

Race and Gender Characteristics of Homicides and Death Sentences in Duval County, FL and in the State of Florida, 1973-2022

Frank R. Baumgartner
University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

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I have compiled data from the FBI Supplemental Homicide Reports from 1976 through 2019 (the last data currently available) on homicides in Florida and in Duval County, and information about all death sentences imposed in those two jurisdictions since the modern system of capital punishment was created in Florida 1973. This consists of a record of 1,103 death sentences imposed state-wide and 112 in Duval County. The corresponding numbers of homicide offenders are 20,831 (state-wide) and 1,742 (Duval County).

I have used this data to calculate rates of death sentences per 100 homicides, in Florida and in Duval County, by race of offender, race of victim, gender of offender, and gender of victim. This report begins by describing the race and gender information I collected and how often it was missing. It next presents a detailed table to document the figures used to calculate the rates of death sentences per 100 homicides in Florida and Duval. My narrative analysis of these tables follows, after which I give a similar analysis limited to those cases in Florida resulting in execution. As will be seen, I ultimately conclude that neither death sentences nor executions are applied in an equal manner; they are instead driven powerfully by the race and gender of the victim, with the highest rates of death sentencing and executions, both in Florida and Duval County, reserved for black offenders who kill white victims, and highest of all for black men who kill white women.

Collecting race and gender data

FBI statistics generally include the race and gender of the victims. There were 21,857 homicide victims state-wide, and gender information was missing for just 86 of them. Victims were listed as either white or black in almost 90 percent of the cases (19,616 out of 21,857, or 89.75 percent). In Duval County, just 2 cases of 1,813 were missing information on gender, and 10 cases (0.55 percent) were missing on race or involved victims of races other than black or white.

With regards to offenders, FBI data are more often absent, since in some cases the offenders are not known to the police. Data on gender of the offender was missing in 29.2 percent of the cases state-wide and in 30.54 percent of the cases from Duval County. Race data was either missing or from other than white and black offenders in 34.69 percent of the cases state-wide and 30.71 percent in Duval County.

Data on gender of the offender in death sentenced cases was available for every case. For race of offender, 78 cases out of 1,103 state-wide were missing data on race or related to races other than black or white, and there was one such case (out of 112) in Duval County.

With regard to the victims of cases involving a sentence of death, gender data was missing on just 10 cases out of 1,430 state-wide, and in two cases of 145 victims in Duval County. For

victim race, 214 cases (14.97 percent) were either missing or other than black or white state-wide, with 14 such cases (9.66 percent) in Duval County.

The data I have collected is therefore complete enough to assess the patterns of use of the death penalty state-wide and in Duval County. The following table lays out the essential comparisons.

Homicides and Death Sentences in Florida and in Duval County, 1976 to 2022.

	Homicides				Death Sentences				Rate per 100	
	Florida		Duval		Florida		Duval		Florida	Duval
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%		
Total by Offenders	20,831		1,742		1,103		112		5.29	6.43
By Offender Gender --										
Female	2,061	13.97	195	16.12	17	1.54	2	1.79	0.82	1.03
Male	12,687	86.03	1,015	83.88	1,086	98.46	110	98.21	8.56	10.84
Subtotal	14,748	100.00	1,210	100.00	1,103	100.00	112	100.00		
Missing, other	6,083	29.20	532	30.54	-	-	-	-		
By Offender Race --										
Black	7,249	53.28	760	62.97	412	40.20	63	56.76	5.68	8.29
White	6,356	46.72	447	37.03	613	59.80	48	43.24	9.64	10.74
Subtotal	13,605	100.00	1,207	100.00	1,025	100.00	111	100.00		
Missing, other	7,226	34.69	535	30.71	78	7.07	1	0.89		
Total by Victims	21,857		1,813		1,430		145		6.54	8.00
By Victim Gender --										
Male	16,509	75.83	1,341	74.05	729	51.34	78	54.55	4.42	5.82
Female	5,262	24.17	470	25.95	691	48.66	65	45.45	13.13	13.83
Subtotal	21,771	100.00	1,811	100.00	1,420	100.00	143	100.00		
Missing, other	86	0.39	2	0.11	10	0.70	2	1.38		
By Victim Race --										
Black	8,944	45.60	1,069	59.29	223	18.34	47	35.88	2.49	4.40
White	10,672	54.40	734	40.71	993	81.66	84	64.12	9.30	11.44
Subtotal	19,616	100.00	1,803	100.00	1,216	100.00	131	100.00		
Missing, other	2,241	10.25	10	0.55	214	14.97	14	9.66		

Homicides and Death Sentences in Florida and in Duval County, 1976 to 2022 (cont.)

	Homicides				Death Sentences				Rate per 100	
	Florida		Duval		Florida		Duval		Florida	Duval
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%		
By Victim Race and Gender --										
Black Male	7,073	36.06	827	45.87	118	9.66	30	22.56	1.67	3.63
Black Female	1,871	9.54	242	13.42	108	8.85	19	14.29	5.77	7.85
White Male	7,583	38.66	508	28.18	492	40.29	41	30.83	6.49	8.07
White Female	3,089	15.75	226	12.53	503	41.20	43	32.33	16.28	19.03
Subtotal	19,616	100.00	1,803	100.00	1,221	100.00	133	100.00		
Missing, other	2,241	10.25	10	0.55	209	14.62	12	8.28		
By Offender-Victim Race Combinations --										
Black kills Black	6,036	45.30	674	56.07	130	15.05	32	32.32	2.15	4.75
White kills Black	497	3.73	54	4.49	19	2.20	6	6.06	3.82	11.11
White kills White	5,714	42.88	389	32.36	504	58.33	39	39.39	8.82	10.03
Black kills White	1,078	8.09	85	7.07	211	24.42	22	22.22	19.57	25.88
Black male kills White female ¹	223	1.67	18	1.50	104	12.04	10	10.10	46.64	55.56
Subtotal ²	13,325	100.00	1,202	100.00	864	100.00	99	100.00		
Missing, other	8,532	39.04	611	33.70	566	39.58	46	31.72		

Note: The “missing, other” line in each category indicates the number of excluded cases. These cases may be missing information on race, or they may include individuals listed as Native American, Asian, or of other races. Hispanic race / ethnicity is not shown because of inconsistent record-keeping. Homicides numbers for Hispanic individuals are included in the “missing, other” categories. The rate columns at the right indicate the number of death sentences per 100 homicides within each category of comparison.

¹ The “black male kills white female” category is a subset of the category above it, “black kills white”.

² Does not double-count the “black male kills white female category” which is included in the “black kills white” category above it.

Analysis of Death Sentencing by Race and Gender of Offender and Victim

Looking first at the top row of data, entitled “Total by Offenders”, the Table shows 20,831 homicides state-wide, 1,742 in Duval County, 1,103 and 112 death sentences and then the corresponding rates of death sentences per 100 homicides, 5.29 and 6.43. These rates are the results of simple percentage calculations. For the state of Florida, the number of death sentences corresponds to 5.29 per 100 homicides. That number, the rate of death-sentencing, is the key number of interest and the other numbers in the table show how that number is calculated in the most transparent manner possible. By looking at the rates per 100 homicides, we can directly compare results across groups with different numbers of homicides. For example, there are approximately 2,000 female offenders and almost 13,000 male offenders; by looking at the rates of death sentencing per 100 offenders, we can directly compare the likelihood of each group receiving a death sentence; in this example those rates are 0.82 and 8.56, nearly a ten times difference.³

For each group, starting with comparisons by the gender of the offender, the entries show the corresponding values and the share that are “missing, other.”

I exclude any analysis of race beyond white and black races. This is for three reasons. First, the black / white comparison is of key substantive interest. Second, racial data for categories other than black and white is often not comparable across datasets and may not be reliable (e.g., for Hispanic individuals, data sometimes record them as white and sometimes as Hispanic). Third, for some racial categories there may be too few observations for reliable analysis (e.g., there are relatively few Asian or Native American observations in either dataset).

Looking at rates of death-sentencing per 100 homicides, and focusing for simplicity on the state-wide numbers, female offenders see a rate of 0.82 while males see a rate of 8.56. This means that a male offender is more than ten times as likely to see a death sentence as a female offender. More generally, we can compare these rates across groups to see where the death penalty is more likely and where it is less likely.

By offender race, white offenders are more likely to see a death sentence state-wide (9.64 percent for white offenders compared to 5.68 percent for black offenders) as well as in Duval County (10.74 for whites, 8.29 for blacks). As I show below, this statistic is misleading because of the importance of the characteristics of the victim and the fact that most homicides occur within racial categories.

Looking at victims rather than offenders shows a slightly different overall rate because many homicides incidents have more than one victim; there are 21,857 victims overall, but 20,831 offenders. Similarly, there are 1,430 victims in death sentenced cases, but 1,103 offenders sentenced to death. In any case, we can conduct the same analysis.

³ An alternative method is to compare the percentage that each group represents of the homicide and death-sentenced groups. Comparing rates of use is a more direct comparison. Either method, however, would lead to similar conclusions.

By victim gender, state-wide the rates of death-sentencing are 13.13 for female victims and 4.42 for male victims; by race they are 9.30 for white victims and 2.49 for black victims. By victim race and gender combined, the rates move from 1.67 to 5.77 to 6.49 to 16.28 as we move from black male to black female to white male to white female victims. In Duval County, these rates are 3.63, 7.85, 8.07, and 19.03. There were 3,089 white female homicide victims in the state, and 503 of these, or 16.28 percent, were associated with a death sentence.

When we look at offender-victim combinations, we see even more powerful differences in rates. State-wide, the most common configuration of homicide, with 6,036 such cases, is a black offender with a black victim; these cases lead to a death sentence in 130 cases, or 2.15 percent (4.75 percent in Duval County). Cases with white offenders and black victims are relatively rare (just 497 such cases state-wide), and these saw a rate of death-sentencing of 3.82 (11.11 in Duval County). White-white cases were almost as common as the black-black category (5,714), but these cases saw a much higher rate of death-sentencing, 8.82 (10.03 in Duval County). Cases where black offenders killed white victims were relatively rare (1,078 cases state-wide), but here the rate of death-sentencing approached 20 percent (19.57 percent state-wide; 25.88 percent in Duval County). In the rare instances where a white female was killed by a black male offender (just 223 cases, a subset of the category previously mentioned), 104 were associated with a death sentence, a rate of almost half (46.64 percent state-wide). In Duval County, the FBI statistics list only 18 cases in this category, but there were 10 death sentences, a rate of 55.56 percent.

Analysis of Executions by Race and Gender of Offender and Victim

I have focused so far on death sentences. Florida has executed 100 individuals who collectively had 157 victims. Eleven of these cases came from Duval County (with 17 victims). Looking at the rates of execution per 100 homicides in the same way that I have done above shows a similar set of patterns (e.g., higher rates of use with white and female victims). There have been *no* cases of execution state-wide where the offender was white and the victim black, but there have been 10 cases with executions in the black male kills white female category. In comparison to these execution numbers, there have been 497 white-black homicides in Florida in this time period, but only 223 black-male – white-female cases.

Summary and Conclusion

Generally, whether we look at executions or death sentences, there is a powerful statistical pattern that the death penalty is much more likely to be used in some cases rather than others. This can be summarized as follows:

1. State-wide, 6.54 percent of homicides lead to a death sentence (8.00 in Duval).
2. This rate is much higher when the victim is female (13.13 compared to 4.42 for males) (13.83 compared to 5.82 in Duval).
3. The rate is much higher when the victim is white (9.30) rather than black (2.49) (11.44 and 4.40 in Duval).
4. As we move from black male to black female to white male to white female, death-sentencing rates move up by almost a factor of ten: 1.67, 5.77, 6.59, and 16.28. (These numbers are 3.63, 7.85, 8.07, and 19.03 in Duval).

5. Considering combined races of offenders and victims, rates move up dramatically as we go from black-black to white-black to white-white and finally to black-white: 2.15, 3.83, 8.82, and 19.57 (4.75, 11.11, 10.03, and 25.88 in Duval).
6. The highest rates are reserved for a rare subcategory: Cases with black male offenders and white female victims; that rate is 46.64 (55.56 in Duval).

For these reasons it is clear that the Florida death penalty system, and the one in Duval County specifically, is not applied in an equal manner with regards to race or gender. Offenders with white victims suffer greater odds of use of the death penalty, but no category of offender and victim is as disadvantaged as a black offender with a white victim. Even this extraordinary rate of 20 percent is then further doubled in those rare cases where the offender is a black male and the victim is a white female.

These patterns are stark and powerful reminders of the racial history of the death penalty and of their continued relevance today. They are unlikely to go unrecognized by the public even if members of the public called to a jury venire may be unaware of the precise statistics I have laid out here. The history and modern use of the death penalty is sufficiently different depending on the race and gender characteristics of those involved that most Floridians would understand just how these characteristics would be likely to affect the chances of positive versus adverse outcomes in a trial.

Under penalties of perjury, I declare that I have read the foregoing declaration and that the facts stated in it are true.



April 8, 2023

Frank R. Baumgartner

Date

FRANK R. BAUMGARTNER

Richard J. Richardson Distinguished Professor of Political Science
The 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 • <https://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 of 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

2023–24 Guggenheim Fellow
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, racial disparities in criminal justice, traffic stops, and policing.

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 and “Driving While Black” (see <http://fbaum.unc.edu/traffic.htm> and <http://fbaum.unc.edu/books/SuspectCitizens/index.html>). After publishing a comprehensive analysis of over 20 million traffic stops in North Carolina since 2000, I have remained active in studying the “driving while black” phenomenon in a series of articles.

Racial Disparities in Criminal Justice Outcomes. I am involved in studies of jury composition and patterns of arrest in North Carolina, using large administrative databases from the state. This includes an assessment of the representative nature of jury pools and a book project assessing patterns of arrest across different demographic groups.

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 2023. (Frank R. Baumgartner, Seth Kotch, and Isaac Unah)

Working as Intended: Race, Class, Gender and the Law. A book-length analysis linking observed racial disparities in millions of North Carolina arrest records from 2013 through 2019 with the intent of the legislature during the period when relevant laws were passed, using comprehensive data from the North Carolina courts system. Under contract,

- University of Chicago Press; target for submission: Summer 2023. (Frank R. Baumgartner, Marty A. Davidson, II, and Kaneesha R. Johnson)
- Evaluation of the Representative Nature of NC Jury Pools. Research project assessing the comparison of jury pools to census data for each county in North Carolina, in cooperation with the Governor's Task Force on Racial Equity, 2023 (Frank R. Baumgartner, Emily Crowder, Marty A. Davidson, II, and Kaneesha R Johnson)
- A Critique of the Veil of Darkness Method of Assessing Racial Disparities in Traffic Stops. Target for submission: Summer 2023. (with Anthony Lindsey)
- Geography or Personal Choice: Prosecutor Decisions about the Death Penalty in the 30 Most Active Death Penalty Counties in the US. Target for submission: Summer 2023 (Sally Stanley and Frank R. Baumgartner)
- Reading a Book by Its Cover: Vehicle Characteristics and Police Decisions to Search following a Routine Traffic Stop. Target for submission: Spring 2023 (Frank R. Baumgartner, Colin Case, and Will Spillman)
- Under review
- How Budgets Change: Punctuations, Trends, and Super-Trends. Submitted, Policy Sciences, March 16, 2023. (Ehud Segal and Frank R. Baumgartner)
- The Importance of Faculty Diversity for Political Science. Invited submission to the *Oxford Handbook of Engaged Methodological Pluralism* (2023), submitted October 20, 2022. (Ray Block, Jr., Chris Clark, Kaneesha R Johnson, Michael Minta, and Frank R Baumgartner)
- Disproportionate Criminal Justice Contact: A System Working as Designed?. Invited submission to the *Journal of the Center for Policy Analysis and Research*, submitted May 6, 2022 (Marty A. Davidson, II, Kaneesha R. Johnson, and Frank R. Baumgartner)
- Innocence and the Death Penalty. In Todd Peppers and Jamie Almellen, eds. *The Death Penalty: A Postmortem*. Edited volume submitted for review September, 2021, New York University Press.

PUBLICATIONS

Authored Books

- The Dynamics of Public Opinion*. New York: Cambridge University Press, Elements Series, 2021. (Mary Layton Atkinson, K. Elizabeth Coggins, James A. Stimson, and Frank R. Baumgartner)
- 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 A. Davidson, II, 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

Roper and Race: The Nature and Effects of Death Penalty Exclusions for Juveniles and the “Late Adolescent Class”. *Journal of Pediatric Neuropsychology* (2023) (Craig Haney, Frank R. Baumgartner, and Karen A. Steele) doi: 10.1007/s40817-022-00134-0

Racial Resentment and the Death Penalty. *Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics*. FirstView (2022) (Frank R. Baumgartner, Christian Caron, and Scott Duxbury) doi: 10.1017/rep.2022.30

Public Health Critical Race Praxis at the Intersection of Traffic Stops and Injury Epidemiology. *Injury Epidemiology* 9, 9 (2022) (Michael Dolan Fliss, Frank R. Baumgartner, Paul Delamater, Steve W. Marshall, Charles Poole, and Whitney Robinson) doi: 10.1186/s40621-022-00375-9

Better for Everyone: Black Descriptive Representation and Police Traffic Stops. *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 10, 5 (2022): 807–816. (Leah Christiani, Kelsey Shoub, Frank R. Baumgartner, Derek A. Epp, and Kevin Roach) doi: 10.1080/21565503.2021.1892782.

At the Intersection: Race, Gender, and Discretion in Police Traffic Stop Outcomes. *Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics* 7, 2 (July 2022): 239–261. (Kevin Roach, Frank R. Baumgartner, Leah Christiani, Derek A. Epp, Kelsey Shoub) doi: 10.1017/rep.2020.35.

Throwing away the Key: The Unintended Consequences of “Tough-on-Crime” Laws. *Perspectives on Politics* 19, 4 (2021): 1233–1246. (Frank R. Baumgartner, Tamira Daniely, Kalley Huang, Sydney Johnson, Alexander Love, Lyle May, Patrice McGloin, Allison Swagert, Niharika Vattikonda, and Kamryn Washington) doi: 10.1017/S153759272100164X.

Fines, Fees, and Disparities: The Link between Municipal Reliance on Fines and Racial Disparities in Policing. *Policy Studies Journal* 49, 3 (2021): 835–859. (Kelsey Shoub, Leah Christiani, Frank R. Baumgartner, Derek A. Epp, and Kevin Roach) doi: 10.1111/psj.12412.

Intersectional Encounters: Representative Bureaucracy and the Routine Traffic Stop. *Policy Studies Journal* 49, 3 (2021): 860–886. (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.

- Included in the *PSJ* Virtual Special Issue on Racial Justice, ed. Jamila Michener, July 15, 2020

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- Strategies of Political Leadership in Diverse Settings. In Bryan D. Jones, ed., *Leadership and Politics: New Perspectives from Political Science*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1989, pp. 114–34

Invited Essays and Other Publications

- Mobilizing Interest Groups in America: Patrons, Professions, and Social Movements: A Retrospective*. *Interest Groups and Advocacy* 10, 1 (2021): 72–77. (Joel D. Aberbach, Frank R. Baumgartner, and Mark A. Peterson) doi: 10.1057/s41309-021-00114-3.
- Part of a symposium recognizing the 30th anniversary of the publication of Jack L. Walker Jr.'s book of that title. Other contributors include Andrew S. McFarland, Kathleen Marchetti, and Jesse M. Crosson, Alexander, C. Furnas, and Geoffrey M. Lorenz.
 - See also: Heath Brown, An Oral History of Mobilizing Interest Groups in America. *Medium.com*. Sep 29, 2021. <https://medium.com/3streams/an-oral-history-of-mobilizing-interest-groups-in-america-d2764f86dc41>.
- Forward: Political Actors and the Media. In Peter Van Aelst and Stefaan Walgrave, eds. *How Political Actors Use the Media*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017, pp. v–viii.
- Analyzing Patterns of Government Attention and What Drives Them: The Comparative Agendas Project. Introductory essay to a symposium on the Comparative Agendas Project. *Perspectives on Europe* 42, 2 (2012): 7-13. (Arco Timmermans and Frank R. Baumgartner)
- What We Can All Learn from Lin Ostrom. 2010. *Perspectives on Politics* 8, 2: 575–77. Invited essay as part of a symposium on the work of Nobel Prize winner Elinor Ostrom – Reprinted in *Elinor Ostrom and the Bloomington School of Political Economy: A Compendium of Key Statements, Collaborations, and Reactions, Volume 1: Polycentricity and the Bloomington School* (Daniel Cole and Michael McGinnis, eds., Lexington Books, 2015)
- “3. Jack L. Walker Jr. 1969. The Diffusion of Innovation Among the American States. *American Political Science Review* 63 (September): 880–99. Cited 482 times.” 2006. *American Political Science Review* 100, 4 (November): 672. Invited commentary as part of a review of “The APSR Citation Classics.”
- The Growth and Diversity of US Associations, 1956–2004: Analyzing Trends using the *Encyclopedia of Associations*. Working paper on my web site. March 29, 2005.
- Studying Interest Groups Using Lobby Disclosure Reports. *VOX POP* (Newsletter of the Political Organizations and Parties Section of the APSA) Vol. 18, No. 1 (Fall 1999), pp. 1–3. (with Beth L. Leech)
- The Policy Agendas Project: A Public Resource for the Systematic Study of Public Policy.

Policy Currents (Newsletter of the Public Policy Section of the APSA) Vol. 9, No. 2 (June, 1999): 12–14. (with Bryan D. Jones) (Also published in *PS: Political Science and Politics*, 1999; and at the APSA web site: www.apsanet.org/PS/announcements/)

Lessons from the Trenches: Ensuring Quality, Reliability, and Usability in the Creation of a New Data Source. *The Political Methodologist* (Newsletter of the Political Methodology Section of the APSA) Vol. 8, No. 2 (Spring 1998), pp. 1–10. (Frank R. Baumgartner, Bryan D. Jones, and Michael C. MacLeod)

L'aide de l'état aux groupes d'intérêt en France: Le cas de l'éducation. *Problèmes politiques et sociaux* No. 511 (Paris: La Documentation Française), 1985.

Legal / Criminal Justice / Legislative Testimony / Reports

Analysis of Race and the Death Penalty in Arizona, expert report submitted in the case of *State v. Washington*, Maricopa County, Arizona, January 19, 2023. Trial pending.

Expert reports and testimony in the case of *State v. Young*, February 9, 2023, Wichita Kansas.

The reports include the following:

- Cost of the Death Penalty in Kansas (Philip J. Cook and Frank R. Baumgartner, March 4, 2022) <https://www.aclu.org/legal-document/cost-death-penalty-kansas-philip-j-cook-and-frank-r-baumgartner>
- Homicides, Capital Prosecutions, and Death Sentences in Kansas, 1994 to 2001 (Frank R. Baumgartner, March 4, 2022) <https://www.aclu.org/legal-document/homicides-capital-prosecutions-and-death-sentences-kansas-1994-2021-frank-r>
- Media Coverage of Sedgwick County Capital Prosecutions (Frank R. Baumgartner, February 4, 2022) <https://www.aclu.org/legal-document/media-coverage-sedgwick-county-capital-prosecutions-frank-r-baumgartner-university>

Analysis of Gender Differences in Use of State Peremptory Strikes in the Case of *State v. Bell*, Onslow County NC Superior Court. May 7, 2023. Oral testimony in court, Jacksonville, NC, December 6, 2022.

Expert Report in the case of *Commonwealth of Pennsylvania v. Michelle Tharp*, November 18, 2022.

Homicides, Capital Prosecutions, and Death Sentences in St. Louis County, Missouri, 1991-2018. Expert report in the case of *Johnson v. State*. Missouri Supreme Court, No. 22A463, September 22, 2022.

Expert report submitted under the California Racial Justice Act on behalf of Russell Austin and Michael Mosby, Riverside County, CA: Race and Age Characteristics of those Sentenced to Death before and after *Roper*. June 21, 2022. <https://www.aclu.org/cases/california-racial-justice-act-cases>

Expert Report in the case of *Cox v. Commonwealth of Pennsylvania*, 102 EM 2018. May 4, 2021. Oral testimony in court, Philadelphia, PA, August 5, 2022.

Expert reports presented in a constitutional challenge to the Kansas death penalty system associated with the case of *State v. McNeal*. The state dropped capital charges against Mr. McNeal before the court date scheduled for summer 2022. See *State v. Young*, above.

Oral presentation, Senate Transportation Committee, State of Washington, concerning a bill prohibiting pretextual traffic stops, February 3, 2022

Benchmarking Traffic Stop Data: Examining Patterns in North Carolina and the City of Raleigh. February 1, 2022.

A Statistical Overview of the Kentucky Death Penalty, January 11, 2022.

- Affidavit in support of Mr. Bruce Johnson regarding jury selection in Johnston County, NC, November 9, 2021.
- Affidavit in support of Mr. Nathan Holden regarding capital jury selection in Wake County, NC, June 10, 2021.
- Affidavit in support of Mr. Kendrick Gregory regarding capital jury selection in Wake County, NC, June 10, 2021.
- Oral presentation to the Nevada Legislature regarding AB 379, a bill to remove expiration date stickers from NV automobile license plates as a means to reduce racial disparities, April 1, 2021.
- Aging in Place in the Big House: A Demographic Analysis of the North Carolina Prison Population. (Frank R. Baumgartner and Sydney Johnson) October 11, 2020.
- 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.). Court testimony before a three-judge panel in Wake County Superior Court, Raleigh, NC, August 18, 2021. (This case led to the reinstatement of voting rights for more than 56,000 individuals, the largest expansion in voting eligibility since 1965.)
- 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. Court testimony in Salem OR, October 10, 2019.
- 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*. No. 2017-KA-1921.
- 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)
- The Impact of Race, Gender, and Geography on Florida Executions. 2016.
- The Impact of Race, Gender, and Geography on Ohio Executions. 2016.
- The Impact of Race, Gender, and Geography on Missouri Executions. 2015.
- 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 serve on the Data subcommittee.
- 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.

Opinion Pieces / Op Eds

- Fifty Years of a Broken System: The US Death Penalty at the 50th Anniversary of *Furman v. Georgia*. Oxford University Death Penalty Research Unit. <https://www.law.ox.ac.uk/research-and-subject-groups/death-penalty-research-unit/blog/2022/06/fifty-years-broken-system-us>. June 29, 2022.
- Thousands of prisoners have died of covid-19. Because of the “tough on crime” era, there’s worse to come. *WashingtonPost.com* Monkey Cage, August 26, 2021 (Frank R. Baumgartner, Tamira Daniely, Kalley Huang, Sydney Johnson, Alexander Love, Lyle May, Patrice McGloin, Allison Swagert, Niharika Vattikonda, and Kamryn Washington).
- If Biden abolishes the federal death penalty, he’ll have more support than you think. *WashingtonPost.com* Monkey Cage, August 3, 2021.
- Why traffic stops can be deadly for people of color. *Los Angeles Times*. April 16, 2021. (Frank R. Baumgartner, Derek Epp and Kelsey Shoub)
- Virginia may abolish the death penalty. There’s a racist history behind why a few jurisdictions use it most. *WashingtonPost.com* Monkey Cage, February 4, 2021. (Frank R. Baumgartner and Christian Caron)
- Ten Years of Study and the Protesters are Right. What traffic stops tell us about racial bias in policing. *Medium.com/3streams*, June 25, 2020 (Frank R. Baumgartner, Leah Christiani, Derek A. Epp, Kelsey Shoub, and Kevin Roach)
- The fears of Driving While Black in NC are true. The data prove it. *Raleigh News and Observer*, July 27, 2018 (Frank R. Baumgartner, Derek A. Epp and Kelsey Shoub)
- 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 A. Davidson, II, Kaneesha R. 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
- The number of lethal injections is declining. That's what history would predict. *WashingtonPost.com* Monkey Cage, June 29, 2015.
- Differential Policing by Neighborhood, June 11, 2015. *TheUrbanNews.com*
- The Death Penalty: A Symbol of Which Lives Matter, and Which Lives Don't, April 24, 2015. *90MillionStrong.org*
- Most death penalty sentences are overturned. Here's why that matters. *WashingtonPost.com* Monkey Cage Blog, March 17, 2015. (Frank R. Baumgartner and Anna W. Dietrich)
- 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.”
- A Half Century after the March on Washington, Little Attention to the Struggles of the Poor. *SSN Key Findings*, October 2013. (Frank R. Baumgartner and Max Rose)

Governor must veto RJA repeal, *Winston Salem Journal*, December 8, 2011
 Detecting bias essential in death penalty cases, *The Burlington Times-News*, November 26, 2011
 On the decline: murders and death sentences, *Raleigh News and Observer*, October 31, 2010.
 Death Penalty Moratorium is Not Enough, *Chapel Hill News*, October 10, 2010.
 Time to Commute N.C.'s Death Sentences. *Carrboro Citizen*, September 20, 2010.
 N.C. Should Commute Death Sentences, *Herald-Sun*, September 16, 2010.
 The Death of the Death Penalty at Hand? *Asheville Citizen-Times*, September 16, 2010.
 In N.C., only 20 percent of condemned are executed. *Charlotte Observer*, March 5, 2010.
 Death penalty's vanishing point? *Raleigh News and Observer*, January 24, 2010.

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.

SELECTED CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS SINCE 2014

Social Identity and Criminal Justice Contact. Paper to be presented at the American Political Science Association annual meetings, Los Angeles, August 31 – September 3, 2023. (Marty A. Davidson II, Kaneesha R. Johnson, and Frank R. Baumgartner)

Lobbying and Policy Change 20 Years Later. Paper to be presented at the General Conference of the European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR), Prague, September 4–8, 2023. (Beth L. Leech, Frank R. Baumgartner, Jeffrey M. Berry, Marie Hojnacki, and David C. Kimball)

Discriminatory Intent in the Creation of the North Carolina Traffic Code. Paper presented at the Midwest Political Science Association annual meetings, Chicago IL, April 13–16, 2023. (Kaneesha R. Johnson, Frank R. Baumgartner, and Marty A. Davidson II)

Reducing Fatal Crashes, Fighting Crime, and Social Control: Evaluating Three Models of Police Traffic Stops. Paper presented at the Midwest Political Science Association annual meetings, Chicago IL, April 13–16, 2023. (Alex Love, Michael Greenberger, Ye Wang, and Frank R. Baumgartner)

Public Safety and Police Traffic Stops. Paper presented at the American Political Science Association annual meetings, Montreal Canada, September 15–18, 2022. (Derek A. Epp,

- Frank R. Baumgartner, Marty A. Davidson, II, Michael Fliss, Kaneesha R. Johnson, and Kelsey Shoub)
- Finding Discriminatory Legislative Intent when Criminal Justice Outcomes Show Racially Disparate Impact. Paper presented at the Midwest Political Science Association annual meetings, Chicago IL, April 7–10, 2022. (Kaneesha R. Johnson, Frank R. Baumgartner, and Marty A. Davidson, II)
- Social Identity and Criminal Justice Contact. Paper presented at the Midwest Political Science Association annual meetings, Chicago IL, April 7–10, 2022. (Marty A. Davidson, II, Frank R. Baumgartner, and Kaneesha R. Johnson)
- 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.
- 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)
- 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)
- 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, Rachelle Ramirez, Kenneth J. Rose, and J. Sawyer Lucy)
- 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)
- Chair, discussant, or paper presenter at the following meetings, American Political Science Association, 1985–2019, 2022; Midwest Political Science Association, 1983, 1986–87, 1989–2019, 2022; 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); Tel Aviv (2022); Antwerp (2023).

EXTERNAL GRANTS AND AWARDS

Grants Submitted / Pending

Proposal for Study of Jury Pool Formation and Jury Selection. Submitted to the Governor's Task Force on Racial Equity in the Criminal Justice System, January 2021. (Frank R. Baumgartner, Marty A. Davidson, II, and Emily Coward)

Grants Funded / Awarded

John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation Fellowship, July 1, 2023 – June 30, 2024.

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

- Measuring the Current Effect of Jim Crow Laws in North Carolina. \$10,000 awarded for *On The Books: Jim Crow and Algorithms of Resistance*, UNC Libraries, August 1, 2022 for the period of Fall 2022 through December 2023. (Frank R. Baumgartner, Kaneesha R. Johnson, and Marty A. Davidson, II)
- 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)

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

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)

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

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

Michael C. MacLeod* (Texas A&M, 1998; Hewitt Associates)

James L. True* (Texas A&M, 1998; Lamar University)

Doris McGonagle* (Texas A&M, 1998; Blinn College)

Glen Krutz*** (Texas A&M, 1999; University of Colorado, 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))

Andrew Martin** (Penn State, Sociology, 2004; Ohio State University)

Maria Inclan** (Penn State, 2005; CIDE, Mexico City)

Christine Mahoney*** (Penn State, 2006; University of Virginia)

Amber Boydston* (Penn State, 2008; University of California, Davis)

Tim LaPira** (Rutgers University, 2008; James Madison University)
Manuele Citi** (European University Institute, Florence, 2009; Copenhagen Business School)
Sam Workman** (University of Washington, Seattle, 2009; University of Oklahoma)
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)
Julianna Sandel Pacheco** (Penn State 2010; University of Iowa)
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)
Shaun Bevan* (Penn State, 2011; University Edinburg)
Jiso Yoon* (Penn State, 2011; Korean Women's Development Institute)
Isabelle Guinaudeau** (Sciences Po Bordeaux, 2011; CNRS / Sciences Po Paris)
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 Agency for Asylum, Malta)
Tinette Schnatterer** (PhD 2014, Sciences Po Bordeaux; CNRS Sciences Po Bordeaux)
Trey Thomas** (PhD 2015, University of Texas at Austin; University of West Virginia)
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; Pinkston Strategies, Washington DC)
Ehud Segal** (PhD 2017, Hebrew University, Israel; Haifa University, post-doc)
Carmen Huerta* (PhD 2017, UNC Sociology; UNC-Chapel Hill)
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 Massachusetts, Amherst)
Milad Minooie** (PhD 2018, UNC Mass Communications; Kennesaw State University)
Mike Fliss** (PhD 2019 UNC Epidemiology; post-doc, UNC-Chapel Hill Public Health)
Amy Sentementes** (PhD 2019 UNC; Penn State)
Serge Severenchuk** (PhD 2019 UNC; post-doc, Dartmouth)
Leah Christiani* (PhD 2020 UNC; University of Tennessee)
Emily Wager* (PhD 2020 UNC; Purple Strategies)
Marc Faulkner** (PhD 2020, Université de Montréal; Quebec provincial government)
Thomas Kristensen** (PhD 2020, Aarhus University, Denmark; City of Aarhus)
Stefany Ramos** (PhD 2021, UNC Public Policy; RTI International)
Austin Bussing** (PhD 2021, UNC; Sam Houston State University)

Beatriz Rey** (PhD 2021, Syracuse University; State University of Rio de Janeiro and POPVOX Network)

Kevin Roach* (PhD 2021, UNC; City of San Francisco)

Christian Caron* (PhD 2022, UNC; Matrix Technologies, San Antonio, TX)

Bettina Stauffer** (PhD 2022, University of Bern, Switzerland)

Kaneesha R. Johnson** (Harvard, PhD expected 2023; post-doc, UNC-Chapel Hill 2023-25)

Arvind Krishnamurthy** (Duke, PhD expected 2023; Ohio State University)

Marty A. Davidson. II** (Michigan, PhD expected 2023; University of Wisconsin, Madison)

Philip Warncke** (UNC, current student)

Jonathan Schlosser** (UNC, School of Journalism, PhD expected 2023; Senior Data Scientist, Nielson Research)

Colin Case** (UNC, current student)

Alex Love* (UNC, current student)

Megan Blackwood* (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

Jasmine Orsini, Reserved for the Worst of the Worst? An Analysis of the North Carolina Death Penalty System, 2022

Alessandra Quattrocchi, Bias in the Jury Box: The Sociological Determinants of Juror Selection for Capital Cases in North Carolina, 2022*

Rebecca Weisberger A Statistical Evaluation of the United States' Death Penalty System Through the Lens of Equal Protection Under the Law, 2022

Lucas Cain, Rule of Law or Luck of the Draw? Extraneous Factors in NC Traffic Stops, 2022

Emily Payne, Race, Age, Gender, Attorney Type, and Income on Violent and Non-Violent Felonies in North Carolina, 2021

Tate Rosenblatt, Sentenced to Die? A Comparison of Factors Leading to Death Sentences and Executions, 2021

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)

INVITED ACADEMIC TALKS AND CONFERENCES SINCE 2014

European University Institute, Florence, Italy, May 22, 2023
 University of Bologna, Italy School of Law, May 17–19, 2023
 University of California, San Diego, May 1, 2023
 Appalachian State University, April 6, 2023
 Sciences Po (Paris), Center for European Studies, May 12, 2022
 Griffith University (Australia), March 31, 2022*
 University of Kentucky Law School, class on the death penalty, February 15, 2022*
 Manchester University (UK), November 10, 2021*
 John Jay College, Center on Media, Crime, and Justice, November 3, 2021*
 UNC-Charlotte, November 2, 2021*
 UNC Chapel Hill, 27th Annual MURAP Academic Conference, July 23, 2021*
 Kings College (London), Ken Young Annual Lecture in Public Policy, May 18, 2021*
 University of Georgia, George S. Parthemos Lectures, April 5–7, 2021*
 MIT Media Lab, Poetic Justice Group, March 30, 2021*
 Georgetwon Law / Howard University / The Lab@DC workshop on Reimagining Police Stops, October 16, 2020*
 Dartmouth University, October 7, 2020*
 University of Michigan, ICPSR Summer Program, Blalock Lecture, July 9, 2020*
 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
 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 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
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
139 additional presentations, 1990 to 2013

LEGAL EDUCATION TRAININGS PRESENTED

NC Task Force for Racial Equity in Criminal Justice, Prosecutor Advisory Group, August 11, 2022*

NC Department of Transportation, Executive Committee for Highway Safety, January 14, 2022*

National Law Enforcement Liaison Program, panel discussion on traffic safety enforcement, sponsored by the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration and the Governors Highway Safety Association, August 12, 2021*

Guilford County, NC Judicial Conference (Judges, DA's, Court Administrators, Public Defenders), October 30, 2020*

North Carolina Conference of District Court Judges, October 7, 2020*

North Carolina Conference of Superior Court Judges, August 14, 2020*

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

COMMUNITY PRESENTATIONS ON CRIMINAL JUSTICE

Carol Woods Retirement Community, Peace and Justice Seminar, Chapel Hill NC, March 20, 2023.

Panelist, Launch of abolition campaign, Kentucky Coalition to Abolish the Death Penalty, Lexington, KY, January 11, 2022*

Panelist, Scholars and Local Policymakers: An Essential Collaboration for Change. Scholars Strategy Network, Chapel Hill NC, November 16, 2021*

Panelist, Race and the Death Penalty virtual seminar, Quaker Southeast Yearly Meeting, Tampa FL, September 10, 2021*

Hillsborough NC, City Council, Mayor, Police Chief, March 11, 2021*

Arlington County VA, Policing Oversight Group, November 16, 2020*

UNC / Chapel Hill Community Dialogue on Race, November 10, 2020*

Suffolk County, NY, Policing Oversight Group, November 3, 2020*

Chapel Hill Rotary Club, October 30, 2020*

UNC Honors Carolina, Structures of Inequality speakers series, September 23, 2020*

UNC Highway Safety Research Center, September 2, 2020*

Lexis-Nexis, Raleigh NC, July 16, 2020*

City of Berkeley (CA) Fair and Impartial Policing Working Group, July 1, 2020*

NC-CRED, Policing and Racial Justice seminar, June 29, 2020*

UNC General Alumni Association, roundtable on racial justice June 18, 2020*

Greensboro Bound (Greensboro NC), panel discussion on the death penalty, June 11, 2020*

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

UNC-Chapel Hill THINKposium, August 17, 2016

*Presentation made by remote video technology

PROFESSIONAL SERVICE AND MEMBERSHIP

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

University

Internal member, external review committee for the Department of Sociology, 2023

Faculty Co-Chair, Campus Safety Commission, 2019–21

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

Chair, Search Committee for Distinguished Professor and Director of the Center for the Study of the American South (CSAS), 2021–22

Member, Advisory Board, Center for the Study of the American South (CSAS), 2016–

Member, Advisory Committee, Department of Public Policy, 2019–2022

Adjunct Professor of Public Policy, 2019–

Member, Dean's Faculty Diversity Advisory Group, 2016–2021
 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–; 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)
 Chair, Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion committee, 2022–23
 Diversity Liaison, 2011–17
 Chair, Diversity Affairs and Recruitment, 2010–17 (Member, 2009–10)
 Chair, American Politics Search Committee, 2015–16, 2021–22
 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, 2021–22
 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–
Policy Theory and Practice, 2022–
Journal of Policy Studies, 2021–23
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:

- Francesca Gelli and Matteo Basso, eds, 2022. *Identifying Models of National Urban Agendas: A View to the Global Transition*.

- Peter Bjerre Mortensen, Matt W. Loftis, and Henrik Bech Seeberg, 2022. *Explaining Local Policy Agendas: Institutions, Problems, Elections and Actors*.
- Miklós Sebök and Zsolt Boda, eds. 2021. *Policy Agendas in Autocracy, and Hybrid Regimes: The Case of Hungary*.
- Alper T. Bulut and Tevfik Murat Yildirim. 2020. *Political Stability, Democracy and Agenda Dynamics in Turkey*
- 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, Barcelona (Spain), Brandeis, British Columbia (Canada), Brown, 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, Reichman (Israel) 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; Socio-Economic Planning Sciences; Journal of Contingencies and Crisis Management; Women and Politics; Milbank Quarterly; Journal of International Business Studies; Business and Politics; International Migration Review; International Journal of Health Policy and Management; 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; Stanford Law Review

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, Royal Society of New Zealand, MacArthur Foundation, Spencer Foundation, Earhart Foundation, Pew Charitable Trusts

Camargo Foundation, selection review board, 2009–14

West European Politics Smith-Wright best article award committee (chair), 2021

Other: Educational Testing Service, Decision Insights, Inc., Handbook of Decision-Making
National Science Foundation, 2000-2021:

Committee of Visitors, Member or Chair, Social Behavioral Sciences, Political Science
Panelist, Building and Broadening, Interdisciplinary Behavioral and Social Science
Research, Cyber-Enabled Discovery and Innovation, Interdisciplinary Graduate
Education, Research and Training
Distinguished Lecturer, SBE Division, 2015
Workshop on Cyberinfrastructure Needs in the Social Sciences, October 22, 2004

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

Member, Presidential Task Force on the Association's Reponse to the Coronavirus, 2020–
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, 2022–23
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 Paper in American Politics Committee, 2023
 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, Data Team, NC Governor's Task Force for Racial Equity in Criminal Justice, 2020–

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

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

References available on request