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

April 8, 2023

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 (21,016 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Homicides</th>
<th></th>
<th>Death Sentences</th>
<th></th>
<th>Rate per 100</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Florida</td>
<td>Duval</td>
<td>Florida</td>
<td>Duval</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N   %</td>
<td>N   %</td>
<td>N   %</td>
<td>N   %</td>
<td>Florida  Duval</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total by Offenders</td>
<td>20,831 100</td>
<td>1,742 84.1</td>
<td>1,103 100.0</td>
<td>112 100.0</td>
<td>5.29 6.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By Offender Gender</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>2,061 10.06</td>
<td>195 11.19</td>
<td>17 1.54</td>
<td>2 1.79</td>
<td>0.82 1.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>12,687 61.19</td>
<td>1,015 58.56</td>
<td>1,086 98.46</td>
<td>110 98.21</td>
<td>8.56 10.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subtotal</td>
<td>14,748 71.34</td>
<td>1,210 69.75</td>
<td>1,103 100.0</td>
<td>112 100.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missing, other</td>
<td>6,083 29.20</td>
<td>532 30.54</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By Offender Race</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>7,249 35.17</td>
<td>760 43.91</td>
<td>412 37.34</td>
<td>63 56.76</td>
<td>5.68 8.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>6,356 30.72</td>
<td>447 25.99</td>
<td>613 54.66</td>
<td>48 43.24</td>
<td>9.64 10.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subtotal</td>
<td>13,605 65.90</td>
<td>1,207 68.90</td>
<td>1,025 100.0</td>
<td>111 100.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Missing, other</td>
<td>7,226 34.10</td>
<td>535 31.10</td>
<td>78 7.07</td>
<td>1 0.89</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total by Victims</td>
<td>21,857 100</td>
<td>1,813 100.0</td>
<td>1,430 100.0</td>
<td>145 100.0</td>
<td>6.54 8.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By Victim Gender</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>16,509 76.28</td>
<td>1,341 73.80</td>
<td>729 51.34</td>
<td>78 54.55</td>
<td>4.42 5.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>5,262 23.72</td>
<td>470 26.20</td>
<td>691 48.66</td>
<td>65 45.45</td>
<td>13.13 13.83</td>
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<tr>
<td>Subtotal</td>
<td>21,771 100.0</td>
<td>1,811 100.0</td>
<td>1,420 100.0</td>
<td>143 100.0</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Missing, other</td>
<td>86 0.39</td>
<td>2 0.11</td>
<td>10 0.70</td>
<td>2 1.38</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By Victim Race</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>8,944 41.06</td>
<td>1,069 58.97</td>
<td>223 18.34</td>
<td>47 35.88</td>
<td>2.49 4.40</td>
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<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>10,672 49.01</td>
<td>734 40.71</td>
<td>993 81.66</td>
<td>84 64.12</td>
<td>9.30 11.44</td>
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<tr>
<td>Subtotal</td>
<td>19,616 100.0</td>
<td>1,803 100.0</td>
<td>1,216 100.0</td>
<td>131 100.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missing, other</td>
<td>2,241 10.38</td>
<td>10 0.55</td>
<td>214 14.97</td>
<td>14 9.66</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Homicides and Death Sentences in Florida and in Duval County, 1976 to 2022 (cont.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Homicides</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Death Sentences</th>
<th></th>
<th>Rate per 100</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Florida</td>
<td>Duval</td>
<td>Florida</td>
<td>Duval</td>
<td>Florida</td>
<td>Duval</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By Victim Race and Gender --</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Black Male</td>
<td>7,073</td>
<td>36.06</td>
<td>827</td>
<td>45.87</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>9.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black Female</td>
<td>1,871</td>
<td>9.54</td>
<td>242</td>
<td>13.42</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>8.85</td>
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<tr>
<td>White Male</td>
<td>7,583</td>
<td>38.66</td>
<td>508</td>
<td>28.18</td>
<td>492</td>
<td>40.29</td>
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<tr>
<td>White Female</td>
<td>3,089</td>
<td>15.75</td>
<td>226</td>
<td>12.53</td>
<td>503</td>
<td>41.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subtotal</td>
<td>19,616</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>1,803</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>1,221</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missing, other</td>
<td>2,241</td>
<td>10.25</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0.55</td>
<td>209</td>
<td>14.62</td>
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<tr>
<td>By Offender-Victim Race Combinations --</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black kills Black</td>
<td>6,036</td>
<td>45.30</td>
<td>674</td>
<td>56.07</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>15.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White kills Black</td>
<td>497</td>
<td>3.73</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>4.49</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>2.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White kills White</td>
<td>5,714</td>
<td>42.88</td>
<td>389</td>
<td>32.36</td>
<td>504</td>
<td>58.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black kills White</td>
<td>1,078</td>
<td>8.09</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>7.07</td>
<td>211</td>
<td>24.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black male kills White female(^1)</td>
<td>223</td>
<td>1.67</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1.50</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>12.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subtotal(^2)</td>
<td>13,325</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>1,202</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>864</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missing, other</td>
<td>8,532</td>
<td>39.04</td>
<td>611</td>
<td>33.70</td>
<td>566</td>
<td>39.58</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

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\(^1\) 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.
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.

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Frank R. Baumgartner

April 8, 2023

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Date
EDUCATION

Ph.D., 1986, The University of Michigan. (Fields: Comparative, American, methods.)


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–)


1998–99 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 Edinburg, May–June


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
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.


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


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,
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)


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


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)


PUBLICATIONS

Authoried Books


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

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


• 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)


Edited Books and Special Issues of Journals

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.)

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](http://explore.tandfonline.com/page/pgas/rjpp-policy-process)

Articles in Peer-Reviewed Journals


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


Budgetary Change in Authoritarian and Democratic Regimes. *Journal of European Public Policy* 24, 6 (2017): 792–808. (Frank R. Baumgartner, Marcello Carammia, Derek A. Epp, Ben Noble, Beatriz Rey, and Tefvik Murat Yildirim)


- Included in the *PSJ* Virtual Special Issue on COVID-19 Crisis, ed. Michael D. Jones, May 26, 2020


- Included in the #BlackLivesMatter *PGI* Micro-Syllabus


- Included in the #BlackLivesMatter *PGI* Micro-Syllabus
Routledge.


- Included in the *PSJ* Virtual Special Issue on COVID-19 Crisis, ed. Michael D. Jones, May 26, 2020


Introduction to special issue on punctuated equilibrium studies of public policy, one of four special issues on the major theoretical approaches to the study of public policy.


Converging Perspectives on Interest-Group Research in Europe and America. *West European


– Selected for inclusion in special issue reprinting the most outstanding articles for the 20th anniversary issue of JPART, 2010.


The Multiple Ambiguities of “Counteractive Lobbying.” American Journal of Political Science 40, 2 (May 1996): 521–42. (Frank R. Baumgartner and Beth L. Leech)

This article led to a rebuttal and response as follows:

– Theory and Evidence for Counteractive Lobbying American Journal of Political


**Articles Published in Law Reviews**


**Book Chapters**


– The Comparative Agendas Project: Intellectual Roots and Current Developments


Elgar, 2016, pp. 53–68.

- The Origins, Organization, Maintenance, and Mortality of Interest Groups (with Beth L. Leech), pp. 95–111.
- Criminal Justice Interest Groups (with Michael C. MacLeod), pp. 248–49.
- Education Interest Groups (with Michael C. MacLeod), pp. 221–23.
- Health-Care Interest Groups (with Jeffery C. Talbert), pp. 257–59.

The following chapters in Frank R. Baumgartner and Bryan D. Jones, eds., *Policy Dynamics*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002:
- Introduction: Positive and Negative Feedback in Politics (Frank R. Baumgartner and Bryan D. Jones)
- Studying Policy Dynamics (Frank R. Baumgartner, Bryan D. Jones, and John Wilkerson)
- The Changing Agendas of Congress and the Supreme Court (Frank R. Baumgartner and Jamie Gold)
- Conclusion (Frank R. Baumgartner and Bryan D. Jones)


Attention, Boundary Effects, and Large-Scale Policy Change in Air Transportation Policy. In


**Invited Essays and Other Publications**


- 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.


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)

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)


**Legal / Criminal Justice / Legislative Testimony / Reports**


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


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.


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.


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.

(Frank R. Baumgartner, Bryan D. Jones, Julio Zaconet, Colin Wilson, Arvind Krishnamurthy)


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 Jeffrey 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


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)
(Jennifer E. Thompson and Frank R. Baumgartner)


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-Steppensmeier, 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)


Is Congress working as it should? Depends on who you are, by Frank R. Baumgartner and Lee Drutman, *Vox.com*, September 15, 2016.


Study shows racial bias in death penalties in Florida, *The Florida Times Union* (Jacksonville), February 5, 2016


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)


Missouri should abandon death penalty, *St. Louis American*, July 22, 2015


The Death Penalty: A Symbol of Which Lives Matter, and Which Lives Don’t, April 24, 2015. 90MillionStrong.org


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
In N.C., only 20 percent of condemned are executed. *Charlotte Observer*, March 5, 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.


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**

(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)

(Kaneesha R. Johnson, Frank R. Baumgartner, and Marty A. Davidson II)

(Alex Love, Michael Greenberger, Ye Wang, and Frank R. Baumgartner)

(Derek A. Epp,
Frank R. Baumgartner, Marty A. Davidson, II, Michael Fliss, Kaneesha R. Johnson, and Kelsey Shoub


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)


EXTERNAL GRANTS AND AWARDS

Grants Submitted / Pending


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
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, “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, REU supplemental award for award 0111611, $15,000, awarded October 12, 2005.


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, 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.


Awards

C. Herman Pritchett Best Book Award from the Law and Courts Section of the American Political Science Association, 2019 (for Suspect Citizens)

Lijphart / Przeworski / Verba Dataset Award, APSA Section on Comparative Politics, 2019 (for the Comparative Agendas Project)

Best reviewer award, Journal of European Public Policy, 2018

Member, American Academy of Arts & Sciences, inducted 2017

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

**INTERNAL GRANTS, AWARDS, AND SCHOLARSHIPS**

Senior Faculty Research and Scholarly Leave, UNC-CH, 2020–21.
Faculty Fellowship, Institute of African American Research, UNC-CH, Fall 2015.
Charles Robson Award for Excellence in Graduate Instruction, UNC-CH, Department of Political Science, 2013.
Welch Alumni Relations Award, Pennsylvania State University, College of the Liberal Arts, 2008.
Best Graduate Student Advisor, Pennsylvania State University, Department of Political Science, Spring 2005. Based on a vote by current graduate students.
Faculty Scholar Medal in Social Sciences, Pennsylvania State University, 2005.
Distinction in the Social Sciences Award, Pennsylvania State University, College of the Liberal Arts, 2003.
“Legislative Lobbying,” $5,000 grant from the Program in American Politics, Texas A&M University (with Beth L. Leech), 1998.
“Lobbying Congress,” $7,500 grant from the Texas A&M Office of Associate Provost for
Research, Program to Enhance Scholarly and Creative Activities (with Beth L. Leech), 1997.

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

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


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.


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


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 Boydstun* (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)
Juliana Sandel Pacheco** (Penn State 2010; University of Iowa)
Stéphanie Yates** (Université de Laval, Quebec City, Canada, 2010; University of Ottowa)
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, Nielsen 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

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*
Georgetown 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
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–
Political Research Quarterly, 2006–14
American Journal of Political Science, 2006–09
Journal of Information Technology and Politics, 2006–10

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:


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*


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, Millenium 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

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
- 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