

Expert Report on North Carolina's Disenfranchisement of Individuals on Probation and Post-Release Supervision

Frank R. Baumgartner
Richard J. Richardson Distinguished Professor of Political Science
University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill
MS 3265, Chapel Hill NC 27599-3265
Frankb@unc.edu

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I have been retained by the Plaintiffs in *Community Success Initiative v. Moore*, No. 19-cv-15941 (N.C. Super.), to perform statistical analysis regarding North Carolina's disenfranchisement of persons who are currently on probation or post-release supervision following a felony conviction in North Carolina state court. This report sets forth my analysis and conclusions.

Qualifications

I currently hold the Richard J. Richardson Distinguished Professorship in Political Science at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. I received my BA, MA, and PhD degrees in political science at the University of Michigan (1980, 1983, 1986). I have been a faculty member since 1986 and have taught at the University of Iowa, Texas A&M University, Penn State University, and UNC-Chapel Hill, where I moved in 2009. I regularly teach courses at all levels and many of those courses involve significant instruction in research methodology. My research generally involves statistical analyses of public policy problems, often based on originally collected or administrative databases. I have published over a dozen books and more than 80 articles in peer-reviewed journals. I have been fortunate to receive a number of awards for my work, including six book awards, awards for database construction, and so on. In 2017 I was inducted as an elected member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, an honorary

society dating back to 1780. I recently published some North Carolina-specific analyses, including *Suspect Citizens: What 20 Million Traffic Stops Tell Us about Policing and Race* (Cambridge University Press, 2018). I have on-going teaching and research interests in the North Carolina criminal justice system that have brought me into familiarity with the Administrative Office of the Courts and related data on arrests, convictions, and incarceration.

I have previously testified in the case of *State v. Guzek* in Marion County OR, No 17CV08248, regarding the appeal of a death sentence for an individual aged 18 at the time of his crime; my testimony was on October 8, 2019. I submitted a written report, but did not testify and was not deposed in the Louisiana case of *Holliday v. State*, submitted March 25, 2019. This was also a death penalty appeal. I have submitted or co-signed amicus briefs in recent years but have not testified in any court cases other than *State v. Guzek*. I have not previously testified in any North Carolina court. I am not charging Plaintiffs for my services in this case. Attached as Exhibit A is a recent copy of my curriculum vitae.

I have been assisted in my work by Ms. Kaneesha Johnson, a 2016 graduate of UNC-Chapel Hill, currently a Ph.D. candidate in Government at Harvard University. Ms. Johnson was the principal researcher for a previous report on felon disenfranchisement¹ and is well-versed in the relevant data through that experience. She has received methodological training in statistics at Harvard and MIT and is the co-author of a book published by Oxford University Press.

Research Question and Summary of Findings

I have been asked by the Plaintiffs to analyze five sets of issues related to the disenfranchisement of persons who are on probation or post-release supervision following a felony conviction in North Carolina state court:

¹ See Southern Coalition for Social Justice, *The Freedom to Vote: Felony Disenfranchisement in North Carolina*, August 2019. <https://www.southerncoalition.org/resources/the-freedom-to-vote/>.

1. The number of persons on probation or post-release supervision who are currently disenfranchised, at both the statewide and county levels;
2. The racial demographics of persons on probation or post-release supervision who are currently disenfranchised, at both the statewide and county levels;
3. The amount of financial obligations owed by persons on probation or post-release supervision who are currently disenfranchised
4. The types of crimes committed by persons on probation or post-release supervision who are currently disenfranchised; and
5. Recent elections where the vote margin in the election was less than the number of disenfranchised persons in the relevant geographic area.

I find that over 51,000 individuals are currently disenfranchised because they are on probation or post-release supervision following a felony conviction in North Carolina state court, more than the current number of individuals incarcerated in the state for felony crimes. This statistic does not capture the full extent of felony disenfranchisement in North Carolina, as it does not include persons who are currently disenfranchised due to a conviction in federal court or a conviction in another state's courts. Even just looking at persons disenfranchised due to a North Carolina state court conviction, we find 16 county-level elections in 2018 alone where the margin of victory was less than the number of individuals in that county who are currently disenfranchised through the policies we examine here. The 2016 Gubernatorial election was decided by a margin of 10,263, well below the 51,000-plus statewide disenfranchised that we identify here.

I find that the disenfranchisement of persons on probation and post-release supervision from a North Carolina state court conviction differentially affects different racial groups.

Although Blacks comprise just 22 percent of the voting age population in North Carolina, they

comprise 42 percent of persons disenfranchised while on probation or post-release supervision. The rate at which Blacks are disenfranchised by these policies is 2.76 times greater than it is for Whites. Not a single county in the state has a rate of disenfranchisement for Whites that is higher than that for Blacks; by contrast, eight counties have rates for Blacks more than five times higher than for Whites. In 19 counties, more than 2 percent of all voting age Blacks are disenfranchised because they are on probation or post-release supervision, and in one county (Dare County), more than 5 percent of voting age Blacks are disenfranchised for this reason. (Please see Appendix Table A2, below, for full results.)

I further find that virtually every person who is disenfranchised because they are on probation or post-release supervision also owes substantial financial obligations in connection with their conviction and supervision. These financial obligations average more than \$2,000 per individual on probation, and over \$500 for those on post-release supervision.

Finally, I find that, among those on probation, 72 percent relate to non-violent crimes, and for those on post-release supervision, 55 percent. In both cases, the largest single type of crime is drug possession, accounting for 18.5 percent of post-release supervision cases, and 29.7 percent of probation cases.

Description of Datasets Used

In response to a request from the Plaintiffs, the NC Department of Public Safety provided two databases used here. One includes information concerning all individuals under post-release supervision and the other includes similar information for those on probation. Both datasets are limited to those convicted of felony crimes. These datasets were provided on April 20, 2020. Both spreadsheets included the OPUS number, which is a unique identifier for the individual as well as name, ethnicity, race, sex, county of conviction, offense, offense-type, the beginning date of incarceration, community corrections intake date, scheduled termination date, court costs,

fees, restitution figures, and whether the period of supervision or probation had been extended.

The probation file is identical but does not include the variable for the beginning date of incarceration, as this is inapplicable in the case of probation.

Rows in the databases refer to an offense, and the same individual may have one or more offenses. In addition, the same individual could appear in both spreadsheets, if involvement in two different crimes caused them to be on probation for one crime and on post-release supervision for another. In order to calculate the number of individuals currently disenfranchised, a first step was to eliminate possible duplicates. Table 1 summarizes the transition from the information provided by the State to an individual-level database suitable for the following analyses.

Table 1. Summary of Data Received from the State, Duplicate Records, and Data for Analysis

	Post-Release Supervision ("Request for Production 2")	Probation ("Request for Production 3")	Combined Dataset
File as received from the state	17,621	62,243	
Minus multiple charges for the same individual	-5,245	-21,411	
Subtotal	12,376	40,832	53,208
Observations in each dataset not appearing in the other	10,609	39,065	
Observations appearing in both databases	1,767	1,767	-1,767
Final database for analysis			51,441

The first step eliminated 5,245 and 21,411 rows of data to account for the same individual facing multiple charges.² This left 53,208 observations remaining. Of these, 1,767 appeared in both databases, so a second step retained only the case that had the termination date furthest in the future. (Sixty-nine observations had the same termination date in both databases

² For those on probation, 45 percent had just a single charge, 21 percent had two, 21 percent had three charges, seven percent had four charges, and progressively fewer had higher numbers of charges, with a maximum of 38. Among those on post-release supervision, numbers were similar: 51 percent had one charge, 20 percent had two; 20 had three; six percent had four, with dwindling numbers above that, with a maximum of 14 charges.

and those were retained in the probation database and dropped from the post-release supervision database.) In the end, the database has a total of 51,441 individuals. To the best of my ability and understanding, I believe that this represents the number currently disenfranchised while on probation or post-release supervision following a felony conviction in North Carolina state court, as of the provision of the database, April 20, 2020.

Disenfranchisement through post-release supervision and probation affects a larger number of individuals than active incarceration. Data from the NC Department of Public Safety automated system query show 35,010 individuals serving in prison as of December 31, 2019. Over 98 percent of these individuals were serving for felony crimes (<https://webapps.doc.state.nc.us/apps/asqExt/ASQ> conducted 21 April 2020). Our focus on those disenfranchised but not currently incarcerated addresses a larger population, since we identify over 51,000 individuals compared to about 35,000 individuals currently incarcerated.

Also note that the datasets used here apply only to individuals adjudicated in state courts in North Carolina; they do not include individuals disenfranchised because of convictions in other states or in the federal system. The most recent federal data show that 5,075 individuals are on some form of supervision following a conviction in federal court in North Carolina. (<https://www.uscourts.gov/statistics/table/e-2/statistical-tables-federal-judiciary/2019/12/31>).

Adding this number to the number of persons on probation or post-release supervision from a North Carolina state court conviction suggests that 56,516 people who were convicted in a North Carolina state or federal court are disenfranchised while on some form of community supervision. An unknown number of additional people who live in North Carolina are disenfranchised based on a felony conviction in another state's courts. Because individualized data is only available for persons convicted in North Carolina state court, this report excludes

information about persons disenfranchised because of a felony conviction, or because of a conviction in other state courts.

Racial Disparities in Rates of Disenfranchisement

Statewide Comparison of Disenfranchisement to Voting-Eligible Population, by Race

Table 2 shows the number of voting age individuals living in North Carolina and the number disenfranchised by race.³ Blacks represent 42 percent of the disenfranchised, but 22 percent of the voting age population. Whites, by contrast, represent 52 percent of the disenfranchised, but 72 percent of the voting age population. The last column shows the rate of disenfranchisement per population: with 21,827 disenfranchised individuals out of a total voting age population of 1.76 million, 1.24 percent of Black North Carolinians of voting age are disenfranchised. This compares to an overall rate across all races of 0.63 percent of the voting age population, and a rate for Whites of 0.45 percent.

Table 2. Voting Age Population and Disenfranchised, by Race

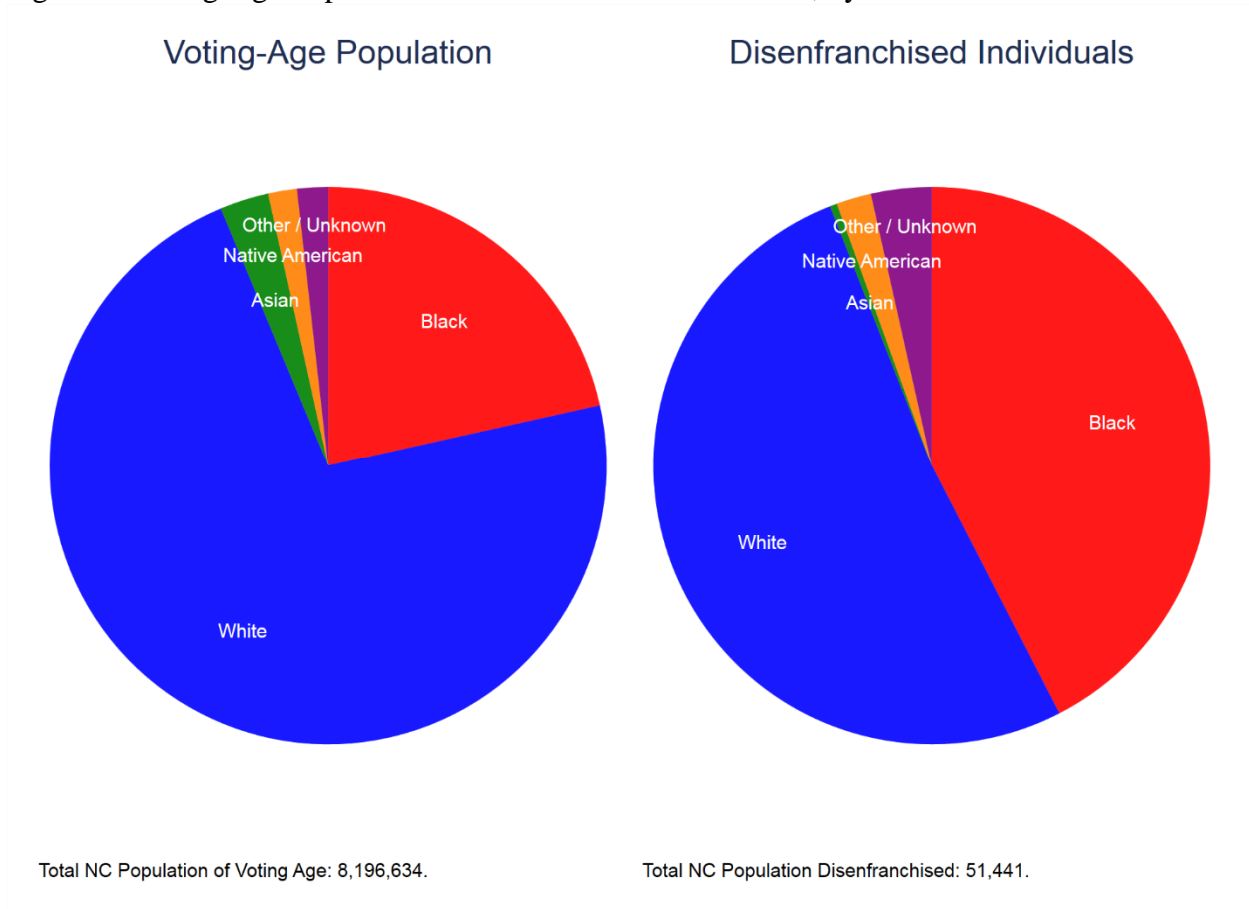
Race	Population		Disenfranchised		Percent Disenfranchised
	N	%	N	%	
Black	1,763,154	21.51	21,827	42.43	1.24
White	5,917,432	72.19	26,550	51.61	0.45
Native American	136,552	1.67	1,042	2.03	0.76
Asian	232,556	2.83	213	0.41	0.09
Other / Unknown	146,940	1.79	1,809	3.52	1.23
Total	8,196,634	100.00	51,441	100.00	0.63

Among those disenfranchised, 40,224, or 78 percent, are male. Black males, 9.2 percent of the voting age population, represent 36.6 percent of those disenfranchised.

Figure 1 presents the population and disenfranchisement numbers as pie charts, clearly showing the disparate impact by race.

³ Census data with population by age for all North Carolina counties come from this web site: <https://demography.osbm.nc.gov/explore/dataset/ncprojectionsbyagegrp2019/table/>.

Figure 1. Voting-Age Population and Number Disenfranchised, by Race.



Whites represent over 70 percent of the population, but just over half of those disenfranchised. Blacks, by contrast, are substantially over-represented among the disenfranchised. As Table 2 shows, the rate of disenfranchisement for Blacks, 1.24 percent, is 2.76 times higher than the rate for Whites, which is 0.45 percent. Figure 2 makes this comparison clear.

Figure 2. Voting-Age Population and Number Disenfranchised, by Race.

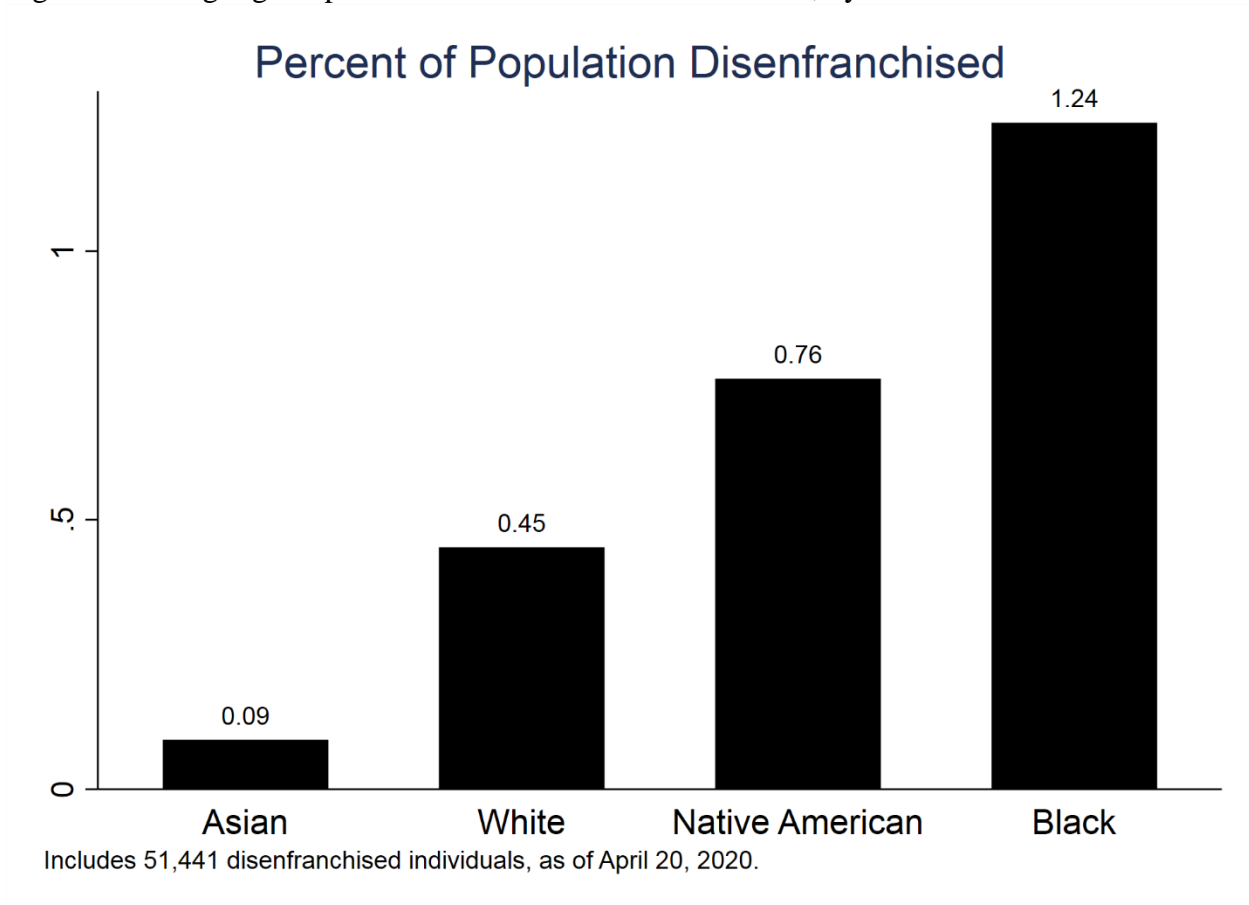


Figure 2 makes clear that post-release and probation-related disenfranchisement has a differential effect on Black North Carolinians. The rate for Blacks, 1.24 percent is 2.76 times as high as the rate for Whites, 0.45 percent. The Black-White Disenfranchisement ratio, 2.76, is the simplest and most straightforward summary of the disparate racial impact of the policies discussed here.

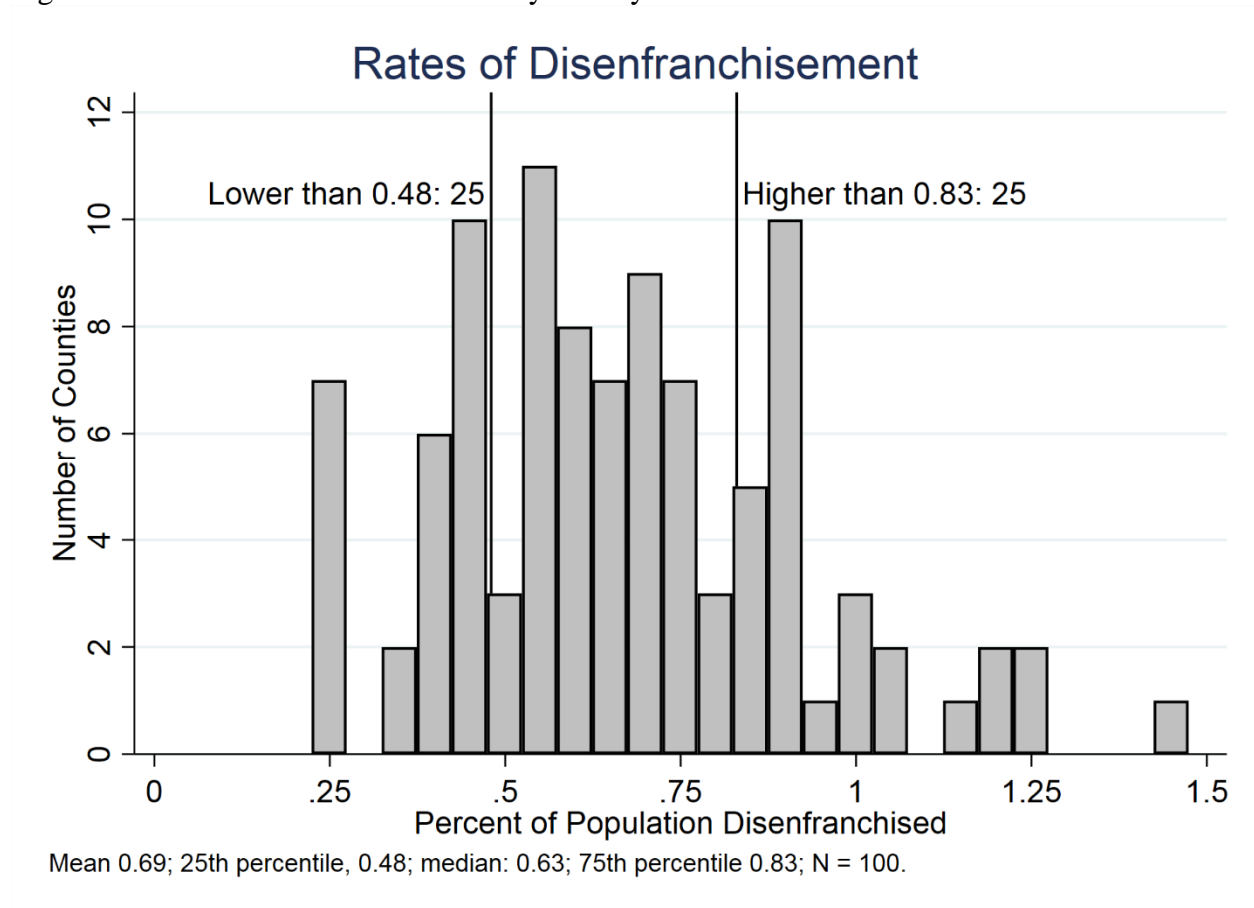
County-level Analyses

The numbers described above differ sharply across the 100 counties of the state.⁴ Table 2 showed the statewide rate of disenfranchisement is 0.63 percent, and that this rate differs substantially by race. It also differs by county. Overall, rates of disenfranchisement average 0.67

⁴ We lose information on 4,618 individuals with “other” as the only value for County.

percent across the counties, but range from below 0.22 to near 1.5 percent. Figure 3 shows this distribution. (Please refer to Appendix Tables A1 and A2 for detailed, county-level data on voting-age population, disenfranchised individuals, percent disenfranchised, and the “Black : White Disenfranchisement Rate Ratio”.)

Figure 3. Rates of Disenfranchisement by County



As reflected in Figure 3 above, in 9 counties, more than 1 percent of the total voting age population is disenfranchised due to being on probation or post-release supervision following felony conviction in North Carolina state court. These are Cleveland, McDowell, Pamlico, Beaufort, Madison, Sampson, Duplin, Lincoln, and Scotland Counties.

Disenfranchisement rates differ by race across counties as well. Figure 3 distinguishes among “low”, “medium”, and “high” rates of disenfranchisement based on the overall

distribution of rates across the counties. The middle 50 percent of counties define the medium category, with low and high being those below the 25th and above the 75th percentiles, respectively. These are indicated with vertical bars in the Figure. As North Carolina has 100 counties exactly, percentile ranks are the same as simple ranks from low to high. Using these definitions, any county with a range below 0.48 percent is low; above 0.83 is high, and those in between those values are medium. Table 3 shows these totals as well as rates for Black and White rates.

Table 3. Rates of Disenfranchisement by County.

Race	Percent of Population Disenfranchised				Total
	Less than 0.48 percent	0.48 to 0.83 percent	More than 0.83 percent	Insufficient Data	
White	53	37	10	0	100
Black	2	15	77	6	100
Total	25	50	25	0	100

Note: Six counties have too few Blacks in the population to calculate a value: Alleghany, Clay, Graham, Mitchell, Swain, and, Yancey.

Whereas the cutoffs were designed to break the data evenly for disenfranchisement rates of the total population, they do not do so for racial groups when considered separately. Just two counties have “low” rates of disenfranchisement for Blacks whereas 77 have “high” rates. In contrast, 53 counties have “low” rates for Whites, and just 10 have “high” rates. Figure 4 shows the distributions of rates separately for Whites and Blacks. Data are presented in the same format as in Figure 3, but note the scale is adjusted because of the high rates sometimes observed for Blacks.

Figure 4. White (a) and Black (b) Disenfranchisement Rates

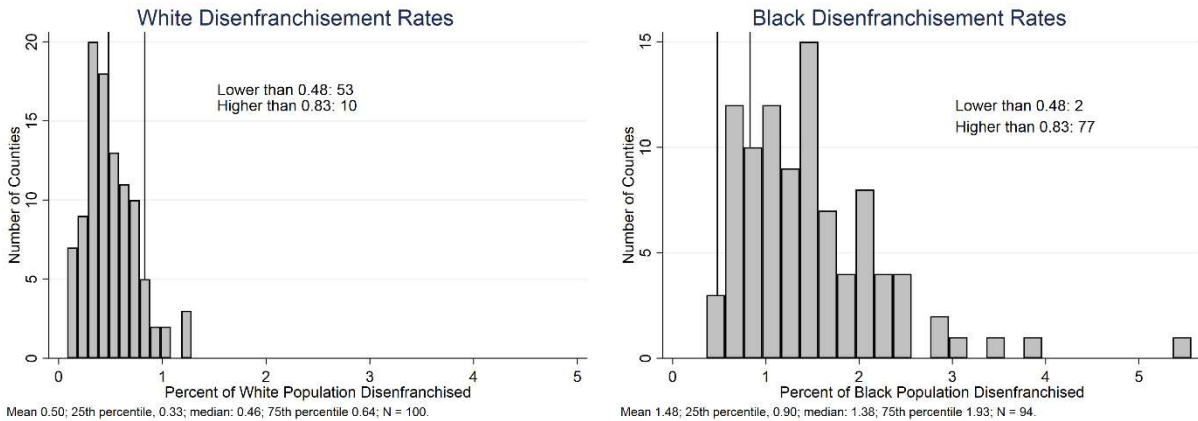
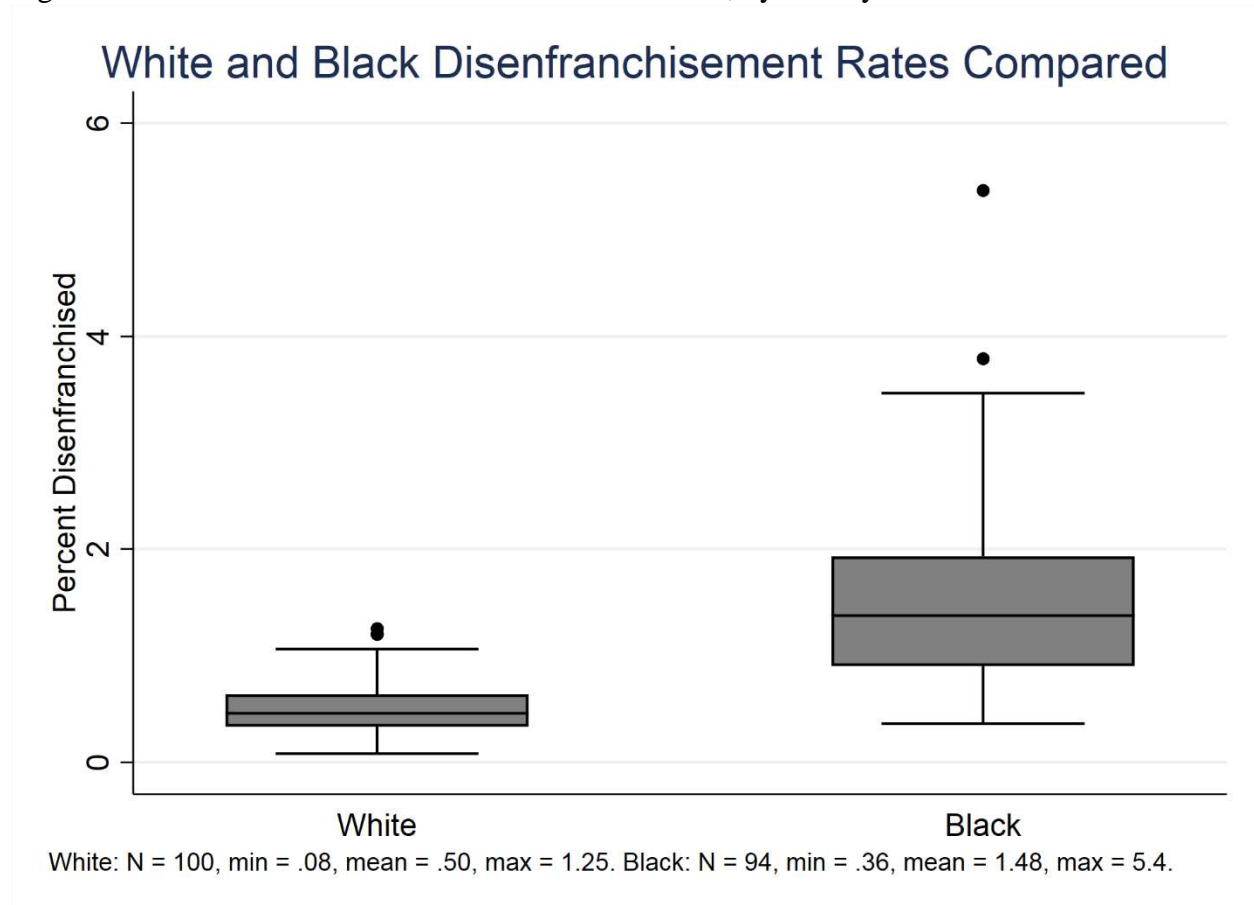


Figure 4a, for Whites, ranges from 0.08 to 1.25. The bulk of the cases are in the “low” category, and the entire data distribution is clumped close to the left end of the graph. Figure 4b, for Blacks, shows just three counties with “low” rates and the vast bulk (over three-quarters) of the counties showing high rates. (These numbers exclude six counties where the Black population is lower than the threshold for the US census to report data; see Tables A1 and A2.) Rates for Blacks are much more dispersed, rarely are as low as for Whites, have a much higher average value, and show a maximum rate of over five percent. Note that the statewide average for all individuals, from Table 2, was 0.63 percent.

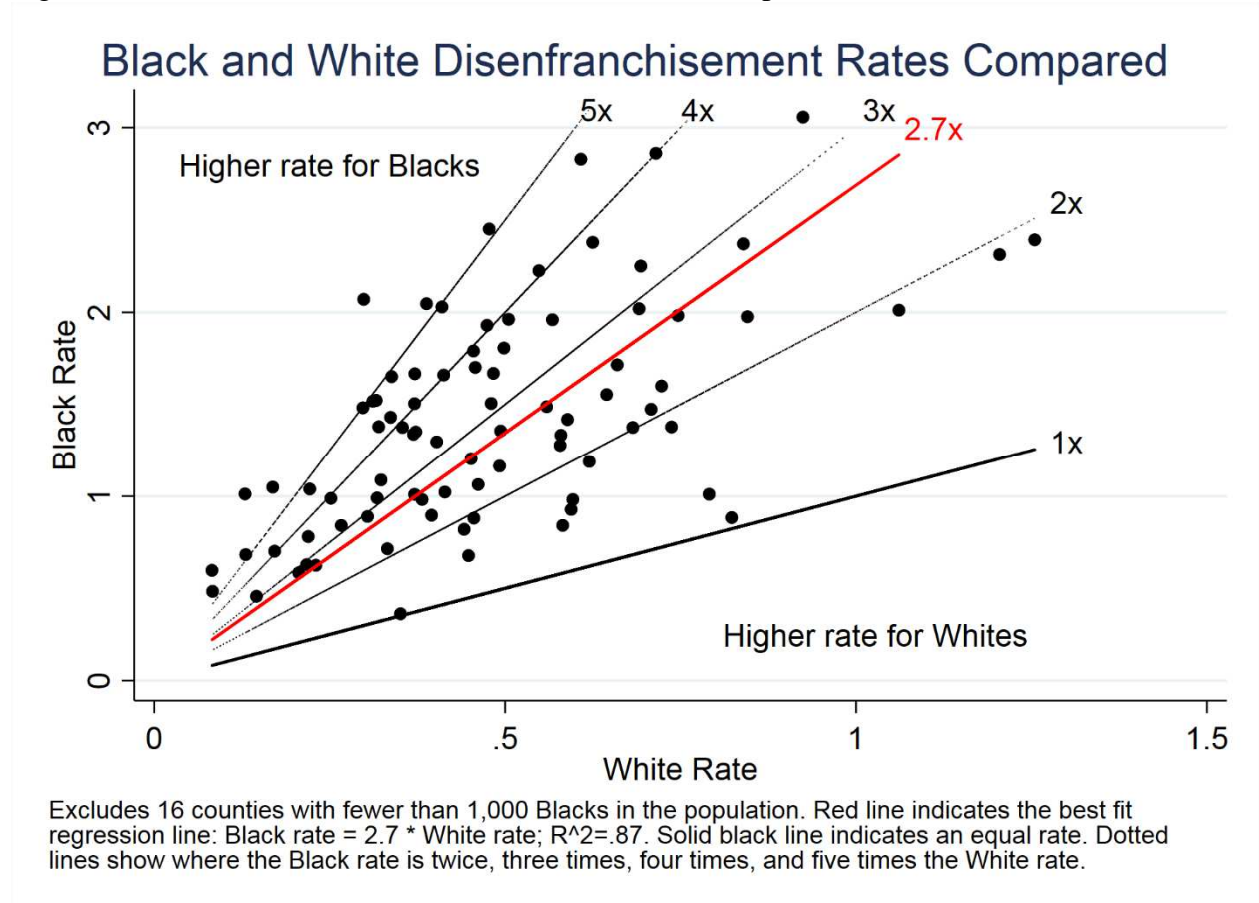
Figure 5 presents the Black and White disenfranchisement rates in the form of a box-plot. The “box” in the center of the plot is defined as the area between the 25th and 75th percentile, with the median (50th percentile) presented with a line in the center. The last contiguous value is presented with a horizontal bar, and cases falling outside the contiguous area, outliers, represented individually.

Figure 5. White and Black Rates of Disenfranchisement, by County.



The data in Figures 4 and 5 make clear that these rates are highly disparate between the two races. Just a few counties have low rates of disenfranchisement for Blacks, and just a few have high rates for Whites. Perhaps, however, some counties simply have higher rates of disenfranchisement for both Whites and Blacks, and other counties have low rates of disenfranchisement across the board, for all races. There is, indeed, a correlation between the two. Figure 6 shows exactly what this is.

Figure 6. White and Black Disenfranchisement Rates Compared



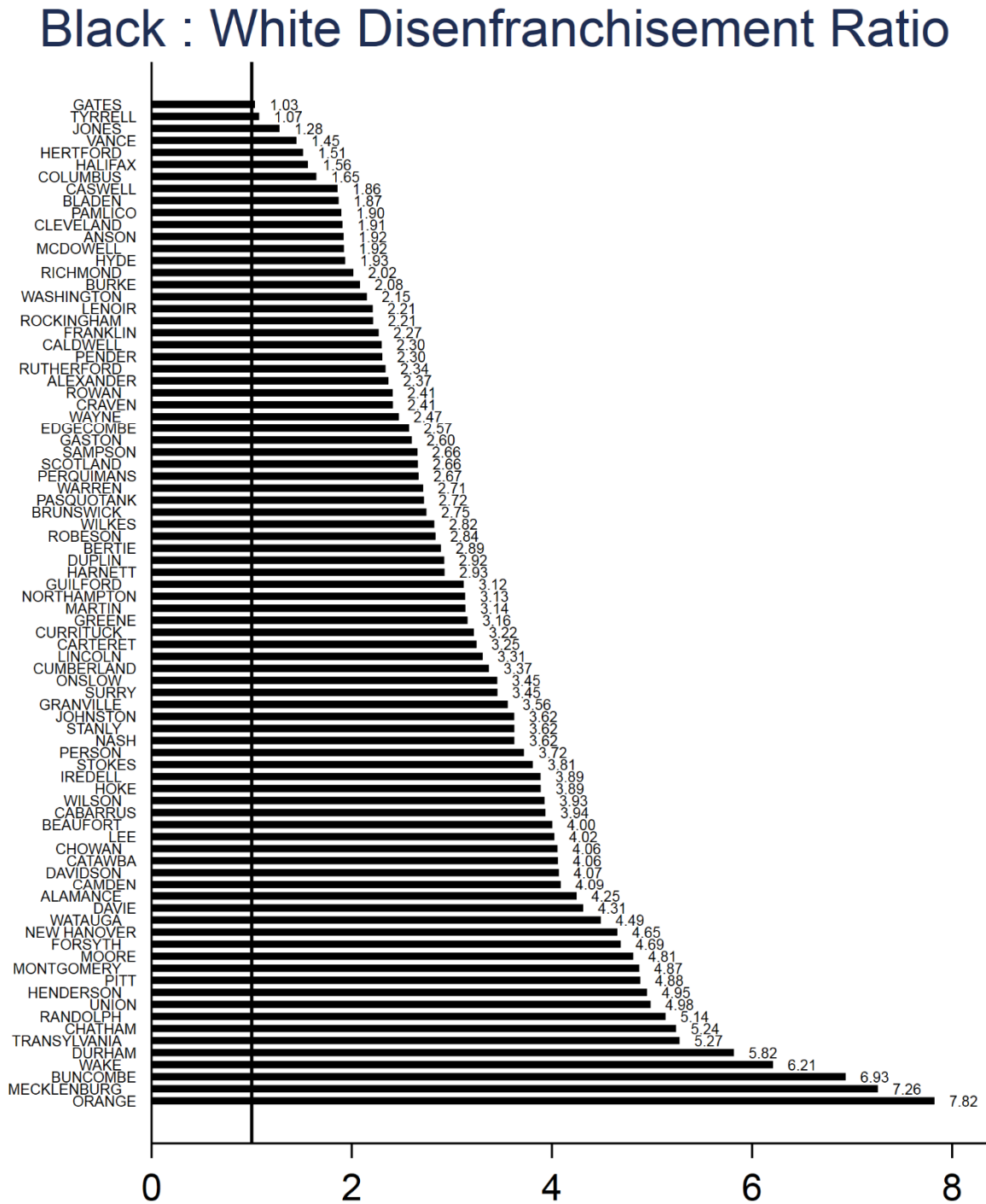
In Figure 6, the black dots represent the observed disenfranchisement rates for Blacks and Whites across the 84 counties where we can calculate both rates.⁵ The vertical axis represents the percentage of the Black voting age population in a given county that is disenfranchised by probation or post-release supervision, and the horizontal axis represents the percentage of the

⁵ Because rates of disenfranchisement average approximately 0.6 percent, a county with 1,000 residents would, on average, have just six individuals disenfranchised. Figure 6 excludes 16 counties where the number of Blacks is lower than 1,000 (there are no counties in the state with fewer than 1,000 Whites). This is to avoid statistical irregularities associated with comparing unstable estimates based on very few cases. In two excluded cases, the Black rate is lower than the White rate: Avery County has 126 disenfranchised Whites and 5 disenfranchised Blacks, or 0.88 and 0.68 percent of the respective populations. Madison County has 215 disenfranchised Whites and 2 disenfranchised Blacks, 1.2 and 0.67 percent of their populations. This exclusion also eliminates three cases with extremely high disenfranchisement rate ratios: Dare County has 200 disenfranchised Whites and 40 Blacks, representing 0.7 and 5.37 percent of their populations. Yadkin County has 219 disenfranchised Whites and 33 Blacks, representing 0.75 and 3.79 percent of their populations. Finally, Haywood County has 261 disenfranchised Whites and 17 Blacks, representing 0.52 and 3.47 percent of their populations. (These numbers are reported in Table A2, below.) Including all 100 cases in Figure 6 generates a figure that looks similar to the one shown, but with greater spread both high and low.

White voting age population in the same county that is disenfranchised by probation or post-release supervision. The red line represents the regression line that best explains the relationship in the data, with a slope of 2.7. A solid line toward the bottom of the graph (the line labeled as “1x”) shows where observations would fall if the Black rate were equal to the White rate. Not a single county falls below that line, meaning that not a single county shows a higher rate of disenfranchisement for Whites than for Blacks, and few are even close. Dotted lines indicate markers for double, triple, quadruple, and quintuple the White rate. On average, across the counties, the rate for Blacks is 2.7 times the rate for Whites. Twenty-four counties have rates that are 4 times higher for Blacks than for Whites, and eight counties have rates that are 5 times higher for Blacks.

Figure 2, above, showed that the overall rate of disenfranchisement for Blacks was 1.24 percent, and for Whites, 0.45 percent. That ratio, $1.24 / 0.45$, is 2.76, meaning that, across the state, Blacks have a rate 2.76 times as high as the rate for Whites. (This number is slightly different from the 2.7 in Figure 6 because Figure 6 clusters the data by county and some counties are bigger than others.) Figure 7 below calculates that ratio for each county.

Figure 7. The Black Rate of Disenfranchisement Compared to the White Rate.



The ratio is the percent of Blacks disenfranchised divided by the percent of Whites. The vertical line represents a value of 1.00, or equality. No value is calculated for counties with fewer than 1,000 Blacks in the population.

Only two counties, Gates and Tyrrell, have ratios close to 1.0. In Gates County, 12 Blacks are disenfranchised and 22 Whites; these represent 0.36 and 0.35 percent of the voting age populations for Blacks and Whites respectively, and the ratio is therefore 1.03. In Tyrrell County, 12 Blacks and 16 Whites disenfranchised represent 0.88 and 0.82 percent of the respective voting age populations, leading to a ratio of 1.07. In every other county, the ratios are much higher. Mecklenburg has 1,669 disenfranchised Blacks and 411 disenfranchised Whites, representing 0.60 and 0.08 percent of the voting age populations of Blacks and Whites in Mecklenburg County, generating a ratio of 7.26. Wake County has 1,941 disenfranchised Blacks, or 1.05 percent of the respective voting age population, compared to 962 Whites, 0.17 percent, for a ratio of 6.21. The graph makes clear that such high ratios are much closer to the norm than those few counties with lower ratios. The overall state figure, discussed above, is 2.76. The data from Figure 7 make clear that this cannot be seen as the result of a fluke in just a single county. It is a widespread pattern throughout the state.⁶

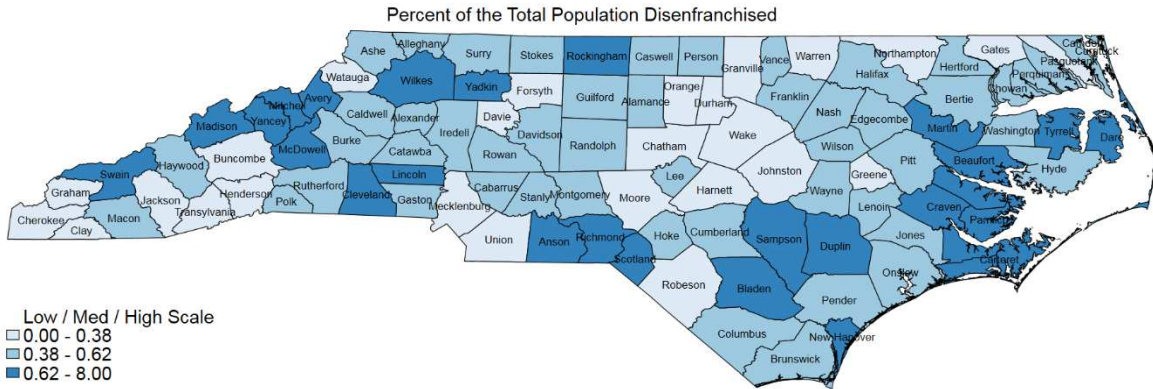
We can also see the ubiquity of the racial disparities discussed above in a series of maps, presented below. In each map, we separate the counties into low, medium, and high groups according to the same categories defined in Figure 3 and Table 3, above. By applying the same categories and color scheme in the maps that follow to all racial groups, the maps clearly demonstrate that racial differences are not limited to a single county or region of the state. In fact they are almost completely pervasive. The maps present, in order, the percentage of the total voting age population disenfranchised by probation and post-release supervision in each county, then identically formatted maps for Asians, Whites, Native Americans, and Blacks. Darker shading patterns indicate higher rates of disenfranchisement out of the relevant population base.

⁶ See Table A2 for the full data by county, including counties below the threshold of 1,000 Blacks in the population. See Footnote 5 above for details on outlier cases below that threshold.

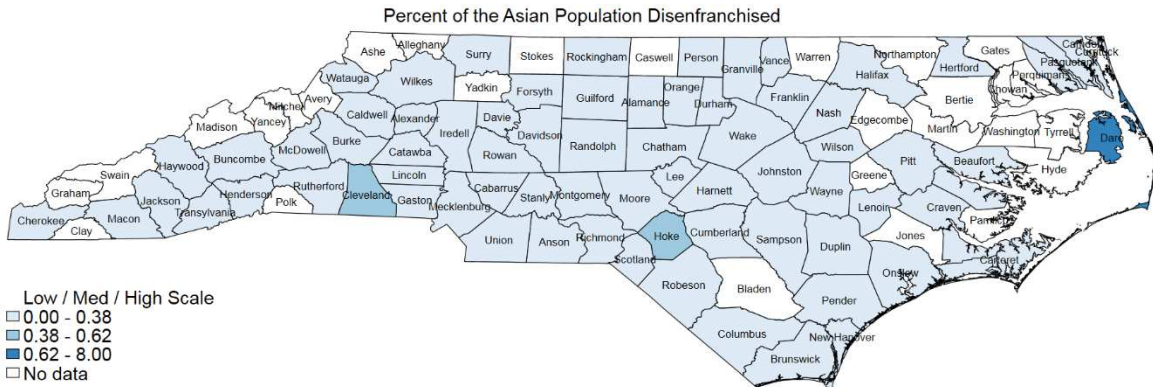
As we move across the five racial groups presented, darker shading becomes clearly more common.

Figure 8. Maps showing Rates of Disenfranchisement

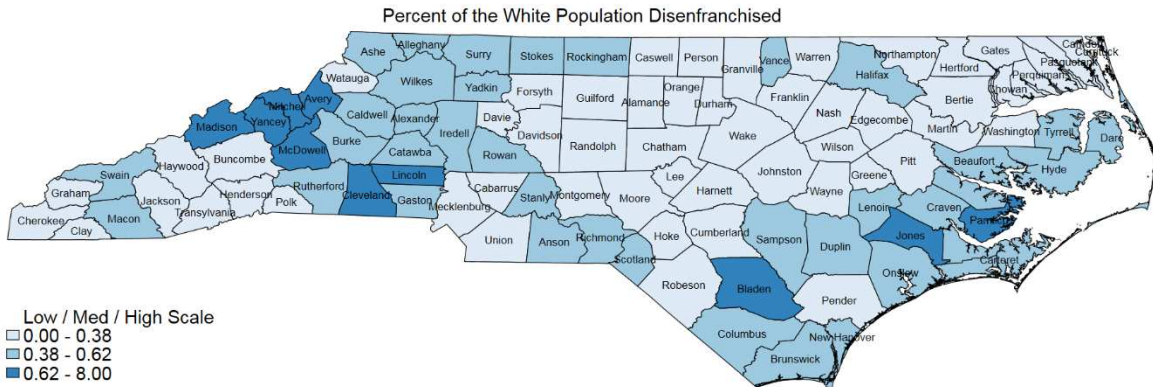
A. Total



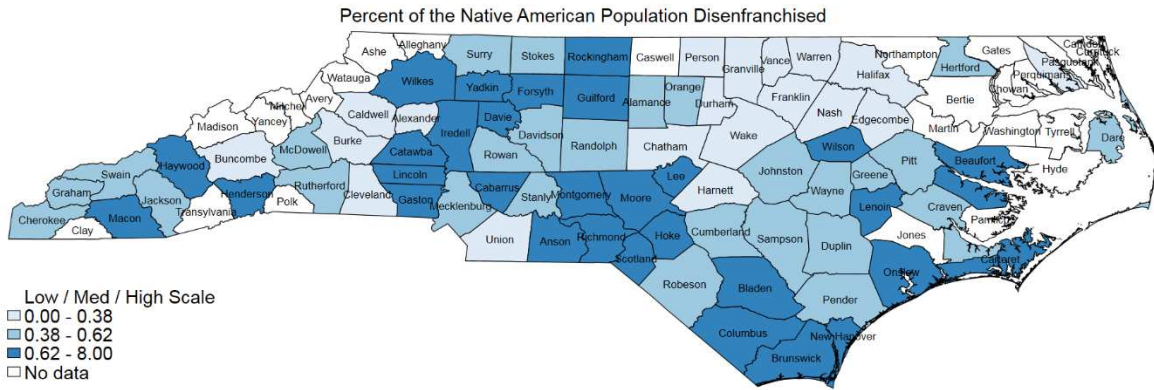
B. Asian



C. White



D. Native American



E. Black

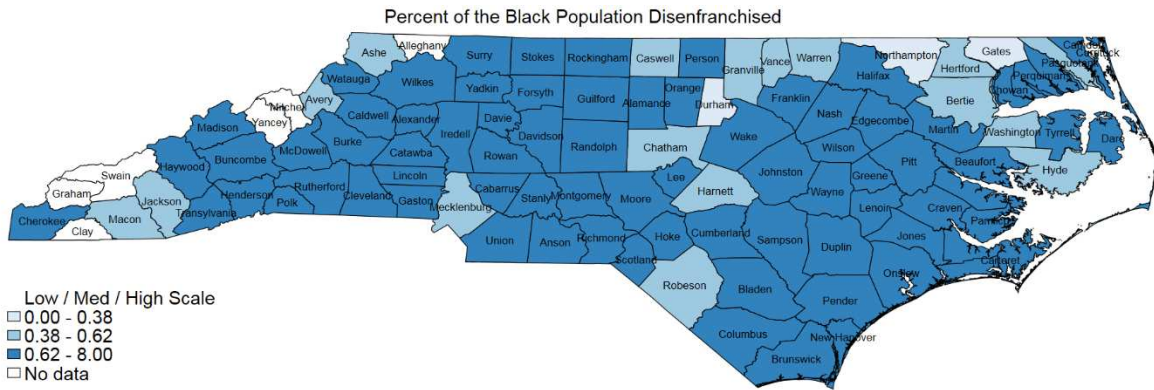


Figure 8A above shows the overall pattern of disenfranchisement rates for the state, across all races. Twenty-five counties are rated low and shaded with the lightest color; 50 are in the middle category, and 25 have a darker shade representing higher rates of disenfranchisement. Figures 8B-E then present Asian-Americans, Whites, Native Americans, and Blacks, with the identical color schemes. For some of the racial groups, a number of counties are listed as “no data” and left unshaded; these have too few observations for reliable analyses. Figure 8B has just two counties in the middle group and one in the higher group, representing the very low rates at which Asians are disenfranchised across the state. Whites similarly have a low rate, as shown in Figure 8C. Native Americans have much higher rates, and Blacks have the highest rates of all, as shown by the almost uniform dark shading in Figure 8E.

It is hard to imagine more powerful visible evidence of something the data make clear at every turn. Racial disparities in disenfranchisement rates are as ubiquitous throughout the state as they are strong. No region of the state escapes from this pattern.

The Financial Burden of Court Costs, Fees, and Restitution

Individuals face various fees associated with their incarceration, probation, or supervision; these may include court costs, court-assigned fees, monthly probation or community supervision fees (typically \$40 per month), and restitution. Recall that 51,441 individuals are subject to either probation or post-release supervision. This section summarizes these financial variables for both groups. Tables 3 and 4 summarize the financial burdens they bear, combining across all types of fees, separately for those on probation and post-release supervision. Note, because of a number of extreme outliers in the data, we present only two variables for each racial category: the number of individuals subject to any such financial obligation, and the median amount owed. We do not present means or maxima, nor do we attempt to calculate the total burden across all individuals because of a number of extremely high values in the datasets received from the state, which could skew any such calculations. They will have no impact on the N's and median values reported here, however.

Table 3. Financial Penalties, by Race, for Individuals on Probation

Race	N	Fees		Court Costs		Restitution		Supervision Fees		Total	
		N	Median	N	Median	N	Median	N	Median	N	Median
Asian	184	157	\$150	117	\$700	38	\$1,829	184	\$1,198	184	\$2,168
Black	16,977	13,886	\$300	13,337	\$533	5,347	\$1,188	16,976	\$982	16,976	\$2,416
Native American	812	678	\$340	645	\$513	269	\$1,870	812	\$961	812	\$2,464
Other / Unknown	1,167	954	\$290	884	\$505	335	\$1,365	1,167	\$961	1,167	\$2,360
White	21,692	18,420	\$350	17,068	\$593	7,090	\$1,578	21,690	\$1,198	21,690	\$2,454
Total	40,832	34,095	\$340	32,051	\$573	13,079	\$1,400	40,829	\$1,198	40,829	\$2,441

Note: Includes 39,065 individuals with probation and 1,767 with both probation and post-release supervision, for a total of 40,832. Data relate only to costs associated with probation. N's in the first column show the total number of individuals on probation, by race. N's in the subsequent columns show the numbers of that group subject to the corresponding type of cost or fee.

Table 4. Financial Penalties, by Race, for Individuals on Post-Release Supervision

Race	N	Fees		Court Costs		Restitution		Supervision Fees		Total	
		N	Median	N	Median	N	Median	N	Median	N	Median
Asian	36	28	\$40	2	\$724	13	\$1,833	36	\$356	36	\$659
Black	5,440	4,634	\$40	116	\$1,449	1,993	\$1,459	5,432	\$356	5,432	\$521
Native American	260	221	\$40	5	\$4,686	82	\$1,956	259	\$356	259	\$521
Other / Unknown	702	619	\$40	21	\$395	301	\$2,233	701	\$481	701	\$2,441
White	5,938	4,800	\$40	66	\$630	1,936	\$1,464	5,925	\$356	5,926	\$521
Total	12,376	10,302	\$40	210	\$839	4,325	\$1,500	12,353	\$356	12,354	\$521

Note: Includes 10,609 individuals with post-release supervision and 1,767 with both probation and post-release supervision, for a total of 12,376. Data relate only to costs associated with post-release supervision. N's in the first column show the total number of individuals on post-release supervision, by race. N's in the subsequent columns show the numbers of that group subject to the corresponding type of cost or fee.

Racial differences in the amount of money owed by individuals on probation or post-release supervision are not very great. However, the numbers in Tables 3 and 4 make clear the extreme financial burden imposed on virtually every individual in the system, particularly those on probation. The last column of data represents the totals across all the types of costs and fees imposed, and virtually every individual sees some level of financial obligation. The median total amount owed in financial obligations for those on probation is over \$2,400, and this is consistent across all racial groups. Supervision fees alone, at \$40 per month, can add up to substantial amounts, depending on the length of the period in question. Financial penalties for those on post-release supervision are lower, but typically add up to more than \$500.

A recent analysis by the Duke Law School shows substantial racial differences in fines, particularly those for Failure to Appear⁷, and further estimates that approximately one-third of such fees are “uncured” or never collected. This would suggest a substantial potential of long-lasting disenfranchisement. Tables 3 and 4 suggest that the bulk of such financial burdens is faced by those on probation.

Since all individuals are by default subject to monthly supervision fees of \$40 for probation or post-release supervision, by definition, all such individuals face some financial burden. Indeed, of the currently disenfranchised North Carolinians on parole or post-release supervision, the median duration of probation or post-release supervision in their original sentence is 24 months; this value is 30 months for those on probation and 9 months for those on post-release supervision.

Not counting these automatic fees, 37,765 individuals out of 40,832 on probation, or 92.5 percent, owe some amount of court costs, fees, or restitution. With specific regard to restitution,

⁷<https://datalab.law.duke.edu/shiny/nccrimfines/>; see also <https://sites.law.duke.edu/justsciencelab/wp-content/uploads/sites/5/2020/04/CSJ-Criminal-Fines-and-Fees-in-NC-v.7.pdf>, both last accessed April 25, 2020.

68 percent of who are currently disenfranchised under N.C.G.S. § 13-1 did not owe any restitution as part of their sentence.

Type of Crimes Associated with Disenfranchisement: Nonviolent, Drug-related

As described in the introduction, the data received from the state indicate the Offense and the Offense Type. Table 5 shows the numbers of individuals, as well as the percent of the total, convicted of each type of offense listed in the database. Note that the unit of analysis here is the conviction, and there may be more than one conviction per individual.

Table 5. Offense Types

Offense	Post Release Supervision		Probation	
	N	%	N	%
DRUGS- NON TRAFFICK	3,264	18.52	18,467	29.67
LARCENY	1,916	10.87	8,281	13.30
FRAUD	1,292	7.33	7,352	11.81
BREAKING, ENTERING*	1,976	11.21	5,722	9.19
ASSAULT*	1,010	5.73	3,739	6.01
WEAPONS OFFENSES*	741	4.21	2,462	3.96
OTHER SEXUAL OFFENSE*	1,405	7.97	2,436	3.91
OTHER PUBLIC ORDER	331	1.88	1,878	3.02
ROBBERY*	1,024	5.81	1,855	2.98
DRUGS TRAFFICK	623	3.54	1,646	2.64
DRIVING WHILE IMPAIRED	7	0.04	1,422	2.28
OTHER TRAFFIC VIOLATIONS	270	1.53	1,321	2.12
FORGERY	198	1.12	1,047	1.68
BURGLARY	233	1.32	784	1.26
AUTO THEFT	303	1.72	775	1.25
NOT REPORTED, UNDEFINED	4	0.02	691	1.11
OTHER OFFENSE AGAINST PERSON*	64	0.36	529	0.85
VIOLATION SEX OFFNS CONDITIONS	254	1.44	390	0.63
OTHER PROPERTY	20	0.11	345	0.55
KIDNAPPING AND ABDUCTION*	234	1.33	331	0.53
MANSLAUGHTER*	114	0.65	247	0.40
BURNINGS*	57	0.32	220	0.35
SEXUAL ASSAULT*	1,077	6.11	120	0.19
WORTHLESS CHECKS	8	0.05	76	0.12
ABANDONMENT AND NON-SUPPORT			28	0.04
HABITUAL DRUNK	111	0.63	24	0.04
MURDER FIRST DEGREE*	70	0.40	23	0.04
MURDER SECOND DEGREE*	175	0.99	19	0.03
OTHER ALCOHOL OFFENSE			10	0.02
DRUNK OR DISORDERLY			2	0.00
HABITUAL FELON	840	4.77	1	0.00
Subtotal for Nonviolent Offenses	9,674	54.90	44,540	71.56
Subtotal for Violent Offenses	7,947	45.10	17,703	28.44
Total	17,621	100.00	62,243	100.00

Offense types with an * are coded as violent.

Table 5 makes clear that the vast bulk of crimes for which individuals are currently disenfranchised are non-violent, and many are related to the “war on drugs”. Table 5 shows an

asterisk (*) next to each offense type in the state database where the conviction might be a crime of violence: breaking and entering, assault, weapons offenses, and of course sexual assault, murder, and so on. Inevitably, such an assignment is partially subjective but the coding is transparent in the table and is done in good faith. Subtotals near the bottom show that 55 percent of the post-release supervision offenses are non-violent as are 72 percent of the probation offenses.

Impact on Elections

Our concern about large numbers of individuals disenfranchised is not purely academic. In fact, the large numbers likely have an impact on many elections. To demonstrate this, we looked at county-wide elections across the state in 2018, the most recent data available. Using data from the North Carolina Board of Elections (<https://www.ncsbe.gov/Election-Results>), we identified elections where the number of disenfranchised individuals is larger than the vote margin between winning and losing candidates. Because local elections often do not adhere to county lines, our analysis is not comprehensive. However, there are a number of elections that can be examined where the county itself is the relevant unit; this includes such elections as county education boards, sheriff elections, and county commissioner seats.

First, we identified 2018 elections that correspond to counties (typically, boards of commissioners, sheriffs, clerks of court, boards of education). Next, we dropped any election that had no challenger, retaining only those with at least two candidates, or in some cases, a ballot measure with a yes/no vote. Note that some elections were for a single office-holder (such as Sheriff) and others were to elect several members of a given body, such as “vote for 3” members of the board of education. In each case, we compared the vote for the lowest-ranking winning candidate and the candidate with the next highest number of votes. For a single-member election, this was the difference between the winner and the second-place finisher. For an election to

choose 4 members of a board, it was the difference between the fourth- and fifth-ranked candidates. Table 6 shows the elections we identified in this manner where the number of disenfranchised individuals in that county is greater than the vote margin. In these elections, disenfranchised individuals could have tipped the outcome of the vote. We identified 16 such cases, as shown in Table 6.

Table 6. County-Wide Elections in 2018 with Vote Margins Less than the Number of Disenfranchised Individuals.

County and Office	Number of Seats	Vote Margin*	Number Disenfranchised
Alleghany County Board of Commissioners	3	6	68
Ashe County Board of Education	3	16	125
Beaufort County Board of Commissioners	1	63	457
Cleveland County Board of Commissioners	2	1,010	1,156
Columbus County Sheriff	1	43	328
Craven County Clerk of Superior Court	1	462	643
Haywood County Board of Commissioners	3	43	297
Jones County Board of Education	3	64	68
Lee County Board of Education	3	78	332
Mitchell County Board of Education (unexpired term)	1	59	122
Montgomery County Sheriff	1	50	130
New Hanover County Board of Education	4	839	1,722
Pasquotank County Board of Commissioners Northern Outside	1	82	194
Swain County Board of Commissioners Members	2	40	88
Swain County Board of Education	2	45	88
Yancey County Board of Commissioners	3	45	141

*Vote Margin is the difference between the lowest number of votes for a candidate elected to office and the next highest number of votes. If there were four seats, this is the difference between the fourth and the fifth vote-getters. If a single person was to be elected, it is the difference between the winner's votes and the second-place finisher.

The 2018 Columbus County sheriff's election, with a 43-vote margin, was challenged for a variety of voting irregularities, including delayed opening of a polling place and accusations of mishandling of absentee ballots collected from a nursing home.⁸ Our analysis suggests that many

⁸ <https://www.wunc.org/post/republicans-narrow-victory-stands-columbus-county-sheriff-race>

close elections could have been affected by the large-scale disenfranchisement policies analyzed here.

While Table 6 identified a number of local elections that could have had a different outcome had the disenfranchised population had the right to vote, there are also a number of elections for the General Assembly in 2018 that had a very narrow margin. Using data from the MIT Election Data and Science Lab (<https://github.com/MEDSL>), Table 7 lists the elections in 2018 that had a vote margin of less than 1,000 votes.

Table 7. 2018 NC Elections with a Vote Margin Less than 1,000 Votes.

Office, District	Votes for Candidate A	Votes for Candidate B	Vote Margin	Winning Share
State House, 103	19,134	19,064	70	50.09
State Senate, 9	42,026	42,257	231	50.14
State House, 63	15,311	15,013	298	50.49
State House, 98	19,618	20,033	415	50.52
State Senate, 19	29,815	29,382	433	50.37
State House, 24	14,219	13,770	449	50.80
State House, 19	17,075	17,957	882	51.26
State House, 36	21,551	20,667	884	51.05
State Senate, 27	45,205	44,268	937	50.52
State House, 37	21,859	22,803	944	51.06

Most elections are not as close as the ones listed in Table 7. These are the State House and Senate races with the narrowest margins of victory, typically 51-49 or closer. Still, close elections occur in every election cycle. For example, the 2000 US Presidential election makes clear that even a national election, with tens of millions of voters, can come down to the narrowest of margins. North Carolina’s policies, excluding over 56,500 individuals from the possibility of voting, clearly have an impact. Indeed, we need look no further than the most

recent Gubernatorial race, where current Governor Roy Cooper defeated incumbent Pat McCrory by a vote of 2,309,190 to 2,298,927, a margin of 10,263.⁹

Conclusion

In summary, this report has demonstrated the following, using data provided by the State. First, over 51,000 individuals are currently disenfranchised because of probation (over 40,000) or post-release supervision (more than 10,000) following a conviction in North Carolina state court. This is more than the number of individuals currently incarcerated. Second, Blacks are 2.77 times as likely as Whites to be disenfranchised through these policies, and this racially disparate pattern of impact is apparent in every region of the state and indeed in every county with sufficient numbers of Black and White residents for a robust estimate. Third, the state typically imposes significant financial burdens on individuals subjected to these policies, in particular on those under probation; they face an average of over \$2,400 in financial obligations. Fourth, the bulk of the felonies for which persons are disenfranchised are non-violent; among probationers, non-violent offenses comprise more than 70 percent of the total, and for post-release supervision, over half. Large percentages relate to drug crimes, in particular drug possession. Finally, the number of individuals disenfranchised is sufficient to affect election outcomes. The state-wide total, over 56,500, is more than 5 times the margin of the last election for Governor. Numerous county-level elections in 2018 were decided by margins smaller than the number of disenfranchised individuals in the relevant county.

⁹ Data from NC State Board of Elections:
https://er.ncsbe.gov/?election_dt=11/08/2016&county_id=0&office=COS&contest=0.

Appendix.

Table A1. Population and Number Disenfranchised, by Race and County

County	Population						Number Disenfranchised				
	White	Black	Asian	Native	Other	Total	White	Black	Asian	Native	Total
ALAMANCE	101830	24957	2114	2513	2178	133592	343	357	2	10	745
ALEXANDER	28450	1718	280	196	329	30973	140	20	0	0	167
ALLEGHANY	9178					9530	58	4	0	0	68
ANSON	9840	9589	336	203	273	20241	61	114	0	2	177
ASHE	22353	170			252	22971	122	1	0	0	125
AVERY	14307	732				15317	126	5	0	0	134
BEAUFORT	28678	8213	242	551	458	38142	205	235	0	10	458
BERTIE	5985	9555			179	15957	13	60	0	1	78
BLADEN	17226	8998		744	370	27413	127	124	0	14	272
BRUNSWICK	103107	12613	981	1133	1475	119309	509	171	1	13	713
BUNCOMBE	194933	11157	3291	1404	3838	214623	582	231	4	6	846
BURKE	64115	4953	2891	863	1022	73844	454	73	9	0	547
CABARRUS	125297	28317	4077	1334	2497	161522	570	507	4	26	1143
CALDWELL	62298	3077	446	563	855	67239	361	41	1	1	406
CAMDEN	6994	1141	207		176	8547	12	8	0	0	20
CARTERET	53934	3110	755	345	1073	59217	374	70	1	3	454
CASWELL	12457	6585			274	19494	55	54	0	1	110
CATAWBA	107809	10334	4200	923	1750	125016	591	230	15	10	868
CHATHAM	52163	7173	910	1097	705	62048	68	49	0	4	143
CHEROKEE	23240	299	194	327	682	24742	87	7	1	3	98
CHOWAN	7548	3456			125	11280	28	52	1	0	81
CLAY	9605				123	9823	21	1	0	0	22
CLEVELAND	61051	15461	736	360	1099	78707	766	370	3	2	1156
COLUMBUS	27491	14769	235	1513	689	44697	164	145	0	15	328
CRAVEN	55216	17572	2099	448	1852	77187	356	273	2	3	643

CUMBERLAND	129661	91847	7463	4247	10230	243448	419	1000	4	43	1534
CURRITUCK	20121	1311	227		404	22198	81	17	0	1	102
DARE	28678	745	322	254	481	30480	200	40	2	2	248
DAVIDSON	117022	11609	2074	1430	1619	133754	555	224	8	7	825
DAVIE	31891	2103	286	276	439	34995	102	29	0	3	140
DUPLIN	32999	10944	573	916	362	45794	228	221	0	5	484
DURHAM	122733	97196	13345	3154	5271	241699	102	470	4	10	623
EDGECOMBE	17028	22715		330	422	40638	65	223	0	1	294
FORSYTH	196252	80750	7769	3107	5009	292887	435	839	3	28	1385
FRANKLIN	38959	13609	397	635	746	54346	154	122	0	2	288
GASTON	138829	27399	2856	1485	2726	173295	916	470	7	10	1438
GATES	6269	3314			188	9874	22	12	0	0	34
GRAHAM	6408			380	132	6962	13	0	0	3	16
GRANVILLE	31904	16013	372	540	670	49499	70	125	0	1	202
GREENE	10131	5705		567	161	16715	27	48	0	4	81
GUILFORD	246851	144276	20395	3622	8282	423426	784	1429	21	41	2344
HALIFAX	16496	21341	390	1753	456	40436	98	198	0	1	303
HARNETT	71717	20457	1291	2490	3105	99060	218	182	0	10	429
HAYWOOD	50373	490	276	308	550	51997	261	17	0	12	297
HENDERSON	90007	2809	1414	778	1359	96367	369	57	1	7	455
HERTFORD	7592	11221	157	218	229	19417	34	76	0	1	114
HOKE	19221	12797	646	3932	1544	38140	68	176	3	62	332
HYDE	2854	1362				4321	13	12	0	1	26
IREDELL	120806	15390	3193	1205	1944	142538	610	302	4	19	963
JACKSON	32192	666	440	2926	658	36882	133	5	0	28	181
JOHNSTON	126972	23768	1483	1760	2208	156191	469	318	1	14	845
JONES	5563	2375			175	8231	44	24	0	0	68
LEE	35155	9159	617	846	797	46574	145	152	1	9	332
LENOIR	25072	17772	380	406	491	44121	145	227	0	3	392
LINCOLN	64050	3533	493	313	727	69116	592	108	1	6	723

MACON	28599	443	258	267	266	29833	172	4	0	7	193
MADISON	17921	298			263	18628	215	2	0	1	220
MARTIN	10413	7771			155	18525	50	117	0	0	170
MCDOWELL	35034	1513	297	389	391	37624	422	35	0	2	469
MECKLENBURG	499312	279436	44200	7895	16303	847146	411	1669	25	39	2290
MITCHELL	12081				151	12487	119	3	0	0	122
MONTGOMERY	17333	3755	309	213	191	21801	54	57	0	4	130
MOORE	67654	9721	1239	774	1082	80470	214	148	0	9	379
NASH	42929	29830	848	931	1112	75650	160	403	0	5	585
NEW HANOVER	160028	24248	3176	1505	3433	192390	973	686	2	20	1722
NORTHAMPTON	6859	9632			157	16813	10	44	0	0	55
ONSLOW	110481	19598	3637	1166	5213	140095	534	327	2	18	912
ORANGE	94286	12547	10320	917	2583	120653	122	127	4	6	276
PAMLICO	8953	2088			121	11283	95	42	0	0	139
PASQUOTANK	16981	12482	509	167	606	30745	63	126	0	0	194
PENDER	41378	7425	342	567	834	50546	191	79	0	3	281
PERQUIMANS	8195	2740			124	11170	37	33	0	0	71
PERSON	23172	8053	161	290	421	32097	106	137	1	0	246
PITT	88098	46387	3054	881	2504	140924	298	766	1	6	1096
POLK	17155	708			218	18316	72	11	0	1	85
RANDOLPH	102013	6812	1538	1722	1444	113529	487	167	2	12	695
RICHMOND	21845	10546	490	1365	695	34941	149	145	1	15	317
ROBESON	33014	24307	1409	39166	2325	100221	68	142	0	229	472
ROCKINGHAM	57535	13873	574	462	1226	73670	416	222	1	6	660
ROWAN	89834	17981	1145	732	1436	111128	529	255	1	5	815
RUTHERFORD	48975	4858	303	197	921	55254	414	96	0	2	515
SAMPSON	33354	12410	345	2057	676	48842	249	246	1	17	553
SCOTLAND	12874	10216	299	3416	621	27426	72	152	0	48	279
STANLY	43341	5370	1087	215	479	50492	216	97	4	3	326
STOKES	35851	1429		182	458	38041	224	34	0	1	265

SURRY	54461	2296	322	445	648	58172	309	45	0	3	368
SWAIN	7745			2569	592	11004	59	2	0	16	88
TRANSYLVANIA	28090	1075	149		444	29863	109	22	0	0	133
TYRRELL	1944	1358				3467	16	12	0	2	31
UNION	149671	21051	4889	1377	2496	179484	445	312	1	10	805
VANCE	16494	17942	156	374	424	35390	96	151	0	1	256
WAKE	569408	185019	55034	9016	17028	835505	962	1941	19	31	3127
WARREN	6946	8163		953	273	16403	16	51	0	3	71
WASHINGTON	4515	4757			142	9510	15	34	0	0	51
WATAUGA	48200	1020	616		982	50963	179	17	1	5	209
WAYNE	62536	28452	1635	995	1802	95420	259	291	2	5	578
WILKES	52643	2404	336	281	663	56327	442	57	0	3	514
WILSON	36534	25292	790	414	713	63743	92	250	0	4	354
YADKIN	29033	870		251	245	30521	219	33	0	4	265
YANCEY	14803				134	15290	132	6	0	2	141

Note: Population data from the US census, referring to the voting-age population.
Disenfranchisement data from the present analysis.

Table A2. Percent Disenfranchised and Black-White Ratio of Disenfranchisement, by County

County	White	Black	Asian	Native	Total	Black : White Disenfranchisement Ratio
ALAMANCE	0.34	1.43	0.09	0.40	0.56	4.25
ALEXANDER	0.49	1.16	0.00	0.00	0.54	2.37
ALLEGHANY	0.63				0.71	
ANSON	0.62	1.19	0.00	0.99	0.87	1.92
ASHE	0.55	0.59			0.54	
AVERY	0.88	0.68			0.87	
BEAUFORT	0.71	2.86	0.00	1.81	1.20	4.00
BERTIE	0.22	0.63			0.49	2.89
BLADEN	0.74	1.38		1.88	0.99	1.87
BRUNSWICK	0.49	1.36	0.10	1.15	0.60	2.75
BUNCOMBE	0.30	2.07	0.12	0.43	0.39	6.93
BURKE	0.71	1.47	0.31	0.00	0.74	2.08
CABARRUS	0.45	1.79	0.10	1.95	0.71	3.94
CALDWELL	0.58	1.33	0.22	0.18	0.60	2.30
CAMDEN	0.17	0.70	0.00		0.23	4.09
CARTERET	0.69	2.25	0.13	0.87	0.77	3.25
CASWELL	0.44	0.82			0.56	1.86
CATAWBA	0.55	2.23	0.36	1.08	0.69	4.06
CHATHAM	0.13	0.68	0.00	0.36	0.23	5.24
CHEROKEE	0.37	2.34	0.52	0.92	0.40	
CHOWAN	0.37	1.50			0.72	4.06
CLAY	0.22				0.22	
CLEVELAND	1.25	2.39	0.41	0.56	1.47	1.91
COLUMBUS	0.60	0.98	0.00	0.99	0.73	1.65
CRAVEN	0.64	1.55	0.10	0.67	0.83	2.41
CUMBERLAND	0.32	1.09	0.05	1.01	0.63	3.37
CURRITUCK	0.40	1.30	0.00		0.46	3.22
DARE	0.70	5.37	0.62	0.79	0.81	
DAVIDSON	0.47	1.93	0.39	0.49	0.62	4.07
DAVIE	0.32	1.38	0.00	1.09	0.40	4.31
DUPLIN	0.69	2.02	0.00	0.55	1.06	2.92
DURHAM	0.08	0.48	0.03	0.32	0.26	5.82
EDGECOMBE	0.38	0.98		0.30	0.72	2.57
FORSYTH	0.22	1.04	0.04	0.90	0.47	4.69
FRANKLIN	0.40	0.90	0.00	0.31	0.53	2.27
GASTON	0.66	1.72	0.25	0.67	0.83	2.60
GATES	0.35	0.36			0.34	1.03
GRAHAM	0.20			0.79	0.23	

GRANVILLE	0.22	0.78	0.00	0.19	0.41	3.56
GREENE	0.27	0.84		0.71	0.48	3.16
GUILFORD	0.32	0.99	0.10	1.13	0.55	3.12
HALIFAX	0.59	0.93	0.00	0.06	0.75	1.56
HARNETT	0.30	0.89	0.00	0.40	0.43	2.93
HAYWOOD	0.52	3.47	0.00	3.90	0.57	
HENDERSON	0.41	2.03	0.07	0.90	0.47	4.95
HERTFORD	0.45	0.68	0.00	0.46	0.59	1.51
HOKE	0.35	1.38	0.46	1.58	0.87	3.89
HYDE	0.46	0.88			0.60	1.93
IREDELL	0.50	1.96	0.13	1.58	0.68	3.89
JACKSON	0.41	0.75	0.00	0.96	0.49	
JOHNSTON	0.37	1.34	0.07	0.80	0.54	3.62
JONES	0.79	1.01			0.83	1.28
LEE	0.41	1.66	0.16	1.06	0.71	4.02
LENOIR	0.58	1.28	0.00	0.74	0.89	2.21
LINCOLN	0.92	3.06	0.20	1.92	1.05	3.31
MACON	0.60	0.90	0.00	2.62	0.65	
MADISON	1.20	0.67			1.18	
MARTIN	0.48	1.51			0.92	3.14
MCDOWELL	1.20	2.31	0.00	0.51	1.25	1.92
MECKLENBURG	0.08	0.60	0.06	0.49	0.27	7.26
MITCHELL	0.99				0.98	
MONTGOMERY	0.31	1.52	0.00	1.88	0.60	4.87
MOORE	0.32	1.52	0.00	1.16	0.47	4.81
NASH	0.37	1.35	0.00	0.54	0.77	3.62
NEW HANOVER	0.61	2.83	0.06	1.33	0.90	4.65
NORTHAMPTON	0.15	0.46			0.33	3.13
ONslow	0.48	1.67	0.05	1.54	0.65	3.45
ORANGE	0.13	1.01	0.04	0.65	0.23	7.82
PAMLICO	1.06	2.01			1.23	1.90
PASQUOTANK	0.37	1.01	0.00	0.00	0.63	2.72
PENDER	0.46	1.06	0.00	0.53	0.56	2.30
PERQUIMANS	0.45	1.20			0.64	2.67
PERSON	0.46	1.70	0.62	0.00	0.77	3.72
PITT	0.34	1.65	0.03	0.68	0.78	4.88
POLK	0.42	1.55			0.46	
RANDOLPH	0.48	2.45	0.13	0.70	0.61	5.14
RICHMOND	0.68	1.37	0.20	1.10	0.91	2.02
ROBESON	0.21	0.58	0.00	0.58	0.47	2.84
ROCKINGHAM	0.72	1.60	0.17	1.30	0.90	2.21

ROWAN	0.59	1.42	0.09	0.68	0.73	2.41
RUTHERFORD	0.85	1.98	0.00	1.02	0.93	2.34
SAMPSON	0.75	1.98	0.29	0.83	1.13	2.66
SCOTLAND	0.56	1.49	0.00	1.41	1.02	2.66
STANLY	0.50	1.81	0.37	1.40	0.65	3.62
STOKES	0.62	2.38		0.55	0.70	3.81
SURRY	0.57	1.96	0.00	0.67	0.63	3.45
SWAIN	0.76			0.62	0.80	
TRANSYLVANIA	0.39	2.05	0.00		0.45	5.27
TYRRELL	0.82	0.88			0.89	1.07
UNION	0.30	1.48	0.02	0.73	0.45	4.98
VANCE	0.58	0.84	0.00	0.27	0.72	1.45
WAKE	0.17	1.05	0.03	0.34	0.37	6.21
WARREN	0.23	0.62		0.31	0.43	2.71
WASHINGTON	0.33	0.71			0.54	2.15
WATAUGA	0.37	1.67	0.16		0.41	4.49
WAYNE	0.41	1.02	0.12	0.50	0.61	2.47
WILKES	0.84	2.37	0.00	1.07	0.91	2.82
WILSON	0.25	0.99	0.00	0.97	0.56	3.93
YADKIN	0.75	3.79		1.59	0.87	
YANCEY	0.89				0.92	

Note: Calculated from the data in Table A1.

I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing is true and correct to the best of my knowledge.

This 8th day of May, 2020.



Dr. Frank R. Baumgartner

EXHIBIT A

FRANK R. BAUMGARTNER

Richard J. Richardson Distinguished Professor of Political Science
University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill
313 Hamilton Hall • Chapel Hill, NC 27599-3265
Phone 919 962 3041 • Fax 919 962 0432
Frankb@unc.edu • <http://fbaum.unc.edu/>

EDUCATION

Ph.D., 1986, The University of Michigan. (Fields: Comparative, American, methods.)
Dissertation: “Strategies of Policy Making: Education Policy in France, 1983–1984.”
Doctoral fieldwork conducted in Paris, France, 1983–84.
M.A., 1983, The University of Michigan. *Thesis*: “Models of Incumbent Spending in U.S. House Races.”
B.A., 1980, The University of Michigan. Honors in Political Science, honors in French, high distinction, Phi Beta Kappa, junior year at Université de Provence, Aix-en-Provence, France, 1978–79.
Diploma, 1976, Cass Technical High School, Detroit, Michigan. Class rank: 3/914.
Languages: American (native); French (fluent).

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Full-Time Academic Appointments

2009– Richard J. Richardson Distinguished Professor of Political Science, UNC Chapel Hill (also Adjunct Professor of Public Policy, 2019–)
1998–09 The Pennsylvania State University (Professor 1998–2005; Interim Head, 1999–2000; Head, 2000–04; Distinguished Professor, 2005–2007; Bruce R. Miller and Dean D. LaVigne Professor, 2007–09)
1998–99 California Institute of Technology, Visiting Professor
1987–98 Texas A&M University (Assistant Professor 1987–92; Associate Professor 1992–97; Professor 1997–98)
1986–87 The University of Iowa, Visiting Assistant Professor

Temporary and other Appointments

2019 Visiting Professor, University of St. Gallen, Switzerland, May–June
2016 Fellow, Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities, University of Edinburgh, May–June
2011–12 Visiting Professor, University of Barcelona, May–June 2011, January–June 2012
2006–10 Chercheur associé, Center for European Studies / Cevipof / Sciences Po, Paris; also Professeur invité, Sciences Po (graduate courses in public policy). May–June, 2006–10.
2000–10 Professor (honorary appointment), University of Aberdeen
2007 Fellow, The Camargo Foundation, Cassis, France, January–May
2005 Visiting Professor, Cevipof / Sciences Po, Paris, March–August
2004–05 Visiting Fellow, European University Institute, Department of Political and Social Sciences, Florence, September–February
1997 Visiting Scholar, The University of Washington, Seattle, Summer

- 1996, 90, 87 Visiting Scholar, The University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Summers
 1988 Visiting Scholar, Institut de Management Public, Paris, Summer
 1983–84 Visiting Scholar, Institut de Management Public, Paris, September–July
 1981–86 Teaching Assistant, then Instructor, then Lecturer, The University of Michigan
 1981–86 Research Assistant, then Research Associate, The University of Michigan.
 Institute for Public Policy Studies; National Election Studies; Center for Political
 Studies; Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research
 1981 Summer intern and interpreter, *Conseil Régional du Nord – Pas-de-Calais*,
 France, M. Pierre Mauroy, President of the Region and Prime Minister of France

Teaching and Research Fields

Public policy, policy process, punctuated equilibrium, agenda-setting, framing, interest groups, lobbying, social movements, budgeting, capital punishment, American politics, comparative politics, race and ethnic politics, criminal justice.

CURRENT RESEARCH

Comparative Agendas Project (see <http://www.comparativeagendas.net>). Bryan Jones and I started the US Policy Agendas Project in 1994, making available data on the activities of the US government since 1947. It has now expanded internationally to become the Comparative Agendas Project (CAP), with affiliated projects in over 25 countries and political systems.

Capital Punishment Research (see <http://fbaum.unc.edu/Innocence/Innocence.htm> and <http://fbaum.unc.edu/books/DeadlyJustice/index.html>) Following on the research I conducted for books published in 2008 and 2018, I continue to be involved in analyses of the death penalty in the US and in North Carolina.

Traffic Stops (see <http://fbaum.unc.edu/traffic.htm> and <http://fbaum.unc.edu/books/SuspectCitizens/index.html>). A comprehensive analysis of over 20 million traffic stops in North Carolina since 2000. We completed a book in 2018 and are extending our analysis of the “driving while black” phenomenon nationwide in a series of articles.

Research Under Review or Near Completion:

- Being revised for submission

A Deadly Symbol: Race and Capital Punishment in North Carolina. Under contract, University of North Carolina Press; target for submission: Fall 2021. (Frank R. Baumgartner, Seth Kotch, and Isaac Unah)

Three Models of Opinion Dynamics. Under contract, Cambridge University Press, Elements Series (Frances Lee, series editor). Target for submission: June 2020. (Mary Layton Atkinson, K. Elizabeth Coggins, James A. Stimson, and Frank R. Baumgartner)

Driving while Black (and male, and young, and...): Evidence of disparities at the margin and the intersection. 2018 APSA paper to be revised. (Frank R. Baumgartner, Leah Christiani, Derek Epp, Santiago Olivella, Kevin Roach, and Kelsey Shoub)

Why a Small Handful of Counties Generates the Bulk of US Death Sentences: A Theory of Self-Reinforcement with Three Statistical Tests. (Frank R. Baumgartner, Janet M. Box-Steffensmeier, Benjamin W. Campbell, Christian Caron, and Hailey Sherman) Draft paper for comments, March 6, 2020.

Capital and Non-Capital Murder Prosecutions in East Baton Rouge Parish, Louisiana, 2000–2016. Revision of a legal report analyzing the legally relevant and irrelevant factors associated with capital prosecutions, for submission to a law review, summer 2020.

- Under review

Better for Everyone: Black Descriptive Representation and Police Traffic Stops. Submitted, *Politics, Groups, and Identities*, April 20, 2020 (Leah Christiani, Kelsey Shoub, Frank R. Baumgartner, Derek A. Epp, and Kevin Roach)

At the Intersection: Race, Gender, and Discretion in Police Traffic Stop Outcomes. Submitted, *Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics*, April 10, 2020. (Kevin Roach, Frank R. Baumgartner, Leah Christiani, Derek A. Epp, Kelsey Shoub)

Fines, Fees, and Disparities: The Link between Municipal Reliance on Fines and Racial Disparities in Policing. Revised and resubmitted, *Policy Studies Journal*, April 6, 2020 (Kelsey Shoub, Leah Christiani, Frank R. Baumgartner, Derek A. Epp, and Kevin Roach)

Agenda Dynamics in Latin America: Theoretical and Empirical Challenges. Conditionally accepted, March 11, 2020, for a special issue of the *Revista de Administração Pública (Brazilian Journal of Public Administration)*; final revisions due to editors on May 1, 2020 (Frank R. Baumgartner, Bryan D. Jones, and Laura Chaqués Bonafont)

PUBLICATIONS

Authored Books

Suspect Citizens: What 20 Million Traffic Stops Tell Us About Policing and Race. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2018. (Frank R. Baumgartner, Derek A. Epp and Kelsey Shoub).

- Winner of the C. Herman Pritchett Award for the best book published in 2018 from the APSA Section on Law and Courts, 2019.

Deadly Justice: A Statistical Portrait of the Death Penalty. New York: Oxford University Press, 2018. (Frank R. Baumgartner, Marty Davidson, Kaneesha R. Johnson, Arvind Krishnamurthy, and Colin P. Wilson).

Agenda Dynamics in Spain. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015. (Laura Chaqués Bonafont, Anna M. Palau, and Frank R. Baumgartner).

The Politics of Information: Problem Definition and the Course of Public Policy in America. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015. (Frank R. Baumgartner and Bryan D. Jones)

- Winner of the Louis Brownlow Award for the best book in public administration, National Academy of Public Administration, 2016.
- Winner of the best book award from the International Public Policy Association, recognizing the best book published in the English language in 2015 on any topic of public policy, 2017.

Lobbying and Policy Change: Who Wins, Who Loses, and Why. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009. (Frank R. Baumgartner, Jeffrey M. Berry, Marie Hojnacki, Beth L. Leech, and David C. Kimball).

- Winner of the Leon D. Epstein Outstanding Book Award, APSA Section on Political Organizations and Parties, 2010.
- Simplified Chinese translation, Nanjing University Press, forthcoming.

Agendas and Instability in American Politics, 2nd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009. (Frank R. Baumgartner and Bryan D. Jones).

The Decline of the Death Penalty and the Discovery of Innocence. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008. (Frank R. Baumgartner, Suzanna L. De Boef and Amber E. Boydston).

- Winner of the Gladys M. Kammerer Award for the best publication in the field of US national policy, American Political Science Association, 2008.

The Politics of Attention: How Government Prioritizes Problems. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005. (Frank R. Baumgartner and Bryan D. Jones)

Basic Interests: The Importance of Groups in Politics and in Political Science. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998. (Frank R. Baumgartner and Beth L. Leech)

Agendas and Instability in American Politics. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993. (Frank R. Baumgartner and Bryan D. Jones)

- Chapter 6, The Dynamics of Media Attention, reprinted in *Mediare la Realtà: Mass Media, Systema Politico, e Opinione Pubblica* (ed. Sara Bentivegna. Milano: Franco Angeli, 1994).
- Winner of the Aaron Wildavsky Award for a work of lasting impact on the field of public policy, APSA Organized Section on Public Policy, 2001.
- Featured in *Oxford Handbook of the Classics of Public Policy and Administration* (Steven Balla, Martin Lodge, and Edward Page, eds., Oxford University Press, 2015)
- Chinese translation, Peking University Press, 2011.

Conflict and Rhetoric in French Policymaking. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1989.

Edited Books and Special Issues of Journals

Comparative Policy Agendas: Theory, Tools, Data. New York: Oxford University Press, 2019. (Frank R. Baumgartner, Christian Breunig, and Emiliano Grossman, eds.)

The Dynamics of Policy Change in Comparative Perspective, special issue of *Comparative Political Studies* vol. 44, no. 8, August 2011. (Frank R. Baumgartner, Bryan D. Jones, Sylvain Brouard, Christoffer Green-Pedersen, and Stefaan Walgrave, eds.)

Comparative Studies of Policy Agendas. New York: Routledge, 2008. (Frank R. Baumgartner, Christoffer Green-Pedersen, and Bryan D. Jones, eds.)

- Previously published as a special issue of the *Journal of European Public Policy*, vol. 13, no. 7, September 2006.

Policy Dynamics. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002. (Frank R. Baumgartner and Bryan D. Jones, eds.)

Other Editorial Work

Theoretical Models of the Policy Process, virtual special issue of *Journal of European Public Policy*, 2014. Frank R. Baumgartner and Petya Alexandrova, guest editors. (This is our selection of 11 influential articles from previous issues of *JEPP*, with a short introduction.) <http://explore.tandfonline.com/page/pgas/rjpp-policy-process>

Articles in Peer-Reviewed Journals

Intersectional Encounters: Representative Bureaucracy and the Routine Traffic Stop. *Policy Studies Journal* forthcoming, 2020. (Frank R. Baumgartner, Kate Bell, Luke Beyer, Tara Boldrin, Libby Doyle, Lindsey Govan, Jack Halpert, Jackson Hicks, Katherine Kyriakoudes, Cat Lee, Mackenzie Leger, Sarah McAdon, Sarah Michalak, Caroline Murphy, Eyan Neal, Olivia O'Malley, Emily Payne, Audrey Sapirstein, Sally Stanley, Kathryn Thacker) DOI: 10.1111/PSJ.12382.

- Re-Prioritizing Traffic Stops to Reduce Motor Vehicle Crash Outcomes and Racial Disparities. *Injury Epidemiology* forthcoming, 2020. (Mike Fliss, Frank R. Baumgartner, Paul Delamater, Steve Marshall, Charles Poole, and Whitney Robinson)
- Race, Place, and Context: The Persistence of Race Effects in Traffic Stop Outcomes. *Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics* forthcoming 2020. (Kelsey Shoub, Derek A. Epp, Frank R. Baumgartner, Leah Christiani, and Kevin Roach)
- Democracy, Authoritarianism, and Policy Punctuations. *International Review of Public Policy* 1, 1 (2019): 7–26. (Bryan D. Jones, Derek A. Epp, and Frank R. Baumgartner)
- Event Dependence in U.S. Executions. *PLoS ONE* 13, 1 (2018): e0190244. (Frank R. Baumgartner, Janet M. Box-Steffensmeier, and Benjamin W. Campbell)
- Budgetary Change in Authoritarian and Democratic Regimes. *Journal of European Public Policy* 24, 6 (2017): 792–808. (Frank R. Baumgartner, Marcello Carammia, Derek A. Epp, Ben Noble, Beatriz Rey, and Tefvik Murat Yildirim)
- Complexity, Capacity, and Budget Punctuations. *Policy Studies Journal* 45, 2 (2017): 247–64. (Derek A. Epp and Frank R. Baumgartner)
- Endogenous Disjoint Change. *Cognitive Systems Research* 44 (2017): 69–73.
- Creating an Infrastructure for Comparative Policy Analysis. *Governance* 30, 1 (2017): 59–65.
- Targeting Young Men of Color for Search and Arrest during Traffic Stops: Evidence from North Carolina, 2002-2013. *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 5, 1 (2017): 107–31. (Frank R. Baumgartner, Derek A. Epp, Kelsey Shoub, and Bayard Love)
- Do the Media set the Parliamentary Agenda? A Comparative Study in Seven Countries. *European Journal of Political Research* 55 (2016): 283–301. (Rens Vliegthart, Stefaan Walgrave, Frank R. Baumgartner, Shaun Bevan, Christian Breunig, Sylvain Brouard, Laura Chaqués Bonafont, Emiliano Grossman, Will Jennings, Peter B. Mortensen, Anna M. Palau, Pascal Sciarini, and Anke Tresch)
- Assessing Business Advantage in Washington Lobbying. *Interest Groups and Advocacy* 4 (2015): 205–24. (Marie Hojnacki, Kathleen M. Marchetti, Frank R. Baumgartner, Jeffrey M. Berry, David C. Kimball, and Beth L. Leech)
- Images of an Unbiased Interest System. *Journal of European Public Policy* 22, 8 (2015): 1212–31 (David Lowery, Frank R. Baumgartner, Joost Berkhout, Jeffrey M. Berry, Darren Halpin, Marie Hojnacki, Heike Klüver, Beate Kohler-Koch, Jeremy Richardson, and Kay Lehman Schlozman)
- #BlackLivesDon'tMatter: Race-of-Victim Effects in US Executions, 1977-2013. *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 3, 2 (2015): 209–21. (Frank R. Baumgartner, Amanda Grigg, and Alisa Mastro)
- All News is Bad News: Newspaper Coverage of Politics in Spain. *Political Communication* 32, 2 (2015): 268–91. (Frank R. Baumgartner and Laura Chaqués Bonafont).
- Partners in Advocacy: Lobbyists and Government Officials in the Policy Process. *Journal of Politics* 77, 1 (2015): 202–15. (Christine Mahoney and Frank R. Baumgartner)
- Popular Presidents Can Influence Congressional Attention, for a Little While. *Policy Studies Journal* 43, 1 (2015): 22-43. (John Lovett, Shaun Bevan, and Frank R. Baumgartner)
- Partisan Priorities and Public Budgeting. *Political Research Quarterly* 67, 4 (2014): 864–78. (Derek A. Epp, John Lovett, and Frank R. Baumgartner)
- The Two Worlds of Lobbying: Washington Lobbyists in the Core and on the Periphery. *Interest Groups and Advocacy* 3, 3 (2014): 219–45. (Timothy M. LaPira, Herschel F. Thomas III, and Frank R. Baumgartner).

- The State of the Discipline: Authorship, Research Designs, and Citation Patterns in Studies of EU Interest Groups and Lobbying. *Journal of European Public Policy* 21, 10 (2014): 1412–34. (Adriana Bunea and Frank R. Baumgartner)
- Money, Priorities, and Stalemate: How Lobbying Affects Public Policy. *Election Law Journal* 13, 1 (2014): 194–209. (Frank R. Baumgartner, Jeffrey M. Berry, Marie Hojnacki, David C. Kimball, and Beth L. Leech)
- Divided Government, Legislative Productivity, and Policy Change in the US and France. *Governance* 27, 3 (2014): 423–447. (Frank R. Baumgartner, Sylvain Brouard, Emiliano Grossman, Sebastien G. Lazardeux, and Jon Moody)
- Measuring the Media Agenda. *Political Communication* 31, 2 (2014): 355–80. (Mary Layton Atkinson, John Lovett, and Frank R. Baumgartner)
- Ideas, Paradigms, and Confusions. *Journal of European Public Policy* 21, 3 (2014): 475–80.
- Understanding Time-Lags and Measurement Validity in Secondary Data: The *Encyclopedia of Associations Database*. *Social Science Research* 42 (2013): 1750–64. (Shaun Bevan, Frank R. Baumgartner, Erik W. Johnson, and John McCarthy)
- Ideas and Policy Change. *Governance* 26, 2 (2013): 239–58.
- A Failure to Communicate: Agenda Setting in Media and Policy Studies. *Political Communication* 30, 2 (2013): 175–192. (Michelle Wolfe, Bryan D. Jones, and Frank R. Baumgartner)
- Newspaper Attention and Policy Activities in Spain. *Journal of Public Policy* 13, 1 (2013): 1–24. (Laura Chaqués Bonafont and Frank R. Baumgartner)
- Framing the Poor: Media Coverage and US Poverty Policy, 1960–2008. *Policy Studies Journal* 41, 1 (2013): 22–53. (Max Rose and Frank R. Baumgartner)
- Public Budgeting in the EU Commission: A Test of the Punctuated Equilibrium Thesis. *Politique Européenne* 38 (2012): 70–99. (Frank R. Baumgartner, Martial Foucault and Abel François)
- Who Cares About the Lobbying Agenda? *Interest Groups and Advocacy* 1, 1 (2012): 1–21. (David C. Kimball, Frank R. Baumgartner, Jeffrey M. Berry, Marie Hojnacki, Beth L. Leech, and Bryce Summary)
- From There to Here: Punctuated Equilibrium to the General Punctuation Thesis to a Theory of Government Information Processing. *Policy Studies Journal* 40, 1 (2012): 1–19. (Bryan D. Jones and Frank R. Baumgartner)
- Introduction to special issue on punctuated equilibrium studies of public policy, one of four special issues on the major theoretical approaches to the study of public policy.
- Studying Organizational Advocacy and Influence: Reexamining Interest Group Research. *Annual Review of Political Science* 15 (2012): 379–99. (Marie Hojnacki, David C. Kimball, Frank R. Baumgartner, Jeffrey M. Berry, and Beth L. Leech).
- Comparative Studies of Policy Dynamics. *Comparative Political Studies* 44, 8 (August 2011): 947–72. (Frank R. Baumgartner, Bryan D. Jones and John Wilkerson)
- Policy Attention in State and Nation: Is Anyone Listening to the Laboratories of Democracy? *Publius* 41, 2 (2011): 286–310. (David Lowery, Virginia Gray and Frank R. Baumgartner)
- Replacing Members with Managers? Mutualism Among Membership and Non-Membership Advocacy Organizations in the U.S. *American Journal of Sociology* 116, 4 (January 2011): 1284–1337. (Edward T. Walker, John D. McCarthy, and Frank R. Baumgartner)
- Congressional and Presidential Effects on the Demand for Lobbying. *Political Research*

- Quarterly* 64, 1 (March 2011): 3–16. (Frank R. Baumgartner, Heather A. Larsen, Beth L. Leech, and Paul Rutledge)
- Measuring the Size and Scope of the EU Interest Group Population. *European Union Politics* 11, 3 (September 2010): 463–76. (Arndt Wonka, Frank R. Baumgartner, Christine Mahoney, and Joost Berkhout)
- A General Empirical Law for Public Budgets: A Comparative Analysis. *American Journal of Political Science* 53, 4 (October 2009): 855–73. (Bryan D. Jones, Frank R. Baumgartner, Christian Breunig, Christopher Wlezien, Stuart Soroka, Martial Foucault, Abel François, Christoffer Green-Pedersen, Peter John, Chris Koski, Peter B. Mortensen, Frédéric Varone, and Stefaan Walgrave)
- Punctuated Equilibrium in Comparative Perspective. *American Journal of Political Science*, 53, 3, (July 2009): 602–19. (Frank R. Baumgartner, Christian Breunig, Christoffer Green-Pedersen, Bryan D. Jones, Peter B. Mortensen, Michiel Neytemans, and Stefaan Walgrave)
- Agenda-setting Dynamics in France: Revisiting the “Partisan Hypothesis.” *French Politics*, 7, 2 (2009): 57–95. (Frank R. Baumgartner, Emiliano Grossman and Sylvain Brouard)
- Federal Policy Activity and the Mobilization of State Lobbying Organizations. *Political Research Quarterly* 62, 3 (September 2009): 552–67. (Frank R. Baumgartner, Virginia Gray and David Lowery)
- Public Budgeting in the French Fifth Republic: The End of *La République des partis*? *West European Politics* 32, 2 (2009): 401–19. (Frank R. Baumgartner, Martial Foucault and Abel François)
- Le Projet Agendas Comparés : Objectifs et Contenus. *Revue Internationale de Politique Comparée*, 16, 3 (2009): 365–79. (John Wilkerson, Frank R. Baumgartner, Sylvain Brouard, Laura Chaqués Bonafont, Christopher Green-Pedersen, Emiliano Grossman, Bryan D. Jones, Arco Timmermans, and Stefaan Walgrave)
- Comparer les Productions Législatives : Enjeux et Méthodes. *Revue Internationale de Politique Comparée* 16, 3 (2009): 381–404. (Sylvain Brouard, John Wilkerson, Frank R. Baumgartner, Arco Timmermans, Shaun Bevan, Gerard Breeman, Christian Breunig, Laura Chaqués Bonafont, Christopher Green-Pedersen, Will Jennings, Peter John, Bryan D. Jones, and David Lowery)
- Converging Perspectives on Interest-Group Research in Europe and America. *West European Politics*, 31, 6 (2008): 1251–71. (Christine Mahoney and Frank R. Baumgartner)
- Reprinted in Jan Beyers, Rainer Eising, and William A. Maloney, eds. 2013. *Interest Group Politics in Europe: Lessons from EU Studies and Comparative Politics* (London and New York: Routledge).
- The Two Faces of Framing: Individual-Level Framing and Collective Issue-Definition in the EU. *European Union Politics* 9, 3 (2008): 435–49. (Frank R. Baumgartner and Christine Mahoney)
- Media Framing of Capital Punishment and Its Impact on Individuals’ Cognitive Responses. *Mass Communication and Society* 11, 2 (2008): 115–40. (Frank R. Baumgartner, Suzanna De Boef, Amber E. Boydston, Frank E. Dardis, and Fuyuan Shen)
- EU Lobbying: A View from the US. *Journal of European Public Policy* 14, 3 (March 2007): 482–88.
- Comparative Studies of Policy Agendas. *Journal of European Public Policy* 13, 7 (September 2006): 955–70. (Frank R. Baumgartner, Christoffer Green-Pedersen and Bryan D. Jones)

- Reprinted in Peter Hupe and Michael Hill, eds. 2012. *Public Policy*. London: Sage.
- Punctuated Equilibrium in French Budgeting Processes. *Journal of European Public Policy* 13, 7 (September 2006): 1082–99. (Frank R. Baumgartner, Martial Foucault and Abel François)
- Measuring Association Populations Using the *Encyclopedia of Associations*: Evidence from the Field of Labor Unions. *Social Science Research* 35 (2006): 771–78. (Andrew W. Martin, Frank R. Baumgartner, and John McCarthy)
- A Model of Choice for Public Policy. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 15, 3 (July 2005): 325–51. (Bryan D. Jones and Frank R. Baumgartner)
- Selected for inclusion in special issue reprinting the most outstanding articles for the 20th anniversary issue of *JPART*, 2010.
- Drawing Lobbyists to Washington: Government Activity and Interest-Group Mobilization. *Political Research Quarterly* 58, 1 (March 2005): 19–30. (Beth L. Leech, Frank R. Baumgartner, Timothy La Pira, and Nicholas A. Semanko)
- Representation and Agenda-Setting. *Policy Studies Journal* 32, 1 (January 2004): 1–24. (Bryan D. Jones and Frank R. Baumgartner)
- Issue Niches and Policy Bandwagons: Patterns of Interest Group Involvement in National Politics. *Journal of Politics* 63, 4 (November 2001): 1191–1213. (Frank R. Baumgartner and Beth L. Leech)
- Reprinted in Phil Harris, ed., *Public Affairs Management* (London: Sage Publications, 2013)
- The Evolution of Legislative Jurisdictions. *Journal of Politics* 62, 2 (May 2000): 321–49. (Frank R. Baumgartner, Bryan D. Jones and Michael C. MacLeod)
- Policy Punctuations: US Budget Authority, 1947–95. *Journal of Politics* 60, 1 (February 1998): 1–33. (Bryan D. Jones, Frank R. Baumgartner, and James L. True)
- Does Incrementalism Stem from Political Consensus or Institutional Gridlock? *American Journal of Political Science* 41, 4 (October 1997): 1319–39. (Bryan D. Jones, James L. True, and Frank R. Baumgartner)
- The Multiple Ambiguities of “Counteractive Lobbying.” *American Journal of Political Science* 40, 2 (May 1996): 521–42. (Frank R. Baumgartner and Beth L. Leech)
- This article led to a rebuttal and response as follows:
- Theory and Evidence for Counteractive Lobbying *American Journal of Political Science* 40, 2: 543–64. (David Austen-Smith and Jack R. Wright)
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Legal / Criminal Justice / Legislative Testimony / Reports

Expert Report on North Carolina’s Disenfranchisement of Individuals on Probation and Post-Release Supervision. Submitted May 8, 2020 in the case of *Community Success Initiative v. Moore*, No. 19-cv-15941 (N.C. Super.).

Declining Use of the Death Penalty for Offenders 18, 19 and 20 Years of Age. Submitted, August 1, 2019 as part of the capital appeal of *State v. Guzek*, Marion County OR, No 17CV08248.

Capital and Non-Capital Murder Prosecutions in East Baton Rouge Parish, Louisiana, 2000–2016. Submitted, March 25, 2019 as part of the capital appeal of *Holliday v. State*.

Amicus brief to the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, Eastern District regarding racial bias in the application of the state’s death penalty system. Related case is *Cox v. Commonwealth of Pennsylvania*, and *Marinelli v. Commonwealth of Pennsylvania*, 102 EM 2018; brief filed February 2019. (co-signed with Catherine M. Grosso and Jules Epstein as lead signatories and 21 other social scientists)

Amicus brief to the Supreme Court of the State of Washington regarding racial bias in application of the state’s death penalty system. Related case is *State v. Gregory* (no. 88086-7); brief filed January 22, 2018. (co-signed with Catherine Grosso and Jeffrey Fagan as lead signatories and nine other social scientists). In October, 2018, the Supreme Court of Washington ruled the death penalty unconstitutional based on racial and geographic bias, consistent with our brief.

- Analyzing Racial Disparities in Traffic Stops Statistics from the Texas Department of Public Safety. Report to the Texas House of Representatives, Committee on County Affairs, September 20, 2016. (Frank R. Baumgartner, Leah Christiani, and Kevin Roach)
- Amicus brief to the US Supreme Court regarding constitutional defects in the application of the death penalty. Related case is *Tucker v. Louisiana* (15-946); brief filed February 29, 2016. (lead author, with 20 signatories)
- Racial Disparities in Texas Department of Public Safety Traffic Stops, 2002-2014. Report to the Texas House of Representatives, Committee on County Affairs, November 18, 2015. (Frank R. Baumgartner, Bryan D. Jones, Julio Zaconet, Colin Wilson, Arvind Krishnamurthy)
- Analysis of Trespass Stops in Grand Rapids Michigan, 2011-2013. Report for the ACLU of Michigan as part of legal action alleging racial bias by the Grand Rapids Police Department. March 5, 2014
- Affidavit in support of litigants seeking relief under the NC Racial Justice Act to be tried in Forsyth County, NC August 8, 2012.
- Amicus brief to the US Supreme Court regarding mandatory life without parole sentences for juveniles, January 17, 2012; related Supreme Court Decision is *Miller v. Alabama* No. 10-9646, Decided June 25, 2012. (co-signed with Jefferey Fagan lead author and 44 others)
- Member, Task Force on Racial and Ethnic Bias in the Criminal Justice System, North Carolina Advocates for Justice, 2010-2012. Our report (see below) led the Attorney General to create The North Carolina Commission on Racial Disparities in the Criminal Justice System in September 2012. I am not a member of this commission but have consulted with it.
- North Carolina Traffic Stop Statistics Analysis. Report to the North Carolina Advocates for Justice, 1 February 2012. (with Derek A. Epp) These technical reports were based on official statistics provided by the NC Department of Justice and relate to possible racial bias associated with each traffic stop in the state from January 1, 2000 through June 2011. The report was submitted to the Governor, Attorney General, and leaders of both parties in both chambers of the NC legislature in April 2012. In June 2012, it was leaked to the press.

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- What 20 Million Traffic Stops Reveal about Policing and Race in America. *SSN Key Findings*, June 2018 (Frank R. Baumgartner and Derek A. Epp)
- An American Epidemic: Crimes of Wrongful Liberty. *InjusticeWatch.org*, April 3, 2018. (Jennifer E. Thompson and Frank R. Baumgartner)
- America's Failed Efforts to Reform the Death Penalty. *SSN Key Findings*, February 2018. (Frank R. Baumgartner, Marty Davidson, Kaneesha Johnson, Arvind Krishnamurthy, and Colin Wilson)
- A few counties are responsible for the vast majority of executions. This explains why. *WashingtonPost.com* Monkey Cage, February 1, 2018 (Frank R. Baumgartner, Janet M. Box-Steffensmeier, and Benjamin W. Campbell)
- There's been a big change in how the news media covers sexual assault. *WashingtonPost.com* Monkey Cage, May 11, 2017. (Frank R. Baumgartner and Sarah McAdon)

- Arkansas plans to execute 7 men in 11 days. They're likely to botch one. *WashingtonPost.com* Monkey Cage, April 14, 2017 (Frank R. Baumgartner and Kaneesha Johnson)
- Does the death penalty target people who are mentally ill? We checked. *WashingtonPost.com* Monkey Cage, April 3, 2017 (Frank R. Baumgartner and Betsy Neill)
- U.S. executions and death sentences dropped dramatically in 2016 — except in a few hotspots. *WashingtonPost.com* Monkey Cage, January 27, 2017. (Frank R. Baumgartner, Arvind Krishnamurthy and Emily Williams)
- Is Congress working as it should? Depends on who you are, by Frank R. Baumgartner and Lee Drutman, *Vox.com*, September 15, 2016.
- Forty Years of Experience with the “New and Improved” Death Penalty, 1976–2016, *The American Prospect*, July 5, 2016.
- Study shows racial bias in death penalties in Florida, *The Florida Times Union* (Jacksonville), February 5, 2016
- Racial bias plagues Florida's death penalty, *The Gainesville (FL) Sun*, January 26, 2016 (online), January 31 (print).
- Americans are turning against the death penalty. Are politicians far behind? *WashingtonPost.com* Monkey Cage December 7, 2015 (Frank R. Baumgartner, Emily Williams and Kaneesha Johnson)
- Racial bias plagues state's death penalty, *Shreveport Times*, September 24, 2015.
- The death penalty is about to go on trial in California. Here's why it might lose. *WashingtonPost.com* Monkey Cage, August 5, 2015.
- Missouri should abandon death penalty, *St. Louis American*, July 22, 2015
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- North Carolina's rickety, unreliable death penalty, *Raleigh News and Observer*, February 14, 2015
- NC's death penalty: Going, going, good riddance. *North Carolina Policy Watch*, November 18, 2013. Reprinted in *Durham Herald-Sun*, December 2, 2013 and in the *Chapel Hill News* under the title of “Death penalty still failed policy.”
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- Christine Musselin, *La longue marche des universités françaises* (PUF, 2001). *French Politics, Society, and Culture* 21, 2 (Summer 2003): 154–56.
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REVIEWS OF MY BOOKS

Comparative Policy Agendas: Theory, Tools, Data.

- Comparative policy agendas: a review essay, by Jonathan Drew, *Australian Journal of Political Science*, 2020.

Suspect Citizens: What 20 Million Traffic Stops Tell Us about Policing and Race

- *Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics* (2020), by Michael Leo Owens
- *Perspectives on Politics* 17, 3 (2019): 892–893, by Doris Marie Provine
- *Choice*, 56, 5 (January 2019), by D.R. Kavish
- Do You Know Why You Pulled Me Over? by Charles Epp, *Washington Monthly*, September/October 2018.

Deadly Justice: A Statistical Portrait of the Death Penalty

- Conklin, Michael. 2019. Painting a Deceptive Portrait: A Critical Review of *Deadly Justice*. *New Criminal Law Review* 22 (2): 223–231.
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- *Criminal Law and Criminal Justice Books*, March 2018, by Mary Welek Atwell

Agenda Dynamics in Spain

- *Revista Española de Investigaciones Sociológicas* 159 (2017): 174-178, by Jesus M. de Miguel (review in Spanish)
- *Perspectives on Politics* 14, 2 (2016): 540-541, by Thomas Jeffrey Miley
- *West European Politics* 39, 6 (2016): 1347-49, by Luis Bouza García
- *European Political Science* (2016), by Tevfik Murat Yildirim (Joint review of *Politics of Information and Agenda Dynamics in Spain*)

The Politics of Information

- *Political Studies Review* 15, 1 (2017): 157-158, by Tevfik Murat Yildirim
- *European Political Science* (2016), by Tevfik Murat Yildirim (Joint review of *Politics of Information and Agenda Dynamics in Spain*)
- *Governance* 29, 4 (2016): 581-83, by Jacob S. Hacker
- Review Symposium in *Perspectives on Politics* 14, 2 (2016): 498-506, with commentaries by Kuhika Gupta, Kathleen Knight, Eric Patashnik, and Scott E. Robinson
- *Congress & the Presidency* (2016), by Gisela Sin
- *Public Administration* 94, 4 (2016): 1155–57, by Peter Mortensen
- Symposium in *Interest Groups and Advocacy* 4, 3 (2015): 297-310, with reviews by Edward T. Walker, Matt Grossman, and Anne S. Binderkrantz
- *Cognitive Systems Research* 40 (2016): 114–115, by George Kampis
- *Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy* 15, 1 (2015): 447–449, by Phyllis Wentworth
- Low-Information Lawmakers: Why today's Congress can no longer cope with complex problems. *Washington Monthly* by Lee Drutman, June/July/August 2015
- *Choice* 52, 12 (August 2015), by L. T. Grover

Lobbying and Policy Change

- Fraussen, Bert. Interest Group Politics: Change and Continuity. *Journal of European Integration* 34, 5 (2012): 523-529
- *Gouvernement et Action Publique* 2 (2012): 189-192, by H el ene Michel (review in French)
- *Perspectives on Politics* 9, 1 (2011): 178-80, by McGee Young
- *Government Information Quarterly* 28, 2 (2011): 291–292, by Julia Proctor
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- *Journal of Politics* 72, 4 (2010): 1252-67, by Thomas T. Holyoke
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- *Public Administration* 88, 3 (2010): 895-898, by Caelesta Braun-Poppelaars
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- *Regulation* (Fall 2010), pp. 48-49, by John Samples
- *APSA Legislative Studies Section Newsletter* Jan 2010, by Caitlyn O'Grady
- *Choice* (March 2010), by S. L. Harrison

The Decline of the Death Penalty and the Discovery of Innocence

- *Public Administration* 89, 2 (2011): 698–717, by David A. Rochefort.
- Review Symposium in *Perspectives on Politics* 7, 4 (2009): 921-30. Reviews by James A. Morone; Robert Y. Shapiro; Marie Gottschalk; and Austin Sarat
- *The International Journal of Press/Politics* 14 (2009): 134-140, by James N. Druckman
- *Journal of Politics* 71 (2009): 1604-1606, by Rosalee A. Clawson
- *International Journal of Public Opinion Research* 21, 4 (2009): 547-550, by Robert M. Bohm
- *Criminal Justice Policy Review* 20, 4 (2009): 507-508, by Tiffany Bergin
- *Theoretical Criminology* 13, 2 (2009): 259-62 by Alexander J. Blenkinsopp
- *Law and Politics Book Review* 17, 8 (2008), by Priscilla H. M. Zotti
- *Choice* (August 2008), by M. A. Foley.
- *Research Penn State*, 2008, by Vicki Fong
- *Contemporary Sociology* 37, 5 (2008): 495, Take Note short reviews.

Politics of Attention

- *ThinkProgress.org*, February 28, 2011, by Matthew Yglesias
- *Acta Politica* 43 (2008): 504-507, by Joost Berkhout
- *Political Communication* 25 (2008) 330-331, by Kathleen Knight
- *Konan Law Review* 47, 3 (2007): 125-166, by Nishiyama Takayuki (in Japanese)
- *Perspectives on Politics* 4, 3 (2006): 598-9, by Paul E. Johnson
- *Political Science Quarterly* 121, 3 (2006) 515-516, by Scott E. Robinson
- *Social Forces* 85, 3 (2006) 1042-43, by John C. Scott
- *Choice* (March 2006), by M. C. Price
- *Significance* 37 (2006): 139, by Ya-Hui Kuo

Basic Interests

- *American Political Science Review* 93, 4 (1999): 967–968, by Richard Smith
- *Journal of Politics* 61, 3 (1999): 844–848, by Anthony Nownes
- *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 32, 3 (1999): 596–597, by Harold Walker
- *Political Science Quarterly* 114, 1 (1999): 177–178, by Ken Kollman
- *Australian Journal of Political Science* 34, 2 (1999): 285, by Clive Beauchamp
- *The Public Opinion Quarterly* 63, 1 (1999): 151-154, by John R. Wright
- *Choice*, October 1998, by M. E. Ethridge

Agendas and Instability

- Bossy, Thibault. 2010. La mise sur l'agenda des problèmes publics saisie par ses niveaux d'analyse : des espaces discrets aux équilibres ponctués *Revue Française de Science Politique* 60, 6: 1178–1181 (review in French)
- Graham, Hugh Davis. 1996. Policy History Without Historians. *Journal of Policy History* 8, 2: 273–278
- *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly* 72, 1 (Spring 1995): 233, by Donald L. Shaw
- *American Political Science Review* 88, 3 (1994): 752–753, by Chris Bosso

- *Journal of Politics* 56, 4 (1994): 1164–1166, by Jeffrey Cohen
- *Choice*, September 1993, by D. R. Imig

Conflict and Rhetoric in French Policymaking

- *NYU Journal of International Law and Politics* 26 (1993): 150–152, by Alex P. Darrow.
- *International Review of Administrative Sciences* 49 (1993): 336–338, by Marie Widemanova
- *Journal of Politics* 53, 2 (1991): 583–586, by David Wilsford
- *NYU Journal of International Law and Politics* 23 (1990): 329–330.
- *American Political Science Review* 84, 4 (1990): 1416–1417, by John Keeler
- *Social Science Quarterly* 71, 4 (1990): 879, by Jurg Steiner
- *Choice* 1990, by M. G. Roskin
- *The Public Historian* 12, 3 (1990): 155–156, by David Mock
- *Politiques et Management Public* 8, 1 (1990): 157–159, by Luc Rouban (review in French)
- *Perspectives on Political Science* 19, 4: (1990): 233–234, by Vincent E. McHale

SUPREME COURT DECISIONS REFERRING TO MY RESEARCH

Oregon Supreme Court, 365 Or 695 (S066119) *State v. Arreola-Botello*, November 15, 2019, stating that a police officer may not conduct a search following a traffic stop if that search is unrelated to the purpose of the original stop. The Court noted our research on the racial disparities in such searches.

Arizona Supreme Court, CR-11-0107-AP, August 16, 2018, Justice Winthrop concurring in part and dissenting in part in *Arizona v. Bush*, on the issue of geographic concentration of death sentences by county.

United States Supreme Court, 14-7153 and 17-7245, June 28, 2018, Justice Breyer in his dissents to the denial of cert in *Jordan v. Mississippi* and *Evans v. Mississippi*, on three separate issues: increasing delays on death row before execution, high proportions of homicides that are death-eligible, and the increasing geographic concentration of executions in just a few counties.

Iowa Supreme Court, No. 16-0735, June 28, 2018, *Iowa v. Ingram*, on the use of traffic stops as an “unregulated tool in crime control”.

United States Supreme Court, 14-7955, June 29, 2015, Justice Breyer in his dissent in *Glossip v. Gross*, on the rate at which death sentences are overturned.

CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

Driving while Black (and Male, and Young, and...): Evidence of Disparities at the Margin and the Intersection. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the American Political Science Association, Boston, MA, August 30–September 2, 2018. (Frank R. Baumgartner, Leah Christiani, Derek Epp, Santiago Olivella, Kevin Roach, and Kelsey Shoub)

Policing the Powerless: How Black Political Power Reduces Racial Disparities in Traffic Stops Outcomes. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago IL, April 5–8, 2018. (Frank R. Baumgartner, Leah Christiani, Derek Epp, Kevin Roach, and Kelsey Shoub)

- Why Congressional Capacity Is Not Enough. Paper presented at the State of Congressional Capacity Conference, New America Foundation, Washington, DC, March 1–2, 2018. (Frank R. Baumgartner and Bryan D. Jones)
- Author meets critics panel on *Deadly Justice: A Statistical Portrait of the Death Penalty*. Annual meeting of the American Society of Criminology, Philadelphia, November 15–18, 2017.
- Stasis and Punctuation in State Tax Policy. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, August 31-September 3, 2017. (Herschel F. Thomas, Frank R. Baumgartner, and Derek A. Epp)
- Emotional Responses to Racially Disparate Policing. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, August 31-September 3, 2017. (D’Andra Orey, Frank R. Baumgartner, and Stuart Soroka)
- Assessing Racial Disparities in Traffic Stops. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, August 31-September 3, 2017. (Frank R. Baumgartner, Derek A. Epp, Leah Christiani, Kevin Roach, and Kelsey Shoub)
- Stasis and Punctuation in State Tax Policy. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Comparative Agendas Project, Edinburgh, June 15-17, 2017. (Herschel F. Thomas, Frank R. Baumgartner, and Derek A. Epp)
- Policing the Powerless: How Black Political Power Reduces Racial Disparities in Traffic Stop Outcomes. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 6–8, 2017. (Kelsey Shoub, Frank R. Baumgartner, and Derek A. Epp)
- Author Meets Critics Panel on *The Politics of Information*. Annual meeting of the Public Management Research Association, Aarhus, Denmark, 23 June 2016.
- Geographic Disparities in US Capital Punishment. Paper presented at the *Duke Journal of Constitutional Law and Public Policy* Spring 2016 Symposium: Death Penalty in America Post-Glossip, Durham, NC, February 19, 2016. (Frank R. Baumgartner, Woody Gram, Kaneesha Johnson, Arvind Krishnamurthy, and Colin Wilson)
- Budgeting in Authoritarian and Democratic Regimes. Paper presented at the Political Budgeting across Europe conference, Texas A&M University, December 2015 (Frank R. Baumgartner, Marcello Carammia, Derek A. Epp, Ben Noble, Beatriz Rey, and Tefvik Murat Yildirim)
- Images of an Unbiased Interest System. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, CA, September 2–6, 2015. (David Lowery, Frank R. Baumgartner, Joost Berkhout, Jeffrey M. Berry, Darren Halpin, Marie Hojnacki, Heike Klüver, Beate Kohler-Koch, Jeremy Richardson, and Kay Lehman Schlozman)
- Budgeting in Authoritarian and Democratic Regimes. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Comparative Agendas Project, Lisbon, June 2015. (Frank R. Baumgartner, Petra Bishtawi, Marcello Carammia, Derek A. Epp, Ben Noble, Beatriz Rey, and Tefvik Murat Yildirim)
- Punctuated Equilibrium in Public Budgeting in Authoritarian and Democratic Brazil. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 16–19, 2015. (Beatriz Rey, Derek A. Epp, and Frank R. Baumgartner)
- Policy Competition and Friction. Paper presented at the workshop on The Politics of Non-Proportionate Policy Response, ECPR Joint Workshops, Warsaw Poland, 29 March – 2 April 2015.

- The Mayhem of Wrongful Liberty: Documenting the Crimes of True Perpetrators in Cases of Wrongful Incarceration. Paper presented at the Innocence Network Conference, Portland OR, April 11-12 2014. (Frank R. Baumgartner, Amanda Grigg, Rachele Ramirez, Kenneth J. Rose, and J. Sawyer Lucy)
- How Robust are Distributional Findings of Punctuated Equilibrium in Public Budgets? Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago IL, April 2–6, 2014. (Derek A. Epp and Frank R. Baumgartner)
- The Diversity of Internet Media: Utopia or Dystopia? Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago IL, April 2–6, 2014. (Bryan J. Dworak, John Lovett, and Frank R. Baumgartner)
- The Hierarchy of Victims in Death Penalty Processing. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the National Conference of Black Political Scientists, Wilmington DE, March 13–15, 2014. (Frank R. Baumgartner, Seth Kotch, and Isaac Unah)
- The Two Worlds of Lobbying: Washington Lobbyists in the Core and on the Periphery. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, August 29–September 1, 2013. (Tim LaPira, Trey Thomas, and Frank R. Baumgartner).
- Finding the Limits of Partisan Budgeting. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Association Française de Science Politique, Paris, July 9-11, 2013. (Derek A. Epp, John Lovett, and Frank R. Baumgartner)
- Explaining Punctuations. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Comparative Agendas Project, Antwerp, Belgium, June 27–29, 2013. (Frank R. Baumgartner and Derek A. Epp)
- All News is Bad News: Newspaper Coverage of Politics in Spain. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Council for European Studies, Amsterdam, June 24–26, 2013. (Frank R. Baumgartner and Laura Chaqués Bonafont).
- Contraverting Expectations: New Empirical Evidence on Congressional Lobbying and Public Policy. Paper presented at the SUNY Albany Law School Conference, Under the Influence? Interest Groups, Lobbying, and Campaign Finance, March 8–9, 2013.
- When Is There a Single Media Agenda? Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 12–14, 2012. (John Lovett and Frank R. Baumgartner)
- Searching for Election Effects in US Policymaking and Spending. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 12–14, 2012. (Derek A. Epp, John Lovett, and Frank R. Baumgartner)
- Who Cares About the Lobbying Agenda? Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Seattle, WA, August 30–September 3, 2011. (David C. Kimball, Frank R. Baumgartner, Jeffrey M. Berry, Marie Hojnacki, Beth L. Leech, and Bryce Summary)
- Developing Policy-Specific Conceptions of Mood: The United States. Paper presented at the Annual Meetings of the Comparative Agendas Project, Catania, Italy, June 23–25, 2011. (Mary Layton Atkinson, Frank R. Baumgartner, K. Elizabeth Coggins, and James A. Stimson)
- Legislative Productivity and Divided Government in the US and France. Paper presented at the Council of European Studies, Barcelona, June 20, 2011. (Frank R. Baumgartner, Sylvain Brouard, Emiliano Grossman, Sebastien G. Lazardoux, and Jon Moody)
- Mood and Agendas: Developing Policy-Specific Conceptions of Mood. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, March 30–April

- 3, 2011. (Mary Layton Atkinson, Frank R. Baumgartner, Elizabeth Coggins, and James A. Stimson)
- Explaining the Surprising Decline of Capital Punishment in North Carolina. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the National Conference of Black Political Scientists, March 18, 2011, Raleigh, NC. (Frank R. Baumgartner and Isaac Unah)
- Ideas and Policy Change. Paper presented at the *Governance* Symposium on Policy Paradigms and Social Learning Suffolk University, February 11, 2011, Boston.
- Retrospective on 20 years after the publication of Jack L. Walker, Jr.'s *Mobilizing Interest Groups in America*, annual meetings of the Southern Political Science Association, New Orleans, LA, January 8–11, 2011.
- The Decline of Capital Punishment in North Carolina. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the American Society of Criminology, San Francisco, CA, November 17–20, 2010. (Frank R. Baumgartner and Isaac Unah)
- Advocates and Interest Representation in Policy Debates. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, September 1–4, 2010. (Marie Hojnacki, Kathleen Marchetti, Frank R. Baumgartner, Jeffrey M. Berry, David C. Kimball, and Beth L. Leech)
- Author meets critics panel on *Lobbying and Policy Change*, annual meetings of the Southern Political Science Association, Atlanta, GA, January 7–10, 2010.
- Taking Advantage of “Crisis.” Paper presented at the workshop on Politics in Times of Crisis, University of Heidelberg, Germany, December 4–5, 2009.
- Dynamic Threshold Modeling of Budget Changes. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Association for the Advancement of Artificial Intelligence, Washington, DC, November 5–7, 2009. (Bryan D. Jones, László Zalányi, Frank R. Baumgartner, and Péter Érdi)
- Measuring the Size and Scope of the EU Interest Group Population. Paper prepared for the 5th ECPR General Conference, Potsdam, Germany, September 10–12, 2009. (Arndt Wonka, Frank R. Baumgartner, Christine Mahoney, Joost Berkhout)
- The Structure and Stability of Lobbying Networks in Washington. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 2–5, 2009. (with Timothy M. LaPira and Herschel F. Thomas III)
- Comparing the Topics of Front-Page and Full-Paper Stories in the New York Times. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 2–5, 2009. (with Michelle Wolfe, Amber E. Boydston)
- Author meets critics panel on *The Decline of the Death Penalty*, annual meetings of the Academy for Criminal Justice Sciences, Boston, March 13, 2009.
- Partisanship and Political Attention in France: Agenda Dynamics and Electoral Incentives. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, MA, August 28–31, 2008. (with Sylvain Brouard and Emiliano Grossman)
- Tracing Interest-Group Populations in the US and UK. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, MA, August 28–31, 2008. (with Grant Jordan, John McCarthy, Shaun Bevan, and Jamie Greenan)
- Advocacy Behavior and Conflict Expansion in Policy Debates. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, MA, August 28–31, 2008. (with Marie Hojnacki, Jeffrey M. Berry, David C. Kimball, and Beth L. Leech)

- Policy Attention in State and Nation: Is Anyone Listening to the Laboratories of Democracy? Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, MA, August 28–31, 2008. (with David Lowery and Virginia Gray)
- Legislative Productivity in Comparative Perspective: An Introduction to the Comparative Agendas Project. Paper presented at the ECPR Joint Sessions, Rennes, April 11–16, 2008. (Sylvain Brouard, Frank Baumgartner, John Wilkerson, Gerard Breeman, Christian Breunig, Laura Chaqués Bonafont, Christopher Green-Pedersen, Will Jennings, Peter John, Bryan Jones, David Lowery, Arco Timmermans, and Shaun Bevan)
- The Structure of Washington Lobbying Networks: Mapping the Ties that Bind. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago IL, April 3–6, 2008. (With Timothy M. La Pira and Herschel F. Thomas III)
- The Discovery of Innocence: Americans and the Death Penalty. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the National Conference of Black Political Scientists, Chicago, March 21, 2008.
- Patterns of Public Budgeting in the French Fifth Republic: From Hierarchical Control to Multi-Level Governance. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the American Political Science Association, Chicago IL, August 30–September 2, 2007. (with Martial Foucault and Abel François)
- Washington: The Real No-Spin Zone. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the American Political Science Association, Chicago IL, August 30–September 2, 2007. (with Jeff Berry, Marie Hojnacki, Beth Leech, and David Kimball)
- Federal Policy Activity and the Mobilization of State Lobbying Organizations. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the American Political Science Association, Chicago IL, August 30–September 2, 2007. (with Virginia Gray and David Lowery)
- The Discovery of Innocence and the Decline of the Death Penalty. Paper presented at the research conference on issue framing, American University, Washington DC, June 21, 2007. (with Suzanna De Boef, and Amber E. Boydstun)
- Public Budgeting in EU Commission: A Test of the Punctuated Equilibrium Thesis. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the European Union Studies Association, Montreal, Canada, May, 2007. (with Martial Foucault and Abel François)
- Does Money Buy Power? Interest Group Resources and Policy Outcomes. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 12–15, 2007. (with Jeff Berry, Marie Hojnacki, Beth Leech, and David Kimball)
- Congressional Influence on State lobbying Activity. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 12–15, 2007. (with Virginia Gray and David Lowery)
- Goals, Salience, and the Nature of Advocacy. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, August 31–September 3, 2006. (with Jeff Berry, Marie Hojnacki, Beth Leech, and David Kimball)
- Essays on Policy Dynamics. Paper presented at the European Consortium for Political Research, Nicosia, Cyprus, April 25–30, 2006. (with Bryan D. Jones, Heather Larsen-Price, James L. True, and John Wilkerson)
- Punctuated Equilibrium in French Budgeting Processes. Paper presented at the European Consortium for Political Research, Nicosia, Cyprus, April 25–30, 2006. (with Martial Foucault and Abel François)
- The Structure of Policy Conflict. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Midwest Political

- Science Association, Chicago, April 20–23, 2006. (with Jeff Berry, Marie Hojnacki, Beth Leech, and David Kimball)
- Framing Capital Punishment: Morality, Constitutionality, and Innocence, 1960–2004. Paper presented in a plenary address by Baumgartner to the annual meeting of the National Coalition to Abolish the Death Penalty, Austin Texas, October 27–30, 2005. (with Suzanna De Boef, Amber E. Boydstun, Frank E. Dardis, and Fuyuan Shen)
- A Model of Choice for Public Policy. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 7–10, 2005. (with Bryan D. Jones)
- The Determinants and Effects of Interest-Group Coalitions. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, September 2–5, 2004. (with Christine Mahoney)
- An Evolutionary Factor Analysis Approach to the Study of Issue-Definition. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 15–18, 2004. (with Suzanna De Boef and Amber E. Boydstun)
- Representation and Agenda-Setting. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the American Political Science Association, August 28–31, 2003. (with Bryan D. Jones) (Nominated, best paper, Public Policy Section.)
- The Co-evolution of Groups and Government. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the American Political Science Association, August 28–31, 2003. (with Beth L. Leech and Christine Mahoney)
- Symbols and Advocacy. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 3–6, 2003. (with Marie Hojnacki)
- Gaining Government Allies: Groups, Officials, and Alliance Behavior. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 25–28, 2002. (with Christine Mahoney)
- The Demand Side of Lobbying: Government Attention and the Mobilization of Organized Interests. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 25–28, 2002. (with Beth L. Leech, Timothy La Pira, and Nicholas A. Semanko)
- Policy Macro-Punctuations: How the US Government Budget Evolved. Paper presented at the conference on Budgetary Policy Change: Measures and Models, Nuffield College, Oxford, March 8–9, 2002. (with Bryan D. Jones and James L. True)
- Patterns and Punctuations in the US Budget. Paper presented at the conference on Budgetary Policy Change: Measures and Models, Nuffield College, Oxford, March 8–9, 2002. (with Bryan D. Jones and James L. True)
- Social Movements and the Rise of New Issues. Paper presented at the Conference on Social Movements, Public Policy, and Democracy at the University of California, Irvine, January 11–13, 2002.
- Issue Advocacy and Interest-Group Influence. Paper presented at the First General Conference, European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR 2001), University of Kent at Canterbury, England, September 6–8, 2001. (with Jeffrey M. Berry, Marie Hojnacki, Beth L. Leech, and David C. Kimball)
- Policy Dynamics. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 18–21, 2001. (with Bryan D. Jones)
- Where is the Public in Public Policy? Paper presented at the conference on Political Participation: Building a Research Agenda, Princeton University, October 12–14, 2000.

- (with Beth L. Leech)
- Advocacy and Policy Argumentation. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, August 30–September 3, 2000. (with Jeffrey M. Berry, Marie Hojnacki, Beth L. Leech, and David C. Kimball)
- Lobbying Alone or in a Crowd: The Distribution of Lobbying in a Sample of Issues. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 27–29, 2000. (with Beth L. Leech)
- The Evolution of American Government, 1947–1999. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the American Political Science Association, Atlanta, GA, September 2–5, 1999. (with Bryan D. Jones)
- Business Advantage in the Washington Lobbying Community: Evidence from the 1996 Lobby Disclosure Reports. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 15–17, 1999. (with Beth L. Leech)
- Trends in the Production of Legislation, 1949–1994. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, August 28–31, 1997. (with Bryan D. Jones, Glen S. Krutz, and Michael C. Rosenstiehl)
- Lobbying with Governmental Allies. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 10–12, 1997. (with Beth L. Leech)
- New Issues and Old Committees: Jurisdictional Change in Congress, 1947–93. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 10–12, 1997. (with Bryan D. Jones and Michael C. Rosenstiehl)
- Normative Perspectives on Interest Groups and Lobbying. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Southern Political Science Association, Atlanta, GA, November 6–8, 1996. (with Nicole Canzoneri)
- Problems in the Study of Lobbying. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, CA, August 29–September 1, 1996. (with Beth L. Leech)
- Shepsle Meets Schattschneider: Conflict Expansion in Congress. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, CA, August 29–September 1, 1996. (with Bryan D. Jones and Michael C. Rosenstiehl)
- Tractability and Triviality in Interest-Group Studies. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 18–20, 1996. (with Beth L. Leech)
- The Shape of Change: Incrementalism and Shifts in Federal Budgeting, 1946–1994. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 18–20, 1996. (with Bryan D. Jones and James L. True)
- Producing Legislation in Congress. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, August 31–September 3, 1995. (with Bryan D. Jones, Jeffery C. Talbert, and Glen Krutz)
- Policy Agendas in the United States since 1945. Poster presented at the annual meetings of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 6–8, 1995. (with Bryan D. Jones, Jeffery C. Talbert, Beth L. Leech, Michael C. Rosenstiehl, and James L. True)
- Committee Jurisdictions in Congress, 1980–1991. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the American Political Science Association, New York, NY, September 1–4, 1994. (with Bryan D. Jones, Michael C. Rosenstiehl, and Ronald Lorenzo)
- Public Interest Lobbies in France and the United States. Paper presented at the meetings of the

- International Political Science Association, Berlin, Germany, August 21–25, 1994.
- The Legislative Importance of Non-Legislative Hearings. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 14–16, 1994 (with Bryan D. Jones and Jeffery C. Talbert)
- Agendas and Instability in American Politics. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, September 3–6, 1992. (with Bryan D. Jones)
- Congressional Committees and Jurisdictional Dynamics. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 8–11, 1992. (with Bryan D. Jones and Jeffery C. Talbert)
- The Dynamics of Bias. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, August 29–September 1, 1991. (with Bryan D. Jones)
- Attention and Valence in Agenda-Setting. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Southern Political Science Association, Atlanta, GA, November, 1990. (with Jeffery C. Talbert and Bryan D. Jones)
- Towards the Quantitative Study of Agenda-Setting. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, CA, August 30–September 2, 1990. (with Bryan D. Jones)
- Interest Groups and Agenda-Setting in America. Paper presented at the Conference on Organized Interests and Democracy, Vith Feltrinelli International Colloquium, Cortona, Italy, May, 1990. (with Bryan D. Jones)
- Keeping Nuclear Power Off the Political Agenda in France. Paper presented at the Workshop on the Comparative Political Economy of Science: Scientists and the State, sponsored by the UCLA Center for International Studies and Overseas Programs, Los Angeles, CA, January 12–14, 1990.
- Explaining Variation in Policy Styles in France. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the American Political Science Association, Atlanta, GA, September 1–3, 1989.
- Shifting Images and Venues of a Public Issue: Explaining the Demise of Nuclear Power in the United States. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the American Political Science Association, Atlanta, GA, September 1–3, 1989. (with Bryan D. Jones)
- Image and Agenda in Urban Politics. Paper presented at the Second annual Conference on Public Policy, Department of Public Administration and Policy, State University of New York at Albany, Albany, NY, April, 1989. (with Bryan D. Jones)
- Changing Image and Venue as a Political Strategy. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 14–15, 1989. (with Bryan D. Jones)
- Changing Images and Venues of Nuclear Power in the United States. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 14–15, 1989. (with Bryan D. Jones)
- Creating and Maintaining Consensus over Nuclear Power in France: A Preliminary Report. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, September 1–4, 1988.
- Policy Communities in France: The Strategic Implications of Conflict and Consensus. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, September 3–6, 1987.
- Survey Research and Membership in Voluntary Associations. Paper presented at the National

- Election Studies Conference on Groups and American Politics, Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, Stanford, CA, January 16–17, 1987. (with Jack L. Walker)
- Education Policy Making and the Interest Group Structure in France and the United States: A Commentary on Pluralism and Corporatism. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, August 28–31, 1986. (with Jack L. Walker)
- A New Question on Group Affiliations in the 1986 NES Pilot Study. Report to the Board of Overseers of the National Election Study, May 20, 1986. (with Jack L. Walker)
- Politicians and Technicians in the Policy Process: Education Policy in France, 1983–1984. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 10–12, 1986.
- French Interest Groups and the Pluralism-Corporatism Debate. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the American Political Science Association, New Orleans, LA, August 29–September 1, 1985.
- Preemptive and Reactive Spending in U.S. House Races. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 20–23, 1983. (with Edie N. Goldenberg and Michael W. Traugott)
- Chair, discussant, or paper presenter at the following meetings, American Political Science Association, 1985–2019; Midwest Political Science Association, 1983, 1986–87, 1989–2019; European Consortium for Political Research, 2001, 2006, 2008, 2009, 2015; Southern Political Science Association, 1996–97, 2010, 2011; Council on European Studies, 2010, 2011, 2013; International Political Science Association, 1994; Western Political Science Association, 1988, 1999; Southwestern Social Science Association, 1990; Association for the Advancement of Artificial Intelligence, 2009; National Conference of Black Political Scientists, 2008, 2011, 2014, 2018; American Society of Criminology 2010, 2017; Comparative Agendas Project annual meetings 2006 (Aarhus), 2007 (Paris), 2008 (Barcelona), 2009 (The Hague), 2010 (Seattle), 2011 (Catania), 2012 (Reims), 2013 (Antwerp), 2014 (Konstanz), 2015 (Lisbon), 2016 (Geneva), 2017 (Edinburgh), 2018 (Amsterdam), 2019 (Budapest) 2020 (Aarhus).

EXTERNAL GRANTS AND AWARDS

Grants Submitted / Pending

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Grants Funded / Awarded

- National Science Foundation, Developing Policy-Specific Measures of Public Opinion, award number SES 1024291. \$157,989 for the period of July 1, 2010 to August 31, 2013. Jim Stimson, PI; Frank R. Baumgartner, Co-PI.
- National Science Foundation, Framing Policy Debates in the European Union, proposal 1102978. \$300,000 awarded for the period of August 15, 2011 to July 31, 2013. Christine Mahoney (University of Virginia), PI; Frank R. Baumgartner, Co-PI; Heike Kluever, consultant.
- Visiting International Scholar, Catalonia Ministry of Education and Research, funding for eight month visit to the University of Barcelona, December 2011–July 2012 (with Laura Chaqués Bonafont, University of Barcelona)

- Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences (CASBS), Stanford University. Expenses for a dozen scholars from the social sciences, computer science, government, and industry to travel to Stanford and attend a one-week workshop: *Tracking, Transcribing, and Tagging Government: Building Digital Records for Computational Social Science*, June 21–25, 2010. Frank R. Baumgartner and James T. Hamilton (Duke University), PIs
- Agence nationale de la recherche (ANR) (France), Les médias, les partis et les agendas politiques de la 5^e République. Emiliano Grossman, Frank Baumgartner, Sylvain Brouard, Manlio Cinalli, Abel François, Martial Foucault, Pierre Lascoumes, Nicolas Sauger. Project funded in October 2008.
- European Science Foundation (European Union), “The Politics of Attention: West European Politics in Times of Change.” Proposal with subprojects in Denmark, Netherlands, United Kingdom, Italy, Switzerland, Belgium, and Spain, with Christoffer Green-Pedersen and others. Submitted April 2007. Projects have been funded starting in 2008 for Denmark, Spain, United Kingdom, Switzerland, the Netherlands, and Belgium.
- National Science Foundation, “New Computer Science Applications in Automated Text Identification and Classification for the Social Sciences.” Grant # SES 0719703, \$55,722, September 1, 2007 to August 31, 2008. Principal investigator, with John McCarthy.
- Camargo Foundation Residential Fellowship for Spring 2007. This covers the period of January to May 2007. The Foundation maintains a residence for scholars in Cassis, France.
- National Science Foundation, “Nanotechnology and Science Federalism.” Grant # NER 0608986, \$85,000, August 1, 2006 to July 31, 2007. Co-PI. Paul Hallacher (Penn State) is PI. Additional Co-PI’s are Roger Geiger, Henry Foley, and Creso Sa.
- National Science Foundation dissertation award for Amber Boydston, “Doctoral Dissertation Research in Political Science: Agenda Setting and Issue Framing Dynamics on Front Page News.” Grant # SES 0617492, \$10,907, July 1, 2006 to June 30, 2007.
- Pennsylvania Policy Agendas Database. State of Pennsylvania appropriation to Temple University for \$480,000 over three years, 2005–08. Penn State subcontract for \$77,888 awarded March 2006. Additional funds of \$26,600 awarded September 2007; \$5,500 in 2008; \$22,500 in 2009. Joe McLaughlin, Temple University, principal investigator.
- National Science Foundation, “Collaborative Research: Database Development for the Study of Public Policy.” Grant # SBR 0111611, \$690,719, January 1, 2002 to December 31, 2007. Co-Principal Investigator, with Bryan D. Jones.
- Policy Agendas Project focus of NSF press release, January 2005; see http://www.nsf.gov/discoveries/disc_summ.jsp?cntn_id=100599&org=NSF.
- National Science Foundation, REU supplemental award for award 0111611, \$15,000, awarded October 12, 2005.
- National Science Foundation, “Lobbying and Issue-Definition.” Grant # SBR 0111224, \$235,930, July 1, 2001 to June 30, 2004. Principal Investigator. Co-Investigators are: Jeff Berry, Marie Hojnacki, Beth Leech, and David Kimball.
- Pew Charitable Trusts / University of Wisconsin, “Lobbying and Television Advocacy,” \$36,503, June 1 to December 31, 2002. With Marie Hojnacki and Ken Goldstein.
- National Science Foundation, “Collaborative Research on Lobbying.” Grant # SBR 9905195, \$80,569, August 1, 1999 to December 31, 2000. Principal Investigator. Co-Investigators are: Jeff Berry, Marie Hojnacki, Beth Leech, and David Kimball.
- Norwegian Science Foundation (Norges forskningsråd), “Agenda Setting and Public Policy” to support teaching a graduate seminar at the University of Bergen, in fall 1998. (69,300

Norwegian Krone, with Richard L. Matland.) Awarded December 1997.
 National Science Foundation dissertation award for Beth L. Leech, "Lobbying Strategies of American Interest Groups," # SBR 9631232, \$8,476, July 15, 1996 to July 14, 1997
 National Science Foundation, "Policy Agendas in the United States since 1945." Grant # SBR 9320922, \$245,000, March 15, 1994 to February 28, 1998. (with Bryan D. Jones)
 National Science Foundation, Research Opportunities for Undergraduates, supplements to the Policy Agendas grant, \$12,500 per year, 1994, 1995. (with Bryan D. Jones)
 French Government Travel Grant (\$1,000), 1988.
Bourse Chateaubriand, French Government Dissertation Grant, 1983–84.

Awards

C. Herman Pritchett Best Book Award from the Law and Courts Section of the American Political Science Association, 2019 (for *Suspect Citizens*)
 Lijphart / Przeworski / Verba Dataset Award, APSA Section on Comparative Politics, 2019 (for the Comparative Agendas Project)
 Best reviewer award, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 2018
 Member, American Academy of Arts & Sciences, inducted 2017
 International Public Policy Association, 2017 award for the best book published in 2015 in English on the topic of public policy (for *The Politics of Information*).
 Louis Brownlow Book Award, National Academy of Public Administration, 2016 (for *The Politics of Information*).
 Samuel J. Eldersveld Career Achievement Award, APSA Section on Political Organizations and Parties, 2011.
 Hometown Hero Award, News Talk 1360 WCHL Chapel Hill NC, concerning career achievement award listed above, July 2011.
 Leon D. Epstein Outstanding Book Award, APSA Section on Political Organizations and Parties, 2010 (for *Lobbying and Policy Change*).
 Article selected for inclusion in special issue reprinting the most outstanding articles for the 20th anniversary issue of *JPART*, 2010, for "A Model of Choice for Public Policy."
 Gladys M. Kammerer Award, American Political Science Association, for the best publication in the field of US national policy, 2008 (for *The Decline of the Death Penalty*).
 Best Instructional Political Science Web Site, for www.policyagendas.org, from the Information Technology and Politics Section of the American Political Science Association, 2007.
 Mentoring Award from the Public Policy Section of the American Political Science Association, 2005. For mentoring younger members of the profession.
 Winner, vote by the members of the Public Policy Section of the American Political Science Association for *Agendas and Instability in American Politics*; top vote-getter in an election where members of the section were asked to identify the top five policy-related books or articles written in the past ten years. See *Policy Currents* 11 (2), Summer 2001, p. 14.
 Aaron Wildavsky Award from the Public Policy Section of the American Political Science Association, 2001, for *Agendas and Instability in American Politics*. The Wildavsky Award recognizes work of lasting impact on the field of public policy.
 Phi Beta Kappa, The University of Michigan, 1980.

INTERNAL GRANTS, AWARDS, AND SCHOLARSHIPS

Senior Faculty Research and Scholarly Leave, UNC-CH, 2020–21.

Faculty Fellowship, Institute of African American Research, UNC-CH, Fall 2015.

Charles Robson Award for Excellence in Graduate Instruction, UNC-CH, Department of Political Science, 2013.

Welch Alumni Relations Award, Pennsylvania State University, College of the Liberal Arts, 2008.

Best Graduate Student Advisor, Pennsylvania State University, Department of Political Science, Spring 2005. Based on a vote by current graduate students.

Faculty Scholar Medal in Social Sciences, Pennsylvania State University, 2005.

Distinction in the Social Sciences Award, Pennsylvania State University, College of the Liberal Arts, 2003.

“Legislative Lobbying,” \$5,000 grant from the Program in American Politics, Texas A&M University (with Beth L. Leech), 1998.

“Lobbying Congress,” \$7,500 grant from the Texas A&M Office of Associate Provost for Research, Program to Enhance Scholarly and Creative Activities (with Beth L. Leech), 1997.

“Interest Groups and Lobbying in American Politics,” \$3,000 grant from the Program in American Politics, Texas A&M University (with Beth L. Leech), 1996.

Jordan Faculty Fellow, Center for Presidential Studies, Texas A&M University, 1994, 1995.

“Policy Agendas in Congress Since 1945,” \$7,500 grant from the Texas A&M Office of Associate Provost for Research, Program to Enhance Scholarly and Creative Activities (with Bryan D. Jones), 1993.

International Curriculum Development Grant (\$1,100, with Richard Golsan), 1993.

Honors Program Curriculum Development Grant (\$6,000, with Bryan D. Jones, Nehemia Geva, and Alex Mintz), 1993.

Center for Presidential Studies Grant (\$1,000, with Bryan D. Jones), 1993.

Center for Energy and Mineral Resources Grant, Texas A&M University (\$12,500, with Bryan D. Jones) 1989.

College of Liberal Arts Summer Research Award (\$7,000), 1988.

International Enhancement Grant, Texas A&M University (\$1,200), 1988.

Center for Energy and Mineral Resources Grant, Texas A&M University (\$3,000) 1988.

Nominee, Gabriel Almond Prize for best dissertation in comparative politics, 1986.

Rackham Pre-Doctoral Fellowship, The University of Michigan, 1985–86.

Rackham Dissertation Grant, The University of Michigan, 1983–84.

Teaching Fellow, The University of Michigan, 1981–83.

Rackham First Year Fellowship, The University of Michigan, 1980–81.

DOCTORAL STUDENTS ADVISED AND ACADEMIC / POLICY PLACEMENTS

Kelly Tzoumis** (Texas A&M, 1992; DePaul University, tenured)

Jeffery C. Talbert** (Texas A&M, 1994; University of Kentucky School of Medicine, tenured)

Shalini Vallabhan* (Texas A&M, 1995; VP for Government Relations, American Cancer Society Cancer Action Network)

Rachel Gibson** (Texas A&M, 1995; University of Manchester, England, tenured)

Billy Ray Hall** (Texas A&M, 1995; Baylor, now an attorney in private practice)

Beth L. Leech* (Texas A&M, 1998; Rutgers, tenured)

Michael C. MacLeod* (Texas A&M, 1998; Hewitt Associates)
James L. True* (Texas A&M, 1998; Lamar, tenured, retired)
Doris McGonagle* (Texas A&M, 1998; Blinn College, tenured)
Glen Krutz*** (Texas A&M, 1999; Oklahoma State University, Dean of Arts and Sciences)
Nicole Canzoneri** (Texas A&M, 1999; Alexandria, VA schools)
Xingsheng Liu** (Texas A&M, 1999; Texas A&M)
Valery Hunt*** (University of Washington, 2002)
Jens Feeley*** (University of Washington, 2002; NASA)
Matthieu Dalle** (Penn State, French, 2002; University of Louisville)
Suzanne Robbins** (SUNY, Stony Brook, 2003; George Mason University)
Chad Lavin** (Penn State, 2003; SUNY Buffalo (English), tenured)
Andrew Martin** (Penn State, Sociology, 2004; Ohio State University, tenured)
Maria Inclan** (Penn State, 2005; CIDE, Mexico City, tenured)
Christine Mahoney*** (Penn State, 2006; University of Virginia, tenured)
Amber Boydston* (Penn State, 2008; University of California, Davis, tenured)
Tim LaPira** (Rutgers University, 2008; James Madison University, tenured)
Manuele Citi** (European University Institute, Florence, 2009; Copenhagen Business School)
Sam Workman** (University of Washington, Seattle, 2009; University of Oklahoma, tenured)
Caelesta Poppelaars** (Leiden University, Netherlands, 2009; Leiden)
Erika Martin** (Yale, 2009; SUNY Albany, Public Health)
Paul Rutledge** (West Virginia University, 2009; University of West Georgia, tenured)
Julianna Sandel Pacheco** (Penn State 2010; University of Iowa, tenured)
Stéphanie Yates** (Université de Laval, Quebec City, Canada, 2010; University of Ottawa)
Joost Berkhout** (Leiden University, Netherlands, 2010; University of Amsterdam)
Chris Faricy ** (UNC 2010; Syracuse University, tenured)
Shaun Bevan* (Penn State, 2011; University of Edinburgh, tenured)
Jiso Yoon* (Penn State, 2011; University of Kansas, tenured)
Isabelle Guinaudeau** (Sciences Po Bordeaux, 2011; CNRS / Sciences Po Bordeaux)
Cecilia Cannon** (Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Geneva, 2012)
Jon Moody* (Penn State 2013; Pew Charitable Trusts)
Mary Layton Atkinson* (UNC 2013; UNC-Charlotte)
C. Elizabeth Coggins** (UNC 2013; Colorado College)
Roy Gava** (PhD 2014, University of Geneva; University of St. Gallen)
Petya Alexandrova** (PhD 2014, Leiden University; EU Asylum Support Office, Malta)
Tinette Schnatterer** (PhD 2014, Sciences Po Bordeaux; CNRS Sciences Po Bordeaux)
Trey Thomas** (PhD 2015, University of Texas at Austin; University of Texas at Arlington)
Tyler Hughes** (PhD 2015, University of Oklahoma; Cal State Northridge)
Derek Epp* (PhD 2015, UNC; University of Texas at Austin)
Nick Howard** (PhD 2015, UNC; Auburn University at Montgomery)
Greg Wolf** (PhD 2015, UNC; Drake University)
Stephen Weir ** (PhD 2015, Trinity University, Dublin)
John Lovett* (PhD 2016, UNC; Wake Forest)
Ehud Segal** (PhD 2017, Hebrew University, Israel; Haifa University, post-doc)
Carmen Huerta* (PhD 2017, UNC Sociology; UNC Office of Student Affairs)
John Wachen** (PhD 2018, UNC Education Policy; Chicago Ill. education consultant)
Zoila Ponce de Leon** (PhD 2018, UNC; Washington and Lee)

Annelise Russell** (PhD 2018, University of Texas; University of Kentucky)
 Andrew Tyner** (PhD 2018, UNC; Center for Open Science)
 Emily Carty** (PhD 2018 UNC; University of Salamanca, Spain)
 Kelsey Shoub* (PhD 2018, UNC; University of South Carolina)
 Milad Minooie** (PhD 2018, UNC Mass Communications)
 Mike Fliss** (PhD 2019 UNC Epidemiology; post-doc 2019–20, UNC-Chapel Hill)
 Amy Sentementes** (PhD 2019 UNC; Penn State)
 Serge Severenchuk** (PhD 2019 UNC; post-doc 2019–20, Dartmouth)
 Leah Christiani* (PhD 2020 UNC; University of Tennessee)
 Beatriz Rey** (ABD Syracuse University; current student)
 Emily Wager* (PhD expected 2020 UNC, current student)
 Kevin Roach* (PhD expected 2021 UNC, current student)
 Kaneesha Johnson** (ABD, Harvard, current student)
 Christian Caron* (PhD expected 2021, UNC, current student)
 Philip Warncke** (UNC, current student)
 Jonathan Schlosser** (UNC, School of Journalism, current student)
 Hailey Sherman* (UNC, current student)

* indicates committee chair or co-chair

** indicates committee member

*** indicates another student from the Policy Agendas Project or the Advocacy and Public Policy Project with whom I have worked closely

SENIOR HONORS THESES ADVISED AT UNC

Sally Stanley, on the effect of District Attorneys on capital punishment, 2020
 Sydney Johnson, on the cost implications of LWOP prison sentences, 2020
 Sarah McAdon, on the outcomes of traffic tickets in North Carolina, 2019
 Olivia O'Malley, on the legal treatment of sex trafficking crimes in North Carolina, 2019
 Luke Beyer, on the outcomes of high-level felonies in North Carolina, 2019
 Libby Doyle, on the geographical distribution of racial inequities in North Carolina, 2019
 Betsy Neill, on mental illness and the death penalty, 2017*
 Wallace Gram, on the geographic distribution of executions in the US, 2015
 Anna W. Dietrich, on the conditional probability of execution given a death sentence, 2014*
 BJ Dworak, comparing traditional news media with social media, 2013*
 Alex Loyal, on trends in state legislation concerning the death penalty, 2013
 Lindsey Stephens, on the impact of the creation of a statewide Indigent Defense Services office on the use of capital punishment in North Carolina, 2012
 Max Rose, on changing media frames associated with poverty, 2012
 Alissa Ellis, on North Carolina's use of the death penalty with inmates suffering from mental illness, 2011
 (* = Winner of the departmental award for the best senior thesis that year)

COAUTHOR RELATIONSHIPS

- **Faculty mentors:** Jack L. Walker, Jr., Edie N. Goldenberg, Michael W. Traugott, Joel D. Aberbach, John Creighton Campbell
- **Graduate student colleagues:** Mark A. Baskin, Nina P. Halpern

- **Faculty colleagues:** Bryan D. Jones, James A. Stimson, Jeffrey M. Berry, Marie Hojnacki, David C. Kimball, Suzanna De Boef / Linn, Frank E. Dardis, Fuyuan Shen, Martial Foucault, Abel François, John Wilkerson, Virginia Gray, David Lowery, Arco Timmermans, Sylvain Brouard, Gerard Breeman, Laura Chaqués Bonafont, Christopher Green-Pedersen, Will Jennings, Peter John, Grant Jordan, John McCarthy, Emiliano Grossman, Arndt Wonka, Péter Érdi, László Zalányi, Isaac Unah, Seth Kotch, Ben Noble, Marcello Carammia, Darren Halpin, Beate Kohler-Koch, Jeremy Richardson, Kay Lehman Schlozman, D'Andra Orey, Stuart Soroka, Santiago Olivella, Lee Drutman, Janet M. Box-Steffensmeier, David Wilsford, Sandra D. Westervelt, Kimberly J. Cook, Peter B. Mortensen, Michiel Neytemans, Stefaan Walgrave, Frédéric Varone, Christopher Wlezien, Rens Vliegthart, Anna M. Palau, Pascal Sciarini, Anke Tresch, Paul Delamater, Steve Marshall, Charles Poole, Whitney Robinson
- **Graduate students:** Jeffery C. Talbert, Beth L. Leech, Michael C. Rosenstiehl / MacLeod, James L. True, Glen S. Krutz, Nicole Canzoneri, Timothy M. La Pira, Herschel F. Thomas III, Christine Mahoney, Amber E. Boydston, Heather A. Larsen-Price, Shaun Bevan, Christian Breunig, Jamie Greenan, Michelle Wolfe, Joost Berkhout, Kathleen Marchetti, Mary Layton Atkinson, K. Elizabeth Coggins, Sebastien G. Lazardeux, Jon Moody, Bryce Summary, Derek A. Epp, John Lovett, Amanda Grigg, Rachelle Ramirez, J. Sawyer Lucy, Beatriz Rey, Petra Bishtawi, Tefvik Murat Yildirim, Heike Klüver, Kelsey Shoub, Leah Christiani, Kevin Roach, Benjamin W. Campbell, Jamie Gold, Andrew W. Martin, Chris Koski, Paul Rutledge, Edward T. Walker, Adriana Bunea, Bayard Love, Petya Alexandrova, Mike Fliss
- **Undergraduate students:** Ronald Lorenzo (Texas A&M), Nicholas A. Semanko (Penn State), Bryan J. Dworak, Woody Gram, Kaneesha R. Johnson, Arvind Krishnamurthy, Colin P. Wilson, Max Rose, Anna W. Dietrich, Emily Williams, Betsy Neill, Sarah McAdon, Marty Davidson, Julio Zaconet, Emma Johnson, Clarke Whitehead, Alisa Mastro, Kate Bell, Luke Beyer, Tara Boldrin, Libby Doyle, Lindsey Govan, Jack Halpert, Jackson Hicks, Katherine Kyriakoudes, Cat Lee, Mackenzie Leger, Sarah McAdon, Sarah Michalak, Caroline Murphy, Eyan Neal, Olivia O'Malley, Emily Payne, Audrey Sapirstein, Sally Stanley, Kathryn Thacker, Alex Bennett, (UNC-Chapel Hill)
- **Non-academics:** Kenneth J. Rose, Jennifer E. Thompson, Tim Lyman

INVITED TALKS AND CONFERENCES

Kings College (London), May 21, 2020 (to be rescheduled)
 Arizona State University, Pi Sigma Alpha lecture, February 22, 2020
 Notre Dame University, November 8, 2019
 University of Tennessee, book workshop, September 20, 2019
 University of Texas at Austin, September 13, 2019
 International Conference on Public Policy, Montreal, Keynote Speaker, June 27, 2019
 University of Stuttgart (Germany), June 3, 2019
 University of Konstanz (Germany), May 27, 2019
 University of St Gallen (Switzerland), May 21, 2019
 UNC-Chapel Hill, Odum Institute 95th Anniversary Speakers Series, April 22, 2019
 UNC-Greensboro, February 7, 2019
 Reed College, book workshop, December 12, 2018
 North Carolina Commission on Racial and Ethnic Disparities in the Criminal Justice System (NC-CRED), Raleigh, NC, August 24, 2018

Chapel Hill, NC, Public Library, August 13, 2018
Johns Hopkins University, conference on policing and race, May 17–18, 2018
Wayne State University School of Law, conference on congressional oversight, March 23, 2018
New America Foundation, conference on the state of congressional capacity, Washington DC,
March 1–2, 2018
University of Michigan, January 19, 2018
Harvard University, November 6, 2017
Wake Forest University School of Law, November 3, 2017
University of Arizona, October 26, 2017
Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest, September 27, 2017
Leiden University, The Hague Campus, Netherlands, September 21, 2017
Aarhus University, Denmark, September 19, 2017
University of Antwerp, Belgium, September 14, 2017
ESADE Business School, Madrid, Spain, January 12, 2017
National Academy of Public Administration, Washington DC, November 17, 2016
NC State University, Raleigh, graduate seminar on public policy, October 10, 2016
UNC-Chapel Hill THINKposium, August 17, 2016
Columbia University, “Politics at Work” book workshop, August 15, 2016
University of Edinburgh, Scotland, May 19, May 26, June 16, 2016
Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas (CIDE), Mexico City, May 4, 2016
Distinguished Lecturer in the Social, Behavioral, and Economic Sciences, National Science
Foundation, October 14, 2015
UNC-Chapel Hill School of Journalism, September 11, 2015
UNC-Chapel Hill Institute of African-American Research, September 9, 2015
University of Glasgow, Scotland, June 12, 2015
Duke University, Ralph Bunche Summer Institute, June 4, 2015
University of Michigan, May 8, 2015
University of Texas, May 6, 2015
University of Oklahoma, April 30, 2015
University of Houston, February 6, 2015
Princeton University, November 10, 2014
University of Minnesota, November 6, 2014
Center for the Study of the American South, UNC-CH, October 28, 2014
University of California, Irvine, January 30, 2014
University of Geneva, January 27, 2014
University of Michigan, September 13, 2013
University of Malta, May 21, 2013
University of Pennsylvania, March 21, 2013
SUNY at Buffalo, March 8-9, 2013
University of South Carolina, March 1, 2013
University Institute of Lisbon, Portugal, February 6, 2013
University of Maryland, November 30, 2012
Appalachian State University, November 6, 2012
University of Geneva, September 5, 2012
UNC-Chapel Hill Conference on Policy Change in Complex Urban Systems, Keynote, March
31, 2012

Georgetown University, March 26, 2012
Oxford University, All Souls College, March 8, 2012
Aarhus University, Denmark, January 26, 2012
Sciences Po Bordeaux, December 1, 2011
UNC-Charlotte, November 10, 2011
Santa Fe Institute, August 2011
University of Florida, July 14, 2011
SUNY Albany, April 24, 2011
University of Michigan, 100th anniversary of the political science department, April 7, 2011
UCLA, February 27, 2011
Washington State University, February 25, 2011
Suffolk University School of Law, Symposium on Peter Hall, February 11, 2011
Trinity College, Dublin, December 13, 2010
Johns Hopkins University, November 4, 2010
National Press Club, Washington DC, debate on *Lobbying and Policy Change*, September 16, 2010
Hewlett Foundation, San Francisco, symposium on public advocacy, July 2, 2010
Stanford University, CASBS workshop on digital government records, June 21–25, 2010
Sciences Po, Paris, May 19, 2010
University of Milan, Italy, May 12, 2010
Institut National de l'Audiovisuel, Paris France, May 3, 2010
University of Laval, Quebec, April 16, 2010
Northwestern University conference on "Text as Data," March 11–12, 2010
Kalamazoo College workshop on complexity in the social sciences, March 5, 2010
University of North Carolina, Charlotte, February 18, 2010
University of Heidelberg, conference on "Politics in Times of Crisis," December 3–4, 2009
Witness to Innocence (Death penalty advocacy group), Philadelphia, PA, October 23–24, 2009
University of North Carolina, Department of Public Policy, October 2, 2009
University of Leiden, Den Haag campus, June 16, 2009
University of Mannheim, Germany, MZES, June 8, 2009
University of Lausanne, Switzerland, May 18, 2009
University of Geneva, Switzerland, May 18, 2009
University of Manchester, England, May 15, 2009
University of Leiden, Netherlands, May 8, 2009
Northwestern University, NICO (complexity series), April 1, 2009
University of Michigan, RWJ Health Policy Scholars Program, March 3, 2009
University of Southern California, February 18, 2009
National Coalition to Abolish the Death Penalty, Harrisburg PA, January 23–24, 2009
Sciences Po, Paris, Roundtable on US Elections, January 19, 2009
Sciences Po, Paris, Social Movement Effects on Public Policy, January 5, 2009
Hebrew University of Jerusalem and IDC, Herzliya, Israel, December 14–21, 2008
SPIRIT / Sciences Po, Bordeaux, France, November 28, 2008
University of Nebraska, Lincoln, November 7, 2008
University of Antwerp, October 29, 2008
Wageningen University, NL, keynote speaker, Agriculture in Transition, October 28, 2008
University of Antwerp, workshop on US-EU lobbying, October 23–24, 2008

University of Washington, Seattle, American Politics series, October 10, 2008
Cevipof / Sciences Po, Paris, France, Groupe Argent et Politique, June 23, 2008
SPIRIT / Sciences Po, Bordeaux, France, June 9, 2008
Cevipof / Sciences Po, Paris, France, “Pôle Action Publique” series, May 14, 2008
Syracuse University workshop on US-EU lobbying studies, April 24–25, 2008
Yale University, April 15, 2008
Wayne State University, Detroit, March 20, 2008
CONNEX workshop on lobbying, University of Mannheim, Germany, March 6–8, 2008
University of North Carolina, February 15, 2008
University of Washington, Seattle, November 2, 2007
Harvard University, Graduate School of Education, Askwith Education Forum, October 4, 2007
University of Antwerp, September 20–21, 2007
University of Aberdeen, July 1, 2007
University of Barcelona, June 14, 2007
University of Aarhus, Denmark, June 8, 2007
Netherlands Institute of Government, The Hague, keynote speech, May 23, 2007
University of Geneva, May 7, 2007
Oxford University, March 6, 2007
World Congress Against the Death Penalty, Paris France, February 1–3, 2007
University of Newcastle, January 25–26, 2007
Université de Montréal, November 18, 2006
Public Policy Institute of California, San Francisco, October 27, 2006
University of Newcastle, England, May 3–4, 2006
UCLA Law School, Conference on Capital Punishment, April 8, 2006
University of Manchester, England, March 17, 2006
Mount St. Mary’s University, Maryland, February 23, 2006
University of Wisconsin, Madison, February 10, 2006
Indiana University, January 27, 2006
University College, London, England, School of Public Policy, Distinguished Visiting Speaker,
January 16–20, 2006
National Coalition to Abolish the Death Penalty, Austin Texas, October 28, 2005
Yale University, Aspen Conference on Climate Change, October 6–8, 2005
University of Aarhus, Denmark, Workshop on Comparative Agenda-Setting, July 1–2, 2005
University of Aberdeen, Scotland, June 15, 2005
University of Manchester, England, June 14, 2005
Centre de Sociologie des Organisations (CSO–CNRS), Paris, France, June 10, 2005
University of Leiden, Netherlands, Workshop on Reform Miracles, May 27–28, 2005
University of Exeter, England, May 18, 2005
Cevipof / Sciences Po, Paris, France, “Pôle Action Publique” series, May 11, 2005
University of Leiden, Netherlands, Workshop on Interest Groups in the EU, April 14–16, 2005
University of Utrecht, School of Governance, Netherlands, March 17, 2005
University of Antwerp, Belgium, March 15, 2005
University of Mannheim, Germany, Center for European Social Research, January 24, 2005
University of Aarhus, Denmark, January 21, 2005
University of Trento, Italy, January 19, 2005
European University Institute, Florence, Italy, November 22, 2004

University of Aberdeen, Scotland, November 19, 2004
University of Leiden, Netherlands, June 10–12, 2004
University of Aberdeen, Scotland, May 24–June 4, 2004
University of North Carolina, American Politics Research Group, April 2, 2004
University of Pennsylvania, Wharton School, Conference on Management Strategy and the Business Environment, March 26–27, 2004
Harvard University, Conference on The Transformation of American Politics: Policies, Institutions, and Participation, March 5–6, 2004
University of Kentucky, Martin School of Public Policy, January 23, 2004
University of Aberdeen, Scotland, December 15–19, 2003
Rutgers University, November 21, 2003
University of Arizona, Conference on Research Policy as an Agent of Change, October 10–11, 2003
Pennsylvania State University, College of Communications, September 26, 2003
University of British Columbia, Vancouver, Canada, August 18–19, 2003
NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., 24th Annual Capital Punishment Training Conference, Airlie Conference Center, Warrenton, VA, July 17–20, 2003
Yale University, School of Forestry, Conference on Punctuated Equilibrium Models of Environmental Policymaking, June 30, 2003
The Justice Project, Washington DC, May 15, 2003
University of Michigan, Robert Wood Johnson Health Policy Fellows Program, April 10, 2003
Pennsylvania State University, Hazelton Campus, November 7, 2002
University of Michigan, Conference on Social Movements and Organizations, May 10–11, 2002
West Virginia University, April 19, 2002
Nuffield College, Oxford University, England, Conference on Budgetary Policy Change: Measures and Models, March 8–9, 2002
University of California, Irvine, Conference on Social Movements, Public Policy, and Democracy, January 11–13, 2002
University of Chicago, May 21, 2001
University of Kentucky, April 13, 2001
Temple University, March 14, 2001
Columbia University, January 26, 2001
Harvard University, November 3, 2000
Princeton University, Conference on Political Participation: Building a Research Agenda, October 13–14, 2000
University of Aberdeen, Scotland, May 15–19, 2000
University of Pittsburgh and Carnegie Mellon University, April 10, 2000
Pennsylvania State University, Department of French, February 28, 2000
Western Michigan University, Sam Clark Lecturer, March 15–16, 1999
University of California, Santa Barbara, February 12, 1999
University of Aberdeen, Scotland, October 1998
University of Bergen, Norway, October 1998
University of Texas School of Public Health, October 2, 1997
Harvard University Conference on Civic Engagement, September 26–28, 1997
University of Michigan, 5th Annual Jack L. Walker Memorial Conference of Political Affairs: The Politics (or Un-Politics) of the Underclass and Unemployed, March 20, 1992

UCLA Workshop on Comparative Political Economy of Science, January 1990
 Feltrinelli Foundation Conference on Organized Interests and Democracy, Cortona, Italy, 1990

LEGAL EDUCATION TRAININGS PRESENTED

Fair and Just Prosecution, DA workshop on capital punishment, Durham NC, December 6, 2019
 National Police Accountability Project, Durham NC, October 17, 2019
 NC NAACP, Raleigh NC, December 7, 2018
 American Bar Association, Chicago, IL, August 3, 2018
 NC Committee on Racial and Ethnic Disparities in the Criminal Justice System (NC-CRED),
 Wake Forest University School of Law, November 3, 2017
 NC Association of District Court Judges, Asheville NC, October 5, 2016
 UNC School of Government, training for judges, April 6, 2016
 UNC School of Government, Racial Equity Network (public defenders), July 24, 2015
 North Carolina Public Defenders and Investigators, Greensboro NC, May 15, 2015

PROFESSIONAL SERVICE AND MEMBERSHIP

University / College / Department service at UNC-Chapel Hill:

University

Faculty Co-Chair, Campus Safety Commission, 2019–20
 Faculty Council (elected position), 2012–19
 Carolina Summer Reading Program Selection Committee, 2013–14; Chair, 2014–15
 Member, review team, Institute for African American Research, Spring 2016
 Faculty Affiliate, Institute of African American Research, 2014–
 Office of Undergraduate Research, Summer Undergraduate Research Fellowship (SURF)
 selection committee, 2018

College of Arts and Science

Member, Advisory Board, Center for the Study of the South, 2016–
 Member, Advisory Committee, Department of Public Policy, 2019–2022
 Adjunct Professor of Public Policy, 2019–
 Member, Dean’s Faculty Diversity Advisory Group, 2016–19
 Chair, Student Learning Outcomes for General Education Courses Committee, 2017–18
 Co-Chair, Diversity Task Force, 2015–16
 Member, Interdisciplinary Grants Awards Committee, 2013
 Member, Dean’s Task Force on Faculty Diversity, 2010–11

Department of Political Science

Director of PhD Placement, 2014–17, 2018–; interim Placement Director, Fall 2012
 Member, post-tenure review committees, 2010–13, 2014–17; Chair 2012–13, 2019–20
 Member, Committee on Faculty Mentoring (2016–18)
 Diversity Liaison, 2011–17
 Chair, Diversity Affairs and Recruitment, 2010–17 (Member, 2009–10)
 Chair, American Politics Talent Search Committee, 2015–16
 Chair, Dawson Chair Search Committee, 2016–17
 Member, Strategic Planning (SWOT) Committee, 2016–17
 Director of Graduate Admissions, 2013–14
 Member, Salary Review Committee, 2011–12, 2014–15

Member or chair, ad hoc faculty recruitment committees, 2009–15, 2016–17
 Member, internal evaluation (promotion) committees, 2013–14, 2016–17
 Member, best MA thesis committee, 2013, 2020; best graduate student publication award committee, 2015

Editorial boards

Policy Studies Journal, 2003 –
Journal of European Public Policy, 2004 –
Public Administration, 2008 –
Journal of Public Policy, 2010 –
Gouvernement et Action Publique, 2010 –
Interest Groups and Advocacy, 2011–
Governance, 2012 –
French Politics, Society, and Culture, 2013 –
West European Politics, 2015–
Politics, Groups, and Identities, 2017–
Interdisciplinary Political Studies, 2017–
International Review of Public Policy, 2018–
Political Research Quarterly, 2006–14
American Journal of Political Science, 2006–09
Journal of Information Technology and Politics, 2006–10
Journal of Politics, 1993–2001

Series editor, Palgrave Macmillan series on Comparative Studies of Political Agendas, with Laura Chaqués Bonafont, Christoffer Green Pedersen, Frédéric Varone, and Arco Timmermans. Publications began in 2012, as listed below:

- Eva-Maria Euchner. 2019. *Morality Politics in a Secular Age: Strategic Parties and Divided Governments in Europe*.
- Laura Chaqués Bonafont, Anna M. Palau, and Frank R. Baumgartner. 2015. *Agenda Dynamics in Spain*.
- Peter John, Anthony Bertelli, Will Jennings, and Shaun Bevan. 2013. *Policy Agendas in British Politics*.
- Isabelle Engeli, Christoffer Green-Pedersen and Lars Thorup Larsen, eds. 2012. *Morality Politics in Western Europe: Parties, Agendas and Policy Choices*.

Book review board, *French Politics, Society, and Culture* (formerly *French Politics and Society*), 1997 – 2012

Tenure and promotion reviews for the following colleges and universities: Aberdeen (Scotland), Alabama-Birmingham, Arizona, Arizona State, Australian National, Brandeis, British Columbia (Canada), California at Berkeley, California at Los Angeles, California at Riverside, California at San Diego, Chicago, Colorado at Denver, Colorado at Boulder, Columbia, Cornell, Dartmouth, Denver, Duke, East Carolina, Edinbourg (Scotland), Georgia, Georgia State, Georgetown, Harvard, Hebrew University of Jerusalem (Israel), Johns Hopkins, Indiana, Iowa State, Kansas, Kentucky, Lamar, London School of Economics (UK), Malta (Malta), Marquette, Maryland, Massachusetts, Memphis, Miami, Michigan, Michigan State, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana State, New School for Social Research, Ohio, Ohio State, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Potsdam (Germany), Pittsburgh,

Princeton, Purdue, Reed, Roosevelt, Rutgers, SciencesPo Paris (France), Southampton (UK), SUNY-Albany, SUNY-Buffalo, St. John Fisher College, Syracuse, Tel Aviv (Israel), Temple, Texas at Austin, Texas at Dallas, Villanova, Virginia, Washington, Wellesley, West Virginia, Wisconsin, Yale

Manuscript reviewer, proposal reviewer, or consultant for:

Journals: *American Political Science Review*; *Perspectives on Politics*; *PS*; *American Journal of Political Science*; *Journal of Politics*; *Polity*; *Political Research Quarterly*; *American Politics Quarterly*; *Journal of Theoretical Politics*; *Public Choice*; *Social Science Quarterly*; *Social Forces*; *Social Problems*; *Legislative Studies Quarterly*; *Journal of Legislative Studies*; *Congress and the Presidency*; *Interest Groups and Advocacy*; *Presidential Studies Quarterly*; *Political Behavior*; *Party Politics*; *Journal of Information Technology and Politics*; *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law*; *State Politics and Policy Quarterly*; *State and Local Government Review*; *Local Government Studies*; *Electoral Studies*; *Political Communication*; *World Politics*; *Comparative Politics*; *Comparative Political Studies*; *European Union Politics*; *Comparative European Politics*; *Journal of Common Market Studies*; *Canadian Journal of Political Science*; *Scandinavian Political Studies*; *Public Administration Review*; *Policy and Politics*; *Public Administration*; *Administration and Society*; *Governance*; *Politics and Governance*; *Regulation and Governance*; *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*; *Urban Affairs Review*; *Government and Policy*; *Economics and Politics*; *Journal of Policy History*; *Human Welfare*; *Journal of Public Policy*; *Journal of European Public Policy*; *West European Politics*; *Journal of European Politics*; *Acta Politica*; *Policy Studies Journal*; *Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis*; *Policy Studies Review*; *Review of Policy Research*; *Political Science Research and Methods*; *Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics*; *Southeastern Political Review*; *Politics and Policy*; *Australian Journal of Political Science*; *Research and Politics*; *Applied Behavioral Science Review*; *International Review of Administrative Sciences*; *Wetlands*; *Environmental Politics*; *Global Environmental Politics*; *Journal of Environmental Policy and Planning*; *International Planning Studies*; *Journal of Contingencies and Crisis Management*; *Women and Politics*; *Milbank Quarterly*; *Journal of International Business Studies*; *Business and Politics*; *International Migration Review*; *Education Evaluation and Policy Analysis*; *Computational and Mathematical Organization Theory*; *Politics*; *The Social Science Journal*; *Social Science Research*; *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*; *Review of International Political Economy*; *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*; *Criminology*; *American Journal of Criminal Justice*; *International Journal of Applied Criminal Justice*; *Journal of Experimental Criminology*; *International Journal of Police Science and Management*; *Police Quarterly*; *Journal of Global Governance*; *KOME*; *Big Data and Society*; *Gouvernement et Action Publique*; *American Sociological Review*; *Science*; *Science Advances*; *Sociological Imagination*; *Journal of the Center for Policy Analysis and Research*; *Social Work in Public Health*

University Presses: Princeton, Chicago, Harvard, Cambridge, Oxford, Cornell, California, Michigan, Pittsburgh, Kansas, State University of New York, New York University, Ohio State, Georgetown, Manchester (UK), Brookings Institution

Commercial and other Publishers: HarperCollins, Westview, Longman, Routledge, St.

Martin's, Allyn & Bacon, Congressional Quarterly, Haworth Press, Resources for the Future Press, Palgrave Macmillan

Funding Agencies: National Science Foundation (US), Social Science Research Council (UK), British Academy, European Social Research Council, European Research Council, European Science Foundation, Social Science and Humanities Research Council (Canada), Irish Research Council for Humanities and Social Sciences, Irish Academy of Science, National Science Foundation (Switzerland), Research Grants Council (Hong Kong), Hungarian Scientific Research Fund, Israeli Science Foundation, Council for the Earth and Life Sciences (Netherlands), Research Foundation – Flanders (Belgium), Danish Council for Independent Research, University of Milan (Italy), Australian Research Council, Agence Nationale de la Recherche (France), Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (Japan), Agency for Management of University and Research Grants (AGAUR) (Catalonia), Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Millennium Science Initiative (Government of Chile), Austrian Science Fund, MacArthur Foundation, Spencer Foundation, Earhart Foundation, Pew Charitable Trusts

Camargo Foundation, selection review board, 2009–14

Other: Educational Testing Service, Decision Insights, Inc., Handbook of Decision-Making

National Science Foundation:

Member, Committee of Visitors, Social, Behavioral and Economic Sciences, 2020
 Interdisciplinary Behavioral and Social Science Research review panel, 2016
 Distinguished Lecturer, SBE Division, 2015
 Cyber-Enabled Discovery and Innovation (CDI) panel, 2009
 Workshop on Cyberinfrastructure Needs in the Social Sciences, October 22, 2004
 Chair, Committee of Visitors, Political Science Program, 2004
 IGERT Proposal review panel, 2003
 IGERT Preproposal review panel, 2002
 Political Science advisory panel, 2000–02

Outside evaluations:

University of Glasgow, Policy Scotland external advisory board, 2013–2018
 Political Science Department, Purdue University, October 2015
 Political Science Department, University of California, Santa Cruz, January 2008
 Political Science Department, Graduate Programs, Western Michigan University, December 2005
 Political Science Department, Syracuse University, October 2005
 Political Science Department, University of British Columbia, Canada, September 2005
 Political Science Department, Michigan State University, Spring 2004
 M.A. in Public Policy Program, SUNY-Stony Brook, October 1999

Professional Service and Association Work

American Political Science Association:

Association-wide assignments

Special Projects Fund Selection Committee, 2018
 Vice-President, 2015–16

Member, *APSR* editor selection committee, 2014–15
 Member, Lasswell Award Committee, 2012 (for best dissertation in public policy)
 Member, Nominating Committee, 2004
 Chair, Nominating Committee, 2003
 Chair, EE Schattschneider Award Committee, 2002 (for best dissertation in American politics)

Section on Public Policy

Best paper on comparative public policy committee, 2012, 2013
 Short Course on the Comparative Policy Agendas Project, annual meetings, August 30, 2011. (with Bryan D. Jones and others)
 President, 2008–09
 President-elect (section organizer), 2007–08 (29 panels)
 Short Course on Teaching Public Policy, workshop on comparative approaches, annual meetings, August 27, 2008. (with Kent Weaver)
 Member, selection committee for editor, *Policy Studies Journal*, 2008
 Short Course on the Comparative Policy Agendas Project, annual meetings, August 30, 2006. (with Bryan D. Jones, John Wilkerson, and others)
 Member, Aaron Wildavsky Award selection committee, 2005–06
 Short Course on the Policy Agendas Project, annual meetings, August 31, 2005. (with Bryan D. Jones, John Wilkerson, and others)
 Short Course on the Policy Agendas Project, annual meetings, August 27, 2003. (with Bryan D. Jones, John Wilkerson, and others)
 Member, Executive Council, 1997–2000
 Member, Nominating Committee, 2000
 Short Course on Using the Policy Agendas Project in Your Research, annual meetings, August 30, 2000 (with Bryan D. Jones)
 Chair, Aaron Wildavsky Award selection committee, 1997–98

Section on Political Organizations and Parties

Chair, Samuel Eldersveld Career Achievement Award Committee, 2019
 Member, Leon Epstein Award committee for best book, 2011
 Member, Selection committee for special issue of *Party Politics*, 2010
 Chair, Samuel Eldersveld Career Achievement Award Committee, 2008
 Chair, 2003–05
 Member, Emerging Scholar Selection Committee, 2002
 Member, Nominating Committee, 1999–2000

Division on Politics and Society in Western Europe

Program Chair, annual meetings, 1998 (18 panels)

Conference Group on French Politics and Society

Program organizer, 1993–97 (2 to 4 panels per year)
 Member, Stanley Hoffman Award for the best article on French politics, 2009

Midwest Political Science Association:

Member, Best Poster Award Committee, 2010
 Member, Patrick J. Fett Award Committee, 2008
 Member, Selection Committee for Editorship of the *AJPS*, 2004
 Member, Committee on the Annual Program, 1996–97

Program co-chair, annual meetings, 1995 (approx. 300 panels and 2,000 participants)

Southern Political Science Association:

Member, Joseph L. Bernd Best *Journal of Politics* Paper Award Committee, 2018

Member, Malcolm Jewell Award Committee for best paper by a graduate student presented at the 2010 meetings

Chair, Section on Interest Groups, annual meetings, 2002 (8 panels)

Chair, Section on Interest Groups, annual meetings, 1996 (5 panels)

Association Française de Science Politique:

Comité de direction, groupe argent et politique (2005–10)

Other:

Chair, Charles Levine memorial book prize selection committee, International Political Science Association, committee on Structures and Organization of Government, to recognize a distinguished book in the field of comparative public administration, 2005–06

Member, Nominating Committee, Midwest Public Administration Caucus, 2005

Member, National Election Studies 1997 Pilot Study Planning Committee

Member of: American Political Science Association; Midwest Political Science Association; Conference Group on French Politics and Society, APSA Organized Sections on Public Policy, Race and Ethnic Politics, and Political Organizations and Parties

Community Service:

Member, Board of Directors, Healing Justice Project, Washington DC, 2015–2019

Pro-bono consulting for various civil rights, death penalty, and other legal and advocacy causes, 2010–

References available on request