier, it is critical to prevent the economic and social factors that increase risk of HIV infection from further hindering individuals’ abilities to take care of themselves and contribute to their communities after diagnosis,” Watkins-Hayes said. “In addition to the study’s academic contributions, we hope that its diverse community advisory board will secure our added goal of improving programs and policies—and thus, the lives of these women.”

## Across Decades and Disciplines

*(Continued from page 14)*

In 2005, IPR received funding from the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development to establish Cells to Society (C2S): The Center on Social Disparities and Health, led by Chase-Lansdale, C2S’ founding director. C2S has become a national center for population research training through such activities as its Summer Biomarker Institute, organized by anthropologists Thomas McDade and Christopher Kuzawa and developmental psychobiologist Emma Adam.

IPR faculty are also keenly aware that effective social policies should be based on evidence from soundly constructed studies. To this end, IPR launched the Center for Improving Methods for Quantitative Policy Research, or Q-Center, co-directed by two methodological pioneers: Larry Hedges and Thomas D. Cook. Cook co-wrote *Quasi-Experimentation: Design and Analysis Issues for Field Settings*, in 1979 with Donald Campbell. Hedges co-wrote *The Handbook of Meta-Analysis*, now in its second printing (see p. 10). Both continue to address methodological issues, especially in the realm of education.

Just this year, IPR formalized the decades of education research conducted in its various program areas, establishing a new Education Policy program. Current and past studies have scrutinized No Child Left Behind, Perry Preschools, ABeCeDarian, state pre-K programs, and making the transition from high to school to college, among others. Its chair, David Figlio, is currently conducting a detailed study of Florida’s school voucher program—the nation’s largest.

“These are just a few examples of IPR’s research impact over the years,” noted Lomax Cook. “That IPR has managed to remain vital and relevant over the past four decades is a testament to its faculty’s ability to reach across disciplines and conduct social policy research of the highest caliber.”

## Linking U.S. Tax Progressivity and Welfare

Prasad’s CAREER award will help her piece together the puzzle of why the United States has developed the most progressive tax system of all advanced industrial economies, yet maintains one of the smallest public welfare states. Understanding this inverse correlation could shed new light on the old question of “American exceptionalism,” Prasad said.

“Recent research suggests that America is exceptional not because of a predilection for laissez-faire capitalism, but rather because of the distinct way that it controls capital,” Prasad continued. “My main hypothesis is that more progressive tax systems focus the attention, efforts, and resources of the Left on the attempt to ‘soak the rich’ rather than to use the state to improve conditions for the poor.”

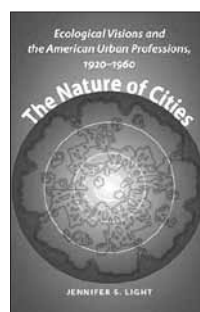
In addition to examining several hypotheses behind this inverse correlation, Prasad will explore interactions between U.S. taxation and welfare over the 20th century to develop a framework for the “sociology of taxation,” which she hopes will yield insights into other aspects of modern society and political economy. (See the related volume on p. 11.)

## New Books *(Continued from page 11)*

### The Nature of Cities: Ecological Visions and the American Urban Professions, 1920–1960

By Jennifer Light

Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009, 312 pages



In the early 20th century, America was transformed from a predominantly agricultural nation to one whose population resided mostly in cities. Yet rural areas continued to hold favored status in the country’s political life. Anxious about the future of cities, prominent figures in the social sciences, city planning, and real estate promoted the idea that America’s urban landscapes were ecological communities requiring scientific management

on par with forests and farms. In this book, communication studies researcher and IPR Faculty Associate Jennifer Light brings together environmental and urban history to reveal how their ecological vision shaped the development of U.S. cities.

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## Contrary to Popular Belief

### Workshop showcases original political science research

More than 90 social scientists and graduate students from across the Midwest came to discuss an array of original research at the third annual Chicago Area Political and Social Behavior Workshop on May 8 at Northwestern.

“Given the quality of these trend-bucking research presentations, it’s not surprising we had the most participants ever,” said IPR political scientist **James Druckman**, who organized the event. The workshop was co-sponsored by IPR. Summaries of the presentations are below.

#### Campaign Contributions and Judicial Legitimacy

Whether campaign contributions undermine judicial legitimacy is an issue of growing importance. To test if donations affect perceptions of impartiality, Washington University political scientist **James L. Gibson** analyzed experimental vignettes based on a real Supreme Court case that examined judicial conflicts of interest. He found that campaign contributions do threaten judicial legitimacy. Surprisingly, however, the commonly applied solution of recusal does little to restore perceptions of fairness.

#### Origins of Contemporary Political Behavior

University of Chicago political scientist **Eric Oliver** is exploring if political beliefs have biological origins. In an online experiment, more than 2,000 Americans were shown a 40-second slideshow of seven hypothetical, white male “elected

officials” and then were asked to match faces to the previously shown descriptions. Initial results show that respondents could better identify officials who shared their political values and also those with outgroup moral policies, i.e., taking a bribe.

#### Social Networks and “Correct” Voting

Political scientist **Scott McClurg** of Southern Illinois University at Carbondale and his colleague are looking at whether a person’s social networks can influence “correct” vote choices, or voting in line with one’s stated political

beliefs, using two nationally representative samples. Their data debunks criticism of networks as being too insular and leading to decreased political engagement. “By and large, networks are probably contributing to better decisions than what would happen in their absence,” McClurg said.

#### Ethnically Targeted Advertising

**Victoria DeFrancesco Soto**, an IPR political scientist, is studying how ethnically targeted political ads influence voters—most recently through an online survey experiment she headed in Los Angeles County in fall 2008. The researchers found strong evidence

for the presence of unintended or “ricochet” effects—which were negative for blacks, and in some cases for whites. Yet positive ricochet effects were found for Asians, probably due to a cultural and language outgroup affinity with Latinos.

The next CAB workshop will be held on May 7. For more information, see [www.northwestern.edu/ipr](http://www.northwestern.edu/ipr).



*Victoria DeFrancesco Soto studies campaign ad effects and Latinos.*

## Faculty Awards and Honors

*(Continued from page 2)*

### IPR Faculty Associates

Political scientist **Traci Burch** received the American Political Science Association’s E. E. Schattschneider Award for the best doctoral dissertation on American government.

The Illinois Maternal and Child Health Coalition gave pediatrician **Jenifer Cartland** the Loretta Lacey Maternal and Child Health Advocacy Award for Research for her work on the Illinois Health Survey.

Communication studies researcher **Eszter Hargittai** and her co-authors won an ASA best paper award from the Communication and Information Technology Section for “Cross-Ideological Discussions Among Conservative and Liberal Bloggers.”

In May, law professor emeritus **John P. Heinz** gave talks to the Harvard Law School and the American Bar Foundation’s Board of Directors on “When Law Firms Fail,” which was one

of the top-10 downloaded papers from the Social Science Research Network’s law and economics section.

**Carol Lee**, professor of learning sciences and African American studies, became president of the American Educational Research Association in April.

**Peter Miller**, associate professor of communication studies, was elected president of the American Association for Public Opinion Research.

Communication studies professor **Daniel O’Keefe** gave the keynote address, “Generalizing About the Persuasive Effects of Message Variations: The Case of Gain- and Loss-Framed Appeals,” on January 23 at The Netherlands’ University of Leiden.

The Chicago Public Library chose English professor **Carl Smith’s** *The Plan of Chicago: Daniel Burnham and the Remaking of the American City* for the One Book, One Chicago program.

**Linda Teplin**, professor of psychiatry and behavioral sciences, spoke on “Crime Victimization in Adults with Severe Mental Illness” at the inaugural Violence Against Psychiatric Patients conference on September 3 in The Hague.

## A Record of Achievement

Since spring 2009, five IPR faculty fellows have been honored for either their promise as up-and-coming researchers or their influential track record of research contributions. (See also "Promising CAREERs" on the cover.)

### Manski Elected to National Academy of Sciences

Economist **Charles F. Manski** was among 72 members elected to the National Academy of Sciences in 2009. This prestigious academy, established in 1863 by a congressional act of incorporation, serves to advise the government, upon request, on any matter of science or technology.

Manski's research spans econometrics, judgment and decision, and the analysis of social policy. He has published numerous articles and seven books and served as an adviser on major longitudinal studies, such as the Panel Study of Income Dynamics and the Health and Retirement Study.



P. Reese

Charles F. Manski

### Two Receive APA Honors

The American Psychological Association (APA) handed out awards this August to two IPR faculty members for their unique contributions to the field.

**Alice Eagly**, a pioneer in the field of social psychology, the psychology of gender and of attitudes, and the use of meta-analysis, received the



G. W. Martin Photography

Alice Eagly and APA President James Bray

## Research Bound

### IPR faculty release nine new books



In the last year, IPR faculty members have kept the publishers' presses rolling, with nine new academic titles appearing on book shelves. From

the politics of welfare reform to public deliberation and handbooks on meta-analysis, the topics reflect the wide range and multidisciplinary nature of IPR faculty research. See pp. 10-11 for more information on the titles.

Distinguished Scientific Contribution Award from the American Psychological Association. Presented annually since 1956, the prestigious award honors psychologists who have made substantial theoretical or empirical contributions to basic research in psychology.

At the same time, **Jennifer Richeson** received the APA Distinguished Scientific Early Career Contributions Award in social psychology. An associate professor of psychology, Richeson studies the ways in which social group memberships, such as race and gender, impact the way people think, feel, and behave.

For more detailed information on these awards, see the IPR Web site at [www.northwestern.edu/ipr](http://www.northwestern.edu/ipr). Read about other IPR faculty awards and honors on p. 2.



G. W. Martin Photography

Jennifer Richeson

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