

Exhibit A:

Hightower Expert
Reports

Exhibit 41

Dr. Frank Baumgartner Expert Report

Analysis of Trespass Stops in Grand Rapids Michigan, 2011-2013.

Frank R. Baumgartner¹

March 5, 2014

Executive Summary

A statistical analysis of Grand Rapids Police Department stops of individuals for trespassing on commercial business property with a No Trespass Letter over a three-year period yields the following key findings:

- Blacks are considerably more likely to be stopped by the Grand Rapids Police Department than are Whites. While Blacks are approximately 21% of the population, they represent 59% of those stopped.
- The disparity between stops of Blacks and Whites is particularly strong when we look at stops initiated by police officers, as opposed to those stemming from citizen complaints. Over 70% of those stopped at an officer's initiative are Black, as compared to under 30% for Whites. By comparison, the percentage of Blacks and Whites stopped based on citizen complaints is roughly equal.
- Stops of Whites are more likely to produce contraband and to be charged along with other offenses than are stops of Blacks.
- Blacks are significantly more likely than Whites to be arrested, rather than ticketed, following a trespass stop on commercial business property, with Blacks being arrested 63% of the time and Whites being arrested 50% of the time.
- The best estimate of the increased likelihood for Blacks being arrested, controlling for other legally relevant factors, is 2.2 times greater likelihood, compared to Whites. These results are highly robust, with estimates running from 1.8 to 2.2 increased odds, depending on the precise statistical model used.
- No matter if we look at simple rates of stop, rates of arrest, or at a more complicated multiple logistic regression, the results are highly consistent: Blacks are significantly more likely than Whites to be stopped or arrested for trespassing on commercial business property in Grand Rapids.

I. Summary of Qualifications, Prior Testimony and Compensation

My qualifications for preparing this report include over 30 years of experience in statistical modeling of social processes, my extensive graduate training in research methods, significant research and publications in the area of statistics and research methodology as these are applied to political and social issues, and my teaching experience, which has often included social statistics. Of particular relevance here is work I have done since 2012 relating to investigations of racial bias in traffic stops in North Carolina. This project involves using the NC Department of Justice database on over 13 million traffic stops from January 1, 2000 through the present, to

¹ Frank R. Baumgartner is the Richard J. Richardson Distinguished Professor of Political Science at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

investigate patterns of treatment of White, Black, and Hispanic motorists. This research is on-going, though I have issued some technical reports, as my c.v. makes clear. I have also consulted with the North Carolina Commission on Racial Disparities in the Criminal Justice System.

My complete c.v., which provides additional detail and includes a list of the publications I have authored, is attached as Exhibit B.

I have not testified previously as an expert in a court case. I did provide an affidavit in support of a litigant in the North Carolina Racial Justice Act in 2012, and signed an amicus brief to the US Supreme Court regarding juvenile life-without-parole sentencing, also in 2012.

I have agreed to prepare this expert report for the American Civil Liberties Union and the American Civil Liberties Union of Michigan on a *pro bono* basis. I do not have a normal fee for this work. However, based on my academic salary, if I were asked to testify, my fee would be \$250/hour for analyzing data, preparing a report, preparing to testify, or for testifying.

II. Introduction and Overview of the Data Analyzed

I have analyzed data provided to me showing all Grand Rapids Police Department (“GRPD”) stops of individuals from January 2, 2011 through December 31, 2013, for trespassing on commercial business property, where the GRPD incident report showed that the business had a “No Trespass Letter” on file with the GRPD.

As discussed in more detail in the attached Declarations of Joseph Granzotto and Kelechi Adibe,² the dataset was developed based on GRPD incident reports for trespassing that were provided to the plaintiffs in discovery. Mr. Granzotto did the initial coding for the dataset, and Mr. Adibe then prepared that data for statistical analysis. In order to limit the dataset to relevant stops, stops for trespassing on residential property were removed from the dataset. In addition, the final dataset also excluded stops where it could not be determined from the incident report whether the business had a “No-Trespass Letter” on file. If the GRPD incident report did not mention a “No-Trespass Letter,” it was not included in the analysis, even if they occurred on commercial business property. (For ease of reference, in this report the term “on commercial business property” will be used to refer to commercial business properties with No-Trespass Letters on file with the GRPD.) Once the dataset had been properly limited and cleaned, I conducted my analysis.³

² Attached as Appendices C and D.

³ Cleaning refers to ensuring that the data were recorded in the proper format, for example in columns that should be dates, that all the values are in fact numeric date values, or that where the race or gender was coded, that consistent spellings and spacing conventions were used. After I received the initial dataset, I sent it back to the ACLU of Michigan with an example of the consistent format my analysis would require. My understanding is that Mr. Granzotto and Mr. Adibe corrected any formatting issues I noted; this is what I mean here by limiting (only to relevant cases of trespass on commercial property) and cleaning (consistent formatting) of the dataset.

The analysis included 560 incidents where individuals were stopped for trespassing.⁴ I understand that such reports are filled out by police officers when a stop, citation, or arrest for trespassing occurs.⁵

In this report I discuss racial disparities in the enforcement of the Grand Rapids trespassing ordinance on commercial business property. The appendix to the report contains some basic descriptions of the database.⁶

The data analyzed for this report will be provided to the defendants in .csv format, which can be read by any standard spreadsheet or data analysis program.

III. Racial Disparities

In this section, I compare stop rates and outcomes by race, focusing primarily on differences between the rates of arrest or citation for Blacks and Whites. Table 1 shows the number of reports by race.

Table 1. Reports of Stops by Race.

Race	Number	Percent
Black	332	59.29
White	200	35.71
Other ⁷	9	1.61
Unidentified	19	3.39
Total	560	100.00

As a point of reference, the 2010 US census showed Grand Rapids having a racial make-up of 64.6% White and 20.9% African American. Compared to their population numbers throughout the city, therefore, Blacks are over-represented in these data by a factor of 2.8, and Whites are under-represented by a factor of 0.56.

As Table 1 shows, the vast majority of the individuals stopped are listed as either Black or White.⁸ In the analysis below, I omit the 9 cases of individuals of other races and the 19

⁴ The actual total number of individuals stopped for trespassing on commercial business property was 561, but one report contained a record where the person was stopped but no report was filed; this case was ignored. As such, the analysis uses 560 as a starting point.

⁵ There may be other individuals stopped for trespassing and released without an incident report being filed. Such cases are not included here.

⁶ Attached as Exhibit A.

⁷ "Other" includes Hispanic, Native American, and Asian.

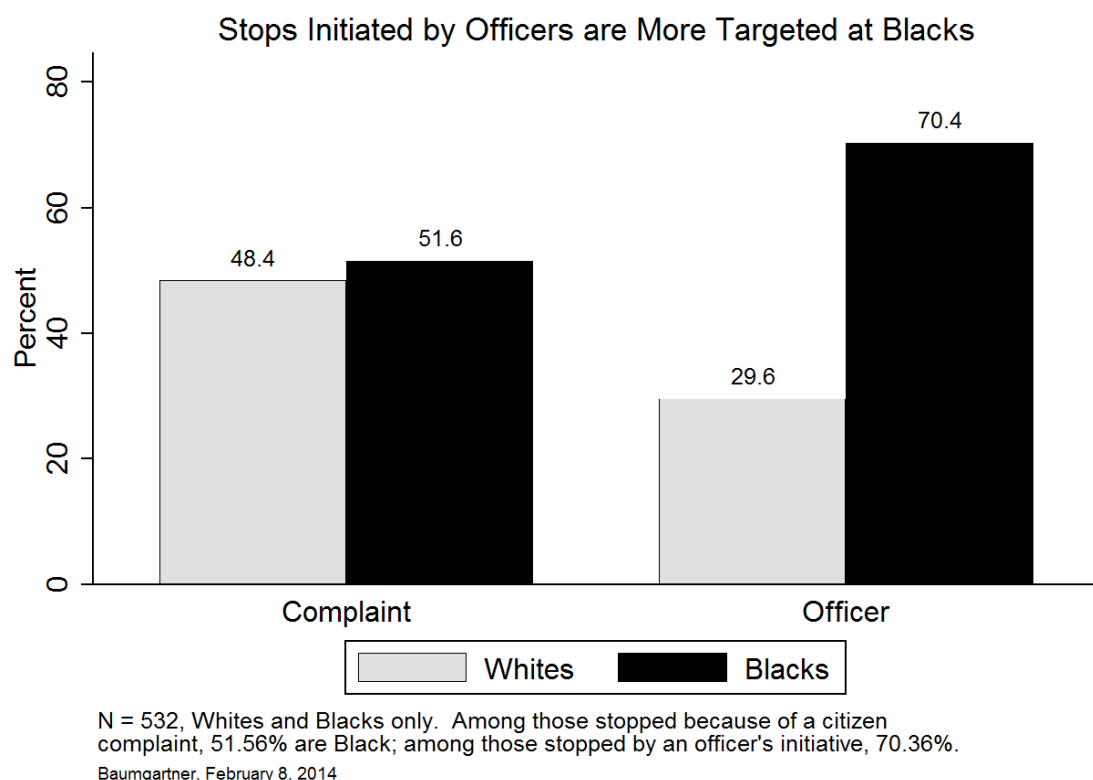
⁸ Given that 2010 Census data shows that 15.6% of Grand Rapids residents are Hispanic, the small number of individuals identified as Hispanic in the dataset likely reflects the fact that Grand Rapids police officers have generally not identified Hispanic individuals as Hispanic on incident reports. It is not possible from the dataset to determine if there are differences in how White-Hispanic and White-Non-Hispanic individuals are treated, although if this were the case, it could result in even greater disparities between White-Non-Hispanic and Black individuals.

individuals whose race was not identified. This leaves 332 Blacks and 200 Whites in the analysis, or 532 total observations.

Officer-initiative. The first item that clearly emerges from a review of racial differences in the data described above is that officer-initiated incidents have a different racial pattern than those incidents that result from a citizen complaint.⁹ Figure 1 shows this relationship. Among the 532 Blacks and Whites stopped, 225 were stopped following a citizen complaint. In this group, 109 Whites and 116 Blacks were included. Figure 1 shows that the percentages by race are nearly equal. Among the 307 incidents that were initiated by a police officer, however, 91, or 29.64%, related to Whites, and 216, or just over 70%, involved Blacks. As the Chi-Square and probability statistics make clear, this relationship has less than a one-in-ten-thousand likelihood of occurring by chance.¹⁰

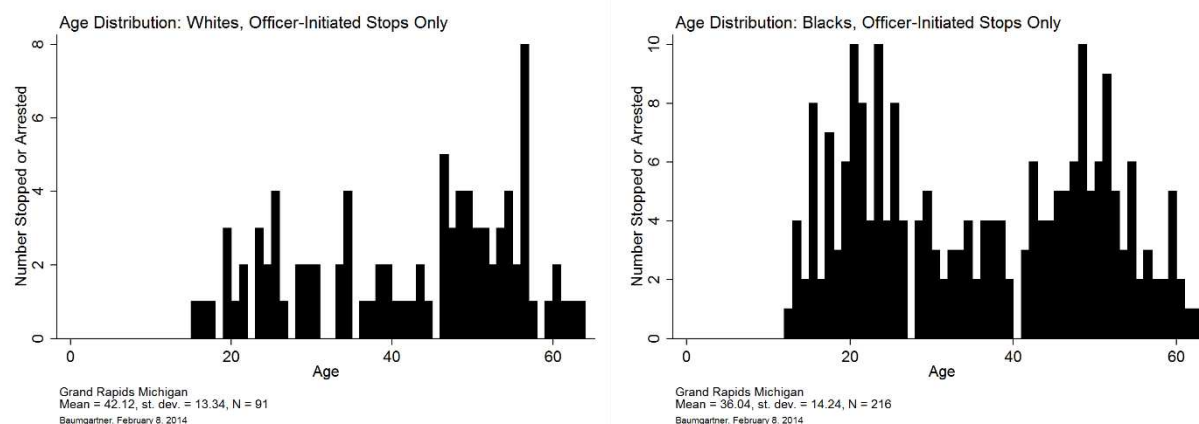
⁹ For purposes of this analysis, officer-initiated incidents are those in which a Grand Rapids police officer detains an individual on suspicion of trespassing on business property, despite having received no communication from the owner or occupant of the business regarding that particular individual.

¹⁰ The chi-square statistic is a standard measure of statistical association. Any value of chi-squared can be associated with a probability value, which shows the likelihood that the observed pattern of difference in the data could have occurred by random chance. Typically, values lower than 0.05 are considered “statistically significant” – which simply means that there is less than a 5% chance that such a difference could have occurred by random chance based on sampling variability. With one degree of freedom, critical values of Chi-square are easy to compute: Chi-sq. of 3.8 or more means less than a 5 percent chance; 6.6, a 1 percent chance; 10.8, one in one-thousand, 12.1, five in 10,000. Very low Chi-Sq. values, for example 0.1, mean that there is a great likelihood that any such difference could have been the result of mere chance.

Figure 1. Officer Initiative v. Citizen Complaint and Race of Person Stopped for Trespassing.

Note for Figure 1: Chi-sq. (1) = 19.57, Prob. = 0.000.

Figure A-2 in the appendix shows that there is a “bi-modal” distribution of ages among those stopped. In other words, from an age perspective, there are two groups of people that tend to be stopped on suspicion of trespassing: relatively young adults and individuals ranging from 45 to 60 years old. This seems to mirror two different dynamics for Whites and Blacks. Figure 2 shows the ages of Whites and Blacks stopped by the initiative of a police officer.

Figure 2. Officer-Initiated Incidents by Age, for Whites and Blacks.

Hence, Figure 2 demonstrates that officer-initiated stops are particularly focused on younger Blacks, while the officer-initiated stops of Whites appear to be unrelated to age. Table 2 makes this comparison clear:

Table 2. Age of Those Stopped, by Race and by Citizen v. Officer Initiative.

Part A. Stops of Whites	Stop Initiated by:				Total	
	Citizen		Officer			
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Under 35	29	26.61	31	34.07	60	30.00
35 or Older	80	73.29	60	65.93	140	70.00
Total	109	100.00	91	100.00	200	100.00

Chi-Sq. (1) = 1.31, Prob. = 0.252.

Part B. Stops of Blacks	Stop Initiated by:				Total	
	Citizen		Officer			
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Under 35	32	27.59	105	48.61	137	41.27
35 or Older	84	72.41	111	51.39	195	58.73
Total	116	100.00	216	100.00	332	100.00

Chi-Sq. (1) = 13.76, Prob. = 0.000.

A careful look at Table 2 shows several things:

1. Among citizen-initiated stops, there is no tendency for the age of those stopped to differ by race. Seventy-three (73) percent of the Whites, and 72 percent of the Blacks who were stopped as a result of officer initiative were over 35 years old.
2. Among Whites stopped, there is no age-related difference with regards to the Citizen- v. Officer-Initiative of the stop. The observed difference between 27% of those stopped following a citizen complaint being under age 35 and 34% of those stopped by the initiative of an officer is not statistically significant, given the number of observations.
3. Among Blacks stopped, however, there is a strong age difference, with Officer-initiated stops more strongly focused on those under age 35 (49%) as compared to those initiated by citizen complaints (28%). A 49%-to-28% difference has less than a one-in-one-thousand likelihood of occurring by chance.

I conclude from this analysis that not only are officer-initiated stops more focused on Blacks as compared to Whites, but the officers appear to be targeting younger Blacks in their enforcement of the Grand Rapids trespassing ordinance.

Likelihood of Contraband or Other Offenses

The data also suggest that officer-initiated stops are more likely to result in the discovery of contraband. Just 11 stops resulting from a citizen complaint, or 4.8%, led to contraband, compared to 59, or 17.9%, of those conducted at the initiative of an officer. This tendency, in fact, was stronger among Whites (difference in percentages: 2.8 to 19.8) as compared to Blacks (7.0 to 18.1). Put another way, Whites stopped as a result of officer initiative were more likely to have contraband in their possession at the time of officer contact.¹¹

Similar results occur when we look at the presence of other offenses. Among stops following from a citizen complaint, 22.6% are associated with an additional offense beyond trespassing, as compared to 36.7% of stops following from an officer's initiative. This is driven almost entirely by the treatment of Whites: while only 11.9% of citizen-initiated stops of Whites involved other offenses, 40.7% of officer-initiated stops of Whites involved other offenses in addition to trespassing. Among Blacks, these numbers were virtually equal: 32.8% of citizen-initiated stops and 35.2% of officer-initiated stops involved other offenses.

This review of officer-initiated stops as compared to those following citizen complaints provides strong statistical evidence that different motivations underlie the two processes. The data suggest that Grand Rapids police officers are focusing their trespass enforcement on young Blacks, on the potential discovery of contraband, and on the potential existence of other offenses in addition to trespassing. The fact that officer-initiated stops of Whites show significantly higher rates of contraband and other offenses as compared to citizen-initiated stops suggests that, for Whites, Grand Rapids police officers may be exercising better judgment in their assessment of White suspects as opposed to Black suspects. For Blacks, however, these differences disappear or are much lower, suggesting that a different logic underlies the process by which Grand Rapids police officers stop Blacks under the trespass ordinance. None of the racial disparities can be explained by simple random chance.

Likelihood of Being Arrested

Table 3 shows that, once the officer determines that trespassing has occurred, Whites have a 50% likelihood of being arrested, rather than receiving a citation and being released.¹² By contrast, Blacks are arrested 63% of the time. Appendix Table A-3 gives the overall rates of the different possible outcomes: 57% arrest, 43 % citation/appearance ticket¹³, and 1% release. I understand the major distinction here to be between being arrested on the one hand, and getting a lesser,

¹¹ All of these differences are significant at the .01 level, suggesting that officer-initiated stops may be driven by a significantly different set of motivations than those following from a citizen complaint.

¹² The term "arrest" here is used to mean that the person was taken into custody and transported to jail. It does not include cases where, for example, an individual was handcuffed, searched incident to arrest, and then ticketed and released.

¹³ As discussed in the declaration of Mr. Granzotto, some officers used the term "appearance ticket" and other the term "citation" in their reports. For purposes of this report, the two terms are used interchangeably.

non-custodial, outcome on the other. Therefore, for simplicity, I compare the outcome of “arrest” to “not arrest,” which includes all the other outcomes.¹⁴

Table 3. Result: Arrest, by Race.

Race	Outcome of the Stop					
					Total	
	Arrest		Not Arrest			
	N	%	N	%	N	%
White	96	48.00	104	52.00	200	100.00
Black	209	62.95	123	37.05	332	100.00
Total	305	57.33	227	42.67	532	100.00

Chi-Sq. (1) = 11.41, Prob. = 0.001.

The likelihood of arrest depends, in part, on whether the stop came from an officer’s initiative or a citizen complaint. Again, the data show that Whites and Blacks encounter different experiences depending on who took the initiative for the stop. Table 4 shows these relationships.

Table 4. Being Arrested, by Race and Initiative.

Part A. Stops of Whites	Outcome:					
	Arrest		Not Arrest		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Citizen Complaint	53	48.62	56	51.38	109	100.00
Officer Initiative	43	47.25	48	52.75	91	100.00
Total	96	48.00	104	52.00	200	100.00

Chi-Sq. (1) = 0.04, Prob. = 0.847.

Part B. Stops of Blacks	Outcome:					
	Arrest		Not Arrest		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Citizen Complaint	91	78.45	25	21.55	116	100.00
Officer Initiative	118	54.63	98	45.37	216	100.00
Total	209	62.95	123	37.05	332	100.00

Chi-Sq. (1) = 18.36, Prob. = 0.000.

Table 4 shows that, for Whites, there is virtually no difference between those stops initiated by a citizen complaint and those by an officer: about 50% result in an arrest, and the marginal differences that are observed could easily be explained by chance.

In Part B of the table, however, it is clear that, for Blacks, the likelihood of arrest is not only greater overall (63.0% as compared to 48.0% for Whites; see Table 3), but that citizen

¹⁴ If I were to omit the nine individuals who were released without the incident report mentioning that an appearance ticket/citation was issued, this would not substantially alter the results, as there are so few such cases.

complaints lead to an arrest in 78.5% of the trespass encounters. Officer-initiated stops of Blacks lead to arrest 54.6 percent of the time. Officers clearly respond differently when the complaint relates to a Black suspect as opposed to a White suspect. This disparity has less than a one-in-one thousand likelihood of occurring by chance alone.

IV. Multiple regression analysis

A multiple regression analysis allows one to compare the impact of various factors, controlling for the simultaneous impact of others. With the data available here, it is possible to model statistically the likelihood that one would be arrested after being stopped on suspicion of trespassing on commercial business property, controlling for other factors that could potentially impact the likelihood of arrest.

Table A-3 in the appendix shows that 57% of those stopped were ultimately arrested, while the others received citations or were released. Tables 3 and 4 also showed that this phenomenon is related to race and citizen- v. officer-initiative. Table 5, in turn, presents a simple logistic regression equation to predict the likelihood of arrest, controlling for other relevant variables.

Table 5. Determinants of Being Arrested After a Stop for Trespassing.

Logistic regression				Number of obs	=	532
				LR chi2(3)	=	108.68
				Prob > chi2	=	0.0000
Log likelihood = -308.67803				Pseudo R2	=	0.1497
Result:Arrest	Odds Ratio	Std. Err.	z	P> z	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Race	2.202431	.4572166	3.80	0.000	1.466209	3.308328
Officer-Init.	.352622	.0751257	-4.89	0.000	.2322533	.5353736
Other Offense	8.019593	2.036171	8.20	0.000	4.875651	13.19083
Constant	.4042238	.1357586	-2.70	0.007	.2092887	.7807247

Note: Dependent variable: 0 = Not Arrested, 1 = Arrested. Race: 0 = White, 1 = Black; Officer-Init.: 0 = Citizen Initiated, 1 = Officer-Initiated; Other Offense: 0 = no other offense, 1 = any other offense listed.

The results in Table 5 can be interpreted with regards to the “odds-ratio,” with the other values indicating the degree of statistical confidence we can have that the results were not due to random variation. The odds-ratios refer to the difference over or under a ratio of 1.00, which would indicate no effect of the variable of interest on the likelihood that the dependent variable (being arrested) would occur. Therefore, in the “Odds Ratio” column, we can see that being Black results in a 120 percent increase (e.g., 2.20 increased odds) in the likelihood of being arrested, controlling for the other variables in the model. The Standard Error associated with that estimate (.46) leads to an estimate of the 95% confidence interval being between 1.46 and 3.31. That is, the data show that the most likely impact of race is a 120 percent increase in the likelihood of being arrested after a trespass stop, and that this estimate has a 95 percent likelihood of being within the range of 46 to 230 percent. And this is controlling for various relevant factors. If race had no impact, the odds-ratio would be 1.00, or close to it, and the 95 percent confidence interval would include values on either side of 1.00. What we see is a very clear and consistent effect, which is always significantly above 1.00.

Though Blacks are more likely to be stopped on suspicion of trespassing on commercial business property, being stopped by a self-initiating officer decreases the likelihood of being arrested by a

substantial degree: the odds ratio of 0.35 means these stops are only 35% as likely as citizen-initiated stops to lead to an arrest. And the 95% confidence intervals around that estimate, .23 to .54, suggest we can be very confident that these stops are strongly and consistently associated with a lower probability of arrest. (These results confirm the overall findings from Table 4: citizen-initiated stops, for both Blacks and Whites, are more likely to lead to arrest.)

Finally, the existence of other offenses is the strongest determinant of whether an arrest will occur following a stop for suspected trespassing. This increases the likelihood of arrest by over 700 percent, which is highly significant statistically.

What do these results mean? The first determinant of whether one will be arrested is whether or not the person has been charged with other offenses in addition to trespassing. As noted above, being the subject of a citizen complaint is also an important determinant. And even controlling for these variables, race has a very substantial impact: with an odds-ratio of 2.202, controlling for other offenses and officer/citizen initiative, being Black in Grand Rapids leads to more than twice the odds of being arrested after being stopped for trespassing on commercial business property.

The similarities among some of the numbers analyzed above suggest that these results are highly robust. First, Table 1 above showed that Blacks account for 59 percent of all trespass incidents, but are only 21 percent of the population. The Odds Ratio is therefore 2.8, which is quite significant statistically. In Table 5, we see a roughly similar ratio of 2.2.

However, in determining robustness, a key statistical question is whether the inclusion or exclusion of any single other variable might cause the estimates (odds-ratios) in the model to change. In an attempt to answer that question, I also ran a series of similar regressions to the one presented in Table 5, including and excluding individual variables in order to test the robustness of the model. Table 6 shows the five models that I ran, incorporating various combinations of other variables, and the resulting odds ratios for the race variable. (I show full results of all these models in the Appendix; see Table A-5.)

Table 6. The Consistent Impact of Race Across Five Models of Arrest.

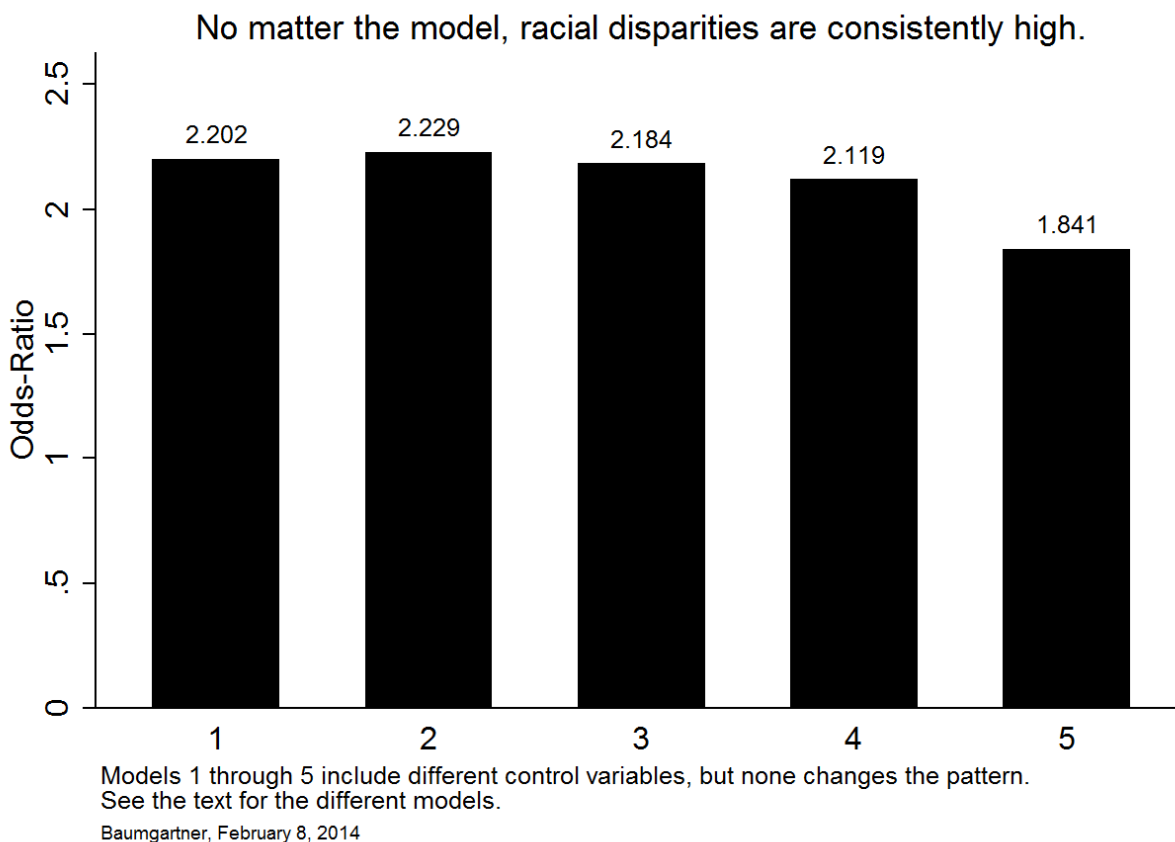
Variables Included	Definition	Model				
		1	2	3	4	5
Race	1 = Black	X	X	X	X	X
Officer-Initiated?	1 = Officer	X	X	X	X	
Other Offense?	1 = Yes	X	X	X		
Contraband Found?	1 = Yes		X	X		
Age	Age in years			X		
Impact of Race Variable (Odds Ratio):		2.202	2.229	2.184	2.119	1.841

Note: Dependent variable: Arrest = 1; Not Arrest = 0. Models 1 through 5 include the variables indicated with an "X." Appendix Table A-6 gives the full results of these models.

As the title of the Table suggests, the models produce remarkably consistent results with respect to the role of race in determining trespass arrest rates in Grand Rapids, irrespective of which other variables are introduced into the analysis. Similarly, Figure 3 shows the estimate for the

odds-ratio for the race variable. The first bar is for Model 1, the model presented in Table 5, and the other models are alternative specifications testing for robustness.

Figure 3. Race Effects in Multiple Specifications of a Logistic Regression Predicting the Likelihood of Being Arrested After a Trespassing Stop.



The results from this test for robust results demonstrate that, *no matter what precise specification is given to a model predicting the likelihood of arrest, race always has a statistically significant impact, and that the substantive impact is consistently between 1.84 and 2.23 increased odds of arrest.* In fact, the simplest model is the last one shown (Model 5), with no controls whatsoever. Typically, if race were a spurious variable, one would expect that adding in legally relevant factors would decrease the impact of a race variable. But it does not. Indeed, adding more controls (finding contraband, simultaneous arrest for outstanding warrants or other offenses, citizen complaint) actually serves to increase the impact of race. This is particularly remarkable when one controls for the single most relevant factor determining arrest: simultaneous arrest for another offense. Other offenses increase the odds of arrest by over 8 times, but the impact of race remains virtually identical whether we include or exclude this variable from the model.

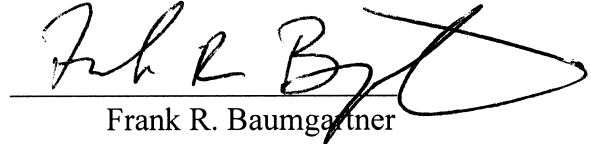
I also compared regression results looking separately at White and Black individuals stopped. These results showed that other offenses were consistently a powerful predictor of being arrested, and revealed no issues suggesting that the results in Tables 5 or 6 were not robust. In other words, these findings remain robust and consistent, even after analyzing the data in multiple ways.

V. Conclusion

Based on these analyses and my review of the statistics associated with them in preparation of this report, I conclude that Blacks and Whites are subjected to substantially different patterns of police action with regards to trespassing on commercial business property in Grand Rapids. These differences are consistent with a pattern of differential treatment of Blacks as compared to Whites, and these racial disparities remain in place even when legally relevant factors are considered.

Pursuant to 28 U.S.C. § 1746, I declare that the above statements are true to the best of my knowledge, information, and belief.

March 5, 2014



Frank R. Baumgartner

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APPENDIX A

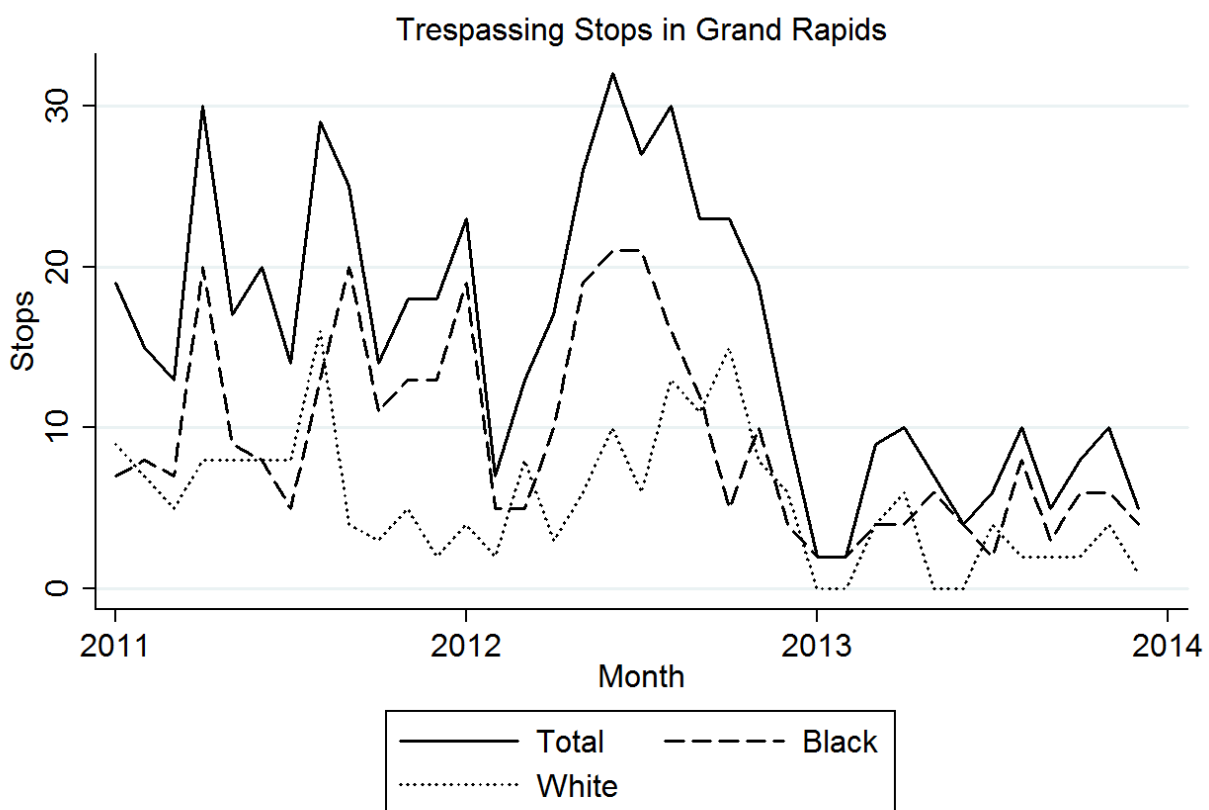
DESCRIPTION OF THE DATA

Appendix A.

Basic Description of the Data

Figure A-1 shows the number of incidents per month. These range from a low of one stop to a high of 32 with an average of 16 incidents per month. The number of Blacks stopped is typically higher than the number of Whites stopped (the average percent Black per month is 62.0) but there is wide variation. Because of the low numbers and resultant high variation by month, I do not focus on any particular time periods in the analysis to follow. It is clear, however, that trespassing stops on commercial business property declined dramatically in 2013. In fact, there were 232 stops in 2011, 250 in 2012, but just 78 in 2013, as Figure 1 shows.

Figure A-1. Trespassing Incidents over Time in Grand Rapids, 2011-2013.



Baumgartner, February 8, 2014

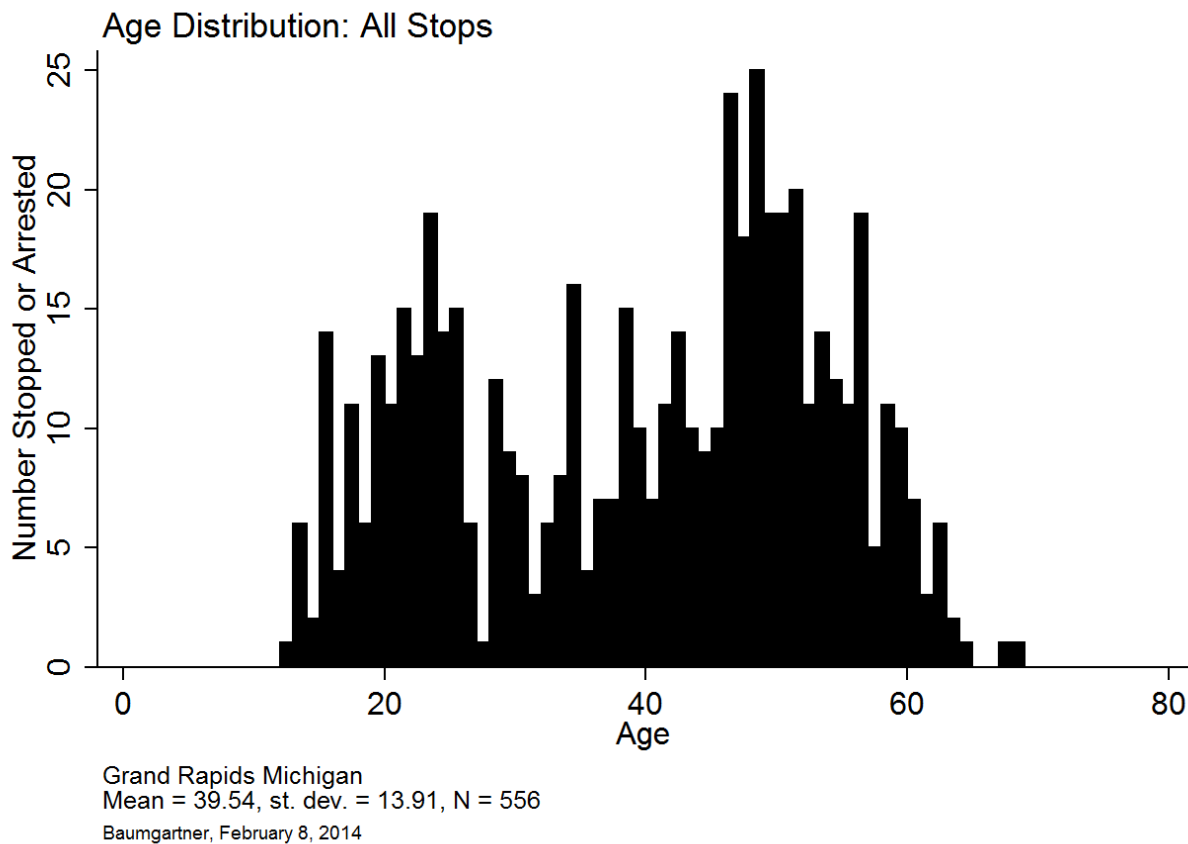
Miscellaneous Findings

There were no systematic patterns in the number of incidents by day of the week; no particular day of the week has fewer than 12, nor more than 17, percent of all the incidents.

Gender differences are also apparent: 482 of the 560 incidents, or 86%, relate to males rather than females.

The average age of those stopped is 39.5. (Birthdates were unavailable for 4 individuals, so only 556 individuals are included in this analysis.) Figure A-2 shows the distribution of ages of those stopped. Note that there appear to be two clusters: younger and older.

Figure A-2. Age of those Stopped for Trespassing on Commercial Business Property.



Tables A-1 through A-4 present the numbers associated with various bits of information included in the database provided to me.

Table A-1. Was Another Offense Charged as well as Trespassing?

Other Offense?	Number	Percent
No	387	69.11
Yes	173	30.89
Total	560	100.00

Note: Other offenses include a wide range of issues including drug possession, curfew violation, resisting arrest, outstanding warrant, and consuming alcohol in public. I have not analyzed these individually as no single category includes a large number of observations. Notably, for the most part, these are offenses that would not necessarily be apparent prior to the stop being made.

Table A-2. Was Contraband Found?

Contraband found?	Number	Percent
No	489	87.48
Yes	70	12.52
Total	559	100.00

Table A-3. What was the Outcome of the Stop?

Outcome	Number	Percent
Arrest	320	57.14
Citation/Appearance Ticket	229	41.04
Released	9	1.61
Total	558	100.00

Table A-4. Was the Trespassing Stop Initiated by a Citizen Complaint, or by an Officer?

Initiated By	Number	Percent
Citizen Complaint	230	41.07
Officer	330	58.93
Total	560	100.00

Table A-5 presents the full logistic regression results for the robustness tests in Table 6 and Figure 3. Note that the odds-ratio for the race variable is the item of interest: Ratios above 1.00 indicate an increased likelihood of being arrested after a stop, given that one is Black. Only Whites and Blacks are included in this analysis. This eliminates 28 individuals of unknown or other races from the analysis.

Table A-5. Complete Logistic Regression Results for Table 6 and Figure 3.**Model 1 (from Table 5).**

Logistic regression	Number of obs	=	532
	LR chi2(3)	=	108.68
	Prob > chi2	=	0.0000
Log likelihood = -308.67803	Pseudo R2	=	0.1497

Arrested	Odds Ratio	Std. Err.	z	P> z	[95% Conf. Interval]	
+						
race3	2.202431	.4572166	3.80	0.000	1.466209	3.308328
init	.352622	.0751257	-4.89	0.000	.2322533	.5353736
OtherOffense2	8.019593	2.036171	8.20	0.000	4.875651	13.19083
_cons	.4042238	.1357586	-2.70	0.007	.2092887	.7807247

Model 2 (includes a variable for "contraband found") (1 = yes)

Logistic regression	Number of obs	=	532
	LR chi2(4)	=	112.93
	Prob > chi2	=	0.0000
Log likelihood = -306.54815	Pseudo R2	=	0.1556

Arrested	Odds Ratio	Std. Err.	z	P> z	[95% Conf. Interval]	
+						
race3	2.229	.465503	3.84	0.000	1.480286	3.356405
init	.3369158	.0720364	-5.09	0.000	.2215771	.5122924
OtherOffense2	6.042817	1.687736	6.44	0.000	3.495441	10.44664
contra	2.359681	1.014993	2.00	0.046	1.015589	5.48263
_cons	.4008914	.1352534	-2.71	0.007	.2069412	.7766165

Model 3 (same as model 2 plus a variable for the age (in years) of the person stopped).

Logistic regression	Number of obs	=	528
	LR chi2(5)	=	112.38
	Prob > chi2	=	0.0000
Log likelihood = -304.30348	Pseudo R2	=	0.1559

Arrested	Odds Ratio	Std. Err.	z	P> z	[95% Conf. Interval]	
+						
race3	2.183636	.4615534	3.69	0.000	1.442987	3.304441
ageinyears	.9893376	.0073679	-1.44	0.150	.9750017	1.003884
init	.3219858	.069872	-5.22	0.000	.2104375	.4926633
OtherOffense2	5.79998	1.625557	6.27	0.000	3.348581	10.04598
contra	2.231834	.966815	1.85	0.064	.9548329	5.216708
_cons	.6677841	.3281646	-0.82	0.411	.2548801	1.74959

Model 4 (baseline model from Table 5, minus "Other Offenses").

Logistic regression	Number of obs	=	532
	LR chi2(2)	=	23.16
	Prob > chi2	=	0.0000
Log likelihood = -351.43383	Pseudo R2	=	0.0319

Arrested	Odds Ratio	Std. Err.	z	P> z	[95% Conf. Interval]	
+						
race3	2.118691	.4014047	3.96	0.000	1.461504	3.071392
init	.5280725	.0995268	-3.39	0.001	.3649775	.7640486
_cons	.5810981	.1807436	-1.75	0.081	.3158591	1.069068

Model 5 (same as model 4, but also drops "officer initiative". This model leaves only the race of the individual, plus the constant term.

Logistic regression	Number of obs	=	532
	LR chi2(1)	=	11.38
	Prob > chi2	=	0.0007
Log likelihood = -357.32767	Pseudo R2	=	0.0157

Arrested	Odds Ratio	Std. Err.	z	P> z	[95% Conf. Interval]	
+						
race3	1.840786	.3341258	3.36	0.001	1.289732	2.627284
_cons	.5014581	.1529595	-2.26	0.024	.2757992	.9117508

APPENDIX B

CURRICULUM VITAE OF FRANK R. BAUMGARTNER

February 27, 2014

FRANK R. BAUMGARTNER

Richard J. Richardson Distinguished Professor of Political Science
 University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill
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EDUCATION

Ph.D., 1986, The University of Michigan. (Fields: Comparative, American, methods.)
Dissertation: “Strategies of Policy Making: Education Policy in France, 1983–1984.”
 Doctoral fieldwork conducted in Paris, France, 1983–84.
 M.A., 1983, The University of Michigan. **Thesis:** “Models of Incumbent Spending in U.S. House Races.”
 B.A., 1980, The University of Michigan. Honors in Political Science, honors in French, high distinction, Phi Beta Kappa, junior year at Université de Provence, Aix-en-Provence, France, 1978–79.
 Diploma, 1976, Cass Technical High School, Detroit, Michigan. Class rank: 3/914.
 Personal: Born, 1958; U.S. citizen; Married in 2011 to Jennifer E. Thompson, co-author of *Picking Cotton*; 3 children
 Languages: American (native); French (fluent).

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE***Full-Time Academic Appointments***

2009– Richard J. Richardson Distinguished Professor of Political Science, UNC Chapel Hill
 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

2006– Chercheur associé (faculty associate), Center for European Studies / Cevipof / Sciences Po, Paris, France; also Professeur invité, Sciences Po (graduate courses in public policy). May–June, 2006–10. Irregular visits since then.
 2011–12 Visiting Professor, University of Barcelona, May–June 2011, January–June 2012
 2000–10 Professor (honorary appointment), University of Aberdeen, Scotland
 2007 Fellow, The Camargo Foundation, Cassis, France, January–May
 2005 Visiting Professor, Cevipof / Sciences Po, Paris, France, March–August
 2004–05 Visiting Fellow, European University Institute, Department of Political and Social Sciences, Florence, Italy, 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
 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

Fields of Teaching and Research Interest

Public policy, agenda-setting, framing, interest groups, lobbying, social movements, budgeting,
 French politics, European Union, research design and measurement, computational social
 science, data distribution, text-as-data, punctuated equilibrium theory, capital
 punishment, race, American politics, comparative politics.

CURRENT RESEARCH

Policy Agendas Project (see www.policyagendas.org)

Continued expansion of the datasets for the US Agendas Project.

Comparative Policy Agendas projects (see <http://www.comparativeagendas.info>)

Projects are underway in Denmark, Belgium, France, Canada, United Kingdom, Scotland, Spain,
 the Netherlands, Italy, Portugal, Switzerland, Hungary, the European Union, Sweden,
 Turkey, Israel, Australia, Hong Kong, and for the State of Pennsylvania. Bryan Jones
 and I collaborate and advise on all these projects.

Capital Punishment Research (see <http://www.unc.edu/~fbaum/Innocence/Innocence.htm>)

Following on the research I conducted for a book published in 2008, I continue to be involved in
 analyses of the death penalty in the US and in North Carolina.

Research Under Review or Near Completion:

- Being revised for submission

Agenda Dynamics in Spain, under contract, Palgrave series in Comparative Political Agendas
 (Laura Chaqués Bonafont, Anna M. Palau, and Frank R. Baumgartner) (manuscript to be
 submitted May 15, 2014)

A Deadly Symbol: Race and Capital Punishment in North Carolina, under contract, University
 of North Carolina Press (Frank R. Baumgartner, Seth Kotch, and Isaac Unah)
 (manuscript to be submitted in early 2015)

State Revenues in a Punctuated Equilibrium Framework (Karl Smith, Derek Epp, and Frank R.
 Baumgartner)

A Theory of Opinion Change. (K. Elizabeth Coggins, James A. Stimson, Mary Layton Atkinson,
 and Frank R. Baumgartner)

Racial Disparities in North Carolina Traffic Stop Outcomes, 2000–2013. (Frank R. Baumgartner
 and Derek Epp)

Population Dynamics and Representation. For edited book reviewing the contributions of David
 Lowery and Virginia Gray to the field of interest group studies; due to editors in
 December 2013.

- Under review

Partners in Advocacy: Lobbyists and Government Officials in the Policy Process. Revise and

- resubmit, *Journal of Politics*, December 31, 2013 (Christine Mahoney and Frank R. Baumgartner)
- Popular Presidents Can Influence Congressional Attention, for a Little While. Revise and resubmit, *Policy Studies Journal*, December 20, 2013 (Shaun Bevan, John Lovett, and Frank R. Baumgartner)
- Business Representation and Business Advantage in Public Policy Debates. Revise and resubmit, *Interest Groups and Advocacy*, November 15, 2013 (Marie Hojnacki, Kathleen M. Marchetti, Frank R. Baumgartner, Jeffrey M. Berry, David C. Kimball, and Beth L. Leech)
- Partisan Priorities and Public Budgeting. Submitted, *Political Research Quarterly*, February 7, 2014. (Derek Epp, John Lovett, and Frank R. Baumgartner)
- The State of the Discipline: Authorship, Research Designs, and Citations in the Scholarship on EU Interest Groups and Lobbying. Revise and resubmit, *Journal of European Public Policy*, February 14, 2014 (Adriana Bunea and Frank R. Baumgartner)

PUBLICATIONS

Authored Books

- The Politics of Information: Problem Definition and the Course of Public Policy in America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, forthcoming, 2014. (Frank R. Baumgartner and Bryan D. Jones)
- 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.
- 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. Boydstun).
- 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, & 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, 2014)

- 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

The Dynamics of Policy Change in Comparative Perspective, special issue of *Comparative Political Studies* 44, 8, August 2011. Frank R. Baumgartner, Bryan D. Jones, Sylvain Brouard, Christoffer Green-Pedersen, and Stefaan Walgrave, editors.

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

- 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, editors.

Articles in Peer-Reviewed Journals

All News is Bad News: Newspaper Coverage of Politics in Spain. Forthcoming, *Political Communication*, 2014. (Frank R. Baumgartner and Laura Chaqués Bonafont).

The Two Worlds of Lobbying: Washington Lobbyists in the Core and on the Periphery. Forthcoming, *Interest Groups and Advocacy*, 2014. (Tim LaPira, Trey Thomas, and Frank R. Baumgartner).

Ideas, Paradigms, and Confusions. Forthcoming, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 2014.

Money, Priorities, and Stalemate: How Lobbying Affects Public Policy. Forthcoming, *Election Law Journal*, 2014. (Frank R. Baumgartner, Jeffrey M. Berry, Marie Hojnacki, David C. Kimball, and Beth L. Leech)

Divided Government, Legislative Productivity, and Policy Change in the US and France. Forthcoming, *Governance*, 2014 (Frank R. Baumgartner, Sylvain Brouard, Emiliano Grossman, Sebastien G. Lazardoux, and Jon Moody)

Measuring the Media Agenda. Forthcoming, *Political Communication*, 2014 (Mary Layton Atkinson, John Lovett, and Frank R. Baumgartner)

Understanding Time-Lags and Measurement Validity in Secondary Data: The *Encyclopedia of Associations Database*. *Social Science Research* 42 (2013): 1750–64. (Shaun Bevan, Frank R. Baumgartner, Erik W. Johnson, and John McCarthy)

Ideas and Policy Change. *Governance* 26, 2 (2013): 239–58.

A Failure to Communicate: Agenda Setting in Media and Policy Studies. *Political Communication* 30, 2 (2013): 175–192. (Michelle Wolfe, Bryan D. Jones, and Frank R. Baumgartner)

Newspaper Attention and Policy Activities in Spain. *Journal of Public Policy* 13, 1 (2013): 1–24. (Laura Chaqués Bonafont and Frank R. Baumgartner)

Framing the Poor: Media Coverage and US Poverty Policy, 1960–2008. *Policy Studies Journal* 41, 1 (2013): 22–53. (Max Rose and Frank R. Baumgartner)

Public Budgeting in the EU Commission: A Test of the Punctuated Equilibrium Thesis. *Politique Européenne* 38 (2012): 70–99. (Frank R. Baumgartner, Martial Foucault and Abel François)

Who Cares About the Lobbying Agenda? *Interest Groups and Advocacy* 1, 1 (2012): 1–21. (David C. Kimball, Frank R. Baumgartner, Jeffrey M. Berry, Marie Hojnacki, Beth L. Leech, and Bryce Summary)

From There to Here: Punctuated Equilibrium to the General Punctuation Thesis to a Theory of

- Government Information Processing. *Policy Studies Journal* 40, 1 (2012): 1–19. (Bryan D. Jones and Frank R. Baumgartner)
- Introduction to special issue on punctuated equilibrium studies of public policy, one of four special issues on the major theoretical approaches to the study of public policy.
- Studying Organizational Advocacy and Influence: Reexamining Interest Group Research. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 2012. (Marie Hojnacki, David C. Kimball, Frank R. Baumgartner, Jeffrey M. Berry, and Beth L. Leech).
- Comparative Studies of Policy Dynamics. *Comparative Political Studies* 44, 8 (August 2011): 947–72. (Frank R. Baumgartner, Bryan D. Jones and John Wilkerson)
- Policy Attention in State and Nation: Is Anyone Listening to the Laboratories of Democracy? *Publius* 41, 2 (2011): 286–310. (David Lowery, Virginia Gray and Frank R. Baumgartner)
- Replacing Members with Managers? Mutualism Among Membership and Non-Membership Advocacy Organizations in the U.S. *American Journal of Sociology* 116, 4 (January 2011): 1284–1337. (Edward T. Walker, John D. McCarthy, and Frank R. Baumgartner)
- Congressional and Presidential Effects on the Demand for Lobbying. *Political Research Quarterly* 64, 1 (March) 2011: 3–16. (Frank R. Baumgartner, Heather A. Larsen, Beth L. Leech, and Paul Rutledge)
- Measuring the Size and Scope of the EU Interest Group Population. *European Union Politics* 11, 3 (September) 2010: 463–76. (Arndt Wonka, Frank R. Baumgartner, Christine Mahoney, and Joost Berkhout)
- A General Empirical Law for Public Budgets: A Comparative Analysis. *American Journal of Political Science* 53, 4 (October 2009): 855–73. (Bryan D. Jones, Frank R. Baumgartner, Christian Breunig, Christopher Wlezien, Stuart Soroka, Martial Foucault, Abel François, Christoffer Green-Pedersen, Peter John, Chris Koski, Peter B. Mortensen, Frédéric Varone, and Stefaan Walgrave)
- Punctuated Equilibrium in Comparative Perspective. *American Journal of Political Science*, 53, 3, (July 2009): 602–19. (Frank R. Baumgartner, Christian Breunig, Christoffer Green-Pedersen, Bryan D. Jones, Peter B. Mortensen, Michiel Neytemans, and Stefaan Walgrave)
- Agenda-setting Dynamics in France: Revisiting the “Partisan Hypothesis.” *French Politics*, 7, 2 (2009): 57–95. (Frank R. Baumgartner, Emiliano Grossman and Sylvain Brouard)
- Federal Policy Activity and the Mobilization of State Lobbying Organizations. *Political Research Quarterly* 62, 3 (September 2009): 552–67. (Frank R. Baumgartner, Virginia Gray and David Lowery)
- Public Budgeting in the French Fifth Republic: The End of *La République des partis*? *West European Politics* 32, 2 (2009): 401–19. (Frank R. Baumgartner, Martial Foucault and Abel François)
- Le Projet Agendas Comparés : Objectifs et Contenus. *Revue Internationale de Politique Comparée*, 16, 3 (2009): 365–79. (John Wilkerson, Frank R. Baumgartner, Sylvain Brouard, Laura Chaqués Bonafont, Christopher Green-Pedersen, Emiliano Grossman, Bryan D. Jones, Arco Timmermans, and Stefaan Walgrave)
- Comparer les Productions Législatives : Enjeux et Méthodes. *Revue Internationale de Politique Comparée* 16, 3 (2009): 381–404. (Sylvain Brouard, John Wilkerson, Frank R. Baumgartner, Arco Timmermans, Shaun Bevan, Gerard Breeman, Christian Breunig,

- Laura Chaqués Bonafont, Christopher Green-Pedersen, Will Jennings, Peter John, Bryan D. Jones, and David Lowery)
- Converging Perspectives on Interest-Group Research in Europe and America. *West European Politics*, 31, 6 (2008): 1251–71. (Christine Mahoney and Frank R. Baumgartner)
- The Two Faces of Framing: Individual-Level Framing and Collective Issue-Definition in the EU. *European Union Politics* 9, 3 (2008): 435–49. (Frank R. Baumgartner and Christine Mahoney)
- Media Framing of Capital Punishment and Its Impact on Individuals' Cognitive Responses. *Mass Communication and Society* 11, 2 (2008): 115–40. (Frank R. Baumgartner, Suzanna De Boef, Amber E. Boydstun, Frank E. Dardis, and Fuyuan Shen)
- EU Lobbying: A View from the US. *Journal of European Public Policy* 14, 3 (March 2007): 482–88.
- Comparative Studies of Policy Agendas. *Journal of European Public Policy* 13, 7 (September 2006): 955–70. (Frank R. Baumgartner, Christoffer Green-Pedersen and Bryan D. Jones)
- Reprinted in Hupe, Peter, and Michael Hill, eds. 2012. *Public Policy*. London: Sage.
- Punctuated Equilibrium in French Budgeting Processes. *Journal of European Public Policy* 13, 7 (September 2006): 1082–99. (Frank R. Baumgartner, Martial Foucault and Abel François)
- Measuring Association Populations Using the *Encyclopedia of Associations*: Evidence from the Field of Labor Unions. *Social Science Research* 35 (2006): 771–78. (Andrew W. Martin, Frank R. Baumgartner, and John McCarthy)
- A Model of Choice for Public Policy. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 15, 3 (July 2005): 325–51. (Bryan D. Jones and Frank R. Baumgartner)
- Selected for inclusion in special issue reprinting the most outstanding articles for the 20th anniversary issue of *JPART*, 2010.
- Drawing Lobbyists to Washington: Government Activity and Interest-Group Mobilization. *Political Research Quarterly* 58, 1 (March 2005): 19–30. (Beth L. Leech, Frank R. Baumgartner, Timothy La Pira, and Nicholas A. Semanko)
- Representation and Agenda-Setting. *Policy Studies Journal* 32, 1 (January 2004): 1–24. (Bryan D. Jones and Frank R. Baumgartner)
- Issue Niches and Policy Bandwagons: Patterns of Interest Group Involvement in National Politics. *Journal of Politics* 63, 4 (November 2001): 1191–1213. (Frank R. Baumgartner and Beth L. Leech)
- Reprinted in Phil Harris, ed., *Public Affairs Management* (London: Sage Publications, 2013)
- The Evolution of Legislative Jurisdictions. *Journal of Politics* 62, 2 (May 2000): 321–49. (Frank R. Baumgartner, Bryan D. Jones and Michael C. MacLeod)
- Policy Punctuations: US Budget Authority, 1947–95. *Journal of Politics* 60, 1 (February 1998): 1–33. (Bryan D. Jones, Frank R. Baumgartner, and James L. True)
- Does Incrementalism Stem from Political Consensus or Institutional Gridlock? *American Journal of Political Science* 41, 4 (October 1997): 1319–39. (Bryan D. Jones, James L. True, and Frank R. Baumgartner)
- The Multiple Ambiguities of “Counteractive Lobbying.” *American Journal of Political Science* 40, 2 (May 1996): 521–42. (Frank R. Baumgartner and Beth L. Leech) This article is followed by:
- Theory and Evidence for Counteractive Lobbying, a rebuttal by Austen-Smith and

- Wright.
 – Good Theories Deserve Good Data, a rejoinder to Austen-Smith and Wright. (Frank R. Baumgartner and Beth L. Leech)
- Public Interest Groups in France and the United States. *Governance* 9 (1996): 1–22.
- From Setting a National Agenda on Health Care to Making Decisions in Congress. *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law* 20 (1995): 437–45. (Frank R. Baumgartner and Jeffery C. Talbert)
- Nonlegislative Hearings and Policy Change in Congress. *American Journal of Political Science* 39, 2 (May 1995): 383–406. (Jeffery C. Talbert, Bryan D. Jones, and Frank R. Baumgartner)
- reprinted in Steven S. Smith, Jason M. Roberts, and Ryan J. Vander Wielen, eds. *The American Congress Reader Pack*, various editions, Cambridge University Press, 2011 and previous years.
- The Politics of Protest and Mass Mobilization in France. *French Politics and Society* 12 (1994): 84–96.
- The Destruction of Issue Monopolies in Congress. *American Political Science Review* 87, 3 (September 1993): 673–87. (Bryan D. Jones, Frank R. Baumgartner, and Jeffery C. Talbert)
- Agenda Dynamics and Policy Subsystems. *Journal of Politics* 53, 4 (November 1991): 1044–74. (Frank R. Baumgartner and Bryan D. Jones)
- Measurement Validity and the Continuity of Results in Survey Research. *American Journal of Political Science* 34, 3 (August 1990): 662–70. (Frank R. Baumgartner and Jack L. Walker)
- (In response to: Trends in Voluntary Group Membership: Comments on Baumgartner and Walker, by Tom W. Smith. *American Journal of Political Science* 34, 3 (August 1990): 646–61.)
- Independent and Politicized Policy Communities: Education and Nuclear Energy in France and the United States. *Governance* 2 (1989): 42–66.
- Afterword on Policy Communities: A Framework for Comparative Research. *Governance* 2 (1989): 86–95. (John Creighton Campbell, with Mark A. Baskin, Frank R. Baumgartner, and Nina P. Halpern)
- Educational Policy Making and the Interest Group Structure in France and the United States. *Comparative Politics* 21, 3 (April 1989): 273–88. (Frank R. Baumgartner and Jack L. Walker)
- Survey Research and Membership in Voluntary Associations. *American Journal of Political Science* 32, 4 (November 1988): 908–28. (Frank R. Baumgartner and Jack L. Walker)
- Parliament's Capacity to Expand Political Controversy in France. *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 12 (1987): 33–54.
 (Reprinted in: *The International Library of Politics and Comparative Government: France*. Ed. David Bell. Hampshire, U.K.: Dartmouth Publishing, 1994.)
- Preemptive and Reactive Spending in U.S. House Races. *Political Behavior* 8 (1986): 3–20. (Edie N. Goldenberg, Michael W. Traugott and Frank R. Baumgartner)
- 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.

Book Chapters

Punctuated Equilibrium Theory: Explaining Stability and Change in Public Policy. In

- Christopher M. Weible and Paul A. Sabatier, eds., *Theories of the Policy Process* 3rd ed. Boulder: Westview Press, 2014 (Frank R. Baumgartner, Bryan D. Jones, and Peter B. Mortensen)
- Public Policy Responses to Wrongful Convictions. Forthcoming in *Examining Wrongful Convictions: Stepping Back, Moving Forward*, edited by James Acker et al., Carolina Academic Publishing, 2014. (Frank R. Baumgartner, Sandra D. Westervelt, and Kimberly J. Cook)
- Lessons from the “Lobbying and Policy Change” Project. In Layna Mosley, ed., *Interview Research in Political Science*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. 2013. (Beth L. Leech, Frank R. Baumgartner, Jeffrey M. Berry, Marie Hojnacki, and David C. Kimball)
- Tracking Interest-Group Populations in the US and UK. In Darren Halpin and Grant Jordan, eds., *The Scale of Interest Organization in Democratic Politics*. London: Palgrave. 2012. (Grant Jordan, Frank R. Baumgartner, John McCarthy, Shaun Bevan, and Jamie Greenan)
- Politics in France: Participation versus Control. In W. Phillips Shively and Paulette Kurzer, eds., *Comparative Governance*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 2012. (Previously published as “France: The Fifth Republic at Fifty” in 2008 and as “Politics in France: Democracy and Efficiency” in 2005, 2000, 1997, 1995.)
- Incrémentalisme et ponctuations budgétaires : Analyse comparée de quatre niveaux administratifs en France. In Philippe Bezes et Alexandre Siné, eds., *Le politique et le financement des politiques publiques*. Paris: Presses de Sciences Po. 2011. (Frank R. Baumgartner, Martial Foucault, and Abel François)
- Interest Groups and Agendas. In L. Sandy Maisel and Jeffrey M. Berry, eds., *Oxford Handbook of American Political Parties and Interest Groups*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2010, pp. 519–33.
- The Decline of the Death Penalty: How Media Framing Changed Capital Punishment in America. In Brian F. Schaffner and Patrick J. Sellers, eds. *Winning with Words: The Origins and Impact of Framing*. New York: Routledge, 2010, pp. 159–84. (Frank R. Baumgartner, Suzanna Linn and Amber E. Boydstun)
- Patterns of Public Budgeting in the French Fifth Republic: From Hierarchical Control to Multi-Level Governance. In Sylvain Brouard, Andrew Appleton and Amy Mazur, eds., *Beyond Stereotypes: The Fifth Republic at Fifty*. London: Palgrave, 2008. (Frank R. Baumgartner, Martial Foucault and Abel François)
- Punctuated Equilibrium Theory: Explaining Stability and Change in American Policymaking. In Paul Sabatier, ed., *Theories of the Policy Process* 2nd ed. Boulder: Westview Press, 2007, pp. 155–188. (James L. True, Bryan D. Jones, and Frank R. Baumgartner)
- Friction, Resistance, and Breakthroughs. In Liesbet Heyse, Sandra Resodihardjo, Tineke Lantink, and Berber Lettinga, eds. *Reform in Europe: Breaking the Barriers in Government*. Hampshire, England: Ashgate, 2006, pp. 193–200.
- Punctuated Equilibrium Theory and Environmental Policy. In Robert Repetto, ed., *Punctuated Equilibrium and the Dynamics of U.S. Environmental Policy*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006, pp. 24–46.
- Social Movements, the Rise of New Issues, and the Public Agenda. In David S. Meyer, Valerie Jenness, and Helen Ingram, eds., *Routing the Opposition: Social Movements, Public Policy, and Democracy*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005, pp. 65–86. (Frank R. Baumgartner and Christine Mahoney)
- 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)
- Organized Interests and Issue Definition in Policy Debates. In Allan J. Cigler and Burdett A. Loomis, eds., *Interest Group Politics*, 6th ed. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, 2002, pp. 275–92. (Frank R. Baumgartner, Jeffrey M. Berry, Marie Hojnacki, Beth L. Leech, and David C. Kimball)
- Punctuated Equilibrium Theory: Explaining Stability and Change in American Policymaking. In Paul Sabatier, ed., *Theories of the Policy Process*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1999, pp. 97–115. (Bryan D. Jones, James L. True, and Frank R. Baumgartner)
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- Jacques Gerstlé, *La Communication politique*, 2nd ed. (Paris, Armand Colin, 2008), *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, 2011.
- David Hanley, *Party, Society, Government: Republican Democracy in France* (Berghahn Books, 2002). *French Politics, Society, and Culture* 23, 2 (Summer 2005): 150–53.
- Stuart N. Soroka, *Agenda-Setting Dynamics in Canada* (University of British Columbia, 2002). *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 37, 2 (2004): 444.
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Opinion Pieces / Op Eds

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."

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.

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Legal / Death Penalty Work

Affidavit in support of litigants seeking relief under the NC Racial Justice Act to be tried in Forsyth County, NC August 8, 2012.

Amicus brief to the US Supreme court regarding mandatory life without parole sentences for juveniles, January 17, 2012; related Supreme Court Decision is *Miller v. Alabama* No. 10–9646, Decided June 25, 2012. (co-signed with Jefferey Fagan lead author and 44 others)

Member, Task Force on Racial and Ethnic Bias in the Criminal Justice System, North Carolina Advocates for Justice, 2010-2012. Our report (see below) led the Attorney General to create The North Carolina Commission on Racial Disparities in the Criminal Justice System in September 2012. I am not a member of this commission but have consulted with it.

North Carolina Traffic Stop Statistics Analysis. Report to the North Carolina Advocates for Justice, 1 February 2012. (with Derek 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.

Other Publications

Political Agendas. 2014. In James D. Wright, ed. *International Encyclopedia of Social and Behavioral Sciences*. 2nd ed. New York: Elsevier Science.

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
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- “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.
- The following chapters in Clive S. Thomas, ed., *Research Guide to US and International Interest Groups*. Westport, CT: Praeger Press, 2004:
- 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.
- Political Agendas. In Niel J. Smelser and Paul B. Baltes, eds. *International Encyclopedia of Social and Behavioral Sciences: Political Science*. New York: Elsevier Science and Oxford: Pergamon, 2001, pp. 288–90.
- Interest Groups. In Paul Barry Clarke and Joe Foweraker, eds., *Encyclopedia of Democratic Thought*. London and New York: Routledge, 2001, pp. 371–74.
- 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)

CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

- The Mayhem of Wrongful Liberty: Documenting the Crimes of True Perpetrators in Cases of Wrongful Incarceration. Paper to be presented at the Innocence Network Conference, Portland OR, April 11-12 2014. (Frank R. Baumgartner, Amanda Grigg, Rachelle Ramirez, and Kenneth J. Rose)
- The Two Worlds of Lobbying: Washington Lobbyists in the Core and on the Periphery. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, August 29–September 1, 2013. (Tim LaPira, Trey Thomas, and Frank R. Baumgartner).

- Finding the Limits of Partisan Budgeting. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Association Française de Science Politique, Paris, July 9-11, 2013. (Derek Epp, John Lovett, and Frank R. Baumgartner)
- Explaining Punctuations. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Comparative Agendas Project, Antwerp, Belgium, June 27-29, 2013. (Frank R. Baumgartner and Derek A. Epp)
- All News is Bad News: Newspaper Coverage of Politics in Spain. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Council for European Studies, Amsterdam, June 24-26, 2013. (Frank R. Baumgartner and Laura Chaqués Bonafont).
- Contraverting Expectations: New Empirical Evidence on Congressional Lobbying and Public Policy. Paper presented at the SUNY Albany Law School Conference, Under the Influence? Interest Groups, Lobbying, and Campaign Finance, March 8-9, 2013.
- When Is There a Single Media Agenda? Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 12-14, 2012. (John Lovett and Frank R. Baumgartner)
- Searching for Election Effects in US Policymaking and Spending. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 12-14, 2012. (Derek Epp, John Lovett, and Frank R. Baumgartner)
- Who Cares About the Lobbying Agenda? Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Seattle, WA, August 30-September 3, 2011. (David C. Kimball, Frank R. Baumgartner, Jeffrey M. Berry, Marie Hojnacki, Beth L. Leech, and Bryce Summary)
- Developing Policy-Specific Conceptions of Mood: The United States. Paper presented at the Annual Meetings of the Comparative Agendas Project, Catania, Italy, June 23-25, 2011. (Mary Layton Atkinson, Frank R. Baumgartner, K. Elizabeth Coggins, and James A. Stimson)
- Legislative Productivity and Divided Government in the US and France. Paper presented at the Council of European Studies, Barcelona, June 20, 2011. (Frank R. Baumgartner, Sylvain Brouard, Emiliano Grossman, Sebastien G. Lazardoux, and Jon Moody)
- Mood and Agendas: Developing Policy-Specific Conceptions of Mood. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, March 30-April 3, 2011. (Mary Layton Atkinson, Frank R. Baumgartner, Elizabeth Coggins, and James A. Stimson)
- Explaining the Surprising Decline of Capital Punishment in North Carolina. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the National Conference of Black Political Scientists, March 18, 2011, Raleigh, NC. (Frank R. Baumgartner and Isaac Unah)
- Ideas and Policy Change. Paper presented at the *Governance* Symposium on Policy Paradigms and Social Learning Suffolk University, February 11, 2011, Boston.
- Retrospective on 20 years after the publication of Jack L. Walker, Jr.'s *Mobilizing Interest Groups in America*, annual meetings of the Southern Political Science Association, New Orleans, LA, January 8-11, 2011.
- The Decline of Capital Punishment in North Carolina. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the American Society of Criminology, San Francisco, CA, November 17-20, 2010. (Frank R. Baumgartner and Isaac Unah)
- Advocates and Interest Representation in Policy Debates. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, September 1-4,

2010. (Marie Hojnacki, Kathleen Marchetti, Frank R. Baumgartner, Jeffrey M. Berry, David C. Kimball, and Beth L. Leech)
- “Author meets critics” panel on *Lobbying and Policy Change*, annual meetings of the Southern Political Science Association, Atlanta, GA, January 7–10, 2010.
- Taking Advantage of “Crisis.” Paper presented at the workshop on Politics in Times of Crisis, University of Heidelberg, Germany, December 4–5, 2009.
- Dynamic Threshold Modeling of Budget Changes. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Association for the Advancement of Artificial Intelligence, Washington, DC, November 5–7, 2009. (Bryan D. Jones, László Zalányi, Frank R. Baumgartner, and Péter Érdi.)
- Measuring the Size and Scope of the EU Interest Group Population. Paper prepared for the 5th ECPR General Conference, Potsdam, Germany, September 10–12, 2009. (Arndt Wonka, Frank R. Baumgartner, Christine Mahoney, Joost Berkhout.)
- The Structure and Stability of Lobbying Networks in Washington. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 2–5, 2009. (with Timothy M. LaPira and Herschel F. Thomas III)
- Comparing the Topics of Front-Page and Full-Paper Stories in the New York Times. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 2–5, 2009. (with Michelle Wolfe, Amber E. Boydstun)
- “Author meets critics” panel on *The Decline of the Death Penalty*, annual meetings of the Academy for Criminal Justice Sciences, Boston, March 13, 2009.
- Partisanship and Political Attention in France: Agenda Dynamics and Electoral Incentives. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, MA, August 28–31, 2008. (with Sylvain Brouard and Emiliano Grossman)
- Tracing Interest-Group Populations in the US and UK. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, MA, August 28–31, 2008. (with Grant Jordan, John McCarthy, Shaun Bevan, and Jamie Greenan)
- Advocacy Behavior and Conflict Expansion in Policy Debates. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, MA, August 28–31, 2008. (with Marie Hojnacki, Jeffrey M. Berry, David C. Kimball, and Beth L. Leech)
- Policy Attention in State and Nation: Is Anyone Listening to the Laboratories of Democracy? Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, MA, August 28–31, 2008. (with David Lowery and Virginia Gray)
- Legislative Productivity in Comparative Perspective: An Introduction to the Comparative Agendas Project. Paper presented at the ECPR Joint Sessions, Rennes, April 11–16, 2008. (Sylvain Brouard, Frank Baumgartner, John Wilkerson, Gerard Breeman, Christian Breunig, Laura Chaqués Bonafont, Christopher Green-Pedersen, Will Jennings, Peter John, Bryan Jones, David Lowery, Arco Timmermans, and Shaun Bevan)
- The Structure of Washington Lobbying Networks: Mapping the Ties that Bind. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago IL, April 3–6, 2008. (With Timothy M. La Pira and Herschel F. Thomas III)
- The Discovery of Innocence: Americans and the Death Penalty. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the National Conference of Black Political Scientists, Chicago, March 21, 2008.
- Patterns of Public Budgeting in the French Fifth Republic: From Hierarchical Control to Multi-Level Governance. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the American Political

- Science Association, Chicago IL, August 30–September 2, 2007. (with Martial Foucault and Abel François)
- Washington: The Real No-Spin Zone. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the American Political Science Association, Chicago IL, August 30–September 2, 2007. (with Jeff Berry, Marie Hojnacki, Beth Leech, and David Kimball)
- Federal Policy Activity and the Mobilization of State Lobbying Organizations. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the American Political Science Association, Chicago IL, August 30–September 2, 2007. (with Virginia Gray and David Lowery)
- The Discovery of Innocence and the Decline of the Death Penalty. Paper presented at the research conference on issue framing, American University, Washington DC, June 21, 2007. (with Suzanna De Boef, and Amber E. Boydstun)
- Public Budgeting in EU Commission: A Test of the Punctuated Equilibrium Thesis. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the European Union Studies Association, Montreal, Canada, May, 2007. (with Martial Foucault and Abel François)
- Does Money Buy Power? Interest Group Resources and Policy Outcomes. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 12–15, 2007. (with Jeff Berry, Marie Hojnacki, Beth Leech, and David Kimball)
- Congressional Influence on State lobbying Activity. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 12–15, 2007. (with Virginia Gray and David Lowery)
- Goals, Salience, and the Nature of Advocacy. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, August 31–September 3, 2006. (with Jeff Berry, Marie Hojnacki, Beth Leech, and David Kimball)
- Essays on Policy Dynamics. Paper presented at the European Consortium for Political Research, Nicosia, Cyprus, April 25–30, 2006. (with Bryan D. Jones, Heather Larsen-Price, James L. True, and John Wilkerson)
- Punctuated Equilibrium in French Budgeting Processes. Paper presented at the European Consortium for Political Research, Nicosia, Cyprus, April 25–30, 2006. (with Martial Foucault and Abel François)
- The Structure of Policy Conflict. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 20–23, 2006. (with Jeff Berry, Marie Hojnacki, Beth Leech, and David Kimball)
- Framing Capital Punishment: Morality, Constitutionality, and Innocence, 1960–2004. Paper presented in a plenary address by Baumgartner to the annual meeting of the National Coalition to Abolish the Death Penalty, Austin Texas, October 27–30, 2005. (with Suzanna De Boef, Amber E. Boydstun, Frank E. Dardis, and Fuyuan Shen)
- A Model of Choice for Public Policy. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 7–10, 2005. (with Bryan D. Jones)
- The Determinants and Effects of Interest-Group Coalitions. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, September 2–5, 2004. (with Christine Mahoney)
- An Evolutionary Factor Analysis Approach to the Study of Issue-Definition. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 15–18, 2004. (with Suzanna De Boef and Amber E. Boydstun)
- Representation and Agenda-Setting. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the American Political Science Association, August 28–31, 2003. (with Bryan D. Jones) (Nominated,

- best paper, Public Policy Section.)
- The Co-evolution of Groups and Government. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the American Political Science Association, August 28–31, 2003. (with Beth L. Leech and Christine Mahoney)
- Symbols and Advocacy. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 3–6, 2003. (with Marie Hojnacki)
- Gaining Government Allies: Groups, Officials, and Alliance Behavior. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 25–28, 2002. (with Christine Mahoney)
- The Demand Side of Lobbying: Government Attention and the Mobilization of Organized Interests. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 25–28, 2002. (with Beth L. Leech, Timothy La Pira, and Nicholas A. Semanko)
- Policy Macro-Punctuations: How the US Government Budget Evolved. Paper presented at the conference on Budgetary Policy Change: Measures and Models, Nuffield College, Oxford, March 8–9, 2002. (with Bryan D. Jones and James L. True)
- Patterns and Punctuations in the US Budget. Paper presented at the conference on Budgetary Policy Change: Measures and Models, Nuffield College, Oxford, March 8–9, 2002. (with Bryan D. Jones and James L. True)
- Social Movements and the Rise of New Issues. Paper presented at the Conference on Social Movements, Public Policy, and Democracy at the University of California, Irvine, January 11–13, 2002.
- Issue Advocacy and Interest-Group Influence. Paper presented at the First General Conference, European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR 2001), University of Kent at Canterbury, England, September 6–8, 2001. (with Jeffrey M. Berry, Marie Hojnacki, Beth L. Leech, and David C. Kimball)
- Policy Dynamics. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 18–21, 2001. (with Bryan D. Jones)
- Where is the Public in Public Policy? Paper presented at the conference on Political Participation: Building a Research Agenda, Princeton University, October 12–14, 2000. (with Beth L. Leech)
- Advocacy and Policy Argumentation. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, August 30–September 3, 2000. (with Jeffrey M. Berry, Marie Hojnacki, Beth L. Leech, and David C. Kimball)
- Lobbying Alone or in a Crowd: The Distribution of Lobbying in a Sample of Issues. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 27–29, 2000. (with Beth L. Leech)
- The Evolution of American Government, 1947–1999. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the American Political Science Association, Atlanta, GA, September 2–5, 1999. (with Bryan D. Jones)
- Business Advantage in the Washington Lobbying Community: Evidence from the 1996 Lobby Disclosure Reports. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 15–17, 1999. (with Beth L. Leech)
- Trends in the Production of Legislation, 1949–1994. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, August 28–31, 1997. (with Bryan D. Jones, Glen S. Krutz, and Michael C. Rosenstiehl)

- Lobbying with Governmental Allies. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 10–12, 1997. (with Beth L. Leech)
- New Issues and Old Committees: Jurisdictional Change in Congress, 1947–93. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 10–12, 1997. (with Bryan D. Jones and Michael C. Rosenstiehl)
- Normative Perspectives on Interest Groups and Lobbying. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Southern Political Science Association, Atlanta, GA, November 6–8, 1996. (with Nicole Canzoneri)
- Problems in the Study of Lobbying. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, CA, August 29–September 1, 1996. (with Beth L. Leech)
- Shepsle Meets Schattschneider: Conflict Expansion in Congress. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, CA, August 29–September 1, 1996. (with Bryan D. Jones and Michael C. Rosenstiehl)
- Tractability and Triviality in Interest-Group Studies. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 18–20, 1996. (with Beth L. Leech)
- The Shape of Change: Incrementalism and Shifts in Federal Budgeting, 1946–1994. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 18–20, 1996. (with Bryan D. Jones and James L. True)
- Producing Legislation in Congress. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, August 31–September 3, 1995. (with Bryan D. Jones, Jeffery C. Talbert, and Glen Krutz)
- Policy Agendas in the United States since 1945. Poster presented at the annual meetings of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 6–8, 1995. (with Bryan D. Jones, Jeffery C. Talbert, Beth L. Leech, Michael C. Rosenstiehl, and James L. True)
- Committee Jurisdictions in Congress, 1980–1991. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the American Political Science Association, New York, NY, September 1–4, 1994. (with Bryan D. Jones, Michael C. Rosenstiehl, and Ronald Lorenzo)
- Public Interest Lobbies in France and the United States. Paper presented at the meetings of the International Political Science Association, Berlin, Germany, August 21–25, 1994.
- The Legislative Importance of Non-Legislative Hearings. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 14–16, 1994 (with Bryan D. Jones and Jeffery C. Talbert)
- Agendas and Instability in American Politics. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, September 3–6, 1992. (with Bryan D. Jones)
- Congressional Committees and Jurisdictional Dynamics. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 8–11, 1992. (with Bryan D. Jones and Jeffery C. Talbert)
- The Dynamics of Bias. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, August 29–September 1, 1991. (with Bryan D. Jones)
- Attention and Valence in Agenda-Setting. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Southern Political Science Association, Atlanta, GA, November, 1990. (with Jeffery C. Talbert and Bryan D. Jones)
- Towards the Quantitative Study of Agenda-Setting. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the

- American Political Science Association, San Francisco, CA, August 30–September 2, 1990. (with Bryan D. Jones)
- Interest Groups and Agenda-Setting in America. Paper presented at the Conference on Organized Interests and Democracy, Vith Feltrinelli International Colloquium, Cortona, Italy, May, 1990. (with Bryan D. Jones)
- Keeping Nuclear Power Off the Political Agenda in France. Paper presented at the Workshop on the Comparative Political Economy of Science: Scientists and the State, sponsored by the UCLA Center for International Studies and Overseas Programs, Los Angeles, CA, January 12–14, 1990.
- Explaining Variation in Policy Styles in France. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the American Political Science Association, Atlanta, GA, September 1–3, 1989.
- Shifting Images and Venues of a Public Issue: Explaining the Demise of Nuclear Power in the United States. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the American Political Science Association, Atlanta, GA, September 1–3, 1989. (with Bryan D. Jones)
- Image and Agenda in Urban Politics. Paper presented at the Second annual Conference on Public Policy, Department of Public Administration and Policy, State University of New York at Albany, Albany, NY, April, 1989. (with Bryan D. Jones)
- Changing Image and Venue as a Political Strategy. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 14–15, 1989. (with Bryan D. Jones)
- Changing Images and Venues of Nuclear Power in the United States. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 14–15, 1989. (with Bryan D. Jones)
- Creating and Maintaining Consensus over Nuclear Power in France: A Preliminary Report. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, September 1–4, 1988.
- Policy Communities in France: The Strategic Implications of Conflict and Consensus. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, September 3–6, 1987.
- Survey Research and Membership in Voluntary Associations. Paper presented at the National Election Studies Conference on Groups and American Politics, Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, Stanford, CA, January 16–17, 1987. (with Jack L. Walker)
- Education Policy Making and the Interest Group Structure in France and the United States: A Commentary on Pluralism and Corporatism. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, August 28–31, 1986. (with Jack L. Walker)
- A New Question on Group Affiliations in the 1986 NES Pilot Study. Report to the Board of Overseers of the National Election Study, May 20, 1986. (with Jack L. Walker)
- Politicians and Technicians in the Policy Process: Education Policy in France, 1983–1984. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 10–12, 1986.
- French Interest Groups and the Pluralism-Corporatism Debate. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the American Political Science Association, New Orleans, LA, August 29–September 1, 1985.
- Preemptive and Reactive Spending in U.S. House Races. Paper presented at the annual meetings

of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 20–23, 1983. (with Edie N. Goldenberg and Michael W. Traugott)

Chair, discussant, or paper presenter at the following meetings, American Political Science Association, 1985–2014; Midwest Political Science Association, 1983, 1986–87, 1989–2014; European Consortium for Political Research, 2001, 2006, 2008, 2009; 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; American Society of Criminology 2010; comparative policy agendas workshops 2006 (Aarhus), 2007 (Paris), 2008 (Barcelona), 2009 (The Hague), 2010 (Seattle), 2011 (Catania), 2012 (Reims), 2013 (Antwerp).

EXTERNAL GRANTS AND AWARDS

Grants Submitted / Pending

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Grants Funded / Awarded

National Science Foundation, Developing Policy-Specific Measures of Public Opinion, award number SES 1024291. \$157,989 for the period of July 1, 2010 to August 31, 2013. Jim Stimson, PI; Frank R. Baumgartner, Co-PI.

National Science Foundation, Framing Policy Debates in the European Union, proposal 1102978. \$300,000 awarded for the period of August 15, 2011 to July 31, 2013. Christine Mahoney (University of Virginia), PI; Frank R. Baumgartner, Co-PI; Heike Kluever, consultant.

Visiting International Scholar, Catalonia Ministry of Education and Research, funding for eight month visit to the University of Barcelona, December 2011–July 2012 (with Laura Chaqués Bonafont, University of Barcelona)

Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences (CASBS), Stanford University. Expenses for a dozen scholars from the social sciences, computer science, government, and industry to travel to Stanford and attend a one-week workshop: *Tracking, Transcribing, and Tagging Government: Building Digital Records for Computational Social Science*, June 21–25, 2010. Frank R. Baumgartner and James T. Hamilton (Duke University), PIs

Agence nationale de la recherche (ANR) (France), Les médias, les partis et les agendas politiques de la 5^e République. Emiliano Grossman, Frank Baumgartner, Sylvain Brouard, Manlio Cinalli, Abel François, Martial Foucault, Pierre Lascoumes, Nicolas Sauger. Project funded in October 2008.

European Science Foundation (European Union), “The Politics of Attention: West European Politics in Times of Change.” Proposal with subprojects in Denmark, Netherlands, United Kingdom, Italy, Switzerland, Belgium, and Spain, with Christoffer Green-Pedersen and others. Submitted April 2007. Projects have been funded starting in 2008 for Denmark, Spain, United Kingdom, Switzerland, the Netherlands, and Belgium.

National Science Foundation, “New Computer Science Applications in Automated Text Identification and Classification for the Social Sciences.” Grant # SES 0719703,

\$55,722, September 1, 2007 to August 31, 2008. Principal investigator, with John McCarthy.

Camargo Foundation Residential Fellowship for Spring 2007. This covers the period of January to May 2007. The Foundation maintains a residence for scholars in Cassis, France.

National Science Foundation, "Nanotechnology and Science Federalism." Grant # NER 0608986, \$85,000, August 1, 2006 to July 31, 2007. Co-PI. Paul Hallacher (Penn State) is PI. Additional Co-PI's are Roger Geiger, Henry Foley, and Creso Sa.

National Science Foundation dissertation award for Amber Boydstun, "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

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: http://apsapolicysection.org/vol11_2/shoup4.htm.

Aaron Wildavsky Award from the Public Policy Section of the American Political Science Association for *Agendas and Instability in American Politics*. The Wildavsky Award recognizes work of lasting impact on the field of public policy. September 2001. See *Policy Currents* 11 (2), Summer 2001: http://apsapolicysection.org/vol11_2/wildavsky.htm.

Phi Beta Kappa, The University of Michigan, 1980.

INTERNAL GRANTS, AWARDS, AND SCHOLARSHIPS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

DOCTORAL STUDENTS ADVISED AND ACADEMIC / POLICY PLACEMENTS

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

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

Shalini Vallabhan* (Texas A&M, 1995; Cancer / anti- tobacco advocate, New Dehli India)

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

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

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

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

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

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

Glen Krutz*** (Texas A&M, 1999; Oklahoma, tenured)

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; Virginia Tech, tenured)

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

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

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

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; post-doc MZES, University of Mannheim 2012–17)

Jiso Yoon* (Penn State, 2011; University of Kansas)

Isabelle Guinaudeau** (Sciences Po Bordeaux, 2011; Sciences Po Grenoble)

Cecilia Cannon** (Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Geneva, 2012)
 Jon Moody* (Penn State 2013; post-doc, University of British Columbia, 2013–15)
 Mary Layton Atkinson* (UNC 2013; UNC-Charlotte)
 C. Elizabeth Coggins** (UNC 2013; Colorado College)
 Roy Gava** (PhD 2014, University of Geneva; current student)
 Simon Persico** (PhD expected 2014, Sciences Po Paris; current student)
 Camilla Jensen** (PhD expected 2014, Aarhus University, Denmark; current student)
 Ehud Segal** (ABD, Hebrew University, Israel; current student)
 John Lovett* (ABD UNC; current student)
 Derek Epp* (ABD UNC; current student)
 Trey Thomas** (ABD, University of Texas; current student)
 Tinette Schnatterer** (Sciences Po, Bordeaux; current student)
 Greg Wolf** (ABD UNC; current student)
 Nick Howard** (ABD UNC; current student)
 Charles Seguin** (ABD UNC, Sociology; current student)
 Tyler Hughes** (ABD, University of Oklahoma; current student)
 Melinda White** (UNC, current student)
 Josh Jansa* (UNC, current student)
 Neil Weinberg** (UNC, current student)
 Kelsey Shoub* (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

INVITED TALKS AND CONFERENCES

University of Houston, September, 2014
 American University, Washington DC, March 17, 2014
 University of California, Irvine, January 30, 2014
 University of Geneva, January 27, 2014
 University of Michigan, September 13, 2013
 University of Malta, May 21, 2013
 University of Pennsylvania, March 21, 2013
 SUNY at Buffalo, March 8-9, 2013
 University of South Carolina, March 1, 2013
 University Institute of Lisbon, Portugal, February 6, 2013
 University of Maryland, November 30, 2012
 Appalachian State University, November 6, 2012
 University of Geneva, September 5, 2012
 UNC Conference on Policy Change in Complex Urban Systems, Keynote, March 31, 2012
 Georgetown University, March 26, 2012
 Oxford University, All Souls College, March 8, 2012
 Aarhus University, Denmark, January 26, 2012
 Sciences Po Bordeaux, December 1, 2011
 UNC-Charlotte, November 10, 2011

Santa Fe Institute, August 2011
 University of Florida, July 14, 2011
 SUNY Albany, April 24, 2011
 University of Michigan, 100th anniversary of the political science department, April 7, 2011
 UCLA, February 27, 2011
 Washington State University, February 25, 2011
 Suffolk University School of Law, Symposium on Peter Hall's work on policy change, February 11, 2011
 Trinity College, Dublin, December 13, 2010
 Johns Hopkins University, November 4, 2010
 National Press Club, Washington DC, panel discussion / debate on *Lobbying and Policy Change*, September 16, 2010
 Hewlett Foundation, San Francisco, symposium on public advocacy, July 2, 2010
 Stanford University, CASBS workshop on digital government records, June 21–25, 2010
 Sciences Po, Paris, May 19, 2010
 University of Milan, Italy, May 12, 2010
 Institut National de l'Audiovisuel, Paris France, May 3, 2010
 University of Laval, Quebec, April 16, 2010
 Northwestern University conference on "Text as Data," March 11–12, 2010
 Kalamazoo College workshop on complexity in the social sciences, March 5, 2010
 University of North Carolina, Charlotte, February 18, 2010
 University of Heidelberg, conference on "Politics in Times of Crisis," December 3–4, 2009
 Witness to Innocence (Death penalty advocacy group), Philadelphia, PA, October 23–24, 2009
 University of North Carolina, Department of Public Policy, October 2, 2009
 University of Leiden, Den Haag campus, June 16, 2009
 University of Mannheim, Germany, MZES, June 8, 2009
 University of Lausanne, Switzerland, May 18, 2009
 University of Geneva, Switzerland, May 18, 2009
 University of Manchester, England, May 15, 2009
 University of Leiden, Netherlands, May 8, 2009
 Northwestern University, NICO (complexity series), April 1, 2009
 University of Michigan, RWJ Health Policy Scholars Program, March 3, 2009
 University of Southern California, February 18, 2009
 National Coalition to Abolish the Death Penalty, Harrisburg PA, January 23–24, 2009
 Sciences Po, Paris, Roundtable on US Elections, January 19, 2009
 Sciences Po, Paris, Social Movement Effects on Public Policy, January 5, 2009
 Hebrew University of Jerusalem and IDC, Herzliya, Israel, December 14–21, 2008
 SPIRIT / Sciences Po, Bordeaux, France, November 28, 2008
 University of Nebraska, Lincoln, November 7, 2008
 University of Antwerp, October 29, 2008
 Wageningen University, NL, keynote speaker, Agriculture in Transition, October 28, 2008
 University of Antwerp, workshop on US-EU lobbying, October 23–24, 2008
 University of Washington, Seattle, American Politics series, October 10, 2008
 Cevipof / Sciences Po, Paris, France, Groupe Argent et Politique, June 23, 2008
 SPIRIT / Sciences Po, Bordeaux, France, June 9, 2008
 Cevipof / Sciences Po, Paris, France, "Pôle Action Publique" series, May 14, 2008

Syracuse University workshop on US-EU lobbying studies, April 24–25, 2008
Yale University, April 15, 2008
Wayne State University, Detroit, March 20, 2008
CONNEX workshop on lobbying, University of Mannheim, Germany, March 6–8, 2008
University of North Carolina, February 15, 2008
University of Washington, Seattle, November 2, 2007
Harvard University, Graduate School of Education, Askwith Education Forum, October 4, 2007
University of Antwerp, September 20–21, 2007
University of Aberdeen, July 1, 2007
University of Barcelona, June 14, 2007
University of Aarhus, Denmark, June 8, 2007
Netherlands Institute of Government, The Hague, keynote speech, May 23, 2007
University of Geneva, May 7, 2007
Oxford University, March 6, 2007
World Congress Against the Death Penalty, Paris France, February 1–3, 2007
University of Newcastle, January 25–26, 2007
Université de Montréal, November 18, 2006
Public Policy Institute of California, San Francisco, October 27, 2006
University of Newcastle, England, May 3–4, 2006
UCLA Law School, Conference on Capital Punishment, April 8, 2006
University of Manchester, England, March 17, 2006
Mount St. Mary's University, Maryland, February 23, 2006
University of Wisconsin, Madison, February 10, 2006
Indiana University, January 27, 2006
University College, London, England, School of Public Policy, Distinguished Visiting Speaker, January 16–20, 2006
National Coalition to Abolish the Death Penalty, Austin Texas, October 28, 2005
Yale University, Aspen Conference on Climate Change, October 6–8, 2005
University of Aarhus, Denmark, Workshop on Comparative Agenda-Setting, July 1–2, 2005
University of Aberdeen, Scotland, June 15, 2005
University of Manchester, England, June 14, 2005
Centre de Sociologie des Organisations (CSO–CNRS), Paris, France, June 10, 2005
University of Leiden, Netherlands, Workshop on Reform Miracles, May 27–28, 2005
University of Exeter, England, May 18, 2005
Cevipof / Sciences Po, Paris, France, “Pôle Action Publique” series, May 11, 2005
University of Leiden, Netherlands, Workshop on Interest Groups in the EU, April 14–16, 2005
University of Utrecht, School of Governance, Netherlands, March 17, 2005
University of Antwerp, Belgium, March 15, 2005
University of Mannheim, Germany, Center for European Social Research, January 24, 2005
University of Aarhus, Denmark, January 21, 2005
University of Trento, Italy, January 19, 2005
European University Institute, Florence, Italy, November 22, 2004
University of Aberdeen, Scotland, November 19, 2004
University of Leiden, Netherlands, June 10–12, 2004
University of Aberdeen, Scotland, May 24–June 4, 2004
University of North Carolina, American Politics Research Group, April 2, 2004

University of Pennsylvania, Wharton School, Conference on Management Strategy and the Business Environment, March 26–27, 2004

Harvard University, Conference on The Transformation of American Politics: Policies, Institutions, and Participation, March 5–6, 2004

University of Kentucky, Martin School of Public Policy, January 23, 2004

University of Aberdeen, Scotland, December 15–19, 2003

Rutgers University, November 21, 2003

University of Arizona, Conference on Research Policy as an Agent of Change, October 10–11, 2003

Pennsylvania State University, College of Communications, September 26, 2003

University of British Columbia, Vancouver, Canada, August 18–19, 2003

NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., 24th Annual Capital Punishment Training Conference, Airlie Conference Center, Warrenton, VA, July 17–20, 2003

Yale University, School of Forestry, Conference on Punctuated Equilibrium Models of Environmental Policymaking, June 30, 2003

The Justice Project, Washington DC, May 15, 2003

University of Michigan, Robert Wood Johnson Health Policy Fellows Program, April 10, 2003

Pennsylvania State University, Hazelton Campus, November 7, 2002

University of Michigan, Conference on Social Movements and Organizations, May 10–11, 2002

West Virginia University, April 19, 2002

Nuffield College, Oxford University, England, Conference on Budgetary Policy Change: Measures and Models, March 8–9, 2002

University of California, Irvine, Conference on Social Movements, Public Policy, and Democracy, January 11–13, 2002

University of Chicago, May 21, 2001

University of Kentucky, April 13, 2001

Temple University, March 14, 2001

Columbia University, January 26, 2001

Harvard University, November 3, 2000

Princeton University, Conference on Political Participation: Building a Research Agenda, October 13–14, 2000

University of Aberdeen, Scotland, May 15–19, 2000

University of Pittsburgh and Carnegie Mellon University, April 10, 2000

Pennsylvania State University, Department of French, February 28, 2000

Western Michigan University, Sam Clark Lecturer, March 15–16, 1999

University of California, Santa Barbara, February 12, 1999

University of Aberdeen, Scotland, October 1998

University of Bergen, Norway, October 1998

University of Texas School of Public Health, October 2, 1997

Harvard University Conference on Civic Engagement, September 26–28, 1997

University of Michigan, 5th Annual Jack L. Walker Memorial Conference of Political Affairs: The Politics (or Un-Politics) of the Underclass and Unemployed, March 20, 1992

UCLA Workshop on Comparative Political Economy of Science, January 1990

Feltrinelli Foundation Conference on Organized Interests and Democracy, Cortona, Italy, 1990

PROFESSIONAL SERVICE AND MEMBERSHIP***University / College / Department service at UNC-Chapel Hill:***University

Faculty Council (elected position), 2012–13, 2013–16

- Advisory Committee on Transportation, 2013–16

Summer Common Reading Book Selection Committee, 2013–14

College of Arts and Science

Member, Dean's Task Force on Faculty Diversity, 2010–11

Member, Interdisciplinary Grants Awards Committee, 2013

Department of Political Science

Department Diversity Coordinator, 2011–

Member, Minority Affairs Committee, 2009–2010; Chair, 2010–

Director of Graduate Admissions, 2013–14

Member, salary review committee, 2012

Interim Placement Director, Fall 2012

Member, post-tenure review committees, 2010–13; Chair 2012–13

Member, ad hoc recruitment committees, 2009–14

Member, best MA thesis committee, 2013

Editorial boards

Policy Studies Journal, 2003 –

Journal of European Public Policy, 2004 –

Political Research Quarterly, 2006 –

Journal of Information Technology and Politics, 2006 –

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 –

American Journal of Political Science, 2006–09

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:

- 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 universities: Aberdeen (Scotland), Alabama-Birmingham, Arizona State, Brandeis, California at Los Angeles, California at Riverside, California at San Diego, Chicago, Colorado at Denver, Colorado at Boulder, Dartmouth,

Duke, East Carolina, Georgia, Georgia State, Georgetown, Harvard, Hebrew University of Jerusalem (Israel), Iowa State, Lamar, London School of Economics, Marquette, Maryland, Massachusetts, Memphis, Miami, Michigan, Michigan State, Minnesota, Missouri, New School, Ohio, Ohio State, Oklahoma, Potsdam (Germany), Pittsburgh, Princeton, Purdue, Roosevelt, Rutgers, SUNY-Buffalo, Syracuse, Tel Aviv (Israel), Temple, Texas at Dallas, Virginia, Washington, Wellesley College, 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*; *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*; *Public Administration Review*; *Policy and Politics*; *Public Administration*; *Administration and Society*; *Governance*; *Politics and Governance*; *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*; *Urban Affairs Review*; *Government and Policy*; *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*; *Applied Behavioral Science Review*; *International Review of Administrative Sciences*; *Wetlands*; *Environmental Politics*; *Global Environmental Politics*; *Journal of Environmental Policy and Planning*; *Journal of Contingencies and Crisis Management*; *Women and Politics*; *Milibank Quarterly*; *Journal of International Business Studies*; *Business and Politics*; *International Migration Review*; *Education Evaluation and Policy Analysis*; *Computational and Mathematical Organization Theory*; *Politics*; *The Social Science Journal*; *Social Science Research*; *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*; *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*; *Journal of Global Governance*; *Gouvernement et Action Publique*; *Science*

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,

Social Science and Humanities Research Council (Canada), Irish Research Council for Humanities and Social Sciences, National Science Foundation (Switzerland), Research Grants Council (Hong Kong), 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), MacArthur Foundation, Spencer Foundation, Earhart Foundation, Pew Charitable Trusts

Camargo Foundation, selection review board, 2009–14

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

National Science Foundation:

Cyber-Enabled Discovery and Innovation (CDI) Panel, 2009
 Workshop on Cyberinfrastructure Needs in the Social Sciences, October 22, 2004
 Chair, Committee of Visitors, Political Science Program, 2004
 IGERT Proposal Review Panel, 2003
 IGERT Preproposal Review Panel, 2002
 Political Science Advisory Panel, 2000–02

Outside evaluations:

University of Glasgow, Policy Scotland external advisory board, 2013–
 Political Science Department, University of California, Santa Cruz, January 2008
 Political Science Department, Graduate Programs, Western Michigan University,
 December 2005
 Political Science Department, Maxwell School, 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, Lasswell Award Committee, 2012 (for best dissertation in public policy)
 Member, Nominating Committee, 2004
 Chair, Nominating Committee, 2003
 Chair, EE Schattschneider Award Committee, 2002 (for best dissertation in
 American politics)

Section on Public Policy

Best paper on comparative public policy committee, 2012, 2013
 Short Course on the Comparative Policy Agendas Project, annual meetings,
 August 30, 2011. (with Bryan D. Jones and others)
 President, 2008–09
 President-elect (section organizer), 2007–08 (29 panels)
 Short Course on Teaching Public Policy, workshop on comparative approaches,
 annual meetings, August 27, 2008. (with Kent Weaver)
 Member, selection committee for editor, *Policy Studies Journal*, 2008
 Short Course on the Comparative Policy Agendas Project, annual meetings,

August 30, 2006. (with Bryan D. Jones, John Wilkerson, and others)
 Member, Aaron Wildavsky Award selection committee, 2005–06
 Short Course on the Policy Agendas Project, annual meetings, August 31, 2005.
 (with Bryan D. Jones, John Wilkerson, and others)
 Short Course on the Policy Agendas Project, annual meetings, August 27, 2003.
 (with Bryan D. Jones, John Wilkerson, and others)
 Member, Executive Council, 1997–2000
 Member, Nominating Committee, 2000
 Short Course on Using the Policy Agendas Project in Your Research, annual
 meetings, August 30, 2000 (with Bryan D. Jones)
 Chair, Aaron Wildavsky Award selection committee, 1997–98
Section on Political Organizations and Parties
 Member, Leon Epstein Award committee for best book, 2011
 Member, Selection committee for special issue of *Party Politics*, 2010
 Chair, Samuel Eldersveld Career Achievement Award Committee, 2008
 Chair, 2003–05
 Member, Emerging Scholar Selection Committee, 2002
 Member, Nominating Committee, 1999–2000
Division on Politics and Society in Western Europe
 Program Chair, annual meetings, 1998 (18 panels)
Conference Group on French Politics and Society
 Program organizer, 1993–97 (2 to 4 panels per year)
 Member, Stanley Hoffman Award for the best article on French politics, 2009

Midwest Political Science Association:

Member, Best Poster Award Committee, 2010
 Member, Patrick J. Fett Award Committee, 2008
 Member, Selection Committee for Editorship of the *American Journal of Political Science*, 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, 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

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

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Member, National Election Studies 1997 Pilot Study Planning Committee

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

References available on request

APPENDIX C

DECLARATION OF JOSEPH GRANZOTTO

DECLARATION OF JOSEPH GRANZOTTO
REGARDING DATA CODING OF GRAND RAPIDS POLICE DEPARTMENT
TRESPASS INCIDENT REPORTS

I, Joseph Granzotto, state as follows:

I am a *cum laude* graduate of Kalamazoo College. I currently work as an unpaid Civil Liberties Fellow at the American Civil Liberties Union of Michigan (ACLU). I work out of the Grand Rapids office of the ACLU under the supervision of attorney Miriam Aukerman. I began working at the ACLU in September of 2013.

Source of Data

In October 2013, I was supplied with a CD containing Grand Rapids Police Department (GRPD) incident reports related to trespass arrests. It is my understanding that these reports were produced in response to two discovery requests by the plaintiffs in *Weber, et al. v. City of Grand Rapids, et al.*, 1:13-cv-00469-PLM, asking for “Pdf files (saved to CD) of all GRPD incident reports [for specified dates], which identify as an Offense Description: Trespass, Offense Code: 9.133(1).”

Coding of Data

Ms. Aukerman asked me to track a number of variables that were included in the reports. After reviewing the incident reports, including the officers’ written narratives, I logged the following variables in an Excel spreadsheet:

1. Incident report number
2. Time
3. Date
4. Address
5. Beat Area
6. Type of property, e.g. business, residential, etc.
7. Type of business (if a business), e.g. gas station, store, etc.
8. Trespass letter mentioned: yes/no

If the incident took place on residential property listed in the report, I did not log any further information.

For non-residential properties, I followed two different procedures, depending on whether or not the incident report mentioned a “No Trespass Letter.” If the incident report in question did not mention a No Trespass Letter, I did not log further information. If the incident report did mention a No Trespass Letter, I logged the following additional information:

9. Name of person arrested/cited

10. Race of person arrested/cited
11. Sex of person arrested/cited
12. Year of birth
13. Incident initiated by complaint or by officer?
14. Other offenses charged?
15. Contraband found?
16. End result (i.e. citation, arrest)
17. Reporting and assisting officers involved
18. Complainant listed
19. Victim listed
20. Full incident report description

When I was finished logging information for a full calendar year, I sent the information to plaintiffs' attorneys Jason Williamson and Miriam Aukerman for review.

Example of Coding

The attached incident report for Plaintiff Percy Lyniel Brown serves as a typical example of my coding process.

My first step in compiling the data was to copy the incident report number listed at the top right corner of the incident report and insert it into the spreadsheet. I did the same for the date and time of the incident (listed in the "and/or On" box, next to the "Date/Time – Between" box at the top of the first page of the incident report). The address was taken from the box listed as "Location of Incident," and the beat area from the entries to the right of the address.

To determine the nature of the property in question, I read the incident description itself. In almost all cases, officers either specifically stated in their reports that they had reported to a residence, or listed the name or type of business in question. For example, in Mr. Brown's report, the reporting officer states that Mr. Brown was waiting for a friend who was inside Cheero's. Since Cheero's is a business, I coded this incident as taking place on business property.

I also reviewed the reports for any mention of a No Trespass Letter and recorded in the spreadsheet whether or not one was mentioned. In Mr. Brown's incident report, the reporting officer stated that he "located a trespass letter." If a residential property was listed in the report as having a No Trespass Letter on file, I noted that on the spreadsheet, but did no further analysis on that report since my focus was on commercial businesses.

In the middle of the first page of an incident report, there is a box labeled "Parties Involved." For non-residential properties with a no-trespass letter, I took the name of the person stopped/arrested from that box, as well as the names of the complainant(s) and or victim(s) mentioned. I then included that information in the relevant columns of my spreadsheet.

The incident report contains personal information regarding the parties involved to the right of the person's name. For the person arrested/stopped, I entered information on the person's race, sex, and year of birth. For example, in Mr. Brown's report, the reporting officer had listed his race as "B," his sex as "M," and his year of birth as 1969, so that is what I entered into the spreadsheet.

I relied on the officer's narrative to determine the outcome of the incident, e.g. arrest, citation. For example, although Mr. Brown's status is listed as "arrested" to the left of his name (which appeared to be the case in almost every incident report I reviewed), I disregarded that box. Instead I relied on the reporting officer's narrative, which states that Mr. Brown was given a citation and released. Accordingly, I coded Mr. Brown as having been issued a citation. Some officers used the term citation and some used the term appearance ticket. Initially I listed what was reported, but after discussion with the attorneys I just used the term citation for both.

To determine whether the incident was officer-initiated or complaint-initiated, I again referenced the incident report narrative. In Mr. Brown's incident report, the reporting officer states that "Officer Leonard and I observed Percy sitting in the driver's seat..." There is no mention of any complaint by the business owner or any other person about the fact that Mr. Brown was on the property. Thus, because this description mentions that the officers themselves witnessed the event in question and took subsequent action, the incident was listed as an officer-initiated stop. By contrast, if a report referenced the officers being dispatched to a particular location or responding to a specific request, I listed the incident as complaint-initiated.

To determine whether the defendant was charged with offenses other than trespassing, I referenced two sources. First, I referenced the top left box of the first page, labeled "Offense Descriptions." If another charge was issued, I included that in my column for other offenses. Second, I referred to the narrative to try to determine if other tickets, not listed in the top box, were issued to the individual. I used the same approach to determine whether contraband was discovered as a result of the stop. In Mr. Brown's case, the only offense listed in the "Offense Descriptions" box is "Trespass." There is no mention of any other offenses being charged or any contraband being found. I coded his entry accordingly.

In order to determine which officers were involved in the incident, I copied and pasted information from the box labeled "Original Reporting Officer," listed at the top of the first page, as well as the box labeled "Assisting Officers," near the middle of the first page. For example, in Mr. Brown's case, I entered the names of Officer Andrew Rusticus, who was listed as the Original Reporting Officer, and Officer Anthony Leonard, who was listed as an Assisting Officer.

My final step was to copy and paste the entire incident narrative into the last column of the spreadsheet.

Cleaning of Dataset

I provided this dataset to attorneys Miriam Aukerman and Jason Williamson. It is my understanding that the dataset was cleaned prior to analysis by Dr. Frank Baumgartner. Many of the reports I logged, such as those involving residential properties, etc., were removed from the final dataset prior to analysis. In addition, in cases where one incident report listed several individuals as being stopped/arrested, the data was cleaned so that each individual had his/her own entry.

Pursuant to 28 U.S.C. § 1746, I declare that the above statements are true to the best of my knowledge, information, and belief.

February 26, 2014



Joseph Granzotto



GRAND RAPIDS POLICE DEPARTMENT

INCIDENT REPORT FORM

Inc Number
12-002190

Report Date/Time
01/08/2012 / 01 50 hrs

Date/Time - Between
/

and/or On
01/08/2012 / 01 39 hrs

Original Reporting Officer
Rusticus, Andrew #259

Offense Descriptions	Offense Code	Attempt	PT	WT	BM	TA	PN
1. Trespass	9.133(1)	Local	C				
2.							
3.							
4.							

Location of Incident
Intersection 2510 BURTON ST SE

Beat Area **E4**
Grand Rapids MI

- ☐ Alcohol Related
☐ Drug Use Suspected
☐ Computer Involved

INVESTIGATION DETAILS

Invest. Type	Status	Date Assign	
CITY ATTY	03-Arrest	1/9/2012	1/9/2012
Investigator Assigned	Disposition	Solve	
Blumke, Michael #039		50	
Invest. Supv. Review By			

RELATED INCIDENT NUMBERS / TITLES

Rel. Inc Num. Off Code Offense Title

Assisting Officers

Leonard, Anthony #290

Parties Involved

Subject Status	Last Name, First, Middle	Age	Race	Sex	DOB	Eyes	Hair
Arrested	BROWN, PERCY LYNIEL B/M 2/25/1969	42 to	B	M	02/25/1969	BRO	
819 Hall St Se	MI 49507-1978	Ht 508 to	Wt 260 to	Ask-in Date / Time /			
GRAND RAPIDS							

Positive ID Type	State	ID Number	Phone Type	Phone Number	Additional & Clothing Description
Drivers Lic	MI	B-650-680-564-146	Cell	(616) 634-6736	

Subject Status	Last Name, First, Middle	Age	Race	Sex	DOB	Eyes	Hair
Complainant	LI, ZHEN U/M	to	U	M			
2510 Burton St Se	MI	Ht to	Wt to	Ask-in Date / Time /			
Grand Rapids							

Positive ID Type	State	ID Number	Phone Type	Phone Number	Additional & Clothing Description
			Cell	(616) 635-1555	

Subject Status	Last Name, First, Middle	Age	Race	Sex	DOB	Eyes	Hair
Victim	CHEEROS,	to					
2510 Burton St Se	MI	Ht to	Wt to	Ask-in Date / Time /			
Grand Rapids							

Positive ID Type	State	ID Number	Phone Type	Phone Number	Additional & Clothing Description

Report Date/Time 01/08/2012 / 01 50 hrs	Date/Time Between /	and/or On 01/08/2012 / 01 39 hrs	Inc Number 12-002190

Vehicles Involved									
Veh Status	Color	Veh. Yr	Make	Model	Body	Plate	Tag Yr	State	
Suspect	WHI	1998	CADILLAC		4D	PBR0WN	2012	MI	
Insurance Co.		VIN 1G6KD54Y5WU795139		Additional Description / Notes					

Property Involved

Narrative	Reporting Officer:
Rpt Date / Time: 1/8/2012 / 1:50	Rusticus, Andrew #259

On 01-07-12 at approximately 0139 hours Officer Leonard and I observed Percy sitting in the drivers seat of his white 4-door 1998 Cadillac PBROWN.

Officer Leonard made contact with Percy who stated that he was waiting for a friend who was inside Cheerios. He stated that he had been waiting in his vehicle for approximately 10 minutes.

Percy was advised he was trespassing and was asked out of the vehicle. Percy complied and Officer Leonard completed a search of his person prior to him being placed in the back seat of our police vehicle.

Percy agreed to a consent search of his vehicle.

I located a trespass letter that was signed on 08-25-11 by Zhen Li.

Percy was issued citation # 12Z526281 for trespassing.

Percy was released without further charges and advised he was no longer allowed in the parking lot if he were not a customer at the business.

APPENDIX D

DECLARATION OF KELECHI ADIBE

DECLARATION OF KELECHI EDWARD ADIBE
REGARDING CLEANSING OF DATASET COMPRISED OF INFORMATION
FROM GRAND RAPIDS POLICE DEPARTMENT TRESPASS INCIDENT
REPORTS

I, Kelechi Edward Adibe, state as follows:

I graduated from the University of Michigan with distinction, earning a Bachelor of Arts in Economics (high honors) and Political Science. At the University of Michigan, I took courses in Mathematical Statistics and Econometrics. I also wrote an honors thesis, which required extensive data collection and analysis, for which the Associate Director of the University of Michigan Institute for Social Research served as my adviser. I hold a Juris Doctor degree, *cum laude*, from the University of Michigan Law School. I am a second-year associate at Warner Norcross & Judd LLP, a law firm based in Grand Rapids, Michigan. I am also a cooperating attorney for the American Civil Liberties Union of Michigan (ACLU), assisting in *Weber, et al. v. City of Grand Rapids, et al.*, 1:13-cv-00469-PLM. Additionally, I serve on the ACLU's Lawyers Committee.

Dataset Origination

On October 31, 2013, plaintiffs' attorney Miriam Aukerman sent me three spreadsheets created by ACLU Civil Liberties Fellow Joseph Granzotto, in which he had coded data from numerous Grand Rapids Police Department incident reports received by plaintiffs' counsel during the course of discovery in the *Weber* litigation. Each spreadsheet corresponded to a different year; one was for 2011, one for 2012, and one for 2013. Given my training in statistics, Ms. Aukerman asked that I review and "cleanse" the spreadsheets so that it would be feasible to conduct an automated statistical analysis of the data therein.

Dataset Cleansing

The dataset cleansing consisted of 1) identifying entries with incomplete information or information that required further clarification; 2) removing sections of the spreadsheets that would not be included in the statistical dataset; 3) standardizing the contents of the dataset; and 4) reorganizing the data. I took the following actions with regard to each spreadsheet:

- Removed duplicate incident report entries;
- Removed incident report entries involving residential premises or other non-business premises, such as churches and schools;
- Removed the "Business/Residential" column, since the spreadsheet no longer contained incident reports related to residential premises;
- Removed incident report entries for premises without a trespass letter;
- Removed the "Trespass Letter on File" column, since the spreadsheet no longer contained incident reports for premises without a trespass letter;
- Reorganized the order of the columns of data;

- Separated each multiple-defendant incident report entry into separate entries for each defendant;
- Removed the “Number of Defendants” column, since each defendant now had a separate entry;
- Separated “Trespass Only Offense? If No, what Else?” column into two separate columns, one of which showed whether trespass was the only offense and the other of which showed what other offenses were charged;
- Standardized the data input for the “Other Offenses” variable (e.g., “Marijuana possession also listed” and “Poss/marijuana” were changed to “Marijuana Possession”);
- Standardized the data input for the “End Result variable” (e.g., “Arrest” and “Arrested” were changed to “Arrest;” “Issued citation...,” “Citation issued” and “Driven to house/citation” were all changed to “Citation”);
- Modified entries for the “Contraband Found” column to only reflect whether contraband was found, rather than what was found;
- Revised entries to delete superfluous spaces (e.g., “Business ” was changed to “Business”);
- Re-phrased column titles;
- Highlighted empty fields for reconciliation with the incident reports (which was completed by Mr. Granzotto prior to finalization of the datasets); and
- Resized various font and cell settings to achieve uniformity.

After I completed each of the above steps for all three spreadsheets, I combined them into one master spreadsheet, making each original spreadsheet accessible through a tab in the new spreadsheet.

Delivery of Cleansed Dataset

On November 18, 2013, I sent the cleansed dataset to Ms. Aukerman, Mr. Granzotto, and plaintiffs’ attorney Jason Williamson. It is my understanding that the spreadsheet was then forwarded to Dr. Frank Baumgartner for analysis on November 19, 2013.

Pursuant to 28 U.S.C. § 1746, I declare that the above statements are true to the best of my knowledge, information, and belief.

March 4, 2014



Kelechi Edward Adibe

Exhibit 42

Dr. Frank Baumgartner Supplemental Report

Supplemental Analysis of Trespass Stops in Grand Rapids, Michigan, 2011-2013

Frank R. Baumgartner

August 12, 2014

Executive Summary

In his June 26, 2014 report, entitled “Rebuttal Report to Dr. Baumgartner,” Dr. John Lamberth makes four claims about possible errors in my analysis, and two important other claims. The four issues relating to my analysis are 1) that incidents were omitted from the report; 2) that my analysis mischaracterizes who initiated the contact between officers and citizens; 3) that I misstated the likelihood of Blacks and Whites being found with contraband upon arrest, as well as the likelihood of Blacks and Whites being arrested for trespassing along with other offenses; and 4) that my logistic regressions were done improperly due to a mistake in coding.

Dr. Lamberth also asserts that geographic controls are necessary, and that officers patrolling the same beat for a long time know the individuals they are stopping, and that this would have to be controlled for in any analysis. Further, he suggests that his pilot study validates his criticisms of my report.

Below, I respond to each of Dr. Lamberth’s points and provide further analysis regarding the data I received on trespass arrests in Grand Rapids between 2011 and 2013.

I. Incidents Omitted from Report

Dr. Lamberth notes on page 6 of his report that I omitted a number of incidents from my analysis and that I did not include, as he did, “all incidents that occurred on business property whether they had an open letter of trespass or not.” As a result, Dr. Lamberth asserts that the database he used for his analysis included “more than 200 more incidents” involving businesses with an open trespass letter during the relevant time period.

As an initial matter, while Dr. Lamberth may be correct that his database included more incidents than the one I used for my analysis, I could only work with the data that I was provided. It is my understanding, however, that the data I was provided only included *businesses* with an open trespass letter. It did not include vacant, non-residential buildings or parks and other public spaces, all of which it appears were part of the database created by Dr. Lamberth.

II. Contact Between Officers and Citizens

Dr. Lamberth also questions my classification of incidents as either officer-initiated or citizen-initiated on page 16 of his report. Again, I simply used the data that was provided to me, which had already been separated into categories when I received it. I was not involved in determining which incidents should be considered officer-initiated vs. citizen-initiated. That said, for purposes of my analysis, it seemed reasonable to classify as citizen-initiated those incidents in which a business owner or employee contacted the police to report trespassing by a particular person; and to classify as officer-initiated those incidents in which the police stopped someone

for trespassing in the absence of a complaint from the business owner or employee about trespassing by a particular person.

III. Race and Contraband; Race and Other Offenses

On p. 17 of his report, Dr. Lamberth notes that I misstated the rates at which Whites and Blacks are found with contraband, and the rates at which the two groups were arrested for other offenses in addition to trespassing. Dr. Lamberth is correct on this point; Blacks are found with contraband 14.2 percent of the time as compared to 10.5 for Whites (no significant difference here). Similarly, 34.4 percent of Blacks have other offenses, as compared to 25.0 percent of Whites. I inadvertently reversed these numbers in that section of my report.

Importantly, however, the analysis in my report did not hinge on this distinction. As I noted on page 7 of my report under the heading “Likelihood of Contraband or Other Offenses”:

The data also suggest that officer-initiated stops are more likely to result in the discovery of contraband. Just 11 stops resulting from a citizen complaint, or 4.8%, led to contraband, compared to 59, or 17.9%, of those conducted at the initiative of an officer. This tendency, in fact, was stronger among Whites (difference in percentages: 2.8 to 19.8) as compared to Blacks (7.0 to 18.1). Put another way, Whites stopped as a result of officer initiative were more likely to have contraband in their possession at the time of officer contact.

Similar results occur when we look at the presence of other offenses. Among stops following from a citizen complaint, 22.6% are associated with an additional offense beyond trespassing, as compared to 36.7% of stops following from an officer’s initiative. This is driven almost entirely by the treatment of Whites: while only 11.9% of citizen-initiated stops of Whites involved other offenses, 40.7% of officer-initiated stops of Whites involved other offenses in addition to trespassing. Among Blacks, these numbers were virtually equal: 32.8% of citizen-initiated stops and 35.2% of officer-initiated stops involved other offenses.

Hence, while the overall rates at which Whites and Blacks were found with contraband or had other offenses were accidentally reversed in the Executive Summary of my report, this analysis, looking at differences in citizen-initiated vs. officer-initiated stops, remains accurate.

IV. Logistic Regression Results

Dr. Lamberth also writes on page 17 of his report that “[t]he second apparent error is contained in Table 6. In that Table he defines his variables for the logistic regression and he includes this definition ‘1=Black’. ... I am not sure which variable Dr. Baumgartner used to analyze his data but if it was miscoded, his results are incorrect.” It is true that Table 6 lists 1=Black as the race variable, and Dr. Lamberth is correct that the variable actually has values of 1=White and 2=Black. He is technically right, therefore, that I inadvertently mislabeled the variable in Table 6.

Contrary to Dr. Lamberth’s suggestion, however, the coefficients related to the variables of interest are exactly correct. The constant term in the equation is affected by a coding detail that Dr. Lamberth identifies, but this has no impact whatsoever on how one interprets the coefficients of interest. A logistic regression estimates the probability that a dependent variable takes on a value of either zero or one. The odds-ratios reported indicate the increased likelihood of the outcome (e.g., being arrested) for each unit of movement on any of the independent variables.

It is mathematically equivalent, however, to code the variable 0 / 1 or 1 / 2 (or 17 / 18 for that matter), as the logistic regression also includes a “constant” term, reported in the results, that will be affected by these conventions, but which we do not typically consider to be of analytical interest. What we want to know is by how much the likelihood of change in the dependent variable is affected by each unit of change in the variable of interest. For this we look at the odds-ratio reported for each individual variable, not at the constant term. Whether the variable is coded 0-1, or 1-2, it is still a one-unit change in the variable that we are concerned with.

Below I reproduce the analysis from Table 5 of my original report, along with the calculation of a new re-coded race variable (using the 0-1 rather than the 1-2 convention), and a new version of the Table 5 analysis incorporating the new variable. The new analysis shows that, down to as many decimal places as one cares to look, the results are precisely identical, except for a change in the constant term. As such, the interpretation of the findings remains exactly as it was before.

Original Table 5:

logistic arrested race3 init otheroffense2					Number of obs		=	532
Logistic regression					LR chi2(3)		=	108.68
					Prob > chi2		=	0.0000
Log likelihood = -308.67803					Pseudo R2		=	0.1497

arrested		Odds Ratio	Std. Err.	z	P> z	[95% Conf. Interval]		

race3		2.202431	.4572166	3.80	0.000	1.466209	3.308328	
init		.352622	.0751257	-4.89	0.000	.2322533	.5353736	
otheroffense2		8.019593	2.036171	8.20	0.000	4.875651	13.19083	
_cons		.4042238	.1357586	-2.70	0.007	.2092887	.7807247	

Creation of new variable coded 0 / 1 rather than 1 / 2 for race:

```
. gen black = .
(560 missing values generated)
. recode black (.=0) if race3==1
(black: 200 changes made)
. recode black (.=1) if race3==2
(black: 332 changes made)
. tab black race3
```

black	1	2	Total
0	200	0	200
1	0	332	332
Total	200	332	532

New Table 5 (incorporating new variable):

logistic arrested black init otheroffense2					Number of obs		=	532
Logistic regression					LR chi2(3)		=	108.68

Log likelihood = -308.67803					Prob > chi2	=	0.0000
					Pseudo R2	=	0.1497
-----+-----							
arrested		Odds Ratio	Std. Err.	z	P> z	[95% Conf. Interval]	
-----+-----							
black		2.202431	.4572166	3.80	0.000	1.466209	3.308328
init		.352622	.0751257	-4.89	0.000	.2322533	.5353736
otheroffense2		8.019593	2.036171	8.20	0.000	4.875651	13.19083
_cons		.8902749	.1573654	-0.66	0.511	.629601	1.258876
-----+-----							

This revised Table substitutes “black” for “race3,” but is otherwise identical. Results are also identical except for the constant term (“_cons”). These results are mathematically equivalent, as the only change is to shift the constant term from .404 to .890. Note that all the odds-ratios, including those for the crucial race variable, remain exactly identical. The change in the constant term occurs because in the original analysis, all cases were coded at least 1 on the race variable, while in the new analysis, 1 is subtracted from all cases. Therefore, the constant term gains this mathematical value. This has no impact whatsoever on the interpretation of the substantive coefficients.

Finally, it is worth noting that I re-ran the various logistic regressions reported in Table 6, Figure 3, and in Appendix Table A-5 to my original report. Like those reported above, all the results are identical, with the only difference being the value of the constant term. I include these for reference in the appendix to this supplemental report.

V. Other Lamberth Assertions

Geography. I considered evaluating the trespass stops with respect to geography, as Dr. Lamberth suggests. I determined that I should not do this, however, for two important reasons. First, the number of observations is too low when one looks separately at any large number of neighborhoods or zones within the city. More importantly, the zones are geographically so small that there is little reason to believe that statistics relating to residency would necessarily relate to which businesses are being frequented. Walking or driving a short distance from home could easily put an individual in a zone different from that of their residence. In fact, Dr. Lamberth writes on page 8 of his report that while census tract data “may be a convenient benchmark for these cases it is not an accurate one.” Surprisingly, he then continues by noting that “Figure 1 shows the racial makeup of Grand Rapids by census tract...”

I agree completely with Dr. Lamberth that residential data by neighborhood may have little bearing on the behaviors in which we are interested here. I would recommend that he follow his own recommendations by not using them.

Pilot study. According to his report, Dr. Lamberth monitored three locations and enumerated the individuals present, as well as those “who would draw an officer’s attention for trespassing” and, based on this, suggests that there is “no indication that the Grand Rapids Police Department is targeting Black individuals to Cite/Arrest.”

First, Dr. Lamberth offers no clear definition/criteria for what kind of behaviors observed during the pilot study that “would qualify [citizens] for an accusation of trespassing.” Nor does he provide any support for the validity of such observations.

Second, the decision to monitor certain businesses or areas itself can explain, at least in part, disparities in trespassing arrests. Imagine these patterns:

Zone	Patrolled	Population		Trespassing Behaviors		Arrests	
		White	Black	White	Black	White	Black
1	Yes	10	90	10	90	10	90
2	No	90	10	90	10	0	0
Total		100	100	100	100	10	90

In this hypothetical example, the police decide to patrol the Black area but not the White area. There is no difference in trespassing behaviors by race. However, the arrests occur only in the area which is patrolled. The result is that the arrests are 90/10 Black, even though the behaviors are equal across racial categories. Dr. Lamberth's logic is to suggest that there is no problem, since by "controlling for geography" one takes out of the equation the decision to patrol certain areas more intensely than others.

Evaluation of racial disparities in policing must incorporate that first step—the decision to devote police resources to certain areas more than others—not eliminate it from the analysis.

Officer knowledge of individuals cited for trespass. On page 16 of his report, Dr. Lamberth writes that "GRPD informs me that an important component of whether an officer will arrest or cite a trespasser is the officer's knowledge of the individuals in his beat." He goes on to acknowledge that "[t]his, of course, is a variable that is rarely indicated in the Trespass incident report and is probably unknowable without inquiring of the officer." Oddly, since the variable is unknowable, he then writes: "Therefore the outcome variable arrest that Dr. Baumgartner utilizes has an important component to it that is ignored in his analysis."

There are two key points to consider here. First, it is impossible to incorporate into my analysis a variable which does not exist. Second and more importantly, the officer is likely the only actor in the system who would be able to indicate whether he had knowledge of the individual. In a post-hoc analysis, it is simply too easy for an officer faced with racially disparate outcomes to suggest that a new, unverifiable variable can explain away the disparities. Whether it be "previous knowledge," the "glint in the suspect's eye," or "officer intuition," such an approach would have the effect of validating virtually any behavior by the officer.

Appendix: Computer output showing equivalence of models from my original Table A-5 and the revised tables with Race coded 0/1 rather than 1/2. As in the analysis shown above, these changes affect only the constant term and leave all the other coefficients precisely identical to what was presented originally.

***First, the original set of equations, from above, main equation and Table A-5 robustness checks**
`. logistic arrested race3 init otheroffense2`

Logistic regression	Number of obs	=	532
	LR chi2(3)	=	108.68
	Prob > chi2	=	0.0000
Log likelihood = -308.67803	Pseudo R2	=	0.1497

	arrested	Odds Ratio	Std. Err.	z	P> z	[95% Conf. Interval]
race3		2.202431	.4572166	3.80	0.000	1.466209 3.308328
init		.352622	.0751257	-4.89	0.000	.2322533 .5353736
otheroffense2		8.019593	2.036171	8.20	0.000	4.875651 13.19083
_cons		.4042238	.1357586	-2.70	0.007	.2092887 .7807247

`. logistic arrested race3 init otheroffense2 contra`

Logistic regression	Number of obs	=	532
	LR chi2(4)	=	112.93
	Prob > chi2	=	0.0000
Log likelihood = -306.54815	Pseudo R2	=	0.1556

	arrested	Odds Ratio	Std. Err.	z	P> z	[95% Conf. Interval]
race3		2.229	.465503	3.84	0.000	1.480286 3.356405
init		.3369158	.0720364	-5.09	0.000	.2215771 .5122924
otheroffense2		6.042817	1.687736	6.44	0.000	3.495441 10.44664
contra		2.359681	1.014993	2.00	0.046	1.015589 5.48263
_cons		.4008914	.1352534	-2.71	0.007	.2069412 .7766165

`. logistic arrested race3 ageinyears init otheroffense2 contra`

Logistic regression	Number of obs	=	528
	LR chi2(5)	=	112.38
	Prob > chi2	=	0.0000
Log likelihood = -304.30348	Pseudo R2	=	0.1559

	arrested	Odds Ratio	Std. Err.	z	P> z	[95% Conf. Interval]
race3		2.183636	.4615534	3.69	0.000	1.442987 3.304441
ageinyears		.9893376	.0073679	-1.44	0.150	.9750017 1.003884
init		.3219858	.069872	-5.22	0.000	.2104375 .4926633
otheroffense2		5.79998	1.625557	6.27	0.000	3.348581 10.04598
contra		2.231834	.966815	1.85	0.064	.9548329 5.216708
_cons		.6677841	.3281646	-0.82	0.411	.2548801 1.74959

`. logistic arrested race3 init`

Logistic regression	Number of obs	=	532
	LR chi2(2)	=	23.16
	Prob > chi2	=	0.0000
Log likelihood = -351.43383	Pseudo R2	=	0.0319

	arrested	Odds Ratio	Std. Err.	z	P> z	[95% Conf. Interval]
arrested						

race3	2.118691	.4014047	3.96	0.000	1.461504	3.071392
init	.5280725	.0995268	-3.39	0.001	.3649775	.7640486
_cons	.5810981	.1807436	-1.75	0.081	.3158591	1.069068

. logistic arrested race3

Logistic regression	Number of obs	=	532
	LR chi2(1)	=	11.38
	Prob > chi2	=	0.0007
Log likelihood = -357.32767	Pseudo R2	=	0.0157

arrested	Odds Ratio	Std. Err.	z	P> z	[95% Conf. Interval]
-----+-----					
race3	1.840786	.3341258	3.36	0.001	1.289732 2.627284
_cons	.5014581	.1529595	-2.26	0.024	.2757992 .9117508

***Second, using "black" rather than "race3"**

```
. gen black = .
(560 missing values generated)

. recode black (.=0) if race3==1
(black: 200 changes made)

. recode black (.=1) if race3==2
(black: 332 changes made)

. tab black race3
```

black	1	2	Total
0	200	0	200
1	0	332	332
Total	200	332	532

***Third, the same regressions as above with the recoded Race variable**

. logistic arrested black init otheroffense2

Logistic regression	Number of obs	=	532
	LR chi2(3)	=	108.68
	Prob > chi2	=	0.0000
Log likelihood = -308.67803	Pseudo R2	=	0.1497

arrested	Odds Ratio	Std. Err.	z	P> z	[95% Conf. Interval]
black	2.202431	.4572166	3.80	0.000	1.466209 3.308328
init	.352622	.0751257	-4.89	0.000	.2322533 .5353736
otheroffense2	8.019593	2.036171	8.20	0.000	4.875651 13.19083
_cons	.8902749	.1573654	-0.66	0.511	.629601 1.258876

. logistic arrested black init otheroffense2 contra

Logistic regression	Number of obs	=	532
	LR chi2(4)	=	112.93
	Prob > chi2	=	0.0000
Log likelihood = -306.54815	Pseudo R2	=	0.1556

arrested	Odds Ratio	Std. Err.	z	P> z	[95% Conf. Interval]
black	2.229	.465503	3.84	0.000	1.480286 3.356405
init	.3369158	.0720364	-5.09	0.000	.2215771 .5122924
otheroffense2	6.042817	1.687736	6.44	0.000	3.495441 10.44664
contra	2.359681	1.014993	2.00	0.046	1.015589 5.48263
_cons	.8935868	.158101	-0.64	0.525	.631735 1.263975

. logistic arrested black ageinyears init otheroffense2 contra

Logistic regression	Number of obs	=	528
	LR chi2(5)	=	112.38
	Prob > chi2	=	0.0000
Log likelihood = -304.30348	Pseudo R2	=	0.1559

arrested	Odds Ratio	Std. Err.	z	P> z	[95% Conf. Interval]
black	2.183636	.4615534	3.69	0.000	1.442987 3.304441
ageinyears	.9893376	.0073679	-1.44	0.150	.9750017 1.003884
init	.3219858	.069872	-5.22	0.000	.2104375 .4926633
otheroffense2	5.79998	1.625557	6.27	0.000	3.348581 10.04598
contra	2.231834	.966815	1.85	0.064	.9548329 5.216708
_cons	1.458197	.5525005	1.00	0.319	.6939083 3.064294

. logistic arrested black init

Logistic regression	Number of obs	=	532
	LR chi2(2)	=	23.16
	Prob > chi2	=	0.0000
Log likelihood = -351.43383	Pseudo R2	=	0.0319

arrested	Odds Ratio	Std. Err.	z	P> z	[95% Conf. Interval]
black	2.118691	.4014047	3.96	0.000	1.461504 3.071392
init	.5280725	.0995268	-3.39	0.001	.3649775 .7640486
_cons	1.231167	.204593	1.25	0.211	.8889269 1.705172

. logistic arrested black

Logistic regression	Number of obs	=	532
---------------------	---------------	---	-----

Log likelihood = -357.32767

LR chi2(1)	=	11.38
Prob > chi2	=	0.0007
Pseudo R2	=	0.0157

arrested	Odds Ratio	Std. Err.	z	P> z	[95% Conf. Interval]	
black	1.840786	.3341258	3.36	0.001	1.289732	2.627284
_cons	.9230769	.1306474	-0.57	0.572	.6994608	1.218183

***Repeating the analysis above, just for the main model reported in Table 6:**

```
. logistic arrested race3 init otheroffense2
```

```
Logistic regression                Number of obs   =          532
                                   LR chi2(3)        =         108.68
                                   Prob > chi2        =          0.0000
Log likelihood = -308.67803         Pseudo R2      =          0.1497
```

```
-----+-----
      arrested | Odds Ratio   Std. Err.      z    P>|z|     [95% Conf. Interval]
-----+-----
      race3 |    2.202431   .4572166     3.80   0.000     1.466209     3.308328
      init |    .352622   .0751257    -4.89   0.000     .2322533     .5353736
otheroffense2 |  8.019593   2.036171     8.20   0.000     4.875651    13.19083
      _cons |    .4042238   .1357586    -2.70   0.007     .2092887     .7807247
-----+-----
```

```
. logistic arrested black init otheroffense2
```

```
Logistic regression                Number of obs   =          532
                                   LR chi2(3)        =         108.68
                                   Prob > chi2        =          0.0000
Log likelihood = -308.67803         Pseudo R2      =          0.1497
```

```
-----+-----
      arrested | Odds Ratio   Std. Err.      z    P>|z|     [95% Conf. Interval]
-----+-----
      black |    2.202431   .4572166     3.80   0.000     1.466209     3.308328
      init |    .352622   .0751257    -4.89   0.000     .2322533     .5353736
otheroffense2 |  8.019593   2.036171     8.20   0.000     4.875651    13.19083
      _cons |    .8902749   .1573654    -0.66   0.511     .629601     1.258876
-----+-----
```