

## THOMAS T. HOLYOKE, Ph.D.

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California State University, Fresno  
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<http://thomasholyoke.com>

November 2021

### ***EDUCATION***

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**Doctor of Philosophy**, 2004. Political Science, The George Washington University, Washington, D.C.  
Field Exams: American Politics, Political Methodology

**Master of Arts**, 1996. Political Science, Syracuse University, Syracuse, New York

**Bachelor of Arts**, 1992. Political Science, Drake University, Des Moines, Iowa

### ***FOCUS OF TEACHING AND RESEARCH***

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**Synopsis:** My teaching currently focuses primarily on American politics at the national level, especially interest group and legislative political. I also teach courses on social movements, water politics, and the methods of social science research including data analysis. Recent courses include:

- Introduction to American Government
- Legislative Politics
- Interest Group Politics
- Social Movement Politics
- Water Politics (undergraduate and graduate levels)
- Statistical Analysis Methods (undergraduate and graduate levels)

My research currently focuses on three areas. One is interest group politics and group formation, both at the national level in Washington, DC, and in the American states. The second focuses on the public policy process, especially education policy and school choice in the American states. Finally, I also conduct research on western water policy, with a special emphasis on California.

### ***ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS***

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*Professor of Political Science*, California State University, Fresno, 2015 – Present

*Associate Professor of Political Science*, California State University, Fresno, 2010 – 2015

*Assistant Professor of Political Science*, California State University, Fresno, 2005 – 2010

*Assistant Professor of Political Science*, Hastings College, 2003 – 2005

*Teaching Fellow*, Department of Political Science, The George Washington University, 2002 – 2003

*Banneker Research Fellow*, Center for Washington Area Studies, The George Washington University, 1999 - 2003

*Teaching Assistant*, Department of Political Science, The George Washington University, 2001

***BOOKS (Peer-Reviewed)***

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2020. [\*Interest Groups and Lobbying: Pursuing Political Interests in America\*](#), 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. Abingdon, UK: Routledge. (First edition published in 2014 by Westview Press).

- First edition reviewed by Daniel Lewis in *Interest Groups & Advocacy*, April, 2014

2015. [\*The Ethical Lobbyist: Reforming Washington's Influence Industry\*](#). Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

- Featured on [C-Span2 Book Television](#), February 4, 2017
- Featured in ["Would More Lobbying Improve America?"](#) by Kevin Hartnett in *Politico*, August 24, 2015

2011. [\*Competitive Interests: Competition and Compromise in American Interest Group Politics\*](#). Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

- Reviewed by Matt Grossmann in *Perspectives on Politics*, June, 2013
- Reviewed by Timothy LaPira in *Political Science Quarterly*, Winter, 2012-13

***JOURNAL ARTICLES AND BOOK CHAPTERS (Peer-Reviewed)***

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**Lobbying and Interest Group Politics**

2022. ["Strategic Lobbying and the Pressure to Compromise Member Interests."](#) *Political Research Quarterly* forthcoming.

2021. ["Ages of Organization: Social, Economic, and Political Influence of Interest Group Formation in American History."](#) *Political Science Quarterly* forthcoming.

2021. ["Changing State Interest Group Systems: Replicating and Extending the ESA Model."](#) *Interest Groups & Advocacy* 10(September): 264 – 285.

2020. ["Interest Group and Political Party Influence on Growth in State Spending and Debt"](#) with Jeff Cummins. *American Politics Research* 48(July): 455 – 466.

2019. ["Strategic Support and Opposition by Lobbyists to Legislation in Congress."](#) *Journal of Legislative Studies* 25(December): 533 – 552.

2019. ["The Influence of Corporate Lobbying on Federal Contracting"](#) with Aaron Dusso and Henrik Schatzinger. *Social Science Quarterly* 100(August): 1793 – 1809.

2019. ["Dynamic State Interest Group Systems: A New Look with New Data."](#) *Interest Groups & Advocacy* 8(December): 499 – 518.

2018. "Fiscal Accountability in Gubernatorial Elections" with Jeff Cummins. *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 18(December): 395 – 416.

2017. ["Interest Groups and Lobbying Research in a Higher Level Context: Two Tests of Integrating Multiple Levels of Analysis."](#) *American Politics Research* 45(September): 887 – 902.

2017. ["A Theoretical Foundation for Assessing Principal-Agent Problems in Lobbying Ethics and an Empirical Test."](#) *Interest Groups & Advocacy* 6(October): 272 – 289.

2015. ["Challenges of Integrating Levels of Analysis in Interest Group Research."](#) In *The Organization Ecology of Interest Communities*, eds. David Lowery, Darren Halpin, and Virginia Gray, pp. 79-97. London: Palgrave-Macmillan.

2015. ["Learnable Skills, or Unteachable Instinct? What Can and Cannot be Taught in the Lobbying Profession."](#) with Heath Brown and Timothy M. LaPira. *Interest Groups & Advocacy* 4(March): 7-24.

2015. "[Reflecting on Theodore J. Lowi's \*The End of Liberalism\*](#)" in the *Oxford Handbook of the Classics of Public Policy and Administration*, eds. Edward Page, Steven Balla, and Martin Lodge. New York: Oxford University Press.
2014. "[Why Lobbyists for Competing Interests Often Cooperate.](#)" In *New Directions in Interest Group Research*, ed. Matt Grossmann, pp. 105-121. New York: Routledge.
2013. "[A Dynamic Model of Member Participation in Interest Groups.](#)" *Interest Groups & Advocacy* 2(October): 278-301.
2013. "[No Exaggeration: Truthfulness in the Lobbying of Government Agencies by Competing Interest Groups](#)" with Hyoung-Goo Kang. *Japanese Journal of Political Science* 14(December): 499-520.
2013. "[The Interest Group Effect on Contact with Congress.](#)" *Party Politics* 19(November): 925-944.
2012. "[Shopping in the Political Arena: Strategic Venue Selection by Organized Interests in a Federal System.](#)" with Heath Brown and Jeffrey R. Henig. *State and Local Government Review* 44(April): 9-20.
2011. "[The Failure of Indian Casino Advocacy in New York.](#)" In *The New Politics of Indian Gaming: The Rise of Reservation Interest Groups*, eds. Kenneth N. Hansen and Tracey A. Skopek. Las Vegas, NV: University of Nevada Press.
2010. "[Democratic Limits of Political Conflict.](#)" In *Stewardship of Public Lands: Politics and the Yellowstone Ecosystem*, ed. N. Scott Cole. Washington, D.C.: American Association of State Colleges and Universities.
2009. "[Institutional Constraints on Legislative Lobbying: Lobbying for Indian Casinos in New York State.](#)" *Social Science Journal* 46(December):756 – 775.
2009. "[Interest Group Competition and Coalition Formation.](#)" *American Journal of Political Science* 53(April): 360 – 375.
2008. "[Interest Group Competition and Cooperation at Legislative Hearings.](#)" *Congress & the Presidency* 35(Autumn): 17 – 38.
2004. "[Community Mobilization and Credit: The Impact of Nonprofits and Social Capital on Community Reinvestment Act Lending.](#)" *Social Science Quarterly* 85(March): 187 – 205.
2004. "[By Invitation Only: Interest Group Access to the Oval Office.](#)" *American Review of Politics* 25(Fall): 221 – 240.
2003. "[Choosing Battlegrounds: Interest Group Lobbying Across Multiple Venues.](#)" *Political Research Quarterly* 56(September): 325 – 336.
2002. "[Expanding the Limits of Power: The Federal Reserve and the Implementation of Functional Regulation in the Gramm-Leach-Bliley Era.](#)" *Review of Policy Research* 19(Winter): 95 – 119.
2001. "[The Community Reinvestment Act and Community Organization in Washington, D.C.](#)" in *Changing Financial Markets and Community Development*, eds. Jackson L. Blanton, Alicia Williams, and Sherrie L.W. Rhine. Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System: Washington, D.C.
2000. "[The Battle is Over, But the War Goes On: Reflections on the Financial Modernization Act of 1999.](#)" *Policy Perspectives* 8(Fall): 2 – 12.

1998. "[Turning David and Goliath into the Odd Couple: The Community Reinvestment Act and Community Development Financial Institutions.](#)" with Nellie Santiago and Ross D. Levi. *Journal of Law and Policy* 6(Fall): 571 – 651.

### **Education and School Choice Policy**

2019. "[Contested Framing and Feedback after Big Policy Changes: How Interest Groups Compete to Shape State Charter School Policies](#)" with Heath Brown, in *Interest Group Politics*, 10<sup>th</sup> edition, eds. Allan J. Cigler, Burdett A. Loomis, and Anthony J. Nownes. New York: Rowman and Littlefield, pp. 146-160.

2019. "[After the Punctuation: Competition, Uncertainty, and Convergent State Policy Change.](#)" With Heath Brown. *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 19(March): 3 – 28.

2009. "[Policy Dynamics and the Evolution of State Charter School Laws.](#)" with Jeffrey R. Henig, Heath Brown, and Natalie Lacireno-Paquet. *Policy Sciences* 42(February): 33 – 55.

2008. "[Dimensions of Charter School Choice.](#)" *Journal of School Choice* 2(September): 302 – 317.

2007. "[Moving Forward and Spinning Wheels: A Comparison of Charter School Policies in Michigan and the District of Columbia.](#)" with Natalie Lacireno-Paquet. *Educational Policy* 21(January): 185 – 214.

2007. "[Institutional Advocacy and the Political Behavior of Charter Schools.](#)" with Jeffrey R. Henig, Heath Brown, and Natalie Lacireno-Paquet. *Political Research Quarterly* 60(June): 202 – 214.

2006. "[Does Mission Matter? Exploring a Typology of Charter School Orientation.](#)" with Jeffrey R. Henig, Natalie Lacireno-Paquet, and Heath Brown. In *A Guide to Charter Schools* eds. Myron S. Kayes and Robert Maranto. Latham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.

2005. "[The Influence of Founder Type on Charter School Structures and Operations.](#)" with Jeffrey R. Henig, Heath Brown, and Natalie Lacireno-Paquet. *American Journal of Education* 111(August): 487 – 522.

2004. "[Research on Emergent Phenomena: Responses and Speculations.](#)" with Jeffrey R. Henig, Heath Brown, and Natalie Lacireno-Paquet. *Social Science Quarterly* 85(December):1072 – 1077. **Response to the critics.**

2004. "[Scale of Operations and Locus of Control in Market Versus Mission-Oriented Charter Schools.](#)" with Heath Brown, Jeffrey R. Henig and Natalie Lacireno-Paquet. *Social Science Quarterly* 85(December): 1035 – 1051.

2003. "[Privatization, Politics, and Urban Services: The Political Advocacy Behavior of Charter Schools.](#)" with Jeffrey R. Henig, Natalie Lacireno-Paquet, and Michele Moser. *Journal of Urban Affairs* 25(February): 37 – 54. **Best Article on Urban Affairs Award for 2004 from the Urban Affairs Association.**

2002. "[Creaming Versus Cropping: Charter School Enrollment Practices in Response to Market Incentives.](#)" with Natalie Lacireno-Paquet, Michele Moser, and Jeffrey R. Henig. *Education Evaluation and Policy Analysis* 24(Summer): 145 – 158.

### **OTHER PUBLICATIONS OF INTEREST**

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2021. "[With latest COVID surge, CSU must require students, staff, to get vaccinated before the fall](#)" (with Melanie Ram, Blain Roberts, and Ethan Kytle). *Fresno Bee* July 23.

2020. "Neopluralism." In *Palgrave Encyclopedia of Interest Groups, Lobbying, and Public Affairs*. Eds. Phil Harris, Alberto Bitonti, Craig Fleisher, and Anne Binderkrantz Skorkjaer. London: Palgrave.

2020. "Pluralism." In *Palgrave Encyclopedia of Interest Groups, Lobbying, and Public Affairs*. Eds. Phil Harris, Alberto Bitonti, Craig Fleisher, and Anne Binderkrantz Skorkjaer. London: Palgrave.

2020. [“Water & Agriculture in the San Joaquin Valley”](#) with Amber S. Crowell and Thomas Esqueda. *Central California Business Review* February, 30 – 36.
2019. “Why We Should Blame Elected Officials, Not Interest Groups, for Spiraling State Government Spending and Debts.” American Politics and Policy Blog at the London School of Economics and Politics. <http://bit.ly/2WbCOKV>.
2018. “Academics, Athletics Rise Together, but Academics come First at Fresno State,” with Kevin Macey-Ayotte. *Fresno Bee Valley Voices Series*, April 12, at <http://www.fresnobee.com/opinion/readers-opinion/article208830994.html>.
2017. “Westlands – An Introduction” from *Westlands: A Water Story* by Randi Lynn Beach with Yiyun Li. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
2017. “Lobbying is Growing in the US – More Information May be the Best Regulation,” (with Timothy M. LaPira). American Politics and Policy Blog at the London School of Economics and Politics. <http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/usappblog/2017/10/11/lobbying-is-growing-in-the-us-more-information-may-be-the-best-regulation/>
- Reposted in *Newsweek* at <http://www.newsweek.com/drain-swamp-dc-lobbyists-go-wild-over-tax-reform-683342>)
  - Reposted in *Lobbying Italia* (in Italian) at <http://m.lobbyingitalia.com/2017/10/lobbying-usa-informazioni-regolamentazione-lse/>
2017. “Draining the Swamps, or Cultivating the Wetlands? Towards Evidence-Based Lobbying Regulation and Reform” (with Timothy M. LaPira). Introduction to the special issue on lobbying regulation in *Interest Groups & Advocacy* 6(October): 195 – 198.
2017. “Lobbying” in the *Encyclopedia of Money in Politics*, ed. David A. Schultz. Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO.
2017. “Iron Triangle” in the *Encyclopedia of Money in Politics*, ed. David A. Schultz. Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO.
2016. “Political Speech Should be in the Public Square.” *Fresno Bee Valley Voices Series*, May 29, at <http://www.fresnobee.com/opinion/readers-opinion/article78600012.html>.
2015. “Money, Speech, and Oligarchy in U.S. Politics.” *Fresno Bee Valley Voices Series*, September 30, at <http://www.fresnobee.com/opinion/readers-opinion/article36972897.html>
2015. “Without Reforms, Ethical Lobbying in Congress May Remain the Exception.” American Politics and Policy Blog at the London School of Economics and Politics. <http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/usappblog/2015/05/19/without-reforms-ethical-lobbying-in-congress-may-remain-the-exception/>
2015. “Let’s Shine a Light on Dark Money Matters.” *Fresno Bee Valley Voices Series*, January 2, at <http://www.fresnobee.com/2014/12/31/4308012/thomas-holyoke-lets-shine-a-light.html?sp=/99/274/>
2013. “Being a Member of an Interest Group Stimulates Political Participation, or At Least Makes it Easier.” American Politics and Policy Blog at the London School of Economics and Politics. <http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/usappblog/2013/11/06/interest-group-political-participation/>
2010. Book Review of *Lobbying and Policy Change* by Baumgartner, Berry, Hojnacki, Kimball, and Leech (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2009) in *Journal of Politics* 73(December).
2009. “Foundations and Future Directions: An Exploration of Competitive Interest Group Politics.” *VOX-POP Newsletter for Political Organizations and Parties* 28(1): 3 – 4.

2008. "Housing Policy." In *Encyclopedia of American Government and Civics*. Eds. Lori Cox Han and Michael Genovese. Facts-On-File.

2008. "Rider." In *Encyclopedia of American Government and Civics*. Eds. Lori Cox Han and Michael Genovese. Facts-On-File.

2008. "Political System." In *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition. Ed. William A. Darity. Farmington Hills, MI: Thomas – Gale

2008. "Pressure Groups." In *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition. Ed. William A. Darity. Farmington Hills, MI: Thomas – Gale

2005. "Exploring Competition and Bargaining Among Interest Group Lobbyists in Washington." *PS: Political Science and Politics* XXXVIII(October): 811.

**RESEARCH REPORTS AND OCCASIONAL PAPERS (authored or contributed significantly to)**

[Getting Water Infrastructure Governance Right: Recommendations Regarding the Organization and Process of Regional Public Agency Governance.](#) California Water Institute, California State University, Fresno, 2020.

[Funding a Future for Water in the San Joaquin Valley: A Literature Review of Public Funding for Water Infrastructure.](#) California Water Institute, California State University, Fresno, 2019.

*Life in Congress: Job Satisfaction and Engagement of House and Senate Staff.* Congressional Management Foundation and Society for Human Resource Management, Washington, D.C. 2013.

*Life in Congress: The Member Perspective.* Congressional Management Foundation and Society for Human Resource Management, Washington, D.C. 2013.

*Life in Congress: Aligning Work and Life in the U.S. House and Senate.* Congressional Management Foundation and Society for Human Resource Management, Washington, D.C. 2012.

"Strategic Venue Selection by Charter Schools" with Heath Brown and Jeffrey R. Henig. Occasional Paper #173, National Center for the Study of Privatization in Education, Teachers College, Columbia University, 2009.

*Communicating with Congress: How the Internet has Changed Citizen Engagement.* Congressional Management Foundation, Washington, D.C., 2008

*House Staff Employment Survey, 2004.* Congressional Management Foundation, Washington, D.C., 2005.

"The Influence of Founder Type on Charter School Structures and Operations" with Jeffrey R. Henig, Heath Brown, and Natalie Lacireno-Paquet. Occasional Paper #77, National Center for the Study of Privatization in Education, Teachers College, Columbia University, 2004.

*Growing Pains: An Evaluation of Charter Schools in the District of Columbia; 1999-2000.* Center for Washington Area Studies, The George Washington University, Washington, D.C., 2001.

*Making a Choice, Making a Difference: An Evaluation of Charter Schools in the District of Columbia.* Center for Washington Area Studies, The George Washington University, Washington, D.C., 1999.

*Arbitrage and its Impact on Local Governments.* National Association of Counties Masco Scholar Research Paper Series, Washington, D.C., 1999.

*Banking and Community Reinvestment in New York State.* New York State Senate Minority Task Force on Banking and Community Reinvestment, 1996.

*Highway Spending and the Road Use Tax Fund.* Iowa Goods Roads Association, Des Moines, Iowa, 1994.

*Iowa Motor Truck Association: Delivering 50 Years of Progress.* Iowa Motor Truck Association, Des Moines, Iowa, 1992.

***YEARS OF CONFERENCE PARTICIPATION***

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American Political Science Association: 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2012, 2014, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021

Midwest Political Science Association: 2000, 2001, 2003, 2004, 2007, 2008, 2013, 2016, 2017, 2018

Western Political Science Association: 2006, 2007, 2008, 2010, 2011, 2014, 2016

European Consortium of Political Research: 2016, 2019, 2021

Other: 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2020

***FELLOWSHIPS, AWARDS, AND VISITING PROFESSORSHIPS***

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Faculty Fellow, California Water Institute, 2021 – Present

Provost's University Service Award, 2021

Visiting Professor, Chonnam National University, Gwangju, Korea, Summer of 2019

Visiting Professor, University Studies Abroad Consortium at Chiang Mai University, Chiang Mai, Thailand, Summer of 2017

Visiting Professor, University Studies Abroad Consortium at the Southwest University for Nationalities, Chengdu, China, Summer of 2012

Outstanding Reviewer of the Year Award from *Political Research Quarterly* for 2010

Provost's Research Enhancement Grant Award, California State University, Fresno, 2010 & 2013

Visiting Professor, University Studies Abroad Consortium at the University of the Basque Country, Donostia – San Sebastián, Spain, Fall Semester of 2008

Provost's Promising New Faculty Award, California State University, Fresno, 2008

Provost's Research Award, California State University, Fresno, 2006 & 2007 & 2014

Centennial Center Visiting Scholar, American Political Science Association, 2004, 2005, 2006 & 2012

Marguerite Ross Barnett Award, American Political Science Association, 2005

Research Grant, Hal Dittmer Research Fund for Excellence, Hastings College, 2004

Support Grant for Empirical Implications of Theoretical Models Summer Institute (funded by the National Science Foundation), Washington University, St. Louis, 2004

Research Grant, The Lilly Corporation, 2004

Best article in *Journal of Urban Affairs* by the Urban Affairs Association, 2003

University Teaching Fellowship, The George Washington University, 2002 – 2003

Social Science Dissertation Grant, The George Washington University, 2002

Fellow, Center for the Study of the Presidency, Washington, D.C., 2001 – 2002

Benjamin Banneker Research Fellow, Center for Washington Area Studies, George Washington University, 1999 – 2000

Wesley A. Masco Scholar, National Association of Counties, 1999

Legislative Fellow, New York State Senate, 1995 – 1996.

#### ***ADDITIONAL PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE***

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Research Assistant, Financial Markets Center, 2000

Research Assistant, National Association of Counties, 1999 – 2001

Legislative Director, Office of New York State Senator Nellie Santiago, 1996 – 1998

Legislative Fellow, New York State Senate, 1995 – 1996

Research Assistant, Western Highway Institute, 1995

Intern, Office of U.S. Senator Charles E. Grassley, 1992 & 1993

Government Affairs Assistant, Iowa Motor Truck Association, 1992 – 1994

Intern, Office of Governor Terry E. Branstad, 1991

Intern, Iowa Campaign Finance Disclosure Commission, 1991

#### ***PROFESSIONAL AND COMMUNITY SERVICE***

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Panel organizing co-chair (with Sultan Tepe) for Political Parties and Organizations, 2021 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association

Member, Founding Editorial Board of *Interest Groups & Advocacy*, 2011 – Present.

Chair, Hahn-Sigelman Best Article Award Committee, *American Politics Research* – 2020

Member, Board of Directors of the San Joaquin River Parkway and Conservation Trust, 2013 – 2020

Chair, Best APSA Paper Award, Political Organizations and Parties section, 2018

Member, Epstein Award Committee for the Best Book on Political Organizations and Parties, 2018

Member, Advisory Committee – Waterways, Henry Madden Library at California State University, Fresno, 2010 – 2018

Member of the Executive Council of the Political Organizations and Parties Section of the American Political Science Association, 2010 – 2013



***UNIVERSITY SERVICE***

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Chair of the Academic Senate, 2017 – 2021

Member, University Presidential Search Committee, 2021

Chair, Search Committee for the Director of the California Water Institute, 2021

Member, Vice Provost Search Committee, 2020

Member, Provost Search Committee, 2018

Vice Chair of the Academic Senate, 2014 – 2017

Personnel Committee, College of Social Science, 2016 – 2020

Fresno State President’ Task Force on Water, 2014 – 2015

Search committee for Associate Vice President of Water and Sustainability – 2017

Search committee for Executive Director of Governmental Relations – 2015

Search committee for President’s Chief of Staff – 2014

American Politics Position Search Committee, chair, 2013

Truman scholarship committee, chair, 2012 – 2013

Academic Senate Executive Committee, 2010 – Present

Academic Senate, 2006 – Present

University honorary doctoral degree committee, 2010, 2014, 2015, & 2020

Curriculum committee, College of Social Sciences, 2009 – 2012 (chair in 2011-2012 AY)

Smittcamp Honors College faculty, 2006 – 2014

Masters of Public Administration consultative committee, 2005 – Present

Search committee for Director of the Smittcamp Honors College – 2009

Research committee, College of Social Sciences, 2006 – 2009

***PROFESSIONAL AFFILIATIONS***

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American Political Science Association  
Political Organizations and Parties Section  
Political Methodology Section  
State Politics and Policy Section

Midwest Political Science Association

Western Political Science Association