Project summary

Intellectual Merit:

The proposed project is a large-scale study of framing by interest groups involved in consultations with the European Union. It proposes the use of new automated techniques to identify frames and assess their dimensionality in policy debates surrounding 120 issues. The investigators coordinate with a large team of scholars simultaneously conducting interviews and fieldwork associated with these same issues, thus contributing to a large and growing infrastructure for the study of policy processes and the roles of civil society organizations in the European Union. The larger project addresses issues of the democratic nature of debate and the relative impacts of nation-states, consumer and civil society organizations, and industries in shaping policy decisions in the world's largest new political system. The focus of this proposal is on the application of tools and the development of an infrastructure that will allow the analysis of the choice and effectiveness of arguments by interest groups seeking to affect policy outcomes. This focus on framing contributes to the larger collaboration but constitutes a coherent stand-alone project. All of the documents collected be made available on-line as a resource for other scholars of public policy to download and analyze with other software tools, to answer a broad range of theoretical questions.

The project seeks to make more systematic, quantitative, and rigorous a literature on framing which has often been highly qualitative. More importantly, it uses a framing approach to understand a number of substantively and conceptually important questions: what are the roots of policy stability? Are those roots based in shared policy paradigms that become predominant within professional communities, or are they due to institutional structures? How do models of policy negotiation and compromise work within uni- and multi-dimensional policy spaces? Are most issues debated in the policy process unidimensional or do they have multiple dimensions of active engagement by the stakeholders involved? Can one understand policy change with greater focus on argumentation and framing? Can one predict and understand movement in official positions on a policy debate with reference to the arguments put forward by advocates during the policy process? Do material resources, network structures, group type, or alliance with national governments affect the success of interest groups in promoting their preferred arguments within official policy statements?

Broader Impact:

The project seeks to enhance the study of framing and policy processes by initiating a large project focused on the European Union in collaboration with a network of European scholars conducting parallel studies of the same issues explored under this grant through automated content analysis techniques. The project enhances the study of policy processes through the development of new tools of automated text analysis, to generate important empirical findings about the dimensionality of debate across a sample of policy issues and the abilities of interest groups and government advocates to affect the frames used by government policymakers themselves, and to advance the discipline's understanding of the causes of policy stability and change. The project will train a number of undergraduate and graduate students and create a public web-based resource for the continued study of democratic decision making in the European Union.

Project Description

Introduction

We propose a large-scale study of framing by interest groups involved in consultations with the European Union. We use new automated techniques to identify frames and assess their dimensionality in policy debates surrounding 120 issues. We coordinate with a team of European scholars simultaneously conducting interviews and fieldwork associated with these same issues, thus contributing to a large and growing infrastructure for the study of policy processes and the roles of civil society organizations in the European Union. The larger project addresses issues of the democratic nature of debate and the relative impacts of nation-states, consumer and civil society organizations, and industries in shaping policy decisions in the world's largest new political system. (http://www.unc.edu/~fbaum/papers/esf_2009.htm provides details on the larger project.) Our focus is on the application of tools to analyze the choice and effectiveness of arguments by interest groups seeking to affect policy outcomes. Our focus on framing contributes to the larger collaboration but constitutes a coherent stand-alone project as well. All of the documents we collect, process, and code will be made available on-line as resource for other scholars of public policy to download and analyze with other software tools, creating new infrastructure for the study of policy processes.

Considerable ambiguity characterizes the literature on framing, as scholars in different disciplines or subfields of political science have used a variety of terms to refer to relatively similar things. For our purposes, we follow Entman (1991, 53) and define a frame as an argument used to discuss a specific policy issue. Various actors emphasize different points and therefore framing involves "selecting and highlighting some features of reality while omitting others." Baumgartner and Jones (2009 [1993]) describe "non-contradictory argumentation" in which proponents of environmental protection may for example discuss issues of loss of habitat whereas in the same debate business interests may focus on loss of jobs or tax revenues. Key to the discussion of framing is the idea that protagonists in policy debates often attempt to push collective attention more toward their preferred frames (or, equivalently, dimensions) and away from those of rivals. Direct confrontation on a single dimension, for example statistical debates about *how many* jobs may be lost with a given new regulation, are less common than indirect or non-contradictory debates where an argument about jobs is countered with an argument about habitat. Apples-and-oranges comparisons are typical. We believe we can develop tools to make what has often been a very qualitative literature amenable to rigorous quantitative methods, allowing us to compare issues based on the dimensional structure of debates and assess the effectiveness of interest groups in promoting particular frames.

Making use of content analysis, we will empirically assess how many frames emerge on each issue, what those frames are, and what actors are invoking which frames. In addition, we will also map out where those frames are located spatially by plotting the dimensional structure of the debate. In this way we can determine how frames compete and how they influence the movement of the positions of the governing institutions. Assessing the pre- and post-debate positions of EU institutional actors allows us to assess the direction of movement of the official position, and therefore which actors gained and lost proximity to it over time, a new measure of effectiveness.

Unanswered Questions in the Study of Framing

Since Schattschneider (1960), scholars of public policy have known that participants in the policy process have incentives to describe the issues on which they deal in different ways in order to attract new participants in the process, or to justify their exclusion. As Baumgartner and

Jones (2009 [1993]) described, a description of nuclear power that focuses on technical complexity and lack of broader social consequence (other than cheap and abundant electricity) served to justify the monopoly once enjoyed by nuclear physicists and others linked to the now defunct Atomic Energy Commission. These authors referred to 'policy images' and noted how that of nuclear power went from positive to negative in the 1960s, with huge public policy consequences. Since these early works, students of public policy have been keenly aware of the impact of framing on public policy.[1]

William Riker (1986, 1996) focused our attention on the ability of individual protagonists in the policy process to destabilize debates by focusing attention on a particular dimension. Since his important works, scholars have struggled with the determinants of success in such efforts. James Druckman (2001) was one of the first to study the limits to framing (e.g., the fact that many people may be strongly resistant to efforts by others to reframe a debate), but his study was at the mass level, not among participants in the policy process as we propose here. Baumgartner and colleagues (2009) have conducted the most extensive study to date of collective framing processes, covering a random sample of 98 objects of lobbying activity in Washington, DC. Their results suggest that few issues are reframed, at least in the short run. Following each of 98 issues over a four-year period, they found that fewer than five percent of the issues were significantly reframed. Much more common were stable frames understood by all members of the professional community of lobbyists and policymakers surrounding the issue. The individual lobbyists might seek to focus attention on one dimension over another, but none had the power unilaterally to redirect *collective* attention only to those dimensions favourable to their own position. Mahoney (2008) similarly found limits to the ability of lobbyists to reframe issues in her study comparing interest-group argumentation in the US and the EU. In contrast to members of the mass public, elite participants in a policy community have highly detailed understandings of the various elements of debate, even those with which they disagree. So it is not easy to introduce a "new" element of debate to a group of experts.

Few previous empirical studies of framing in public policy have addressed issues we will explore here: How many different dimensions of debate are present across a sample of issues? Do the issues with higher dimensional complexity differ from the simpler issues with regards to outcomes or the ease of reaching a policy solution? When policy shifts do occur, are these associated with shifts in the relative attention to the competing frames of debate? Can we associate shifts in official positions with the lobbying stances of various interest groups as reflected in the frames they emphasize? Is success in framing associated with the material resources controlled by interest groups? Do those who emphasize the same frames constitute homogenous coalitions with respect to group type and sector of the economy, or are these empirically defined coalitions more heterogeneous? Do dimensional clusters include direct opponents or do opponents choose to emphasize disparate frames?

[1] Framing studies are common in several other literatures within political science, including media-effects studies in the field of public opinion (see for example Berinski and Kinder 2006 or Gilliam and Iyengar 2000). Similarly, Lakoff (2004) focuses on how members of the public respond to different types of emotional stimuli. These literatures, focused on individual psychological or cognitive responses to public policy stimuli among members of the mass public, are related to but different from the focus within the field of public policy. This literature deals with elites, not members of the mass public, and is less interested in the individual-level cognitive response to frames than in the overall nature of the debate as reflected in publicly available documents. In this sense, public policy studies of framing differ substantially from the related literature in the field of public opinion, though they have in common an interest in similar cognitive processes. In public policy studies, however, attention is typically focused on the society-level debate, not the individual-level receptivity to frames, and we follow this tradition here.

The range of important theoretical issues to be addressed here is matched by important methodological ones. The study of argumentation and framing at the elite level is being revolutionized by new developments in the systematic study of text as data (e.g. Laver et al. 2003, Quinn et al. 2008, Schonhardt-Bailey 2008, Slapin and Proksch 2008). We will apply a set of newly developed text analysis tools (e.g. Schonhardt-Bailey 2008) to an original database of over 7,000 documents which detail the political argumentation of thousands of advocates lobbying on 120 policy issues.

Finally, we focus on the institutional context of the European Union. This allows comparison to previous NSF-funded work in the US (see Baumgartner et al. 2009, Mahoney 2008) and allows comparison of the effectiveness of civil society interest groups, business and trade associations, member states through the European Council, bureaucrats and agency officials through the European Commission, and elected officials in the European Parliament. Previous work on the US, for example, suggested that forty percent of all the "advocates" active in the policy process at the federal level were government officials, not outside interest groups, the normal focus of policymaking studies. Elected and appointed officials play important roles, and the EU setting allows us to study the roles of national governments as well as EU-level officials.[2] The availability of large text corpora through the EU consultation process makes possible a large-scale analysis of administrative decision-making in the complicated institutional setting of the EU.

Overall, then, our project seeks to address key issues in the study of framing, apply newly developed tools for automated coding of frames on a large scale for the first time, and create an infrastructure for research that other scholars can use for their own purposes. And it expands the study of framing from the US to the European context.

Studying Framing & Dimensionality Systematically

Our project involves the systematic study of 120 policy issues under discussion in the European Union and differs therefore from previous studies of framing by its large scope. We can assess variation in framing or dimensionality in at least three ways:

I. Framing and success vary by actor.

For each issue, we will assess which actors are evoking which frames – are corporations always framing issues in economic terms, or do they think outside that box? Are environmental groups constrained to frame issues as environmental concerns, or do they have the flexibility to be creative and evoke economic, public health, and security dimensions as well? There are reasons to suspect that diffuse interests reliant on large citizen-based membership will be more reliant only on a restricted set of frames, whereas trade and industry groups, who need worry less about mobilizing enthusiastic support from diffuse potential memberships, can be more selective or strategic with respect to the frames they emphasize. We will investigate whether the range of framings used differs by group type.

Success of individual framing efforts may vary according to two variables: the type of frame put forward and the resources of actors. Frames may have different likelihoods of success depending on what impact of policy they emphasize: For instance, frames on jobs and economic growth may be more likely to get the attention of the governing institutions than frames emphasizing the impact on consumers, the environment, or public health. We can test whether or not the "privileged position of business" (Lindblom 1977) finds support in the choice or effectiveness of the frames chosen by different types of actors.

[2] The roles of each nation-state in the policy process is beyond the scope of what we expect to be able to do in this project, but it is a significant part of the larger European collaboration of which this project will form a part.

We will also explore the linkage between material resources and framing success. No matter what the frame used, it could be that those frames promoted by the wealthiest interest groups or the largest number of them eventually come to dominate the debate, or find the greatest reflection in official documents. This is easily tested with our design.

Finally, the literature gives little insight on the question of whether sets of actors invoking the same frames will be homogeneous or show greater diversity. Riker's focus on heresthetics and Baumgartner and Jones' idea of non-contradictory argumentation would suggest that each set of actors might focus only on that dimension most advantageous to it. Baumgartner et al. found, however, that the "sides" mobilized on the sample of issues they investigated in Washington DC were surprisingly heterogeneous and that all sides in the debate shared a common understanding of the underlying issues. This suggests that the sets of groups invoking particular dimensions of discussion may be more diverse. In any case, these are straightforward empirical questions given our research design.

II. Framing and success vary by issue.

Framing and success vary not only across actors within an issue, but also from issue to issue. Some issues may have few frames (or even only a single one, to which virtually all actors subscribe), whereas others may have many. The degree of heterogeneity in argumentation can be a measure of the dimensionality of the debate surrounding an issue. We will study the structure of an issue debate by mapping the various frames employed by interest groups as well as the governing institutions and by identifying the underlying dimensions that structure the debate.

Framing success may be expected to vary across issues according to three variables: number of actors employing the frame, the heterogeneity of those actors, and their aggregated resources. The more actors are employing the same frame, the higher the likelihood that this frame will be reflected in the position of the European Institutions. Furthermore, the likelihood of success of a frame increases with the degree of heterogeneity of a group employing the same frame. If groups using the same frame are very homogenous (such as only automobile manufacturers), it is plausible to assume that this frame represents the opinion of only a small section of society. However, if different types of actors align by using the same frame (such as automobile and environmental groups), the European Institutions can be sure that this frame represents a broad section of society and therefore receives a lot of backing by the public. Finally, the greater the aggregate resources controlled by groups employing the same frame, the higher the likelihood that this frame will be reflected in the policy outcome. These issues can easily be assessed empirically by comparing the distribution of actors promoting each frame with the positions of the EU in its official documents.

III. The Dimensional Structure of Debate and the Ease of Negotiation.

Bargaining theories suggest that if there are competing and unrelated dimensions of debate, space is open for compromise due to the possibility of issue linkages and package deals. However, if there is only a single dimension of conflict, bargaining is difficult since actors compete in a zero-sum environment and have nothing to exchange. Thus, we can assess the possible linkage between the number of dimensions of a policy debate and the likelihood of negotiated settlement. The literature on bargaining seems to stand in contrast with expectations from political science, which might suggest that a reduced (or unidimensional) political space leads to a simple solution: the median voter. We can test straightforwardly whether low-dimensional issues are more likely to see successful outcomes than high dimensional issues, and also whether the final position of the EU institutions is within an area predicted by median voter theorems, or whether the final EU documents reflect an official position outside the area of

predicted compromise. Further, we can assess the number of relevant dimensions across our issues, an empirical point rarely studied. Baumgartner et al. (2009) found that in the US that their sample of issues was substantively multidimensional but that the structure of conflict was surprisingly simple. These findings have large implications for models of negotiation and compromise, so our focus on dimensional structure across a sample of policy issues ensures that our study will have broad importance for assessing the relevance of diverse theoretical perspectives within political science.

For all these analyses, we will assess the initial and final policy locations of the European institutions (European Commission, Council, and the European Parliament). We will establish "closeness scores" for each advocate to the official position as reflected in official documents. Further, we will assess the development of the legislative debate by mapping the location of the European institutions at the beginning and end of the policymaking process. Thus, we can establish the degree to which the different EU institutions take up the various frames in the debate and align with each advocate. In this manner, we will be able not only to assess the structure of conflict in a sample of EU policy debates, but also the success of various interest groups in moving the location of the relevant EU institutions toward their policy position. Our project therefore seeks to enhance our theoretical knowledge of framing, lobbying, and policy outcomes. We hope not only to test a number of specific hypotheses following from the comments above, but more generally to provide some empirical framework for future studies that may be more focused on one or a few of these issues. Ours is a very broad project seeking to lay out the empirical terrain. We know little about the range of dimensional structures present across a broad range of public policy debates. Further knowledge of who many frames dominate, whether official documents typically reflect only business views, whether initial and final official documents change very much, and the heterogeneity of interest group arguments are all understudied questions ripe with normative implications, and these are at the core of our study. The logistics of our project are quite unusual because of our ambition to gather and analyze large amounts of information, so we spend the rest of our proposal focusing on issues of data collection, analysis, and showing the feasibility of what we propose to do.

Logistics: Case Selection

Our project will focus on the same stratified random sample of 120 legislative proposals being studied in the larger collaborative project. This sample is drawn from the European Commission's Prelex database to create a list of legislative proposals introduced by the European Commission between 1 January 2007 and 31 December 2009. Limiting the list to proposals that have been introduced in 2007 through 2009 will allow members of this larger team to know the final legislative outcome, collect the final legislation documentation and conduct interviews with policymakers and advocates. (Our focus here will be on analyzing the documents associated with these issues.) Legislative proposals will include 50 proposals for Regulations, and 40 proposals for Directives (two forms of binding laws), as well as 10 green and white books (official documents laying out proposed directions for future legislation); in this way the sample includes issues that are at different stages of the formal policy agenda. In this section of the sample we will exclude issues that did not generate public attention since there are many technical issues that do not motivate a public response. Operationally, we will exclude issues that are the object of fewer than five articles in *Agence Europe*, a widely used database of news coverage of EU affairs. With 100 issues chosen from among the relatively salient items on the EU docket, we will also select another 20 proposals with lower salience as a control. This sample of proposals that did not garner public attention will be stratified using the same proportions as for the

publicly salient proposals: 10 for regulations, 8 for directives, and 2 green and white books. Thus we arrive at a sample of 120 issues, with varying levels of salience and at different stages in the policy making process, for which documentation about the positions of the EU institutions and the positions of interested advocates can be collected.

Document Collection & Identification of Interested Parties

For every issue in our random sample of 120 cases we will analyze three areas of public position taking at the supranational level: 1) Official statements from the EU institutions and policymaker statements; 2) Consultation submissions; and 3) Interest-group position papers. We will construct a database and web site for each of the 120 issues including all of the following documents, noting their source and date.

1. Official Statements from the EU Institutions and Policymakers: This includes all white papers, green papers, proposals for Directives, proposals for Regulations, the Opinions from the Council and the EP during the legislative process, the final adopted legislation as well as the original policy if one existed as a measure of the status quo. These will allow us to track locations of EU institutions in the political space and to analyze any differences over time or from one EU institution to another.

2. Consultation Submissions: For those cases where public consultations are available, we will collect all contributions from organizations, corporations, and associations. The Commission's report of the Consultation will be included in the Official Statements database above.

3. Position Papers: In many cases a public consultation has not been held, interest groups have chosen to not comment in that forum, or groups have become involved later in the process; to capture the full range of interest group communications contributing to a debate we will go to relevant websites and download any published position papers on the issue.

The list of all active participants on an issue will be constructed iteratively by triangulating information on active groups from the three sources and from interviews conducted by the larger ESF team. For example, if one environmental group submits a contribution to an official consultation and mentions the support of seven other groups, or mentions an opponent, these will be added to the list of actors active on the issue; if a Commission press release quotes three additional groups involved on the issue, they will also be added to the list. This process will continue until no new additional names are added. In this way we expect to develop a complete list of "interested parties" and to analyze the issue-definitions associated with their own written statements on the issue. Thus we are not dependent only on the official consultation process but will also capture policy statements by groups that may not have participated officially. We have found in a preliminary survey of about two hundred EU-related interest group web sites that we can find policy-specific documents in the vast majority of cases.

The logistics of our data collection task depend on the number of documents found on each issue. As our sampling frame (for 100 of the 120 issues) excludes issues at the very lowest level of salience within the EU (e.g., purely technical regulations with little public discussion), we expect a substantial number of submissions for each issue. At the highest end of the scale, recent issues such as the Green Paper on the Review of the Consumer Aquis which lead to a new legislative proposal on consumer rights produced 307 consultation submissions. However, based on an earlier analysis of 58 consultations of the European Commission, the average number of consultation submissions can be expected to be about 60 (Klüver 2009). Our budget and staff plans are based on an estimate of approximately 7500 documents for the 120 issues to be analysed, including official documents (120 issues x 60 documents + a small margin).

Content Analysis

In order to identify frames and to assess the dimensionality of public policy debates, we will use a fully automated content analysis technique drawing on a combination of cluster and correspondence analysis. Cheryl Schonhardt-Bailey has successfully used this technique to analyze framing and dimensionality of parliamentary speeches, speeches of presidential candidates and transcripts of the Federal Reserve's Federal Open Market Committee (Schonhardt-Bailey 2005, 2006, 2008; Bailey and Schonhardt-Bailey 2008). Two software packages are available with the necessary functions: ALCESTE (Image 2009) and T-LAB (Lancia 2009). We test the content analysis technique using T-LAB on one sample case below. Analyzing framing and dimensionality with T-LAB involves three steps: Preparation of the text corpus, Cluster Analysis, and Correspondence Analysis.

A. Preparation of the text corpus

Preparation of documents includes: 1) transfer to digital format for any documents not already digitally readable (e.g. scanned faxes); 2) unification of British and American spellings and correction of spelling errors; and 3) removal of names of authors, non-content "stop words," unnecessary information such as contact information or repetition of the consultation questions. The resulting text files are merged into a single file with each original document tagged with identification variables such as name of the actor or actor type. All of these tasks can be done either automatically by drawing on a Python computer script or with undergraduate coders.

B. Cluster and Correspondence Analysis

T-LAB relies on co-occurrence analysis which is the statistical analysis of frequent word pairs in a text corpus. Using the presence or absence of words in each document, the program calculates an indicator matrix on which to base the classification process. This matrix contains documents in rows and the occurrence of words in each text in columns. Based on ascending hierarchical cluster analysis, T-LAB then identifies clusters of documents. The clusters can be interpreted as frames used by various actors (see also Miller 1997; Schonhardt-Bailey 2005, 2006, 2008; Bailey and Schonhardt-Bailey 2008).

In a second step, correspondence analysis is used to assess the dimensionality of these frames. Correspondence analysis allows spatial representation of the relation between the clusters whereby position estimates are contingent on correlations, thus distance reflects the degree of co-occurrence. T-LAB cross-tabulates document clusters and words in order to create a second matrix that can be used for factor correspondence analysis. Correspondence analysis provides a measure which indicates the amount of association explained by the dimensions. It aims to account for a maximum amount of association along the first dimension. The second dimension then seeks to account for a maximum amount of remaining association and so forth.

Illustration

In order to test the applicability of this content analysis technique, we analyzed the public policy debate concerning the legislative proposal on reduction of CO_2 emissions from cars, since our collaborator Heike Klüver (forthcoming) had already used this issue for a comparison of hand coding, Wordfish (Proksch and Slapin, 2008; Slapin and Proksch, 2008) and Wordscores (Laver et al., 2003). On 7 February 2007, the European Commission proposed a legislative framework to reduce CO_2 emissions from cars to 120g/km in 2012. The Commission called for improvements in vehicle technology that should account for an emission reduction to 130g/km, while efficiency improvements for tires and air conditioning systems as well as a greater use of bio fuels should contribute to further emissions cuts of 10g/km. Furthermore, the Commission suggested fiscal measures, improved consumer information and a code of good practice on car

marketing to decrease the popularity of cars with high CO_2 emissions. From 7 February until 15 July 2007 the Commission then launched a public online consultation before adopting its final proposal in December 2007. A wide variety of interest groups took part in this consultation and all were included in this analysis. Out of the twenty-three interest groups under analysis, six represent traditional automobile manufacturers, four are alternative industry associations (such as the biodiesel industry or manufactures of electric vehicles), six are environmental groups, two are media associations, one represents consumer interests, one is a trade union, one represents the tire industry, one represents security interests and one the interest of leasing companies.

Identification of frames

In a first step, a cluster analysis was conducted in order to identify the frames used in the analysis. Three document clusters could be identified (see table 1): The first and smallest cluster (12% of the documents) comprises texts using words such as "advertising," "press" and "media." Table 1 shows the list of typical words of this frame (cluster) which clearly indicates its focus on the impact of the legislative proposal on the advertising industry. The second cluster, which encompasses 28% of the documents, is marked by words such as "automotive," "segments" or "product." The table makes clear that this cluster comprises documents emphasizing the impact of the proposal on the automobile manufacturers. The third and largest cluster (60% of the documents) is represented by typical words such as "LPG," "biodiesel" and "natural." This cluster is actually comprised of two types of groups: Environmental groups as well as alternative industry groups. Further analysis using the keyword-in-context function of the open source text analysis program *Yoshikoder* (Lowe, 2009) reveals that both types of groups emphasize the negative effects of global warming on the environment. However, whereas environmental groups use this frame simply for the intrinsic value of environmental protection, alternative industry groups employ this frame in order to highlight the environmental superiority of their products.

Table 1: Most prominent words distinguishing clusters of actors in the CO_2 emissions debate

Rank according to Chi² Value	**Cluster 1: Press**	**Cluster 2: Industry**	**Cluster 3: Environment / Alternative Industry**
1	Advertising	target	LPG
2	press	political	energy
3	media	value	gas
4	promotional	function	fuel
5	print	approach	fuels
6	literature	Automotive	Biodiesel
7	Publishers	models	oil
8	survey	segments	fuelled
9	believe	reduction	duty
10	restrictions	product	Natural
11	marketing	complementary	light
12	information	system	Methane
13	claim	technologies	biogas
14	freedom	N1	biomethane
15	penalties	rental	diesel
No of texts	3	7	15
% of texts	12%	28%	60%

Note: The Table shows the most typical words per cluster according to their Chi^2 value. The analysis is based on comments from 23 interest group submitted to the consultation process as well as the initial and final commission documents.

In a second step, we compared a manual coding of group type to the clusters in which the program classified each actor. Drawing on information gathered on interest groups' websites, we coded them into five different categories: Traditional automobile industry; alternative industry; environmental; the commission itself; press / media; and other (this coding was done before the content analysis was conducted to ensure impartiality). Table 2 compares the clusters from Table 1 with the group type in order to assess the validity of the measurement. Each row represents an interest group together with the cluster membership of the document it submitted to the consultation. The results show that the automated identification of clusters corresponds very strongly (though not perfectly) with a manual coding of group type. In those cases where the coding does not correspond, it is because the document associated with that organization had more in common with the groups in its statistically identified cluster than with our a priori assumption. Note as well that all groups are coded even those which were initially listed as "other" in the manual coding. The system also classifies the initial (Comm1) and final (Comm2) Commission document, showing its correspondence with each of the three clusters.

Table 2: A Comparison of Manual and Automated Classification of Interest Groups

Group		Cluster Membership Scores			
Name	**Group type**	**Best Solution**	**Press**	**Industry**	**Environment**
ADTS	Alt. Industry	Environment	0.11	0.31	0.58
AEGPL	Alt. Industry	Environment	0.10	0.19	0.72
EBB	Alt. Industry	Environment	0.13	0.23	0.64
ENGVA	Alt. Industry	Environment	0.09	0.19	0.73
COMM1	Commission	Environment	0.22	0.36	0.42
COMM2	Commission	Industry	0.23	0.39	0.38
FANC	Environ. Group	Environment	0.23	0.36	0.41
FOE	Environ. Group	Press	0.54	0.24	0.22
GREENPEACE	Environ. Group	Environment	0.23	0.35	0.43
RSPB	Environ. Group	Environment	0.25	0.35	0.41
TANDE	Environ. Group	Environment	0.27	0.31	0.43
WWF	Environ. Group	Environment	0.22	0.33	0.45
BEUC	Other	Industry	0.25	0.43	0.32
BVRLA	Other	Industry	0.19	0.54	0.27
ETRMA	Other	Environment	0.21	0.30	0.49
ETSC	Other	Environment	0.20	0.36	0.44
ETUC	Other	Industry	0.24	0.41	0.35
AAUK	Press	Press	0.68	0.16	0.16
FAEP	Press	Press	0.88	0.06	0.06
ACEA	Trad. Industry	Industry	0.18	0.56	0.26
JAMA	Trad. Industry	Industry	0.19	0.55	0.26
KAMA	Trad. Industry	Industry	0.19	0.53	0.28
RAI	Trad. Industry	Environment	0.22	0.36	0.43
SMMT	Trad. Industry	Industry	0.24	0.46	0.30
VDA	Trad. Industry	Industry	0.15	0.60	0.25

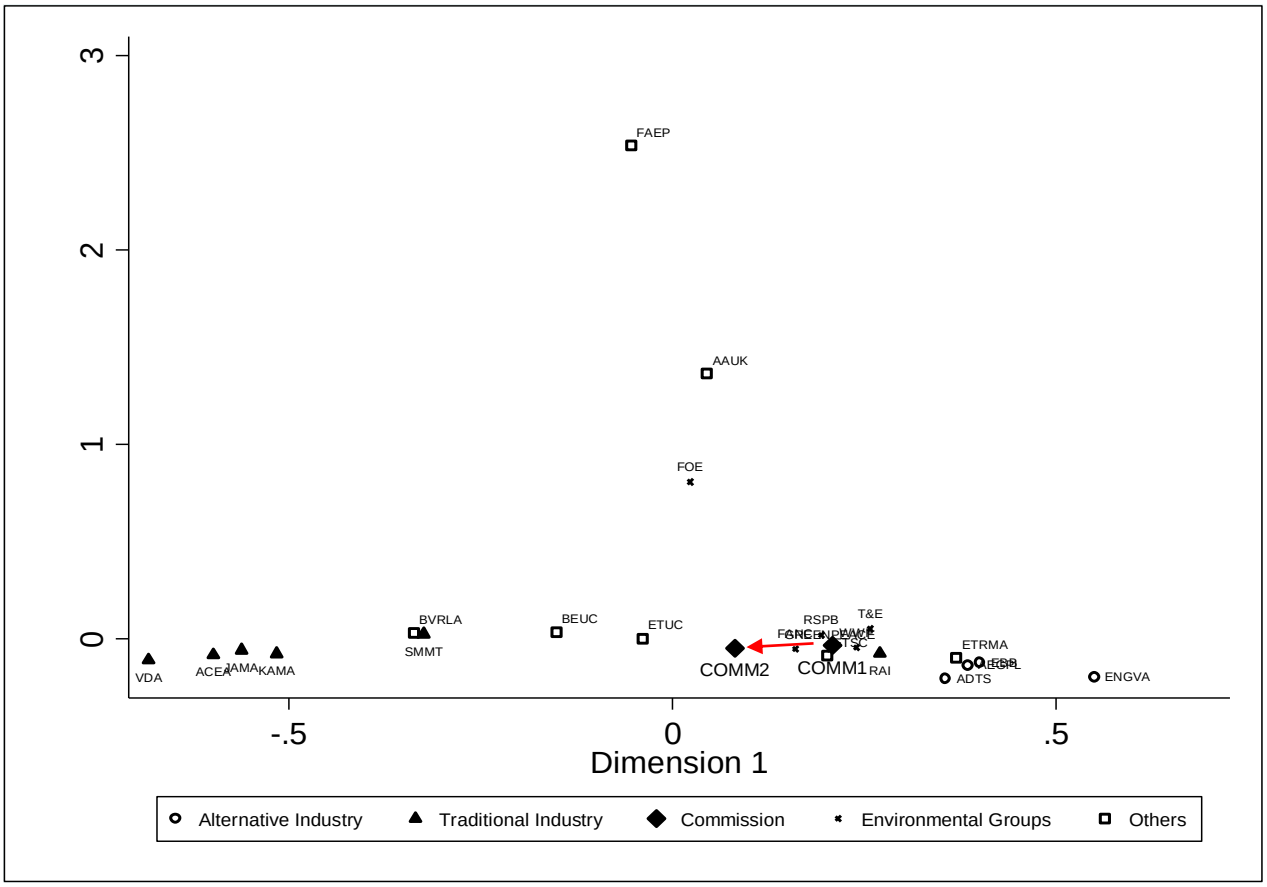
Note: Full names of the associations are available on request. Cluster scores represent the degree to which each document is a member of the various clusters as well as the best cluster solution according to these scores.

Examining dimensionality

Using the correspondence analysis procedure, the underlying dimensions of the frames are identified and the frames are mapped spatially. Correspondence analysis provides a measure which indicates the amount of association explained by the underlying dimensions. The correspondence analysis identifies a two-dimensional space in which the frames are located (see

Figure 1). The first dimension accounts for 58 per cent of the association and the second dimension for 42 per cent. Whereas the "Environmental" and "Industry" frames mainly oppose each other on the first dimension and hardly differ in respect to the second dimension, the "Press" frame largely differs from the other two frames along the second dimension and is located more or less in the middle of the "Environment" and "Industry" frame on the first dimension. Hence, the debate surrounding the policy proposal on the reduction of CO_2 emissions from cars is characterized by a two-dimensional space: "environmental control" and "advertising code of conduct."

Figure 1: A Two-Dimensional Issue-Space for the CO_2 Emissions Debate



	Eigenvalue	Percentage	Cumul. Percentage
Factor 1 (x-axis)	0.19	58.00	58.00
Factor 2 (y-axis)	0.14	42.00	100.00

Note: Dimension 1 is "environmental control;" Dimension 2, the "advertizing code of conduct." Factor scores below indicate the degree of association explained by these two dimensions. The initial (COMM1) and final (COMM2) positions of the European Commission are connected by a red arrow indicating the direction of movement.

As a validity check, we can compare these results with policy position estimates obtained by Hand-Coding and Wordfish (for details, see Klüver, forthcoming). Since policy positions were estimated only for a single dimension, we compare them separately to the two dimensions identified here (see table 3). The table shows strong correspondence for the first dimension, but little for the second one. These results suggest that the automated procedure accurately replicates

the main dimensional structure but also allows additional cleavages not apparent to any technique assuming a single dimension.

Table 3: Correlation of T-LAB Coordinates with Wordfish and Hand-Coding

		T-LAB	Wordfish	Hand-Coding
Dimension 1	**T-LAB**	1.0		
	Wordfish	0.73***	1.0	
	Hand-Coding	0.76***	0.70***	1.0
Dimension 2	**T-LAB**	1.0		
	Wordfish	0.03	1.0	
	Hand-Coding	0.34*	0.70***	1.0

*p<0.1, **p<0.01, ***p<0.001. Source: Klüver (forthcoming)

Assessing the success of frames

Finally, as we have two measures of the location of the European Commission, we can assess the direction of any movement in the official position. In this example, we compare the initial location (t_0) in the February 2007 Communication and the final location (t_1) in the proposed Regulation in December of that same year, after the consultation materials described above had been submitted and reviewed. These are indicated in Figure 1 as COMM1 and COMM2, and a red arrow shows the direction of movement.

Using the coordinates in the multidimensional space (see table 4), one can compute measures of distance such as the Euclidean Distance between the Commission's positions and the frames (clusters) or even the single interest groups to assess in which direction the Commission moved from t_0 to t_1. The Euclidean Distance is given as

$$d(x,y) = \|x-y\|_2 = \sqrt{(x_1-y_1)^2+\cdots+(x_n-y_n)^2} = \sqrt{\sum_{i=1}^{n}(x_i-y_i)^2}$$

This allows us to calculate the distance between the Commission position and the three frames along the two dimensions of debate (see table 5). The analysis shows that the Press Frame is most distant from the Commission and this distance was maintained at the time of the second Commission position. The Environmental Frame is the closest to the Commission but the Commission however increased its distance from 0.14 to 0.26 over time. The Industry Frame by contrast is closer to the Commission at time point t_1 than at t_0. In conclusion, the Commission moved over time towards the center of the political space, aligning more with Industry than in its initial position, but remaining closer to the position of the Environment Cluster than to the others even at the end of the process.

Table 4: Location of Interest Groups as well as the EC before and after Consultation

Actor	Dimension 1 (Environment)	Dimension 2 (Media Restrictions)
PRESS CLUSTER	0.01	1.77
INDUSTRY CLUSTER	-0.60	-0.08
ENVIRONMENT CLUSTER	0.34	-0.08
COMMISSION. $TIME_0$	0.21	-0.03
COMMISSION. $TIME_1$	0.08	-0.05
AAUK	0.04	1.36
ACEA	-0.60	-0.08
ADTS	0.36	-0.20
AEGPL	0.38	-0.13
BEUC	-0.15	0.03
BVRLA	-0.34	0.03
EBB	0.40	-0.12
ENGVA	0.55	-0.19
ETRMA	0.37	-0.10
ETSC	0.20	-0.09
ETUC	-0.04	0.00
FAEP	-0.05	2.54
FANC	0.16	-0.05
FOE	0.02	0.81
GREENPEACE	0.20	-0.05
JAMA	-0.56	-0.06
KAMA	-0.52	-0.08
RAI	0.27	-0.08
RSPB	0.19	0.02
SMMT	-0.32	0.02
TANDE	0.26	0.05
VDA	-0.68	-0.11
WWF	0.24	-0.05

Table 5: Relative Distance of the EC Position from Major Actors in the Debate, t_0 and t_1

Frames	Distance at t_0	Distance at t_1	Success
Press	1.81	1.82	-0.01
Industry	0.81	0.68	+0.13
Environment	0.14	0.26	-0.12

We have illustrated one element of our project, suggesting ways in which we will be able to analyze the dimensional structure of debates, the positions of each actor, the frames being proposed by different actors, and movement of official bodies during the policy process. In the limited space available we have not discussed change in the position of the European Institutions over time, comparisons across the 120 issues in our sample (e.g., whether issues with low dimensional structures are more likely to see policy change than those with many unrelated frames simultaneously being discussed), and a variety of other factors. Concerning the movement of the European Institutions, we will have various official documents reflecting the official positions over the course of the legislative process such as the policy proposal of the European Commission, Opinions of the European Parliament and the Council and the final adopted legislation. For most issues, we will also find official document preceding the policy proposal such as Communications, Green and White Papers as well as a status quo reflected in existing legislation in this policy area (Klüver's analysis of 58 issues on which consultations

were available allowed an estimate of the status quo policy position for 75 per cent of the issues). We expect to be able to assess movement of the official position at least from the beginning to the end of the consultation process. However, we should note that we do not expect to be able to trace on a clear chronological basis all the dynamics of framing over time, for example the timing of when certain interest groups make certain claims. Across the sample of issues we do not expect sufficient documents at regular enough time units to support such a dynamic analysis, and our theoretical concerns do not require this.

Website Infrastructure

We have our own theoretical interests in this project but also hope to contribute to a transformation in how political scientists conduct research projects, contributing to ever-expanding databases that can be used by others for a variety of purposes. The PI and Co-PI have already contributed to the US policy agendas project (www.policyagendas.org) and to the lobbying and advocacy project (http://lobby.la.psu.edu), both supported by NSF, and both of which have led to large international collaborations based on the initial design (see http://www.comparativeagendas.org/ and http://sites.maxwell.syr.edu/ecpr/). The projects have also developed large secondary literatures based on use of the data. To this end, we take the creation of a user-friendly and highly assessable website seriously. We will develop a website where we will make all of the documentation publically available for other scholars; detail our data collection process; and our coding schemes so that interested scholars may analyze the original text documents that we collect; all the information will remain in the public domain. In addition, as part of the larger European Science Foundation collaboration, and newly established ECPR working group on interest groups co-chaired by the PI on this proposal, we are promoting the creation of a collaborative network of scholars who may replicate or create analogous data collection projects for the US, EU member states, and other countries. We expect that this will develop into a growing resource for both teaching and research. We envision the project as an important step in building an infrastructure for the systematic study the role of civil society in public policymaking across many democratic systems.

Feasibility, Logistics, and Timeline

We estimate the data collection work here to be determined largely by the number of actors and documents involved in our sample of 120 issues. Based on an earlier analysis of 58 consultations, we base our calculations on 60 documents per issue. This leads to our request for undergraduate students to handle manual document preparation issues where necessary; graduate assistants at both UNC and Syracuse to develop automated scraping and coding processes and to build the website, consulting with Heike Klüver who has detailed experience of the relevant software as well as EU-specific policy and institutional knowledge. Both Syracuse and UNC house important centers for the study of EU and we will be able to find graduate students with the relevant knowledge of EU policy processes as well as familiarity with relevant text-based analytical and statistical methods. Further, Klüver's earlier study showed that approximately 80 per cent of all interest-group documents were available in English. Official EU documents are available in multiple languages so we will be able to rely on English language documents throughout the project.

Timeline

Time period	**Syracuse University**	**UNC Chapel Hill**
Spring 2010	• Case selection complete through the associated ESF project.	
Summer 2010	• Requested NSF funding begins, July 1, 2010	

	• Heike Klüver, if funded by a DAAD Fellowship from the German Government, will be a visiting fellow at UNC during the 2010-2011 AY. • Joint meeting of PI, co-PI and Klüver at UNC.	
	• Klüver will train SU undergraduate and graduate students on the collection of documents. • Password protected project website portal for sharing documents will be established.	• Klüver will train UNC undergraduate students in the processing of the text documents.
Fall 2010	• SU team responsible for Document Collection, the establishment of a document database and the coding of documents according to information gathered on interest groups' website concerning group type, level of analysis and Member State. Students will be particularly trained in how to identify and search for relevant documents as well as in automatic downloading tools. • Syracuse team will be slightly ahead of UNC team.	• UNC team responsible for Text Processing which includes transfer to digital format for any documents not already digitally readable, unification of British and American spellings, correction of spelling errors, removal of unnecessary information (e.g. contact details) and merging the different documents into one single text file with each original document tagged with identification variables such as name of the actor or actor type. Students will be trained in using a Python Script to automatically edit the documents and in how to conduct the necessary manual steps.
	• Based on Klüver's experience in document collection and text processing, we expect to finish 30 issues in 3 months.	
Spring 2011	• SU team will finish collecting documents on another 30 issues.	• UNC team will finish processing text for another 30 issues. • A team of graduate assistants will be trained in analyzing the processed texts using T-LAB. The graduate students will then start performing the text analysis for the readily processed documents. We estimate that they can finish the text analysis for 30 issues by the end of the semester.
	• Joint meeting of PI, co-PI and Klüver at Syracuse to assess progress.	
Summer 2011	• The SU team will finish document collection for the last 60 issues.	• The UNC team will finish text processing for the last 60 issues. • UNC text analysis team will finish the text analysis of another 60 issues.
Fall 2011	• External website for sharing data with scholarly community will be established, including original and process documents, quantitative coding results, and background information on each case.	• UNC text analysis team will finish the text analysis for the last 30 issues and will start with the analysis of the gathered data.
Spring 2011	• Data analysis finalized, project coordinators write up the results and present them at several conferences before submitting the papers to journals.	

	• June 30, 2011 - funding expires

Results from Prior NSF Support

Mahoney: No prior NSF support

Baumgartner (not including dissertation grants or REU supplements):

SES 0719703, September 1, 2007 to August 31, 2008. "New Computer Science Applications in Automated Text Identification and Classification for the Social Sciences." This has led to the development of automated classifiers for the policy agendas project to be included in other research projects.

SBR 0111611, January 1, 2002 to December 31, 2007. "Collaborative Research: Database Development for the Study of Public Policy."

SBR 9320922, March 15, 1994 to February 28, 1998 "Policy Agendas in the United States since 1945."

These two awards have supported the policy agendas project. Results include:

www.policyagendas.org

www.comparativeagendas.org

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

A General Empirical Law for Public Budgets: A Comparative Analysis. *American Journal of Political Science*, October 2009. (Bryan D. Jones, Frank R. Baumgartner, Christian Breunig, Christopher Wlezien, Stuart Soroka, Martial Foucault, Abel François, Christoffer Green-Pedersen, Peter John, Chris Koske, Peter B. Mortensen, Frédéric Varone, and Stefaan Walgrave)

Punctuated Equilibrium in Comparative Perspective. *American Journal of Political Science*, 53, 3, (July 2009): 602–619. (Frank R. Baumgartner, Christian Breunig, Christoffer Green-Pedersen, Bryan D. Jones, Peter B. Mortensen, Michiel Neytemans, and Stefaan Walgrave)

Comparative Studies of Policy Agendas. New York: Routledge, 2008. (Edited, with Christoffer Green-Pedersen and Bryan D. Jones).

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

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

Policy Dynamics. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002. (Edited, with Bryan D. Jones)

SBR 0111224, July 1, 2001 to June 30, 2004. "Lobbying and Issue-Definition."

SBR 9905195, August 1, 1999 to December 31, 2000. "Collaborative Research on Lobbying."

These two awards have supported the lobbying and advocacy project. Results include:

http://lobby.la.psu.edu

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

Several works in progress

The development of an international of scholars, the basis of the current proposal.

References

Bailey, Andrew and Cheryl Schonhardt-Bailey. 2008. Does deliberation matter in FOMC monetary policymaking? The Volcker Revolution of 1979. *Political Analysis*. 16(4): 404-427

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

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

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

Baumgartner, Frank R., and Christine Mahoney. 2008. The Two Faces of Framing: Individual-Level Framing and Collective Issue-Definition in the EU. *European Union Politics* 9 (3): 435–49.

Berinski, Adam J., and Donald R. Kinder. 2006. Making Sense of Issues Through Media Frames: Understanding the Kosovo Crisis. *Journal of Politics* 68, 3: 640–56.

Druckman, James N. 2001. On the Limits of Framing Effects: Who Can Frame? *Journal of Politics* 63, 4: 1041–66.

Entman, Robert M. 1991. Framing US coverage of international news: Contrasts in narratives of the KAL and Iran air incidents. *Journal of Communication* 43(4): 51-58

Gilliam, Franklin D., Jr., and Shanto Iyengar. 2000. Prime Suspects: The Influence of Local Television News on the Viewing Public. *American Journal of Political Science* 44, 3: 560–573.

Image. 2009. ALCESTE. Logiciel d'Analyse de Données Textuelles. Version 4.7. http://www.image-zafar.com/. last accessed on 4 May 2009.

Klüver, Heike. forthcoming. Measuring interest group influence using quantitative text analysis. *European Union Politics.*

Klüver, Heike. 2009. Understanding policy-making in the European Union: Interest group influence on policy formulation. Paper presented at the 67th National Conference of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago. 2 - 5 April 2009.

Lancia, Franco. 2009. T-LAB Pro. Tools for Text Analysis. Version 6.1., http://www.tlab.it. last accessed on 4 May 2009.

Laver, Michael, Kenneth Benoit and John Garry. 2003. Extracting Policy Positions from Political Texts Using Words as Data. *American Political Science Review* 97 (2): 311–331.

Lindblom, Charles E. 1977. *Politics and Markets*. New York: Basic Books.

Lowe, Will. 2009. Yoshikoder. Software for multilingual content analysis. Version 0.6.3., http://www.yoshikoder.org/. last accessed on 4 May 2009.

Mahoney, Christine. 2008. *Brussels vs. the Beltway: Advocacy in the United States and the European Union. Washington. DC: Georgetown University Press.*

Miller, M. Mark. 1997. Frame mapping and analysis of news coverage of contentious issues. *Social Science Computer Review*. 15(4): 367-378β

Quinn, Kevin M. et al. 2008. How to Analyze Political Attention with Minimal Assumptions and Costs. Harvard University Department of Government, working paper, July 14.

Proksch, Sven-Oliver and Jonathan B. Slapin. 2008. WORDFISH: Scaling Software for Estimating Political Positions from Texts. Version 1.2., URL (consulted Sept. 2008): http://www.wordfish.org

Riker, William H. 1986. *The Art of Political Manipulation*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
Riker, William H. 1996. *The Strategy of Rhetoric.* New Haven: Yale University Press.
Schattschneider, E. E. 1960. *The Semi-Sovereign People*. New York: Holt. Rinehart and Winston.

Slapin, Jonathan B., and Sven-Oliver Proksch. 2008. A Scaling Model for Estimating Time-Series Party Positions from Texts. *American Journal of Political Science* 52 (3): 705–722.
Schonhardt-Bailey, Cheryl. 2005. Measuring ideas more effectively: An analysis of Bush and Kerry's national security speeches. *PS: Political Science & Politics*. 38(4): 701-711.
Schonhardt-Bailey, Cheryl. 2006. *From the Corn Laws to Free Trade: Interests, Ideas, and Institutions in Historical Perspective*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
Schonhardt-Bailey, Cheryl. 2008. The Congressional Debate on Partial-Birth Abortion: Constitutional Gravitas and Moral Passion. *British Journal of Political Science*. 38 (3): 383–410.

Christine Mahoney

PROFESSIONAL PREPARATION

The Pennsylvania State University	International Relations	B.A. 2001
The Pennsylvania State University	Political Science	M.A. 2003
The Pennsylvania State University	Political Science	Ph.D. 2006
Syracuse University	EU Postdoc	2006-2007

APPOINTMENTS

09/2007 – present	Assistant Professor of Political Science Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University
09/2008 – present	Director Moynihan European Research Centers (Center for European Studies & Maxwell EU Center), Syracuse University, NY
09/2007 – present	Senior Research Associate Moynihan Institute of Global Affairs, Syracuse University, NY
2006 – 2007	Postdoctoral Research Fellow Moynihan European Research Centers, Syracuse University, NY

PUBLICATIONS

Brussels vs. the Beltway: Advocacy in the United States and the European Union. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press. (2008).

"Converging Perspectives on Interest-Group Research in Europe and America." with Frank R. Baumgartner. *West European Politics.* Vol. 31(6): 1251-1271 (2008).

"The Two Faces of Framing: Individual-Level Framing and Collective Issue-Definition in the EU" with Frank R. Baumgartner. *European Union Politics*. Vol. 9(3):435-449 (2008).

"The Role of Interest Groups in Fostering Citizen Engagement: The Determinants of Outside Lobbying" Chapter in *From National toward International Linkages? Civil Society and Multi-level Governance*. William Maloney and Jan Van Deth Eds. Cheltenham: Elgar Publishing (2008) Pp.170-192.

"Networking vs. Allying: The Decision of Interest Groups to Join Coalitions in the US and the EU," *Journal of European Public Policy.* Vol. 14(2):366-383 (2007).

"Lobbying Success in the United States and the European Union," *Journal of Public Policy*. Vol 27(2): 35-56 (2007).

"The Power of Institutions: State and Interest-Group Activity in the European Union," *European Union Politics*. Volume 5 (4): 441–466 (2004).

"Interest Groups in Multilevel Governance" Chapter in *Politics Beyond the State*. Kris Deschouwer and Maarten Theo Jans Eds. Brussels: VUB University Press. (2007). Pp.109-138.

"Help versus Harm: The Impact of NGO Interventions" Book Review of *Aiding Peace? The Role of NGOs in Armed Conflict* in the *International Studies Review* (2007).

"Social Movements and the Rise of New Issues" with Frank R. Baumgartner. Chapter in *Routing the Opposition: Social Movements, Public Policy and Democracy*. Eds. Helen Ingram, Valerie Jenness and David S. Meyer. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. (2004). Pp. 65–86

SYNERGISTIC ACTIVITIES:

- Director of the Moynihan European Research Centers - Direct two centers promoting research, study and understanding of governance and civil society in Europe and the European Union, run a speaker series bringing in scholars and policymakers working on topics of governance in the European Union to engage with faculty and students.
- Co-chair of the European Consortium for Political Research Standing Group on Interesting Groups – promoting scholarly exchange on research on Global Civil Society
- Member of the Steering Committee for the Transatlantic Collaborative Network on Civil Society, bringing together European and American academics conducting research on advocacy, interest groups, NGOs and international organizations.
- Direct a tutoring program for Burmese refugee children at a local NGO for newly arriving refugees, provide volunteer opportunities for graduate students seeking experience in an NGO.
- Affiliated with the Moynihan Transnational NGO initiative promoting communication and learning between NGO scholars and NGO practitioners; and developing research projects with practical relevance to the NGO sector

COLLABORATORS AND OTHER AFFILIATIONS

***Collaborators and co-editors*:**

Frank Baumgartner (The Pennsylvania State University), Beth Leech (Rutgers University)

Graduate and Postdoctoral advisors:

Frank Baumgartner (The Pennsylvania State University), Suzanna DeBoef (The Pennsylvania State University), Donna Bahry (The Pennsylvania State University), Jeffrey Berry (Tufts University), John McCarthy (The Pennsylvania State University), Regina Smyth (Indiana University)

Thesis advisor and postgraduate-scholar sponsors (6):

Michael Beckstrand (Syracuse University, PhD advisor), Eunice Rachel Wagaki Mwangi (Syracuse University, PhD committee member), Nadine Cecile Georgel (Syracuse University, PhD committee member), Toby Van Assche (Syracuse University, PhD committee member – Now at: University of Antwerp), Laila Sorurbakhsh, (University of Houston, External Reader PhD committee member), Recep Aktas (Syracuse University, MA Thesis advisor), Heike Klüver (University of Mannheim, Post-graduate-scholar sponsor).

FRANK R. BAUMGARTNER
Richard J. Richardson Distinguished Professor of Political Science
University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill • Chapel Hill, NC 27599-3265
Phone 919 962 0414 • Fax 919 962 0432 • frankb@unc.edu

Professional Preparation (Education)

Ph.D., 1986, The University of Michigan. Political Science
M.A., 1983, The University of Michigan. Political Science
B.A., 1980, The University of Michigan. Political Science and French. Phi Beta Kappa

Full Time Academic Appointments

2009– Richardson Distinguished Professor of Political Science, UNC Chapel Hill
1998–09 Penn State University (Professor 1998–07; Miller-LaVigne Professor 2007–09)
1998–99 California Institute of Technology, Visiting Professor
1987–98 Texas A&M University (Assistant 1987–92; Associate 1992–97; Professor 1997–98)
1986–87 The University of Iowa, Visiting Assistant Professor

Selected Publications Related to this Grant Proposal

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

The Decline of the Death Penalty and the Discovery of Innocence. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008 (with Suzanna L. De Boef and Amber E. Boydstun). (Kammerer Award, best book in US public policy, American Political Science Association, 2008)

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

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

The Two Faces of Framing: Individual-Level Framing and Collective Issue-Definition in the EU. *European Union Politics* 9, 3 (2008): 435–49. (with Christine Mahoney)

Other Significant Publications

Converging Perspectives on Interest-Group Research in Europe and America. *West European Politics*, 31, 6 (2008): 1251–71. (with Christine Mahoney)

A General Empirical Law for Public Budgets: A Comparative Analysis. *American Journal of Political Science*, forthcoming, October 2009. (Bryan D. Jones, Frank R. Baumgartner, Christian Breunig, Christopher Wlezien, Stuart Soroka, Martial Foucault, Abel François, Christoffer Green-Pedersen, Peter John, Chris Koske, Peter B. Mortensen, Frédéric Varone, and Stefaan Walgrave)

Punctuated Equilibrium in Comparative Perspective. *American Journal of Political Science*, 53, 3, (July 2009): 602–619. (Frank R. Baumgartner, Christian Breunig, Christoffer Green-Pedersen, Bryan D. Jones, Peter B. Mortensen, Michiel Neytemans, and Stefaan Walgrave)

Agendas and Instability in American Politics. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993. (with Bryan D. Jones) (Wildavsky Award, book of lasting impact, 2001); 2nd edition 2009.

Synergistic Activities

"Database Development for the Study of Public Policy," NSF grant # SBR–0111611 for $690,719 covering the period from January 1, 2002 to December 31, 2007, with Bryan D. Jones. Information concerning our project, as well as all of the data we have collected, is

available at the Policy Agendas web site: www.policyagendas.org.

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. PI, with John McCarthy.

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.

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.

Collaborators within the Past 48 Months

John McCarthy, Marie Hojnacki, Suzanna De Boef, Frank Dardis, Fuyuan Shen (Penn State), Bryan Jones (Washington), Amber Boydstun (UC Davis), Jeffrey Berry (Tufts), David Kimball (Missouri) Tim LaPira (College of Charleston), Beth Leech (Rutgers), Christine Mahoney (Syracuse), James True (Lamar) John Wilkerson (Washington) David Lowery (Leiden), Virginia Gray (North Carolina), Jim Stimson (North Carolina), Christian Breunig (Washington), Martial Foucault (Montreal), Abel François (Strasbourg), Christoffer Green-Pedersen (Aarhus), Peter John (Manchester), Chris Koske (Washington), Peter B. Mortensen (Aarhus), Stuart Soroka (McGill), Frédéric Varone (Geneva), Stefaan Walgrave (Antwerp), Michiel Neytemans (Antwerp), Chris Wlezien (Temple), Joe McGlaughlin (Temple), Andrew W. Martin (Ohio State), Heather Larsen-Price (Memphis), Trey Thomas (Texas), Ed Walker (Vermont)

Thesis Advisees (PhD committees chaired since 1997)

Amber Boydstun (Ph.D., Penn State; 2008; currently at UC Davis)
Christine Mahoney (Ph.D., Penn State; 2006; currently at Syracuse)
Beth Leech (Ph.D., Texas A&M, 1998; currently at Rutgers)
Michael MacLeod (Ph.D., Texas A&M, 1998; currently at Forestar Research)
Doris McGonagle (Ph.D., Texas A&M, 1998; currently at Blinn College)
James True (Ph.D., Texas A&M, 1997; currently at Lamar University)
Total graduate advisees since 1997: 6

Graduate Advisors (PhD Committee at the University of Michigan)

Roy Pierce, University of Michigan, Chair (deceased)
Jack L. Walker, Jr., University of Michigan (deceased)
Joel D. Aberbach, UCLA (Formerly, University of Michigan)

(Revised July 2009)

Heike Klüver

PROFESSIONAL PREPARATION

Institut d'Etudes Politiques, Grenoble	Political Science	Exchange Student 2005
Universitat Autònoma, Barcelona	Political Science/Economics	Exchange Student 2006
University of Heidelberg	Political Science/Economics	M.A. 2007
ECPR Summer School Ljubljana	Quantitative Text Analysis	August 2008
EITM Summer Institute Europe	Game Theory/Quant. Methods	June/July 2009
Essex Summer School	Hierarchical Models	August 2009
University of Mannheim	Political Science	Ph.D to be completed in Summer 2010

APPOINTMENTS

08/2009	Teaching Assistant in Quantitative Text Analysis, ECPR Summer in Methods and Techniques, Ljubljana
02/2008 – present	Teaching Assistant in European Politics, University of Mannheim

PUBLICATIONS

Klüver, Heike (forthcoming): Measuring interest group influence using quantitative text analysis, *European Union Politics*.

Klüver, Heike (forthcoming): Europeanization of lobbying activities: When national interest groups spill over to the European level, *Journal of European Integration.*

Klüver, Heike (2008): Interessenvermittlung in der Europäischen Union: Nationale Verbände auf dem Weg nach Brüssel, Saarbrücken: VDM.

GRADUATE AND DOCTORAL ADVISORS

Graduate Advisors

Uwe Wagschal	University of Heidelberg
Sabine Saurugger	Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Grenoble

Doctoral Advisors

Berthold Rittberger	University of Mannheim
Sabine Saurugger	Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Grenoble