CHICAGO HARRIS

FALL/WINTER 2014

America's Hidden Hunger Crisis

Behavioral Insights and Parenting Lab

Measuring Chicago's Creative Economy

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO HARRIS SCHOOL OF PUBLIC POLICY

BUILDING THE FUTURE
DENNIS KELLER
AND HIS LANDMARK
$20 MILLION GIFT
TO THE SCHOOL

PLUS:
DAVID AXELROD ON THE 2015 U.K. ELECTIONS

Robert J. Zimmer

Eric D. Isaacs

LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT AND PROVOST

The Harris School of Public Policy embodies many of the values that make the University of Chicago distinct. The school's interdisciplinary and data-driven approach to policy analysis reflects the University's culture of rigorous inquiry, and faculty and student engagement with the City of Chicago and other urban centers demonstrates the impact of research on societal challenges in education, crime, energy and other fields. These efforts draw scholars and practitioners to campus to exchange ideas and learn.

Because the school stands at the intersection of so many important ideas, we recognized that its next dean would need to build on these existing strengths and think creatively about public policy scholarship and education. We wanted a leader who could work with scholars across the University and engage with business, political and civic leaders in Chicago and beyond to ensure that the school influences major policy debates.

We found such a person in Daniel Diermeier, who started his tenure as dean on September 1. Dean Diermeier, previously the IBM Professor of Regulation and Competitive Practice at Northwestern University's Kellogg School of Management, is an internationally recognized scholar of political institutions, formal political theory and the interaction of business and politics. He has experience working across disciplines, and his research touches on business, political science, linguistics, economics and law. He has worked extensively with individuals in the academy, in business and in politics, founding and directing interdisciplinary programs at Northwestern, including the CEO Perspectives Program and the Northwestern Institute on Complex Systems.

We believe Dean Diermeier's creative engagement with the challenges facing governments, businesses, and societies and his commitment to the education of policy leaders will make him an outstanding dean of Chicago Harris. He will play an important role in the University's partnership and engagement with Chicago and other local, state and federal governments, and will be a key voice and resource in our growing global engagement.

With Dean Diermeier's leadership we are confident that the coming years will see the enhanced eminence of Harris in its research, education, engagement, and impact, and we look forward to working with him to ensure Harris' success.

Robert J. Zimmer
PRESIDENT

Eric D. Isaacs
PROVOST

CHICAGO HARRIS

A Biannual Publication of the University of Chicago Harris School of Public Policy

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COVER: PHOTOGRAPHY BY EARL RICHARDSON; THIS PAGE: PHOTOGRAPHY BY ROBERT KOZLOFF/THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

CHICAGO HARRIS

PUBLIC POLICY | THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

LETTER FROM THE DEAN

As the new dean of Chicago Harris, I have the distinct honor of joining the school at a pivotal moment in its history. In recognition of our 25th anniversary, we have been reflecting on our founding vision and the notable accomplishments that have allowed the school to thrive over the years. One of the themes that has emerged with the sharpest clarity is that Harris' deep commitment to rigor and relevance drives the school forward. As we look to the future I'm confident that we are on course to reach our full potential while staying true to the values that make our school the finest of its kind.

The support of our friends, another thread that runs through our history, remains an essential lifeline. Our cover story in this premiere issue of *Chicago Harris Magazine* showcases the profound impact our donors have on the school. Thanks to the remarkable generosity of Dennis Keller and King Harris and his family, we will be able to realize our dream of moving to a world-class home (page 12). Their historic gifts add to the legacy of giving started by the late Irving B. Harris and his wife, Joan, and will help us advance our mission as the pre-eminent source of evidence-based scholarship and training for policy leaders.

We're also excited to share news about two of our most exciting new initiatives. The Behavioral Insights and Parenting Lab (page 26) is drawing on cutting-edge technology and "light-touch" interventions to help close the achievement gap in low-income neighborhoods. And the Master of Science in Computational Analysis and Public Policy (page 7) is a first-of-its-kind program that trains students how to glean new insights from data and combine them with hard-won insights from public policy.

I hope you find this issue to be engaging, informative and grounded in the rigorous, quantitative research that serves as our constant guide. If the effort is successful, the magazine will spark an ongoing dialogue with our readers. So please let us know what you think, and tell us what you'd like to see in the next issue.

Daniel Diermeier
DEAN, CHICAGO HARRIS

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First-year CAPP students Bridgit Donnelly and Natnaell Mammo, September 29, 2014

DATA SCIENCE

THINKING CAPP

The Computational Analysis and Public Policy master's program welcomes its inaugural class.

BRIDGIT DONNELLY FIRST caught the data bug in 2012 while tinkering with spreadsheets as a regional field director on the Obama campaign. "I kind of fell in love with Excel," she recalls.

Although she enjoyed helping Obama and other candidates coordinate and broadcast their campaign messages, she yearned for more opportunities to inform strategy and policy using data. And though she continued coding in her free time, she says, she eventually hit a wall in her programming ability.

Unwilling to decide between pursuing her interest in policy and her passion for data science, she postponed plans for graduate school – until she heard about CAPP.

The two-year master's degree program in Computational Analysis and Public Policy, offered jointly by Chicago Harris and the Department of Computer Science, aims to forge a new group of leaders at the intersection of policy analysis and computation. "It was hard to find a comparable program elsewhere," she says.

Donnelly is among the twelve students in the inaugural CAPP class matriculating this fall. She and her classmates will complete a rigorous core curriculum that blends staples of public policy and computation: five hands-on courses in applied computer science, six policy courses in economics, statistics and organizational theory, plus an integrative seminar bridging the two subjects.

But the coursework is only the beginning. Internships and capstone projects will give students the chance to work alongside policy leaders, and CAPP Executive Director Robert Goerge plans to bring in experts to share how they're leveraging computational tools to look at problems. "We want to get people on the pathway to leadership, and a lot of that is just being aware of the public sector context," Goerge explains.

"Using data in policy is not new," says Professor Christopher Berry, who helped get CAPP off the ground and serves as the program's faculty co-director. "It's what Chicago Harris has stood for from its beginning." What *has* changed, Berry adds, is the amount of data available, and the ease of analysis. As technology accelerates the speed at which we can extract information from a vast range of sources – transit information, financial transactions, even satellite images – government leaders are increasingly motivated to let data inform how they make policy.

This "generational shift" demands a new breed of public servant with the savvy to navigate the complex policy world as well as the digital prowess to keep at the forefront of data analytics.

Such people are in short supply, according to Brett Goldstein, a Chicago Harris senior fellow and adviser to CAPP. He should know – for two years, Goldstein served as Chicago's first-ever chief data officer under Mayor Rahm Emanuel. While working for the city he launched WindyGrid, a database system for city personnel that brought troves of municipal information together in one place, revolutionizing the flow of data in City Hall.

But when Goldstein sought to grow his team, he struggled to find people equipped for the job. "You have policy folks and you have IT folks," he explains, and when it came to data analytics, the former were dependent upon the latter. "Anyone can make a pie chart," he says, "but what we need is smart, nimble real-time analysis."

That requires being prepared to navigate what statisticians call "dirty data" – databases riddled with erroneous information and missing data points. "If you're doing practical instead of theoretical work, you have to know how to get around these problems," says CAPP faculty co-director Anne Rogers, who also serves as director of graduate studies for the Department of Computer Science. Rogers, who teaches an applied programming sequence for beginners, was enthusiastic about partnering with CAPP to get analytical tools in the hands of policy practitioners. "I want to give them the skills to do good work now, and the foundation to do even more in ten years," she says.

Perhaps because there are no prerequisites, the program has attracted students from varied backgrounds. They include a Federal Reserve researcher, a Chilean education adviser, a math teacher and a fashion designer turned grassroots organizer. "Although diverse, all of them have a profound interest in influencing policy by using data-driven analytics and political theory," says Jeremy Edwards, senior associate dean for academic and student affairs. "They also understand that in many ways, they will be pioneers in this field."

"We're staking out a different territory," Berry agrees. "This is not a degree where you only learn a little bit about each of these two things. This is meant to train serious people to do serious work." *– Jake J. Smith*

ENERGY

FOR EPIC DIRECTOR, A SWEET HOMECOMING AT UCHICAGO

Michael Greenstone is new to the Energy Policy Institute at Chicago, but his roots here run deep.

MICHAEL GREENSTONE MAY seem like the new kid on the block, but his roots at the University of Chicago run deep. The newly minted Milton Friedman Professor of Economics and director of the Energy Policy Institute at Chicago (EPIC) is the third generation in his family to teach at the University.

Greenstone's father, J. David Greenstone, was a beloved chair of the political science department. He received the Quantrell Award, the College's highest honor for teaching, and headed the Greenstone Committee, which played a major role in revitalizing the College and its Core curriculum.

Even David Greenstone had a legacy to live up to at the University. His mother-in-law, Erika Fromm, joined the faculty in 1961. She became one of the world's leading figures in clinical psychology and hypnosis. In addition, Greenstone's mother, Joan Fromm Greenstone, received her undergraduate degree from the College in 1962 and completed her graduate work at the School of Social Service Administration (AM'65, PhD'84).

"The University of Chicago played a central role in the lives of my family members. It nurtured all of them – allowing my father, a young man from modest Rochester, New York, origins to become an intellectual; helping my grandmother, an escapee from Nazi Germany, achieve great professional success and break down gender barriers; and providing my mother, an idealistic woman, the training to pursue change in the world," Greenstone says. "It's an honor to serve an institution that has been a home for my family in so many ways over the last 50 years, and to help it carry on its grand tradition of research and training."

Greenstone himself is no stranger to the University. He graduated from the Laboratory School and returned to start his teaching career as an assistant professor of economics from 2000 to 2003.

So what has Greenstone been doing since his UChicago days? While teaching in the economics department at MIT, he concurrently served on the EPA Science Advisory Board's Environmental Economics Advisory Committee. In 2009, he took a leave of absence from MIT to serve as the chief economist for the Obama administration's Council of Economic Advisors. Greenstone later directed the Hamilton Project, an economic policy group at the Brookings Institution. Additionally, he is an elected member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, research associate at the National Bureau of Economic Research and editor of *The Journal of Political Economy*.

Michael Greenstone at a Brookings Institution talk on climate change, September 22, 2014

"Greenstone is one of the very best environmental economists, brimming with creativity and imagination," said his colleague Cass Sunstein, a Harvard Law School professor and former UChicago Law School faculty member.

Greenstone looks forward to continuing his research into the costs and benefits of energy and environmental policies through his joint appointment at Chicago Harris and the Social Sciences Division, and through his position at EPIC. "My hope is that EPIC will become a model for how to develop the best ideas and help them influence policy around the world," Greenstone says. "In the coming months and years, we'll need help and support from our partners throughout campus and beyond to transform this vision into reality." *– Victoria Ekstrom High*

PHOTOGRAPHY BY RALPH ALSWANG

ILLUSTRATION BY STEVE BRODNER

POLITICS

AXELROD IN THE U.K.

Labour Party candidate Ed Miliband wants to bring a little hope and change to the 2015 British elections.

WHEN BRITAIN'S LABOUR Party announced last spring that it had hired David Axelrod to provide strategic advice to Ed Miliband ahead of the 2015 general election, the British press had a field day. "Labour employ Obama's election mastermind as new guru," shouted the *Daily Mail*. "David Axelrod faces his toughest challenge yet with Ed Miliband," noted the *Daily Telegraph*, which backs Conservative Party incumbent David Cameron.

For students of politics, the real surprise was not that Miliband had sought Axelrod's expert counsel but that Axelrod had agreed to take on a major election after saying Barack Obama's 2012 campaign would be his last. "I was really referring to American campaigns," says Axelrod, who directs the University of Chicago's Institute of Politics and serves as a distinguished senior fellow at Chicago Harris. "But when projects come along that interest me overseas, I am going to take a look at them, and this one was one of those."

So what attracted him to a campaign 4,000 miles away? "I think there are fundamental questions that impact America and Britain in an era of advancing technology and globalization," Axelrod says. "One of them is, How do you maintain an economy in which the middle class can get ahead and look forward to a better future for their children?"

That question divides the two main parties as they head toward the polls on May 7, 2015. The Conservatives, the dominant members of the coalition that has governed Britain along with the Liberal Democrats since 2010, are urging voters to stick with the party that has restored economic growth after a financial crisis for which they blame the last Labour government. But Axelrod, laying out the message he believes will put Miliband in 10 Downing Street, argues that while the economy as a whole has improved, most voters have not noticed the difference.

"Miliband and the Labour Party look at the economy through the lens of ordinary working people, who have not felt the benefits of that progress," Axelrod says. "The Labour philosophy is that the country thrives when everyone has a fair chance, an expectation that they can make a living wage and that their kids can get ahead. If your economy is not moving in that direction, what kind of progress is that?"

Miliband has repeatedly described a "cost of living crisis" that he says the Tories have precipitated. Indeed, growth in average wages has undershot rises in prices for much of the past four years, allowing Labour politicians to say the average working person is £1,600 ($2,700) a year worse off since 2010. On the eve of the party's annual conference in September, Miliband pledged to raise the national minimum wage by more than 25 percent by 2020 if elected.

"Labour is addressing the fundamental challenges that people face to pay their utility bills, afford a home or educate their children," Axelrod says. "These are things people are talking about at their kitchen table, but they do not seem to be the things the Tories talk about around the Cabinet table."

Recent opinion polls give Labour a slight edge over the Conservatives, but at this point both parties are falling short of the 40 percent seen as necessary to win an absolute majority. Turnout, which dropped to 65 percent in 2010 from a postwar peak of 83.9 percent in 1950, will be a key factor for both contenders.

Axelrod insists that Labour's winning message will strengthen its get-out-the-vote drive. "The first obligation of a campaign is to project a principle around which people can rally," he says. "I'm confident a strong economic message that speaks to the day-to-day concerns of working people in Britain and offers some hope for the future has a great opportunity to connect."

Intriguingly, the contest pits Axelrod against his friend and fellow Obama campaign strategist Jim Messina, who was hired by Cameron as an adviser. Axelrod declines to comment directly, but says, "There are certain universal principles of campaigning, so I am not surprised people running for election look around the world for folks who have experience in this area."

Axelrod's own experience, which includes work on some 150 elections and a longstanding friendship with Obama, will provide the raw material for his much-anticipated memoir, *Believer: My Forty Years in Politics*, to be published in February.

After a remarkable career in which he helped redefine the way U.S. political campaigns are run, Axelrod says his priorities have shifted. "I still see this work not as a sport or a business but as a way of contributing to progress," he says. At UChicago, he adds, "my goal is to create a sense, particularly among younger people, that politics is something worth investing their life in."

The sentiment nicely sums up Axelrod's newfound role as a campus leader. But if his ongoing work with the Labour Party is any indication, he remains committed to leading by example. *– Phil Thornton*

URBAN POLICY

GARY REVITALIZATION PROJECT BEGINS DEMOLITIONS PHASE

Data from a parcel survey designed by Chicago Harris students enable the city to tackle blight.

The abandoned house at 2325 Monroe Street was the first of hundreds slated for demolition.

PHOTOGRAPHY BY JOCELYN HARE

THE LITTLE RED and white brick house at 2325 Monroe Street, situated one block from Michael Jackson's childhood home in Gary, Indiana, has been empty for more than a decade. The grass on the lawn is overgrown, and the house has long since been stripped of most valuables: fixtures, copper pipes, steel, anything that can be sold or repurposed.

This is a common scene in Gary, a postindustrial city whose population has more than halved since its 1960 peak of 180,000. At 52 square miles, Gary is roughly the size of San Francisco but with less than one-tenth the population. As many as one-third of the city's 60,000 residences are estimated to be vacant or abandoned. Blight and neglect are pervasive.

On this early August morning, though, the neighborhood is buzzing with excitement. The Taylors, an older black couple, have lived on the block for 11 years and have never known a neighbor to their north. Mrs. Taylor watches with a mixture of curiosity and nervousness as the yellow track hoe prepares to crush the concrete steps leading up to the house next door. The demolition crew makes fast work of the dilapidated structure. In less than 20 minutes, the claw of the track hoe has pummeled the house into a pile of rubble.

The house on Monroe Street is the first of hundreds that will come down as part of a strategy to raze Gary's most blighted properties. The ambitious 18-month plan is designed to remove stains on the landscape that reflect the downward spiral of disinvestment and stand in the way of revitalization. Only three businesses remain open on Gary's main street, Broadway, where shuttered buildings still advertise businesses last open decades ago, and where burnouts and decaying roofs and walls threaten to collapse. Compounding the situation, the city's 40 percent tax collection rate provides very limited funding for day-to-day municipal operations.

When Gary Mayor Karen Freeman-Wilson came into office in early 2012, tackling the city's abandoned buildings problem was among her top priorities. But the $400,000 annual allocation for demolition allows the city to demolish around 100 properties – a drop in the bucket compared to the thousands of structures in need of demolition.

In the fall of 2012, Mayor Freeman-Wilson teamed up with former Chicago Mayor Richard M. Daley, who had recently joined Chicago Harris as a distinguished senior fellow, and announced a formal partnership between Harris and the City of Gary. Under this partnership, Harris students and others across campus have been working closely with Mayor Freeman-Wilson and her senior staff to help tackle some of the city's most pressing policy issues.

For one of the first projects, run in partnership with the nonprofit LocalData, Harris students helped design and build a mobile phone surveying app, which allowed volunteers to canvass the city block by block, collecting data on housing conditions. So far, these efforts have helped to survey more than three-quarters of the city's residential parcels on an extremely tight budget. The data have helped city officials map levels of blight, improve their redevelopment plans and target areas ripe for demolition.

The data also gave the city a leg up when Indiana announced in January that it would soon distribute $75 million in funds from the federal Hardest Hit program to municipalities across the state. The parcel survey was a key component in the city's successful bid for a $6.6 million grant. "I could not contain my excitement," Freeman-Wilson said on May 22, the day the city received the funds. "We had a team of people who worked extremely hard on this application, and their diligence and tenacity has now paid off in large dividends for our city."

The infusion of Hardest Hit funds will enable the city to tear down at least 379 blighted properties – though officials believe they may be able to stretch those dollars to double the number of demolitions the city completes under the 18-month program.

Last year, Daley participated in a neighborhood cleanup event in Gary, part of another initiative developed by Harris students for Gary. Reflecting on the city and what its future may hold, he said, "Everything can be reborn. There are big challenges, but challenges can be overcome by people." *– Jocelyn Hare*

To learn more about the Gary Project, follow GaryProjectUChicago on Facebook and @UChicagoGary on Twitter. You can also contact uchicagogaryproject@gmail.com.

Dan and Fay Hartog Levin

Supporting Social Conscience "When you have more than you need, it's time to start giving back," says Daniel Levin, AB'50, JD'53, paraphrasing his friend Irving B. Harris. In the early 1980s, Harris recruited Levin to join the Visiting Committee of the University's Committee on Public Policy Studies. Since then Levin and his wife, Fay Hartog Levin, have seen the Committee become the Harris School of Public Policy and funded the school's Daniel Levin Professorship. The couple has now invested in the next stage of Chicago Harris' evolution, pledging $3 million in June toward the school's future home, a proposed redesign of the 1962 Edward Durell Stone building at 1307 East 60th Street.

Chicago Harris "makes a big contribution to Chicago," says Daniel, who founded Chicago's Habitat real estate development firm and East Bank Club fitness facility. "Almost every aspect has an urban facet to it." The Levins also appreciate that their gift will extend far beyond the city. Fay, former ambassador to the Netherlands (2009–11) who now sits on the board of the Chicago Council on Global Affairs, is impressed with the school's emphasis on finding "ways to engage meaningfully with students of other countries."

Daniel has enjoyed watching Chicago Harris grow from "a very dedicated small school" into what he calls "the social conscience of the University." The Levins felt inspired to help secure a home where that conscience can flourish.

Asset Management Last May, financial leaders from U.S. metropolitan areas convened at Chicago Harris for the Spring 2014 Municipal CFO Forum. Over the course of two days, the CFOs came to a consensus: municipal bonds are essential for infrastructure investment nationwide. Penalizing banks for owning municipal bonds, they argued, hurts our cities, limits infrastructure investment and is not good public policy. A month later, a letter signed by CFOs of 18 of America's largest cities was sent to the Federal Reserve, Treasury and FDIC, asking them to deem municipal bonds just as liquid as other securities, like corporate bonds and debt of foreign governments.

The letter hit its mark. In early September, the federal government expressed a willingness to treat certain municipal bonds as Level 2 Highly Qualified Liquid Assets – the rating the CFOs requested. Federal Reserve Governor Daniel Tarullo asked his staff to establish criteria for determining which municipal bonds would qualify. As the letter explained, the change would let banks count the bonds among assets the Fed considers liquid, making the investments more attractive to banks. The CFOs stressed that the current, more stringent rule makes it more costly for cities to borrow, wasting tax dollars on higher costs of capital instead of delivering public services and infrastructure.

"Municipal bonds have built this country," says Lois Scott, CFO of Chicago. "Loans to foreign governments like Spain, Italy or Botswana should not get better treatment under the new rules than financing for our nation's schools, roads and parks."

CONACYT Agreement Chicago Harris and Mexico's National Council on Science and Technology (CONACYT) have signed a five-year agreement to offer full scholarships for up to 15 Mexican nationals per year who have been admitted to Harris. The jointly funded fellowships will advance CONACYT's mission to promote scientific and technological innovation while helping to ensure that Chicago Harris remains a top destination for future policy leaders from Mexico.

The agreement is part of a broad partnership with the Mexican government that also includes a commitment to collaborate on projects in the health and energy sectors. "It consolidates the already strong relationship we have with policy leaders in Mexico and provides a platform for greater mutual benefit," says Chicago Harris Professor Colm O'Muircheartaigh, who helped secure the deal while serving as dean. "This important agreement will allow CONACYT to send more Mexican students to one of the best recognized programs on public policies in the world," adds Pablo Rojo, director of scholarships of CONACYT.

Crises Averted Natural catastrophes. Disease outbreaks. Terrorism. In the wake of major disasters, government leaders often wish they could have been better prepared.

Chicago Harris has partnered with the Cook County Department of Homeland Security and Emergency Management to launch "Leading Through Crisis," a new yearlong program that trains county and municipal officials to effectively lead communities through all facets of a disaster. The program kicked off on October 14 with an event featuring Cook County Board President Toni Preckwinkle and former Boston Police Commissioner Ed Davis, who described his experience during the 2013 Boston Marathon bombing.

In addition to training workshops, "Leading Through Crisis" will comprise lectures from UChicago faculty and experts plus a "capstone" project that will include a simulation drill. Students from Chicago Harris and the Graham School of Continuing Education will also have the opportunity to participate.

"Local government leaders have a fundamental responsibility to keep their communities safe," said former Chicago Mayor Richard M. Daley, a distinguished senior fellow at Chicago Harris, who initiated the program. "As the nature of threats and disasters grows increasingly complex, we must train today's leaders – and tomorrow's – to lead through these crises."

Presidential Honor

Joan Harris at the White House, July 28, 2014

In a July 28 ceremony at the White House, President Barack Obama presented the National Medal of Arts to Chicago Harris supporter Joan Harris. The medal recognized Harris for "supporting creative expression" nationwide. "Her decades of leadership and generosity have enriched our cultural life and helped countless artists, dancers, singers and musicians bring their talents to center stage," read the citation.

A prominent arts patron, Harris has helped to strengthen initiatives like the Cultural Policy Center at Chicago Harris and MusicNow, the Chicago Symphony Orchestra's audio/visual program. She serves in leadership roles at cultural organizations nationwide, including the Aspen Music Festival and School, the Juilliard School and Chicago Symphony Orchestra.

A passion for public service prompted Joan's late husband, Irving B. Harris, to help launch Chicago Harris in 1988. Joan has sustained his generosity as a member of the school's Visiting Committee and as a trustee of the Irving Harris Foundation, which recently committed $10 million to support Chicago Harris fellowships, facility projects, and cultural and early childhood policy.

Building the Future

To education entrepreneur Dennis Keller, Chicago Harris is an "underburnished jewel." With his landmark $20 million gift to the school, he's helping it shine in a new home.

By Steve Hendershot
Photography by Earl Richardson

From left: Joan Harris, Dennis Keller, Connie Keller, King Harris, Daniel Diermeier

CHICAGO HARRIS STUDENTS, faculty and staff gathered in the school's cafe on the afternoon of November 5 without knowing why they'd been called together. There was a good sign, though: champagne. One student grabbed a flute from the server's tray, saying, "If we have to toast something, I want to be ready."

The drinks weren't the only promising sign. The entire cafe had been converted into a formal reception area, with elegant tablecloths, Harris-branded banners and a heavy black backdrop behind a makeshift stage. Off to the side, caterers quietly stocked a row of trays with light fare. There were cameras everywhere, with many pointing toward a mysteriously covered easel that stood to the left of the stage. By the time a phalanx of University of Chicago leaders arrived, the room was buzzing with anticipation. The group paraded down the hallway and past a wall where a flyer posted on a corkboard asked, "What's your legacy?"

It was an appropriate question for the announcement that followed. Students craned their necks for a look as the easel was uncovered, revealing a foam-core board with an architect's rendering of a modernist building. The students recognized it, sort of – it looked a lot like the undergraduate dorm located a few blocks east on 60th Street. But the building shown here was no mere dorm. Restored and reimagined with a sprawling, south-facing lawn, it both honored and gave new life to the South Side masterpiece by Edward Durell Stone, the architect who created landmarks like the Kennedy Center in Washington, D.C., Radio City Music Hall in New York City and the Aon Center in Chicago. Underneath the rendering, centered between the University of Chicago and Chicago Harris logos, a bold-font caption read: "The Keller Center."

"It's wonderful to see you all here today on what I believe is a very exciting moment for the Harris School," remarked University President Robert J. Zimmer. The room hushed into silence as Zimmer announced two extraordinary gifts that will enable the school to reach its full potential in a new, greatly expanded facility. A donation of $12.5 million came from the family of King Harris, a longtime supporter and University trustee whose late uncle, Irving B. Harris, provided the original endowment for the school. Another $20 million came from Dennis Keller, MBA'68, and his wife, Connie. Although Dennis Keller is a University trustee and a member of the Chicago Harris Visiting Committee, he has maintained a relatively low profile at the school. When his gift was announced, the students glanced around the room, unsure which of the men in suits was their new benefactor.

Keller didn't seem to mind. He stood quietly in a corner of the room, handing champagne flutes to a couple of students as a succession of speakers took their turns at the microphone. "Extraordinary," said President Zimmer of Harris and Keller's gifts. "Transformative," said Provost Eric Isaacs. "Historic," agreed Dean Daniel Diermeier.

When Keller finally ascended the podium, his remarks were characteristically understated. "This is a good day," he began with a smile, before explaining in his down-to-earth manner how he arrived at his decision. The $20 million donation is a gift, of course, but as Keller spoke it quickly became clear that he approaches philanthropy with an entrepreneur's instinct.

Calling Chicago Harris "an underburnished jewel," Keller described his hopes for a world-class school that would not only train students for top careers in public policy, but also help elevate the nation's public discourse and improve the process through which our policies are formed. Keller explained that he saw Harris as a premier institution on the cusp of even greater things.

"The world needs what this place does," Keller explained. "We need statesmen and stateswomen, not only ones who can truly analyze facts and create good recommendations for policy, but also ones who can implement that policy. We need real leaders, and the need is enormous – and here is a source to fill that need. A robust and larger Harris School is going to help enormously in many ways, so let's look forward to that."

Keller's contribution to Chicago Harris isn't his first major donation to a university. He has long supported his undergraduate alma mater, Princeton, where he earned a bachelor's degree in economics in 1963, as well as the University of Chicago's Booth School of Business, from which he received his MBA in 1968. Yet his decision to fund a new home for Harris is different – driven not by a personal connection but by a sense of opportunity.

Perhaps most important, Keller has a remarkable track record as a higher-education innovator and trend spotter. After four decades


Connie and Dennis Keller, November 5, 2014

devoted to pushing academic institutions to new heights, he knows how to make educational jewels sparkle, and he's judicious in selecting the ones with the potential to shine the brightest. By giving Chicago Harris such a powerful vote of confidence, linking his philanthropic legacy to the school's future, Keller has gone a long way toward ensuring its continued success.

Keller, 73, launched his professional career in the communications division at Motorola. He left to pursue his MBA full-time, and a few months before graduation he got an offer he couldn't refuse from Bell & Howell, a Chicago-based pioneer in motion picture projection and audio-visual equipment. One of Bell & Howell's education divisions owned and operated a technical school called the DeVry Institute of Technology. While working there, Keller learned the value of professional training that emphasized developing immediately marketable skills, as opposed to concentrating on theoretical and conceptual training. Keller figured that the DeVry model would translate to other disciplines, including postgraduate business training.

That was important, because he also knew there were lots of recent liberal-arts graduates struggling to find work. So he hatched an idea aimed squarely at that demographic: a for-profit business school that would give underemployed liberal-arts graduates a time-efficient way to refocus on careers in business management.

"I saw a need for a more applied program," Keller says. "I knew plenty of people would still want to go to big research universities, where you have advantages of a well-known name and credential, but I reasoned there were also a lot of other people who would prefer to be taught mostly by practitioners, and with an eye to what is necessary and most useful to someone who wants to manage and run a business."

Keller left Bell & Howell to launch the new school in 1973 along with partner Ron Taylor, a Bell & Howell colleague who had a similar background. (Taylor had earned his bachelor's degree at Harvard University, then an MBA at Stanford.) The pair introduced a number of innovations that have since gone mainstream, such as practitioner-taught classes and accelerated, boot camp-style degree programs. They also introduced nights-and-weekends MBA courses that prefigured modern executive MBA programs, as well as an enhanced focus on job placement. Those additions were on top of the school's revolutionary business model as a for-profit graduate school. The idea wasn't to undercut premier business schools but to fill a need ignored by many of the business programs offered by state universities and private colleges: focusing on practical skills and job placement.

"The genius of the American educational system is that it isn't homogenous," says Keller. Taylor agrees: "We saw a student audience that wasn't being served by traditional institutions, and we followed that old entrepreneurial adage that goes, 'Find a need and fill it.' It was a combination of philanthropy and business, of wanting to make a profit but doing it in a way that's high-quality and helps people get jobs."

It was a wild success. In its first two years, when Keller and Taylor offered certificates in business administration, the school grew from seven students to more than 100. In 1977, the school became the first for-profit educational institution to be accredited by the North Central Association of Colleges and Schools, and began to offer a full MBA degree program.

The original name of the school was the clunky-sounding "CBA Institute for Post-Graduate Education in Business." The pair decided to replace it with something that had a nicer ring to it, so they put a few contenders to a vote among students, who chose to name the institution after the man who had co-founded it and devised its business plan. The Keller Graduate School of Management was born. Keller was 34.

Throughout the 1970s and '80s, the professional partnership between Keller and Taylor flourished as the school grew in size and stature. By 1987, the enrollment at the Keller Graduate School of Management was nearly 2,000 students. The two men agreed that they would always earn equal salaries, and they became so adept at working together that their arguments often ended with the two switching sides.

"We would argue, then go away and think about it," says Taylor. "And when we would come back to argue again, we would be arguing the opposite points – we'd convinced each other."

Whatever the formula, it was working. In 1987, the pair decided to make their most aggressive decision yet: they came full circle and acquired DeVry from Bell & Howell for $182 million. It was a highly leveraged buyout, but Keller and Taylor managed to pull DeVry out of debt within a few years. In 1991, the new parent company, DeVry Inc., went public.

DeVry had the exclusive claim to the market it had created for many years, but eventually competitors caught up. First, traditional business schools began emulating portions of the Keller model by adding practitioners to their faculties, offering multiple-site classes and establishing nights-and-weekend MBA programs. More recently, for-profit postsecondary education has gained steam and acceptance, thanks to the high profile of schools such as DeVry and the University of Phoenix.

"I believe that competition and choice is the secret sauce of a productive and growing economy," Keller says. "We've added a lot of that to the education economy."

DeVry continued to grow, with Keller as CEO and Taylor as president, until Keller retired as CEO in 2004 (he stepped down as chairman in 2008). Taylor, who served as sole CEO from 2004 until 2006, remains on the board, and Keller now serves as an adviser. There are currently eight institutions under the umbrella of the DeVry Education Group, including a college of medicine, a college of nursing, a college of veterinary medicine and a college devoted to accounting – and that total doesn't even include the Keller Graduate School of Management, which is the graduate school of DeVry University. The DeVry Education Group encompasses 160,000 students, including nearly 13,000 at the Keller Graduate School of Management. There are 140 campuses, and 2014 revenues totaled $1.9 billion.

With his pioneering model of for-profit education and his enduring commitment to traditional institutions such as the University of Chicago and Princeton, Keller seems to straddle very different worlds. How does he maintain his balance? He believes in the mission and function of research institutions, as well as the on-campus undergraduate experience provided by the thousands of public and nonprofit private colleges. But he also believes strongly in the value provided by professional-training-focused colleges such as the Keller Graduate School of Management. The unifying thread is a conviction that higher education works best when it expands opportunities for all students, providing them with a diversity of options as they pursue their goals.

"One of the wonderful hallmarks of our country's educational system is that it is so flexible," he says. "You can start over, you can try something new, you can wait until you're 40 and then go start. You just can't do that in most developed countries in the world."

In the years following his retirement, Keller has shifted his attention away from long-established ventures and toward more entrepreneurial, family-focused efforts. He now invests along with his three sons – all University of Chicago alumni – through TK Capital, a family fund that acquires and operates industrial

KING HARRIS

UNIVERSITY TRUSTEE
CHICAGO HARRIS VISITING COMMITTEE CHAIR

"I have watched with pride as Chicago Harris has grown, and our family is proud to contribute to its future," says King Harris. "The school has expanded as much as possible in its current home, and now it is time to scale up so it can reach its potential."

The Harris family is pledging $12.5 million toward the Keller Center and Dean Daniel Diermeier's "2 x 20" initiative, which aims to double the size of the school by 2020. It is a characteristically targeted gift, reflective of the family's longtime support for the school.

King Harris takes his philanthropic cues from his father, Neison Harris, and his uncle, Irving Harris, both major philanthropists during their lifetimes. Irving Harris, for whom the school is named, provided the core endowment for Chicago Harris, and his wife, Joan, helped launch the campaign last year with an additional $10 million challenge grant from the Irving Harris Foundation.

"Both my father and Irving taught us all to be intelligent with our philanthropy," King Harris says. "They saw private funding as a way to bring research and development to organizations and institutions that needed it but could not afford it. They showed how our gifts could provide the impetus to get things going in the right direction. In this case, we are sustaining that direction."

Harris's philanthropy is informed by deep involvement with many financial and social institutions. He heads a family investment office, Harris Holdings, and serves as board chair of AptarGroup, Inc., an international packaging company. He also chairs the Board of Trustees of the Museum of Contemporary Art, sits on the Executive Committee of the Chicago Community Trust and serves as a University trustee and chair of the Chicago Harris Visiting Committee.

The depth of Harris's commitment to improving society was apparent at the outset of his career. After graduating from Harvard in 1965, he enrolled in the Peace Corps and served as a community development worker in Lota, Chile. He returned to Harvard and received an MBA in 1969. From 1969 to 1971, he served as a neighborhood center director in Revere and Malden, Massachusetts, for the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity, a national anti-poverty program.

Harris continues to work on community development issues as a senior fellow at the Metropolitan Planning Council. He has specialized in affordable housing issues for the last 15 years and has worked actively with suburban leaders on forward-looking housing planning. He also helps Chicago Harris students gain practical experience as a longstanding member of the school's Mentor Program.

The Keller Center, Harris believes, will strengthen the faculty's capacity to train students in many policy areas. It will also broaden the school's impact by enabling faculty to enhance their research. "It all supports a growing and sustainable community," he says, "whose graduates will be out in the world applying their skills toward the important challenges of today and tomorrow." *– Ronald Litke*

ABOUT THE CAMPAIGN

On November 5, Chicago Harris received a donation of $32.5 million from Dennis and Connie Keller and the Harris family. By supporting a new building for Chicago Harris – an imaginative redesign of the 1962 Edward Durell Stone Building – the gift will allow for substantial growth in faculty size and student enrollment.

But this momentous gift is only the beginning. It was announced days into the University of Chicago Campaign: Inquiry & Impact, an ambitious and comprehensive initiative to raise $4.5 billion by 2019. As part of the University-wide campaign, Chicago Harris aims to raise $74 million to support not only the new building, but also three other key investment areas.

Scholarships and fellowships provide promising scholars with valuable study, research and training opportunities. This year, the first-ever Chicago Harris Alumni Fellowship has enabled student AnnaLisa Daniele to follow her passion of fighting global health inequality. Bolstering support for fellowships will allow the school to keep recruiting the brightest talents regardless of economic background, giving promising students the financial freedom to drive progress in the areas they care about.

The school also seeks to fortify its robust internship and practicum offerings. Students in recent years have prepared reports at the World Trade Organization, surveyed abandoned properties in Gary, Indiana, and met with people working to eradicate TB in India – all with support from Chicago Harris. New donations will help more students gain valuable experience through unpaid or underpaid opportunities like these.

Finally, the campaign will benefit the academic centers addressing pressing policy challenges at Harris. The centers – the Center for Human Potential and Public Policy, the Center for Policy Entrepreneurship, the Center for Municipal Finance and the Center for Data Science and Public Policy – were founded on the idea that true innovation happens when faculty and researchers cross disciplinary boundaries. Donor support will enhance the centers' ability to produce innovative research with worldwide impact.

The Inquiry & Impact campaign is a chance for donors to provide promising social innovators with the study, research and work opportunities needed to launch their careers. "Years from now we will look back on this day as a transformative moment in the history of the school," Dean Daniel Diermeier said at the November 5 gift announcement. "Rigor and relevance remain our compass point, but our aspirations for our school continue to rise. We cannot achieve our goals without our wonderful, committed and generous supporters."

manufacturing companies.

Keller's son Temp, MBA'07, is following in his father's footsteps as an education entrepreneur; he runs WonderLab, a supplemental-education lab for middle-school students based in Austin, Texas. His brothers and his father are board members and co-investors in WonderLab's parent company, Templeton Learning.

Another family legacy is outdoor sports and conservationism. Keller has been a trustee of the U.S. Ski and Snowboard Team Foundation along with several wildlife-focused groups. Here, too, his sons have followed suit: Jeff and David, JD'08, also sit on the boards of conservation-focused nonprofits. Dennis Keller remains an avid skier and, until recently, a runner – a habit he picked up early in his career in order to stay in shape and boost his energy level despite working long hours. A spinal injury that occurred in 2012 when the Kellers were staying at their summer home in Nantucket, Massachusetts, has curtailed his running but not his skiing. Despite doctors' orders, he was back on the slopes that December, four months after the accident.

Keller's physical stamina is matched by his impressively active work as a philanthropist. His recent gift to Chicago Harris is the third in a series of impact gifts he has given to academic institutions. Through these gifts he has donated more than $100 million, including $60 million to the University of Chicago and a similar amount to Princeton.

"Dennis wants to have an impact, and he has a clear vision of where he wants to go," says Dean Diermeier. "He really incorporates that entrepreneurial spirit into his philanthropic giving."

But Keller's sense that Chicago Harris is worthy of his attention isn't the only reason for his recent gift. There's also his affection for the late Irving Harris, who provided the core endowment for the school and for whom the school is named. Keller considers his gift a sort of legacy partnership with Harris. Even though they didn't work together on projects related to Harris, the two were good friends. To this day Keller expresses admiration for Harris's success in business as well as his commitment to philanthropy.

"He's one of my heroes, someone I loved dearly," says Keller. "He was such a warm, interested, encouraging person, and anything with his name on it is good by me."

Like his friend Irving, Keller believes Chicago Harris has an important role to play in shaping public policy, particularly relating to access to education. He feels the tone surrounding the subject has grown too shrill, and that the school's quantitative, analytical approach can foster a healthier discussion of the issues.

"The stridency of the rhetoric and accusations and the lack of statesman- and stateswoman-like behavior on both sides has gone too far," Keller says. "It really is upsetting because I think it's counterproductive and masks the real issues and the communication we could be having. Rather than call each other names, we could be trying to work through how we can integrate our ideas and improve both the economy and the lives of the many people on the lower end of the income spectrum."

In addition to his gift to Chicago Harris, Keller has earmarked $5 million to support Chicago Booth. "It is my hope," he explained in a press release, that the gifts "will spur students and faculty from both schools to work together more collaboratively and will provide opportunities for students from each of those schools to extend their knowledge base beyond their individual disciplines."

"Dennis is always looking for significant impact, someplace where his giving will be transformational," says President Zimmer. "He loves the University and he's been an absolutely wonderful supporter, but in this case he also saw that sort of opportunity."

Keller agrees: "This little jewel that we have has every potential to get better and better, and to fill more and more important needs for its students and also for society." ■

JOAN HARRIS

CHICAGO HARRIS VISITING COMMITTEE MEMBER

This past February, Joan Harris helped kick off Chicago Harris's capital campaign with a gift – and a challenge. The trustees of the Irving Harris Foundation, where she serves as president, granted the school $10 million with the expectation that it be used to bolster donor participation and secure $30 million from other supporters.

"One of the things I learned from Irving was assessing risk and trusting my own judgment," says Harris, referring to her late husband, who provided the core endowment for the school. "Our support reflects a confidence in the ambitions of Dean Diermeier and Chicago Harris to expand the reach of the school, and to place its graduates in programs and situations where they will utilize what they've learned."

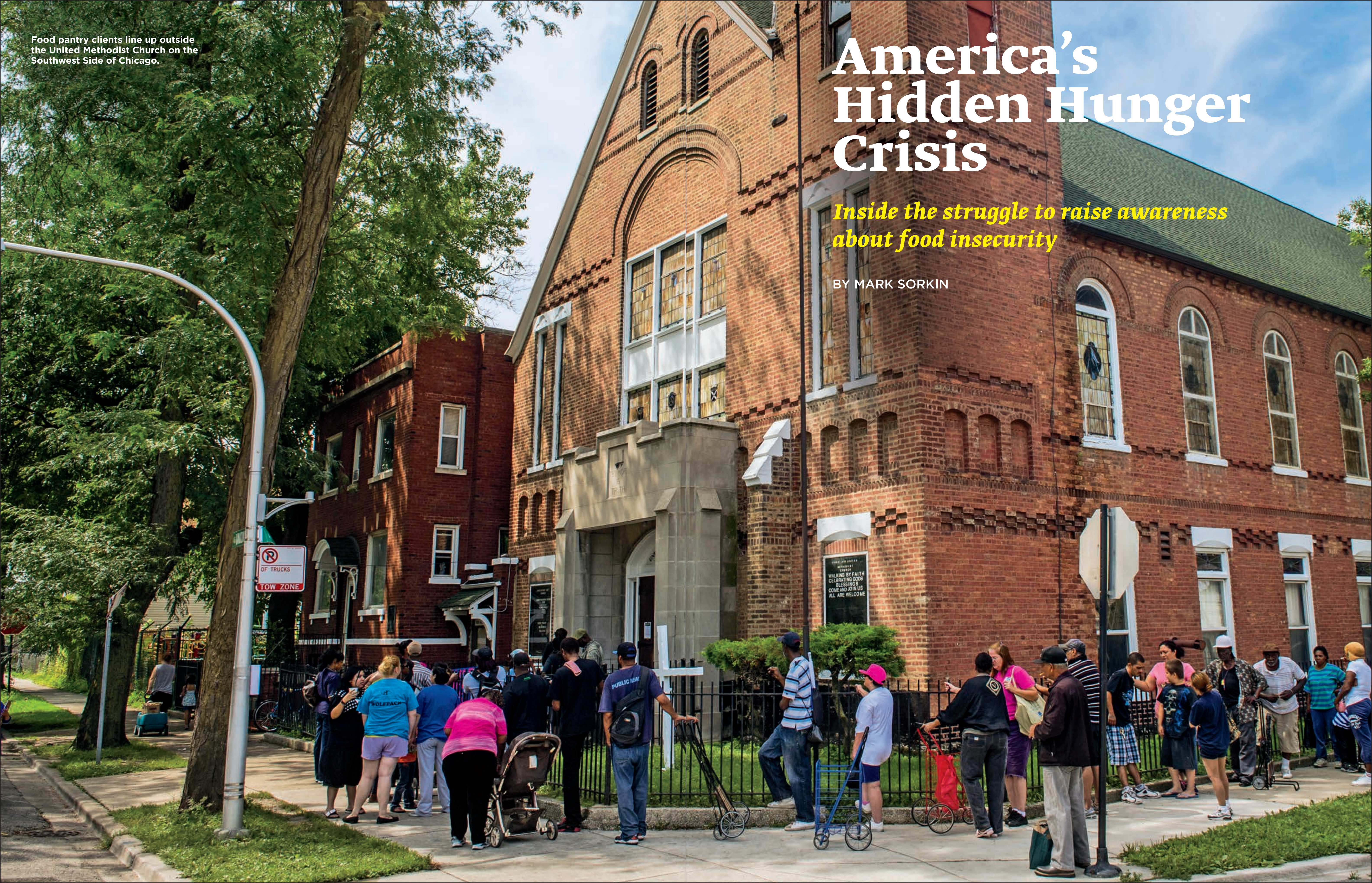
Harris says her commitment strengthens Irving's original vision for the school, helping to mobilize the University's intellectual capital to effect positive change. Just as her gift kickstarted the campaign, Irving's generosity and dedication to public service enabled Chicago Harris to become a viable graduate school in the first place. "As he always did, Irving put his chips in first," says Harris. "He was moved by the potential he saw, and he was willing to take the chance and represent it."

Over the years Harris has honored this rich legacy while cultivating her extraordinary passion for the arts. She has served as commissioner of the Chicago Department of Cultural Affairs and Special Events and held leadership positions at cultural organizations and agencies nationwide, including the Julliard School and the National Endowment for the Arts. Closer to home, she chaired the Harris Theater, the renowned performance space in Chicago she and Irving founded in 2003, and has funded Chicago Harris's Cultural Policy Center for many years. One of only two programs of its kind in the United States, the Cultural Policy Center (run jointly with NORC) provides leading interdisciplinary research on arts and cultural issues.

It was a fitting honor in July when Harris received a National Medal of Arts from President Barack Obama. She recalls telling Obama at the ceremony that Irving, a longtime champion of social programs for disadvantaged youth, would be proud of the administration's emphasis on early childhood education. "He looked back at me, smiling," she says, "and then he said, 'Irving told me I had to do it.'"

The Irving Harris Foundation has given the school nearly $35 million over the last 25 years. The latest gift has already helped build significant momentum. In November, Irving's nephew King Harris announced a $12.5 million gift to Chicago Harris, and Dennis Keller pledged a $20 million donation.

Harris's gift will provide funding for key priorities, including $2 million for the new building, $2.375 million for general operating support and endowed faculty positions, $4 million for student scholarships and $1.675 million for the Cultural Policy Center. – *Ronald Litke*



Food pantry clients line up outside the United Methodist Church on the Southwest Side of Chicago.

America's Hidden Hunger Crisis

Inside the struggle to raise awareness about food insecurity

BY MARK SORKIN

TRACY FARRELL-GRANAT enforces the two-bite rule at the dinner table. When she serves up something new, her kids have to take at least two bites to get a full taste. If they still don't like it after that, they're off the hook. "I always try to do meat, vegetable and potato or rice," she says. But preparing a well-balanced meal for a family of seven is not so easy, especially for someone in Farrell-Granat's position.

The 33-year-old mother of five, who has lived in the South Side Chicago neighborhood of Canaryville her entire life, struggles daily to put food on the table. Her husband, Jason, takes side jobs in roofing and carpentry when he can, but the work is unsteady. In May, after many months of unemployment, Farrell-Granat was hired to make bacon bits at a meatpacking plant. But the $8.25 hourly rate and the unpredictable shifts on the factory line have already sent her looking for a second job.

The Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP, formerly known as "food stamps") has been a lifeline. "I was getting $600 to $700 a month when I wasn't working," Farrell-Granat says. "Now I get $500." Even the smaller benefit goes a long way, but it's not enough to cover food costs for the month. And with their income largely spent on rent and utilities and other basic necessities, she and Jason can't make up the difference on their own.

That's why Farrell-Granat and her five-year-old twin daughter Addison have come to the United Methodist Church this morning. Every Wednesday the church hosts the Union Avenue Food Pantry, which welcomes SNAP-eligible residents from the neighborhood. After signing in with a volunteer at the front, Farrell-Granat and Addison work their way around the room, stopping at each table to gather staples: cans of soup and pinto beans, fresh fruits and veggies, pasta, saltines. Another volunteer opens a cooler and offers a hunk of Cotija cheese and some bratwursts. A third bags the groceries with a smile. With her wagon full of food and a community quite palpably opening its arms to her, Farrell-Granat is in good spirits. But even at this moment, she's keenly aware of the stark reality. "Things are so hard now," she says. "Without the pantry, my kids would starve."

A large number of Chicagoans are in the same bind, forced to choose between food and other bills, increasingly reliant on food pantries despite receiving monthly support from SNAP and other government food programs. The Union Avenue Food Pantry serves 150-200 families a month, or roughly 2,000 individuals. It's one of 650 sites and programs affiliated with the Greater Chicago Food Depository, a nonprofit food bank that distributed 67 million pounds of food to needy Chicagoans last year – the equivalent of 154,000 meals per day. The network estimates that it serves more than 232,100 households annually.

Other cities across the country are reporting similar figures. According to the Department of Agriculture, 14.3 percent of US households were "food insecure" at some point last year, meaning they did not know where their next meal would come from. That equates to about 49 million people, 8.6 million of whom are children. It's no surprise that the figure shot up from around 11 percent when the financial system crashed in 2008. But many Americans don't realize that it remains elevated six years later. The hunger crisis in this country is not just pervasive. In the wake of the recession, it's persistent.

The rise in food insecurity has coincided with an era of fierce congressional debate over government spending. In recent years dueling budget proposals have transformed school lunch programs into a partisan football. During the government shutdown last fall, several states were preparing to turn away enrollees in the federal Special Supplemental Nutrition Program for Women, Infants and Children (WIC) – until the USDA released $125 million in emergency funds. And when the Farm Bill was taking shape, legislators with their eyes on deficit reduction targeted outlays for SNAP benefits, which more than doubled to $72 billion from 2007 to 2011 (excluding administrative costs). The final version of the bill President Obama signed in February included $8.6 billion in SNAP cuts over a decade. Some states found a way to maintain funding levels by raising a home-heating subsidy tied to food-stamp aid, but the larger point had been made: in the current political environment, federal spending on food programs had reached its limit.

With need continually hovering above the level at which government can meet it, food banks have evolved to fill the gap. Traditionally a temporary refuge for those in search of emergency aid, local food pantries and soup kitchens have become regular fixtures in the landscape for millions of Americans. This dramatic shift has prompted the need to know more about the population that has come to rely on them so heavily – and opens up a fresh opportunity to address some crucial public health concerns.

Seated in her office in the northeast corner of Chicago's Loop, dressed casually in jeans and a patterned shirt, Elaine Waxman, AM'86, sets down a can of Arizona green tea and softly chops her desk with the side of her hand: once, twice. "In order to act in a community," she says, "you need to understand what's going on locally."

As vice president of research and nutrition at Feeding America, the nation's largest provider of charitable food assistance, Waxman helps people at all levels improve their understanding of the nation's hunger crisis. The studies she develops and oversees add depth and granular detail to a problem many people wrongly assume is confined to small geographical pockets or marginal subgroups. Her most recent research provides the hard evidence to show that Americans across the country are relying on food banks more heavily than ever before. That work doesn't just empower advocates who seek to bolster funding for food programs; it's also prompting food banks to reconceive of themselves as more comprehensive community service providers.

PRECEDING PAGE: PHOTOGRAPHY BY ROBERT KOZLOFF/THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Elaine Waxman (center) and Shana Alford discuss a Feeding America report.

PHOTOGRAPHY BY JOEL WINTERMANTLE

"Some of this work can be very concrete in terms of raising awareness and debunking myths," Waxman says. Consider, for example, Map the Meal Gap, an annual project Waxman and her team collaborate on with Craig Gundersen at the University of Illinois. The study uses USDA data on state-level food insecurity along with county-level data on drivers like unemployment, median income and racial demographics to estimate food insecurity rates for every county and congressional district in the country. This helps food banks adapt to the changing needs in their area and gives reform advocates a clear message to deliver to elected officials.

Waxman and her team don't just work with government data; they also collect and analyze their own. The most ambitious of these efforts is the quadrennial *Hunger in America* report, which provides a comprehensive look at the state of charitable food assistance in the United States. The 2014 report, released on August 18, was the sixth and by far the largest installment in the series, based on interviews with more than 60,000 clients and 32,000 agencies. It was also the most expensive, with a price tag close to $5.5 million, a $2 million jump from the 2010 study.

Gathering the data was a huge undertaking, but Waxman had two key assets at her disposal: a staff of well-trained research fellows and ready access to the populations they surveyed. The vast majority of the local food pantries, shelters and soup kitchens in this country are served by Feeding America's national network of 200 food banks. (The banks, in turn, receive food and funding from a wide range of donors, including individuals, foundations, corporate partners, farmers and government suppliers.)

For the first time, data were collected electronically instead of through in-person interviews – a shift that greatly enhanced the level of confidentiality and accuracy but was greeted with anxiety in some quarters. "I think people were wary of making that change because they thought the clients wouldn't be comfortable with the computers, or they'd think it was impersonal and wouldn't want to participate," Waxman says. "But it worked beautifully. Clients were very responsive, and some of the elderly clients even got excited after we got them acclimated. That was something I didn't anticipate, that it would actually be sort of empowering for people."

The report, developed with help from the Urban Institute and Westat, is a treasure trove of information on partner agencies: their services and programs, their reliance on volunteers, their connectedness to the wider social safety net. It also paints a sobering picture of the clients in the Feeding America network and reveals the tough tradeoffs they're making to survive. Last year, the report found, the organization gave food to 46.5 million people (nearly one in seven Americans), including 12 million children and 7 million seniors. One-fifth of those households have a member who has served in the US military. In the past year, the majority had to choose between food and utilities (69 percent), food and transportation (67 percent) or food and medical care (66 percent). A smaller share (31 percent) reported choosing between food and education.

"All of our reports are designed to equip people to have an intelligent conversation about the nature of these problems," Waxman explains. "Food insecurity in many ways is a proxy for financial instability. So that naturally leads you to a conversation about, OK, what's underneath? What are the root causes? If you want to have a conversation about ending hunger in this country, you have to have a conversation about those things."

Even as a young girl, Waxman was aware of the shadow zone of entrenched poverty the writer Michael Harrington famously named "The Other America." She grew up in a stable home just outside Louisville: her father was a physician; her mother, a minister. With both parents in the helping professions, it wasn't unusual for conversations at the dinner table to touch on social issues and debates about individual responsibility. Over time, Waxman came to share her parents' concern for those less fortunate.

Her parents had both grown up in rural Kentucky, and on visits to see her relatives Waxman discovered how wide the gulf was between her world and the one she encountered in Appalachia. In high school she read *Night Comes to the Cumberlands*, Harry Caudill's unflinching portrait of Appalachian decline. "That was the first time I was introduced to a sociological frame for explaining what I saw," she recalls. "I found that so interesting, this idea that there are structural forces at play – this is not about individuals, this is about institutions that create conditions in which individuals find themselves. All of those connections just went off, and I think it was at that point that I knew I wanted to do something in the policy world."

At Indiana University, where she double-majored in political science and English, Waxman developed her regional interest with a thesis on Appalachian oral histories. Immediately following graduation she enrolled at the University of Chicago's Committee on Public Policy Studies, the forerunner to the Harris School of Public Policy. "I realized at that time that the same kinds of structural issues and community struggles are relevant in all vulnerable communities," she says. "It doesn't really matter whether you're in Appalachia or, frankly, Rwanda or the South or West Side of Chicago."

A decade pursuing a career in health policy led Waxman to conclude that the health care struggles many Americans faced were often the downstream result of broader problems that originated upstream. So she returned to the University of Chicago to pursue a PhD at the School of Social Service Administration (SSA), where she focused on poverty. She wrote a dissertation on the structure of opportunity in low-wage retail jobs and graduated in 2009.

Although Waxman remains affiliated with SSA as a lecturer and regularly publishes her research in peer-reviewed journals, she has little interest in pursuing a full-time academic career. She joined Feeding America in 2009, and served as the director of social policy research and analysis until assuming her current role in 2010. "It was a very deliberate decision on my part to do applied research," she says. "I obviously have a huge appreciation for academic research, and one of the things I wanted to do in the nonprofit sector was bring more of the rigor and expertise that I learned from the academic setting into the policy and practice world."

Waxman's colleague and fellow alumna Shana Alford, MPP'06, brings a similar perspective to her role as director of program evaluation at Feeding America. Alford is at the helm of an eighteen-month project involving nine food banks in six states, with results expected soon. She's trying to answer a key question: what tools and insights do food banks need to identify and help enroll SNAP-eligible clients? The biggest takeaway so far is that "context really matters," Alford says. "When it comes to administering SNAP outreach and application assistance, you can't leave out the politics and policies in that environment, and you need to know what the population needs and demographics look like. Is your community multilingual? Then you're going to need multilingual staff."

Waxman, Alford believes, has been instrumental in making this type of work possible at Feeding America. "Her goal has been, and continues to be, to develop a strong research agenda that supports the work that Feeding America does and gives information to help leaders make better decisions," she says.

Household spending tradeoffs in the past year

Household coping strategies in the past year

Source: Survey of Feeding America clients, Hunger in America 2014 report

There is no single solution to food insecurity, Waxman insists. Rather, there are a lot of ways to get results. The problem, in her view, is that policymakers tend to glom on to the latest reform trend and run with it until hitting the next roadblock. An incremental approach is more likely to gain support in a highly charged political environment – and may indeed alleviate suffering. But a challenge as complex and persistent as poverty, she believes, requires a sustained, high-level discussion about the best ways to stabilize people's lives.

Feeding America keeps a close watch on Congress, with a robust advocacy strategy aimed at strengthening anti-hunger programs and protecting charitable tax deductions. But Waxman looks elsewhere for creative energy on the policy front. States and localities, she believes, have a lot to teach us about the value of experimenting with strategies on the full range of social issues.

For her part, Waxman is trying to bring some of that innovative spirit to the nation's food banks. Her research has demonstrated that the majority of households in the Feeding America network are living at or below the federal poverty line (72 percent), constantly juggling cost considerations when they make decisions about food, housing, health and education. So if clients are relying on charitable food programs on a regular basis, as most of them are (63 percent), why not equip local agencies with the tools to provide more comprehensive services?

When serving this population, Waxman argues, the nonprofit sector has tended to operate in silos: the housing folks address housing needs, the health folks address health needs and so on. But with Collaborating for Clients, a Feeding America pilot project launched in 2013, Waxman and her colleagues are trying to integrate those services through partnerships with other groups. By leveraging the centrality of food banks, they hope to provide groceries and SNAP outreach while connecting clients to things like job-skills training, heat and housing assistance and access to health care. If the model demonstrates impact and scalability, local agencies could start to look less like food pantries and more like way stations on the journey toward economic self-sufficiency.

Another effort seeks to build on recent research confirming a strong link between food insecurity and chronic disease. The 2014 *Hunger in America* report was the first to ask clients questions about diet-related disease. Fifty-eight percent of households said at least one member had high blood pressure, and 33 percent reported a member with diabetes – both figures rose significantly in households with seniors. Data on diet-related coping strategies were also collected, with 79 percent of households (and 84 percent of households with children) reporting that they'd purchased the cheapest food available, even if they knew it wasn't the healthiest option.

ILLUSTRATIONS COURTESY OF FEEDING AMERICA

"Food insecurity in many ways is a proxy for financial instability. So that naturally leads you to a conversation about, OK, what's underneath? What are the root causes?" Elaine Waxman

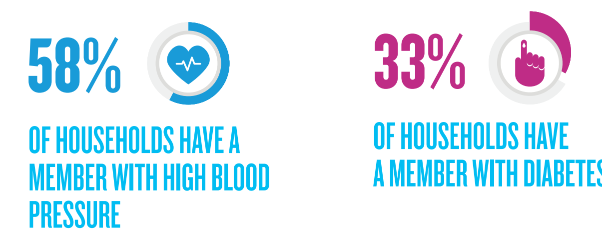
"If people are eating from a food bank week after week, month after month, year after year, then our obligation to provide food appropriate for their health conditions is much higher than if people are just needing emergency food for two or three weeks once a decade," says Hilary Seligman, an associate professor at the University of California, San Francisco, School of Medicine who specializes in the health implications of food insecurity. She and Waxman have been working together on a project to assess the increased risk and prevalence of chronic diseases like obesity, diabetes and heart failure among this population, and to identify opportunities for food banks to address them in collaboration with local health clinics.

Over the past decade, the nation's food banks began to recognize and respond to the links between food insecurity and nutrition. Many now prioritize distribution of fresh and healthy foods, and some are even providing meals appropriate for people with diabetes and celiac disease. But the idea that Waxman and Seligman are developing – that food pantries can assist with diabetes intervention and management, as well as broader education on nutrition and healthy food habits – is novel. They're just starting to build the evidence base with a pilot project at three food banks in California, Texas and Ohio. Preliminary data from a pre-post trial, Seligman says, are promising.

If the project proves effective and scalable, the research could lead to a fundamental change in the way local agencies are run. Back at the Union Avenue Food Pantry, for example, Deb Ocampo, who works for the Greater Chicago Food Depository at the Canaryville site, says she tries to put things out that people should be eating. But her clients – and, research suggests, those at sites across the country – would benefit enormously from the sort of interventions Waxman and Seligman are testing. It didn't take long after Tracy Farrell-Granat and her daughter left to see their neighbors passing up bags of fresh produce. One child, already overweight before puberty, clutched two large handfuls of Tootsie Rolls to his chest; his mother said she's still learning how to cook meals.

Like Waxman, Seligman believes that increasing funds for SNAP would not only pull desperate clients back from the brink but would also help set regular clients on a path toward self-sufficiency.

Household health



Source: Survey of Feeding America clients, Hunger in America 2014 report

Similarly, both argue that legislators who resist SNAP expansion on the basis of cost are not adequately considering the multiplier effects. A 2010 USDA estimate found that an increase of $1 billion in SNAP expenditures increased economic activity by $1.79 billion. Much of that money goes to big box stores, Seligman notes, but a significant portion returns to local communities.

Seligman takes the discussion a step further by putting it in a public health context. She has observed a telling correlation between the fact that 90 percent of SNAP benefits have been redeemed by the third week of the month and the increase among the low-income population in hospital admissions during the last week of the month. Recognizing the unlikelihood that Congress will expand SNAP in the near future, she's become a big proponent of smaller voucher programs that provide money exclusively for local purchases of fruits and vegetables. And as food banks grow in importance for hungry Americans, she believes local communities have a significant role to play in making them as efficient and health-conscious as possible.

The obstacles to progress are immense, but Seligman is hopeful that it will be possible to reorient the food bank network, in part because of the leadership at Feeding America. "I had been looking for quite some time for somebody within the food banking world to get this," she says. "From the first day I met Elaine, she has been that person. She is a really tireless fighter for what she thinks is right. So this has been easy for me, because I just ride Elaine's coattails. She really pushes and gets things done." ■

PHOTOGRAPHY BY KĀRLIS DAMBRANS, PHONE INTERFACE BY ANDREAS HELLQVIST

This fall, all across Chicago, hundreds of low-income families with preschool-age children are taking home iPads cased in kid-proof plastic covers, colored bright pink, orange, blue or green. Each comes loaded with an app, "A Story Before Bed," that allows parents and children to scroll through hundreds of storybooks, from classics like *The Ugly Duckling* to modern bestsellers like *Llama Llama Red Pajama*.

What looks like high-tech story time is actually high-stakes social research in action. Every weekday, parents in a randomly selected group are receiving text message reminders, like "Reading isn't just fun, it improves self-esteem and creativity for your child too!" Once a week, those same parents see charts comparing their reading time to goals they had set the week before and receive recognition for meeting them. As they work through a story, the tablet's camera and microphone are quietly capturing every moment, gathering data that will soon be pored over by researchers at Chicago Harris hoping to answer a massive question: Can these tiny incentives get parents to spend more time reading to their kids?

The study builds on strong evidence that gaps in literacy emerge at a very early age. By the time they enter preschool, lower-income children have typically heard millions fewer words than their wealthier counterparts. Possible reasons range from the cultural (many parents are simply unaware of the importance of talking to children) to the socioeconomic (low-income parents often straddle multiple jobs, limiting interaction time). But whatever the cause, the takeaway is clear: closing this "word gap" would boost low-income children's vocabularies and language-processing skills, setting kids up for success in school and later in life.

The Chicago Harris study, known as Parents and Children Together (PACT), is taking a fresh approach to the problem, leveraging technology to collect hard data. The PACT iPads measure each family's reading time down to the second, and the video and audio recordings let researchers verify that those moments are truly spent reading. The results will add to a growing body of work that's seeking innovative ways to modify deep-rooted behavior. If text messages and progress updates can increase educational interaction, then similar tactics could easily be extended to thousands of families worldwide, with enormous developmental dividends.

Similar reminders and progress updates have already been used to help people stop smoking and lose weight. "But nobody has really tried to take that approach with respect to parenting or changing parent-child interaction," says Harris Professor Ariel Kalil, director of the Center for Human Potential and Public Policy. Kalil and fellow Harris Professor Susan Mayer, a former dean of the school, serve as co-directors of the Behavioral Insights and Parenting (BIP) Lab, a new research enterprise based at Harris.

When it comes to changing parents' behavior, the two have seen what works – and, all too often, what doesn't. Most voluntary programs have trouble keeping parents engaged, while more involved home visit programs are too costly to adopt widely. With those barriers in mind, the BIP Lab is focusing on "low-cost, light-touch" solutions that are both cheap and simple to stick with. "Everything we're doing could be done in the real world with reasonable budgets and reasonable amounts of time," says Mayer.

PACT, which is funded by private foundations and run with help from the family services agency Children's Home and Aid and ten subsidized preschool centers around Chicago, is the first study to come out of the BIP Lab. Next in the pipeline is "It All Adds Up," which seeks to teach parents and kids financial literacy through an app-based curriculum, with funding from the nonprofit Aspen Institute. After that will come a trial funded by UChicago's Population Research Center encouraging parents to use mindfulness practices that reduce stress and improve decision-making.

While the three projects may seem vastly different, Kalil and Mayer describe them in similar terms. Each offers a distinct setting in which to help parents meet the challenging goals they set, and each draws on new, hitherto untested techniques from the emerging field of behavioral science. "I feel like we're on the cutting edge of creating this new area of inquiry, and I'm super-excited about that," says Kalil.

Kalil and Mayer started the BIP Lab in order to take a bold new approach to the study of parenting. It's a space for testing gutsy policies that don't conform to outdated models of human behavior. "We've discovered that cognition and decision-making are more complex than we thought," Mayer reflects. In other words, helping parents do their jobs has proven trickier than it sounds. But that doesn't mean the solution can't be as simple as a little nudge.

DAWN OF THE NUDGE

The problems that the BIP Lab is setting out to solve shouldn't exist in the first place – at least, not for *homo economicus*.

Born in the pages of economics textbooks, *homo economicus* – Latin for the "economic man" – is the perfectly rational human. He is able to make every decision based on a fully informed, fully logical cost-benefit analysis. He processes information effortlessly, mentally calculating the optimal decision at every turn. When taxes increase, he buys less. When he gets a credit card, he pays it off right away to minimize interest. When it comes to parenting, he reads to his children exactly the amount needed to guarantee their success later in life.

Forecasting how *homo economicus* might act is at the heart of neoclassical economics, the utility-maximizing school of economic

THE HARRIS BEHAVIORAL INSIGHTS TEAM

As they introduce nudges to the realm of parenting, Ariel Kalil and Susan Mayer are innovatively applying behavioral science to child development policy. The two scholars are joined by a growing cohort of Harris colleagues who are also testing the relationship between economics, policy and behavior, taking a microscope to the factors behind seemingly irrational decision-making.

DAMON JONES
HOUSEHOLD FINANCE

Three-quarters of Americans overpay their income taxes, effectively giving the government a zero-interest loan. One sensible explanation for such a suboptimal decision could be "inertia," Jones hypothesized in a 2012 paper. "But that's a very loaded term," he warns. "Because if you don't know someone's full story, you never know if it's truly a suboptimal choice." For example, some economists argue that people use tax refunds to force themselves to save money. Whether or not it's true, the theory illustrates that the line between behavioral and neoclassical approaches is generally fuzzy, he says. "You can always rationalize if you tell a long-enough, convoluted-enough story."

BENJAMIN KEYS
HOUSEHOLD FINANCE

When interest rates plummeted following the 2008 financial crisis, homeowners had the perfect opportunity to refinance. Yet according to a recent working paper co-authored by Keys, an alarming 20 percent of households for whom it would have been "optimal and feasible" failed to refinance, leaving an average of $11,500 on the table. Keys found that many mortgage holders didn't understand their options or were afraid to sign a fraudulent or manipulative agreement. Pinpointing psychological barriers and finding ways to get rid of them is imperative, he emphasizes. "A lot of times, people for whom psychological barriers are highest are also the people who need help the most."

JAMES SALLEE
ENERGY POLICY

For many car buyers, calculating the benefits of energy efficiency may not be worth the hassle, Sallee theorized in a working paper last year. Anything that simplifies the process should help people make smarter choices – except that's not happening. The EPA has mandated new energy efficiency labels, but "those labels are not terribly well designed," says Sallee. "There's really a shocking lack of research on labels themselves, as to exactly how effective they are at informing consumers and influencing choice." Besides, no single label can give everyone the information that's relevant to them. "And information about energy efficiency only matters if it's going to cause them to change their minds."

thought that dominated twentieth-century social science. But he's no longer the only archetype in town.

"There's an acknowledgment that the decisions people make aren't fitting so nicely into our standard models," says Chicago Harris Assistant Professor Damon Jones. For example, Jones, a public finance expert, noticed that the majority of low-income Americans receive income tax refunds, meaning that they are withholding excessive cash from each paycheck. It didn't seem rational. "Basically, you're loaning money to the government at zero interest," he explains. "That can be costly, especially if you're living paycheck to paycheck and you're unable to cover your expenses."

Jones wanted to know if people were actively choosing optimal withholding rates or if something else was to blame. In a 2012 paper published in *American Economic Journal: Economic Policy,* he looked at a subset of taxpayers whose default withholding rates had been lowered as the result of a little-noticed executive order meant to stimulate the economy. His hunch was right – after a year, only 25 percent had increased their withholding rates back to their former levels. Jones thinks that this may be an example of what economists call "inertia," an unwillingness to deviate from the default when faced with complex choices.

Jones' work places him among a growing cohort of Harris faculty whose research is re-evaluating some long-held assumptions about rational behavior. Assistant Professor James Sallee recently showed in a working paper that even though car buyers have easy access to information about vehicle mileage and fuel efficiency, they may not be using it to their advantage when selecting a new car – a phenomenon known as "rational inattention." "If it takes effort to figure out how much energy efficiency is worth, then there are lots of situations in which it's rational not to exert the effort," says Sallee.

The concept deals a blow to the neoclassical truism that more information always means better outcomes. Likewise, psychological and cognitive limitations – the fact that real people, unlike *homo economicus*, can't always understand their choices or weigh them clearly – have huge impacts that standard economic models have neglected. According to a recent working paper co-authored by Assistant Professor Benjamin Keys, 20 percent of homeowners who were eligible to refinance their homes in the aftermath of the housing crisis failed to do so. Upon investigation, Keys found evidence that many of those households either misunderstood their options or distrusted the financial institutions, to their serious disadvantage – the process would have saved the average household $11,500.

These studies show that a host of overlooked factors are preventing people from making themselves happier. To remove these roadblocks, policymakers need to tap the power of the nudge.

The term "nudge" was coined in the 2008 book *Nudge: Improving Decisions About Health, Wealth, and Happiness.* A bestseller by Harvard legal scholar Cass Sunstein and UChicago economist Richard Thaler, *Nudge* demonstrated that the neoclassical economic model was in desperate need of an overhaul. Where *homo economicus* responded to taxes and financial rewards, they wrote, real people respond to nudges. A nudge, as Sunstein and Thaler defined it, "is any aspect of the choice architecture that alters people's behavior in a predictable way without forbidding any options or significantly changing their economic incentives." Putting apples at eye level in a cafeteria counts as a nudge, they elaborate. "Banning junk food does not."

The book gave punchy examples of nudges that had worked well, from the Dutch airport that improved restroom cleanliness by etching flies on urinals to the "Don't Mess with Texas" campaign, which cut the state's roadside litter by 72 percent in six years. It also recommended nudges that could improve Medicare coverage and increase retirement savings. Policymakers soon took note. British Prime Minister David Cameron was so intrigued that he created the first-ever Behavioral Insights Team – commonly referred to as the "Nudge Unit" – in 2010. By implementing small, low-cost measures like minor tweaks to phrasing and language, the Nudge Unit provoked marked increases in tax repayment and organ donation sign-ups, among other things. And none of it required any legislation.

> "All parents think of themselves as good parents. We're just trying to help them form a habit of executing the thing that they profess to want to do anyway." Chicago Harris Professor Ariel Kalil

Following Britain's success, the White House began recruiting an American nudge unit last year. Led by cognitive neuroscientist Maya Shankar, the team is tasked with finding low-cost measures to make federal agencies more efficient. The BIP Lab, too, has garnered federal attention. Shankar and her team at the Office of Science and Technology Policy invited Kalil and Mayer to the White House on October 16 for a workshop on the early language gap, alongside leaders from academia, philanthropy, nonprofit organizations, federal agencies and the private sector. In a panel on "Innovative Interventions to Bridge the Word Gap," Kalil and Mayer presented findings from the PACT pilot – parents who had received the nudges were spending nearly 40 percent more time reading to their kids. "We were thrilled to see such promising results," says Kalil. "We can't wait for the data on all 500 of our study families to start rolling in." Back at the BIP Lab, a team of more than 25 undergraduate, MPP and PhD students are busy implementing the study, analyzing the data and helping Kalil and Mayer plan future interventions.

CAN IT WORK?

Early response to the PACT study indicates that the families are eager to participate. "Almost everyone wants to be a good parent," says Mayer. "Our nudges push them down that path."

Of course, there's no guarantee that the tricks that helped people stop smoking or increase retirement savings will help parents read to their children. Social scientific findings can be highly dependent on context, Jones warns. "Someone will show, 'Look, this one time when the teacher wore bright orange, the test scores went down two points. So this cues a different emotion in people – therefore, let's change this policy.'"

Mayer and Kalil counter that this is nothing new. "Every time you do a research project, it is in a context, and that matters," Kalil says. Furthermore, the underlying psychology that makes nudges work should be fairly universal. "There's no reason why the behavioral basis for changing these outcomes should be different anywhere," predicts Mayer.

Yet no nudge is truly one-size-fits-all. "Just as there's a recognition that the basic rational model doesn't work for everyone, we also need to recognize that the behavioral models operate on a case-by-case basis," Keys points out. In a study he co-authored, credit card debt holders received disclosures that specified the monthly payment amount that would let them pay off their balances in three years. Those who had previously been paying the minimum began increasing their monthly payments, which decreased their interest paid, as expected – but there was a catch. The nudge also provoked some who had been paying large amounts every month to *reduce* their payments, incurring more interest. In the end, the two groups canceled each other out. The nudge had no net effect on interest paid. "You have to be really sensitive," Keys concludes.

The experiment illustrates another key feature of behavioral science: nudges can oversimplify the complex question of what's "best" for society. Informing people that they use more energy than their neighbors may help them cut their electric bills, Sallee says, "but shaming people to get them to lower their energy consumption by 1 percent – is that a net plus to society, or did I actually cause them to lose happiness?"

Mayer is quick to draw a distinction between what makes a person happy today versus several years from now. "It may be the case that parents are already optimizing given their current circumstances," she admits, "but they may not be optimizing for the long-term goals they want – that is, they want their children to grow up to be healthy and happy."

Kalil also emphasizes that PACT, like all good nudges, respects individual autonomy by letting people decide what's best for them. "All parents think of themselves as good parents. And just like any other parents, they want the best for their children," she says. "We're just trying to help them form a habit of executing the thing that they profess to want to do anyway."

Nudges like those the BIP Lab is testing inevitably invite critiques. Those on the right may dismiss them as intrusive and paternalistic. Those on the left may say they don't go far enough, ignoring the structural social inequalities that make these studies necessary while instead focusing on "cute, technocratic solutions to mainly minor problems," as one detractor described the work of the British Nudge Unit.

But Kalil and Mayer are willing to let the data speak for themselves. "This intervention is so cheap that, if it works, I think it would be sort of criminal not to do it," says Kalil. "We don't know if it's going to work. But if it does, why wouldn't you give that to everybody?"

The two stand confident that the BIP Lab can be a force for good in an environment where it's much needed. "This is not a cure for poverty," Mayer states frankly. "This is a way to improve children's lives. And we think it really will do that." ■

FACULTY RESEARCH

POPULATION STUDIES

DEATH AND THE GREAT MIGRATION

A new study finds that African Americans who left the South in the early twentieth century died younger than those who stayed.

WHEN CHICAGO HARRIS Professor and Deputy Dean Dan Black started researching the impact of the Great Migration on African American longevity, he had a pretty good idea of the results he and his colleagues would find.

They already knew that African Americans who migrated from the rural South to northern cities made more money, nearly double the income of their peers who stayed in the South. Migrants were a self-selected group: many of them had been preparing all their lives to make the move. They had stayed in school longer. They were physically stronger. "Everything suggested they'd be healthier than their counterparts in the South," Black says. "The American South pre-1964 was a terrible place to be a black person. Hospitals wouldn't see you. Doctors wouldn't treat you. You had to have been better off moving north."

But in terms of longevity, the migrants weren't better off at all. In fact, on average, they died a year and a half sooner.

When Seth Sanders of Duke University shared the results, Black recalls, he was shocked. More than four years later, he still shakes his head in amazement. "I said, 'Look at that program again.' He said, 'I did.' I was flabbergasted. You could have made some serious money taking a bet against me."

As Black thought about the results, though, they started to make more sense. The data used by Black, Sanders and their colleagues Lowell Taylor of Carnegie Mellon and Evan Taylor (Lowell's son), a graduate student at the University of Michigan, came from the Duke SSA/Medicare Dataset, a collection of 70 million records from the Social Security Numerical Identification Files and Medicare Part B. They contain information about race, sex and age - and, crucially, place of birth and death.

Most migrants came north on the railroads. There were three main streams: the coastal South to the Northeast and Washington, D.C.; Alabama and Mississippi to the Midwest; and Louisiana to California. Black and his colleagues reasoned that most migrants had come from towns near the railroad lines. By looking at old railroad maps, they were able to find links between "sending communities" and "receiving communities." Then they devised a formula to compare the longevity of people who had stayed versus that of those who had left, limiting themselves to people born between 1916 and 1932 in eight states in the Deep South. "A huge part of the work was getting the data prepared," Black says.

No matter how they analyzed the data - eliminating the larger cities, using sending communities that were farther from the railroad lines, looking at just men or just women - it always came out the same: migrants who lived to 65 were less likely to make it to 70 or 75. But why?

The answer was found in the Detailed Mortality Files of the U.S. Vital Statistics registry. By looking at that data, Black discovered that migrants were dying at much higher rates from cirrhosis and pulmonary illnesses. Information from the Behavioral Risk Factor Surveillance System showed that black men and women born in the Deep South between 1916 and 1932 who migrated north were more likely to smoke and drink than those who stayed in the South.

Suddenly it became clear: if you have money, you can afford to buy cigarettes and booze. As Black notes, "Money is a great thing. You can buy lots of stuff, and not all of it's good for you."

There were other factors as well: chemicals and pollution from factories, higher population density (and, therefore, more contagious diseases), the shock of colder weather, the stress from a higher cost of living. However, Evan Taylor and Janna Johnson (PhD'12) had studied white migrants from the Great Plains to the West Coast and noted that they smoked and drank more, too, and had higher rates of cirrhosis and pulmonary disease without the other mitigating factors.

The paper, forthcoming in *American Economic Review,* has already generated interest at conferences and among colleagues. "When I first heard about it," says Kerwin Charles, Edwin and Betty L. Bergman Distinguished Service Professor and Deputy Dean at Harris, "I said, 'That's wrong, that can't be right.' The paper does a powerful job of convincing you, at least empirically. It changed my view entirely of what was going on in the Great Migration."

For the next phase of the study, Black plans to look at the second generation born in Chicago, and how they compare to their counterparts from Mississippi. "I hope there's a brighter outcome," he says. *– Aimee Levitt*

ILLUSTRATION BY DON KILPATRICK

HEALTH CARE

REINVENTING HOSPITAL CARE

With a $6 million grant, David Meltzer is testing a model that could improve treatment and lower costs.

FIFTY years ago, doctors visited their patients in the hospital on a regular basis. But as primary care evolved, they found themselves traveling to the hospital just to see one or two patients - an inefficient model. Thus emerged the hospitalist specialty, based on the conventional wisdom that having a primary care physician tend to all hospitalized patients is more cost-effective and leads to better results.

Recent studies have shown that the hospitalist model doesn't have the outcomes that one might expect, either. "There is very strong evidence to show how valuable it is to have a doctor who knows you, in terms of trust and ability to communicate," says Dr. David Meltzer, an associate professor at Chicago Harris and the Department of Medicine, who also serves as chief of Hospital Medicine and directs the Center for Health and the Social Sciences. "It's particularly true when you're sick."

With a $6 million federal grant made possible by the Affordable Care Act, Meltzer is testing the impact of his Comprehensive Care Physician model, in which primary care physicians maintain their clinics but see only patients at high risk of hospitalization.

The study will capture data on 850 people over the next year. The control group will continue to be seen by hospitalists in addition to their primary care doctors. Meltzer intends to measure whether the patients who see a comprehensive care physician are better served and whether the approach is more cost-efficient for providers.

"The key things that will be examined are continuities in care, communication lapses between the inpatient and outpatient setting and less ideal decision-making because of the lack of a doctor-patient relationship," Meltzer says. "It's about knowledge, communication, interpersonal relationships and trust."

The early results are promising, Meltzer says, adding that the model has the potential to be a game-changer. He expects to report comprehensive results in the second year of the study and hopes to secure more funding to measure longer-term outcomes.

One issue the study has already identified is that some patients don't get adequate primary care because they can't get to the clinic. Incorporating old-fashioned house calls, Meltzer says, will "make a big difference for those folks." Another group of patients who might also receive better, more efficient care are those reaching the end of life, Meltzer says. A doctor who knows a patient with terminal lung cancer, for example, might be more responsive to the patient's preferred approach to treatment.

The typical patient in Meltzer's study has spent $50,000 to $100,000 in the past year on medical care. "If we can change things for a handful of them, the study will pay for itself," he says. "Adequate attention to individuals by a doctor or a whole team is extraordinarily rare in health care, yet it's critical to helping people make the best decisions."

To Meltzer, that's reflective of what public policy analysis can accomplish. "You systematically analyze the forces that cause problems, come up with solutions and test whether they work," he says. "And then you disseminate them." *– Ed Finkel*

PHOTOGRAPHY BY JOEL WINTERMANTLE (TOP) AND SARAH GALER (BOTTOM)

EDUCATION

A LATRINE OF THEIR OWN

Students in India benefit from sanitation facilities.

ASSISTANT Professor Anjali Adukia, who joined the Chicago Harris faculty this fall, is expanding the scope of the school's work on child development and education policy. Her recent paper, "Sanitation and Education," explores India's nationwide initiative to improve school sanitation facilities. Although many leaders have resisted calls to change centuries-old practices, she found that the presence of school sanitation facilities increases enrollment, achievement and more.

The impact is particularly pronounced for young children and adolescent girls. "For younger children it doesn't seem to matter much if the government built unisex or sex-specific latrines, which suggests that the primary mechanism through which younger children experience large impacts is through improved child health," she explains. "In other words, children may be healthier when school sanitation facilities are available, which could encourage them to attend more often."

For older children, latrine type seems to matter significantly. "Pubescent-aged girls only benefit if you build separate, female-only latrines," Adukia says. "This suggests that their educational decisions are influenced by the privacy and safety benefits offered by the presence of sanitation facilities."

The paper was based on research Adukia developed at Harvard's Graduate School of Education. On September 3 her dissertation won the Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management's 2014 Best Dissertation Award. (Honorable mention went to Harris alum Sara Heller, PhD'13, who explored policies aimed at improving the human capital of disadvantaged youth.)

Adukia recently presented her research to a meeting of India's Ministry of Drinking Water and Sanitation, and she is advising UNICEF and other partners to help support the Indian government's ambitious pledge to bring separate toilets for boys and girls to every school in the country.

"Harris is delighted to welcome Anjali Adukia to its faculty," says Professor Ariel Kalil, director of the Center for Human Potential and Public Policy and chair of the search committee that hired her. "She adds depth and an important new international focus in child development and education to the ongoing Harris faculty work on family background and child development, K-12 education and children's attainments, and poverty and inequality." *– Josh Fox*

ALUMNI NEWS & EVENTS

PROFILE

HERE THE CLIENT IS TRUTH

For Nancy Staudt, a Harris PhD was the key to deeper understanding of the law – and a great career move.

WHEN NANCY STAUDT, PhD'10, first considered taking classes at Chicago Harris, she had no intention of enrolling in the PhD program. The nationally recognized legal scholar, who began her first term as dean of the law school at Washington University in St. Louis this fall, was already an expert on taxation and a tenured professor at Northwestern. But she decided her legal training wasn't enough to help her answer some deeper questions about how, exactly, laws functioned.

"As a law professor," she says, "I had started writing about how judges decide cases. Lawyers read a handful of cases and make a judgment. But you have to read a large number of cases to understand trends." The empirical training Harris offered would allow her to explore those deeper trends like a social scientist instead of relying on anecdotal evidence like a lawyer.

Staudt quickly realized that just auditing a couple of courses wouldn't be enough to get the sort of knowledge she needed. So in the fall of 2007, she enrolled in the fast-track, three-year PhD program.

"It speaks wonders for her," says Will Howell, the Sydney Stein Professor in American Politics at Chicago Harris, who chaired her dissertation committee. "I've never seen anybody do anything like that. It was gutsy. It's much more comfortable to be a tenured faculty member at Northwestern and enjoy the plaudits that come with the position."

Initially, Staudt planned to continue teaching while attending school full-time. But she hadn't bargained on how much time the PhD program would demand. So she took a leave during her second year and returned in her third, when there was less studying and more writing. (As an academic she'd had plenty of practice writing papers; a blank page didn't paralyze her.)

Staudt says she appreciated the interdisciplinary focus of her coursework. Faculty supported her interest in studying with professors across campus – not just from Harris, but also from the College and the medical school. "It gives you a different insight," she says. "You have to think about alternative methods to get after empirical questions. Different methods produce different results. You have to keep questioning, and look harder and deeper into the data."

She also enjoyed the intellectual excitement of her PhD workshop, where her fellow students pushed one another's projects along and engaged in spirited debate. "Lawyers look for answers and advocate when they find the right one for their clients," she says. "Here the client is truth."

Staudt was older than most of the students, but that did not deter her, she says, from forming lifelong friendships. Howell frequently observed her offering advice and moral support to her classmates and believes her warmth and generosity have been as instrumental to her success as her intelligence and determination.

For her dissertation, Staudt investigated how war affects judicial decision-making. "Wars are very expensive," she explains. "When we're in a time of wartime crisis, do tax cases get decided differently?" She concluded that they do: when judges believe the nation needs money, they're more likely to rule in a way that directs private funds toward the government.

Howell, it turned out, was also interested in how wars affect domestic policy. He and Staudt met regularly to thrash out ideas and recommend books and articles to read. Their conversations helped inspire two book projects: Staudt's dissertation was published in 2011 as *The Judicial Power of the Purse*, and Howell's 2013 book, *The Wartime President*, co-written with Saul P. Jackman and Jon C. Rogowski, explored the complex ways that conflicts have shaped the relationship between the legislative and executive branches.

Although Staudt put her academic career on hold to work on her PhD, it benefited her in the long run. In 2011, the year after she graduated, she accepted a joint appointment at the University of Southern California's Gould School of Law and Price School of Public Policy, combining what she'd learned in her legal career and at Harris. And when Washington University offered her the deanship this past spring, she jumped at the opportunity.

"Our committee interviewed an amazing group of candidates for the dean's position," Edward F. Lawlor, chair of the advisory committee that recommended Staudt for the deanship, said in a statement. "Nancy Staudt impressed every constituency – faculty, staff, students, alumni, Washington University administrators – with her vision, energy, and knowledge of legal education."

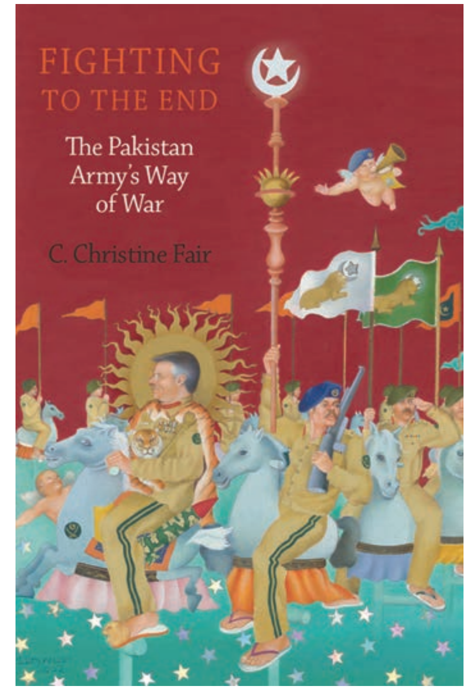
Staudt, though, believes that it's not just her knowledge of the law that prepared her for her new job. It's her time at Harris, and the way it taught her to think.

"It was really fun to learn and think about how policies get made," she says. "I learned how the real world works." *– Aimee Levitt*

PHOTOGRAPHY BY MARY BUTKUS/WUSTL PHOTO SERVICES

BOOK REVIEW

EYE ON PAKISTAN



"IN PAKISTAN," C. Christine Fair, AM'97, explains in her perceptive new book, the army is "the supreme manager of the state's affairs." An erudite and original contribution to the literature about the region, *Fighting to the End* takes a close look at several decades' worth of the Pakistan military's defense publications to explore its shifting regional strategy and threat assessments. The enduring rivalry with India, she argues, has been at the core of the army's most consequential decisions – and goes a long way toward explaining the state's chronic instability.

Rooted in ideology rather than security interests, the army's regional strategy is aimed at correcting a perceived power imbalance with its more dominant neighbor. This has led to repeated attempts to recapture Kashmir through direct and indirect conflict, support for Islamist and non-Islamist proxies and a nuclear weapons program that enables risk-taking. Fair, an assistant professor in the Security Studies Program at Georgetown University, is not sanguine about the near-term prospects for change in the Pakistan military's "strategic culture." Her book offers a valuable corrective to policymakers and diplomats who advocate for engagement on the basis of strengthening security. We must, she concludes, "adopt an attitude of sober realism about the possible futures for Pakistan and the region it threatens." *– Mark Sorkin*

EVENTS

CHICAGO HAPPY HOUR

A group of about 40 alumni gathered in Chicago for drinks, food and lively conversation on August 27. It was a perfect late summer night to spend outside in the ivy-draped beer garden at Grandview Tavern, a hidden gem in the West Town neighborhood. The happy hour event was also "a great opportunity to reconnect with former classmates and expand my Harris network," said Candace Nisby, MPP'13 (left, with Danielle Wrobel, MPP'13). The occasion marked the end of the summer events lineup and got participants excited for the Fall 2014 series of Harris-sponsored public policy lectures and networking opportunities. Be sure to check the events calendar at harris.uchicago.edu for gatherings in your area.

FALL 2014 PUBLIC POLICY LECTURE SERIES

"The Impact of Data-Driven Journalism on Public Policy Discourse," a lively panel discussion held September 16 in Washington, D.C., co-sponsored by Chicago Harris and the Institute of Politics, was a highlight of the Fall 2014 Chicago Harris Public Policy Lecture series. *TIME* magazine Washington bureau chief Michael Scherer (right) moderated the panel, which included *Vox* founder Ezra Klein (left), *Bloomberg View* columnist Megan McArdle, Twitter data editor Simon Rogers and *Washington Post* opinion writer E.J. Dionne Jr. (center). "I don't think we've gotten as far as we think we have in data-driven reporting," said Klein. "We are so far away from knowing what to do with the datasets we have now."

Chicago Harris Alumni,

I am thrilled that Chicago Harris has launched this magazine, in large part because it provides a wonderful outlet to showcase the amazing accomplishments of our alumni. This section is for you, so check this space for news about alumni events and profiles of your fellow classmates. And please share your news with us so that we can share it with the community! We'd like to hear about your professional life (new jobs, promotions, book deals and more) as well as personal milestones like weddings and births. Send your announcements to nnabasny@uchicago.edu or call me at 773.834.1846. I look forward to hearing from you soon!

Nicki Nabasny, EdD, Director of Alumni Relations and Development

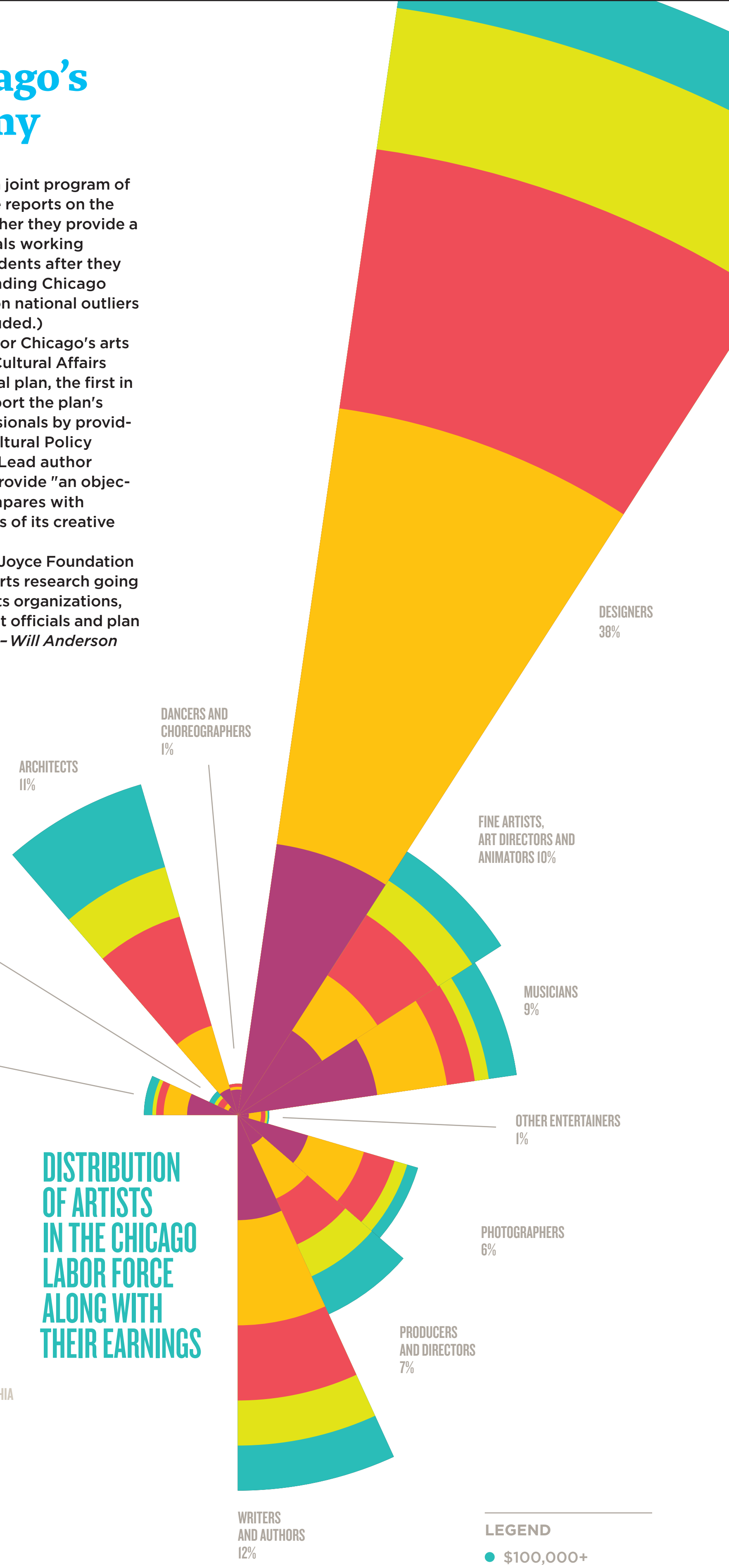
FIGURE 1

Measuring Chicago's Creative Economy

Last summer the Cultural Policy Center, a joint program of Chicago Harris and NORC, released three reports on the creative industry in Chicago. Taken together they provide a nuanced look at the creative professionals working here, what happens to the city's arts students after they graduate and how much public grant funding Chicago receives compared to peer cities. (Data on national outliers New York and Los Angeles were not included.)

The reports come at an exciting time for Chicago's arts scene. In 2012, the city's Department of Cultural Affairs and Special Events released a new cultural plan, the first in more than two decades. The papers support the plan's goal to attract and retain creative professionals by providing "an important baseline," explains Cultural Policy Center Executive Director Betty Farrell. Lead author Jennifer Novak-Leonard adds that they provide "an objective benchmark to see how Chicago compares with other cities and to monitor the robustness of its creative and artist workforces."

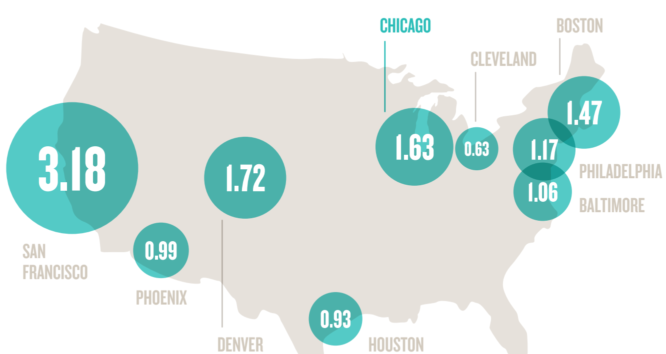
Now the center is partnering with the Joyce Foundation and city officials to help shape Chicago arts research going forward. They are soliciting input from arts organizations, funders, business leaders and government officials and plan to release an agenda this academic year. –*Will Anderson*



DISTRIBUTION OF ARTISTS IN THE CHICAGO LABOR FORCE ALONG WITH THEIR EARNINGS

LOCATION QUOTIENT FOR ARTISTS, BY CITY

The location quotient compares the share of artists in each city's labor force to the share of artists in the U.S. labor force.



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