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22 SUPERIOR COURT OF CALIFORNIA
23 COUNTY OF ALAMEDA

24 **Michael Scott,**
25 **Leon Sweeting,**
26 **Martin Cerda,**
27 **All of Us or None,**
28 **League of Women Voters of California,**
Dorsey Nunn, and
George Galvis,

Plaintiffs,

v.

Debra Bowen, Secretary of State of California;

Defendant.

CASE NO.: RG14712570

Declaration of Professor Jeff Manza in support of Plaintiffs' motion for a peremptory writ of mandate

Dept. 31
Hearing: April 2, 2014, at 1:30 p.m.
Reservation No. 1482644
Hon. Evelio Grillo
Action filed Feb. 4, 2014
No trial Date set

1 I, Jeff Manza, declare as follows:

2 I am a Professor of Sociology at New York University (NYU) and a former chair of the
3 Department. Prior to teaching at NYU, I was Assistant to Full Professor of Sociology at Northwestern
4 University, where I also served as Associate Director and Acting Director of Northwestern's Institute
5 for Policy Research, one of the leading centers of interdisciplinary policy research in the United States.
6 My research is in the area of political sociology, with a special focus on social inequalities and
7 democracy in the United States. In collaboration with Christopher Uggen, Distinguished McKnight
8 Professor of Sociology at the University of Minnesota and one of the country's leading criminologists,
9 I have been involved in a long-term project that has examined the causes and consequences of felon
10 disenfranchisement in the United States. Our book, Locked Out: Felon Disenfranchisement and
11 American Democracy (Oxford University Press 2006), is widely regarded as the standard work on the
12 topic. Our research has been funded by the National Science Foundation and other research
13 foundations. I have provided advice and expert testimony to a variety of policy organizations, courts,
14 and legislative bodies dealing with the right to vote for convicted and former felons. I have served as a
15 member of the Social Science Research Council, National Commission on the Electoral Process. An
16 abbreviated version of my curriculum vitae is attached to this declaration as Exhibit A.

17 **SUMMARY OF DECLARATION**

18 I discuss in this declaration key findings and conclusions drawn from of my research related to
19 felony disenfranchisement. Specifically I will show that disenfranchising felons serving their sentence
20 under community supervision under the terms of California's 2011 Criminal Justice Realignment Act
21 serves no valid policy goal (whether retributive, rehabilitative, or any other punishment logic); that
22 disenfranchising felons under community supervision will do nothing to encourage desistance and
23 likely will have a negative impact; it has the potential to cause significant harms to democratic
24 elections in California; disenfranchising felons not in prison is counter to public opinion; and that
25 disenfranchising offenders not in prison has no precedent anywhere in the established democracies
26 outside of the United States. The decision by the state of California to bring felon disenfranchisement
27 to a new category of punishment is the opposite of the national trend among state governments
28 towards restoring rights for nonincarcerated felons. The information in this declaration is based upon
my personal knowledge, my own research, my review of other research on this topic, and reflects the

1 type of knowledge which social scientists would rely upon. If called upon to testify, I could and would
2 competently testify thereto.

3 **BACKGROUND AND QUALIFICATIONS**

4 I received my BA, MA, and PhD from the University of California-Berkeley, where I studied
5 history and sociology as an undergraduate and earned the PhD in Sociology in 1995 (I am a native
6 Californian). My expertise is in the area of quantitative research on American politics, elections, and
7 public opinion, with a secondary area of expertise in public policy. My first book, *Social Cleavages*
8 *and Political Change* (Oxford University Press, 1999) examined how changes in race, class, gender
9 and religion in America have led to reconfigurations of the electoral coalitions of the Democratic and
10 Republican Parties. My second book, *Navigating Public Opinion* (Oxford 2002), co-authored with
11 colleagues at Northwestern and elsewhere, examined how much influence public opinion has on
12 public policy. My third book was *Locked Out* (2006), on felon disenfranchisement and described
13 above. My fourth book, entitled *Why Welfare States Persist* (University of Chicago Press, 2007)
14 examined public opinion and social policy in the United States in comparative perspective. Most
15 recently, I have published a book that examines public support for counterterrorism policy using an
16 original battery of survey experiments I developed with my co-author Clem Brooks (*Whose Rights:*
17 *Counterterrorism and the Dark Side of American Public Opinion*, Russell Sage, 2013). I have also
18 published over 70 scholarly papers, including a total of 11 papers that have appeared in the flagship
19 journals of my discipline (the *American Sociological Review* and the *American Journal of Sociology*).

20 I have been involved in the study of felon disenfranchisement since 2000. Most recently, with
21 my long-term co-author Professor Christopher Uggen, we updated our demographic estimates of the
22 size of the disenfranchised felon population in each state at the time of the 2010 elections, a study
23 which Attorney General Eric Holder referenced in his recent call to end the disenfranchisement of
24 former felons. The estimates are regarded as state-of-the-art as they provide state-specific adjustments
25 for recidivism and mortality, to carefully avoid double-counting. We are now engaged in research for a
26 second edition of our book, one that will take into account recent developments around the country.

27 I have reviewed California's 2011 Criminal Justice Realignment Act ("Realignment Act") in
28 light of my research and knowledge of felon disenfranchisement laws and practices in the United
States and in other long-standing democratic countries. My central conclusions can be summarized as
follows:

1. The explicit goals of the Realignment Act are clear from the legislative record: to find a new way of handling people convicted of low-level felonies that would enhance reintegration back into their communities and encourage desistance from further crimes. **The best available research suggests strongly that disenfranchising convicted felons living in their communities from participating in elections harms their reintegration.** Professor Uggen and I did research on this question for our book *Locked Out*, using a unique longitudinal dataset, the Minnesota Youth Development Study (YDS). The YDS is a representative sample of urban youths who were in the St. Paul, Minnesota public school system in 1988. The original sample size was 1500. Every two years since 1988 (when respondents were in 9th Grade), respondents are reinterviewed to track their development into adulthood and now middle-age. The survey covers a range of topics such as education, employment, family, a battery of social-psychological and mental health items, and most importantly for our purposes, a full criminal history for each survey participant and in select years, information about political participation and political attitudes. Careful efforts to reduce attrition and standard methods of survey research have been employed in the data collection. It has been drawn upon by many researchers for many different purposes. To the best of my knowledge, there is no other panel survey data available which would allow for a rigorous test of the rehabilitative value of restoring voting rights (or, alternatively, the negative consequences of denying nonincarcerated felons the right to vote on their likelihood of successful reintegration).

a. As of 2004, 7% of the sample had been imprisoned and 23% had some contact with the criminal justice system. In 2004, we were able to put on the survey a battery of items about political participation and political attitudes, asking about such topics as whether the respondent had registered to vote, whether they voted in elections from 1996-2002. The 2004 survey also allowed us to identify those who had a previous conviction and become eligible to vote, and those who had registered and voted following a felony conviction. We published a preliminary version of the study in the *Columbia Human Rights Law Review* (v. 36, pp. 193-215) in 2004, and a final version in chapter 7 of *Locked Out*.

b. The results of this our multivariate regression analysis was as follows. For those respondents who had been convicted of a crime but not yet eligible to vote, the likelihood of committing additional criminal offenses was significantly higher than those who had become eligible to vote, and more strongly for those who had actually voted. These results hold net of a wide range of statistical controls for standard sociodemographic factors (race, income, education,

1 gender, employment status, family situation, and others) as well as respondents' interest in
2 politics, previous political history, and beliefs in the efficacy of participating in politics. These
3 statistical controls enable us to include that our findings are almost certainly not the result of
4 some other factor often thought to influence either criminal activity or political participation. In
5 other words, we find evidence that, alongside a wide range of other factors that predict
6 desistance (most notably finding and holding a job, finding a stable living environment, and
7 reconnecting with family and friends).

8 c. Our interpretation of these results is that (1) restoring voting rights for non-incarcerated felons
9 will have a modest but significant impact on reducing recidivism; (2) these results will likely
10 be stronger as the YDS sample ages (and more elections are available for them to participate in
11 – in other words, because of the compressed time frame of our original study, our results are
12 certainly *conservative* with respect to desistance. In fact, we will be doing a follow-up study
13 with data from 2014 that will demonstrate this much more strongly than the earlier study.
14 While we wish we could present to the Court the results of analyses of California data similar
15 to the YDS, we are aware of no such data. However, we have little reason to believe that the
16 results of our investigation would be any different in this state.

17 d. One last point: there is absolutely *no* evidence, or logical deduction based on any empirical
18 research, that has shown or even asserted that recidivism rates decline *because* nonincarcerated
19 felons are denied basic rights of citizenship. In other words, there is no risk that the restoring
20 voting rights would harm recidivism rates, and good reason to think it will improve them.

21 2. I cannot see any policy goal that is served by disenfranchising felons under community
22 supervision. There are four basic purposes of punishment: to rehabilitate offenders, to provide a form
23 of retribution for the criminal act; to incapacitate offenders and get them off the street; and deterrence.
24 Given that these mostly low-level offenders are allowed to live and work under community
25 supervision, the goal of incapacitation is irrelevant. None of the other three goals are served by
26 disenfranchisement.

27 a. Rehabilitation is not served by disenfranchising individuals like the plaintiffs for the reasons
28 and evidence described in the previous section of this declaration.

b. There is no plausible reason to think, nor any scientific evidence to support, the possibility that
disenfranchisement enhances deterrence. In order for this view to be plausible, one would have

1 to believe that at the point where a former convict is considering the possibility of committing
2 a future crime, the issue of whether they will lose the right to vote is a consideration. Our
3 research, and others such as most recently Prof. Amy Lerman of the Goldman School of Public
4 Policy at U.C. Berkeley, suggest that most former felons are unaware when exactly their voting
5 rights have been restored. Further, the deterrent value of a potential jail or prison term, and
6 other forms of criminal justice sanction are knowable and understood, whereas voting rights
7 are understandably hazy. Further, in the hierarchy of potential losses from committing an
8 additional felony, no one has ever suggested that voting rights are high enough up to influence
9 actual behavior.

10 c. The retributive value of imposing disenfranchisement on those serving under community
11 supervision is dubious as well. The relevant contrast here is with those who receive probation
12 and maintain their voting rights in California (but not many other states). The Court would
13 have to believe that it is necessary for the purpose of retribution to remove voting rights from
14 those under community supervision, but *not* those under probation. I see no evidence to
15 support the view that disenfranchisement – a post-punishment penalty that courts to not have
16 the discretion to impose – is the key to making the punishment fit the crime.

17 3. There has been a substantial national movement across towards restoring voting rights for
18 nonincarcerated felons. No state in recent years, with the arguable exception of California in the case
19 of the Realignment Act, has added punishment categories to those who are disenfranchised.

20 a. One reason for this national trend is that the public supports restoration of voting rights for
21 criminal offenders. We explored this question in a nationally representative 2002
22 HarrisInteractive telephone survey (N=1000) which included a battery of questions about
23 respondents' attitudes towards the disenfranchisement of convicted felons. Using a state-of-
24 the-art survey experiment design, we found that 66% of respondents favored allowing
25 probationers to vote, and 62% supported allowing parolees to vote. Support was substantially
26 higher in non-Southern states, although we did not have a large enough to estimate opinion at
27 the state level. At any rate, based on these results, it is certain that Californians would favor the
28 restoration of voting rights for offenders who living in the community. Our analysis was
published in the premier journal for public opinion research, *Public Opinion Quarterly* in 2004

1 (vol. 68, pp. 276-87). Other studies have confirmed these results using different question
2 wordings and sample populations.

3 b. As noted above, felon disenfranchisement is receiving increased attention across the country.
4 Attorney General Holder, in a speech delivered February 11, 2014 at Georgetown Law Center,
5 declared that “These restrictions are not only unnecessary and unjust, they are also
6 counterproductive...By perpetuating the stigma and isolation imposed on formerly incarcerated
7 individuals, these laws increase the likelihood they will commit future crimes.” While the
8 Attorney General was referring specifically to the states that disenfranchise ex-felons
9 (individuals who have completed their entire sentence and are no longer under correctional
10 supervision), the logic of his remarks apply equally to the non-incarcerated offenders living in
11 their communities (as California has recognized in providing voting rights to both ex-felons
12 and those felons serving a term of probation).

13 c. By expanding the punishment categories that are subject to disenfranchisement, the state of
14 California is moving in an entirely opposite direction from the rest of the country. In reaching
15 backwards in this way, in this case the state is doing the opposite of the historic leadership
16 California has provided to the rest of the nation.

17 4. The legitimacy of democratic elections is based on the principle of one person/one vote. When any
18 significant number of voters are disenfranchised, there is the potential (especially in very close
19 elections) for disenfranchisement to matter. This is because the felon population is not drawn
20 randomly from across the state, but rather disproportionately from certain demographic groups that are
21 different from the “average” voter (e.g. poorer, less well-educated, and with minorities
22 disproportionately represented). To put the point another way, disenfranchisement harms significant
23 numbers of non-felons: Everyone who shares the same views as the disenfranchised group suffers a
24 loss of their own because the size of the voting public sharing their views is reduced. Some related
25 points for the Court to reflect upon:

26 a. The American practice of felon disenfranchisement is completely unique in the world. No
27 other established democracy disenfranchises nonincarcerated felons. Most countries allow even
28 prisoners to vote. Several countries in recent years, including Canada, Israel, Great Britain, and
South Africa have moved to restore voting rights to current inmates.

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b. No country in the world has expanded disenfranchisement to include new categories of punishment. In doing so, the State of California again stands against not only the national trend, but the global trend as well.

I declare under penalty of perjury under the laws of the State of California that the foregoing is true and correct.

February 17, 2014

Jeff Manza

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Exhibit A

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CURRICULUM VITAE
[Abbreviated Version]

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February 2013

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EDUCATION

University of California –
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Ph.D. [Sociology] (December 1995)
M.A. [Sociology] (May 1989)
Fields: Social Stratification, Political
Sociology, Survey Research

University of California –
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B.A. [Sociology, with Highest Honors]
(May 1984)

ACADEMIC EMPLOYMENT

Professor of Sociology, New York University, 2007-

- Department Chair, 2009-12
- Visiting Professor of Sociology, New York University, Fall 2006

Professor of Sociology and (by courtesy) Political Science, Northwestern University,
2004-07

- Adjunct Professor of Sociology, 2007-08
- Assistant to Associate Professor of Sociology and Political Science,
Northwestern University, 1998–2004
- Acting Director, Institute for Policy Research, Northwestern University, 2004-
05
- Associate Director, Institute for Policy Research, 2002-2007
- Faculty Fellow, Institute for Policy Research, 1998-2007

Assistant Professor of Sociology, Pennsylvania State University, January 1996-June 1998

PUBLICATIONS

Books:

Academic Books:

- 2013 Clem Brooks and Jeff Manza, *Whose Rights: Counterterrorism and the Dark Side of American Public Opinion*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation Press.
- 2007 Clem Brooks and Jeff Manza. *Why Welfare States Persist: Public Opinion and the Future of Social Provision*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
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- 1999 Jeff Manza and Clem Brooks, *Social Cleavages and Political Change: Voter Alignments and U.S. Party Coalitions*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Trade Books and Text Books:

Forthcoming Jeff Manza, *Who Gets What? Inequality and Society in the United States*. New York: Norton [under contract, manuscript in progress]

Executive Editor and Co-Author [with NYU Colleagues]. *Social Problems: The Sociology Project*. New York: Pearson.

Executive Editor and Co-Author [with NYU Colleagues]. *Race and Ethnicity: The Sociology Project*. New York: Pearson.

2012 Executive Editor and Co-Author [with NYU Colleagues]. *The Sociology Project An Introduction to the Sociological Imagination*. New York: Pearson.

2009 Jeff Manza and Michael Sauder (eds.). *Inequality and Society: Social Science Perspectives on Social Stratification*. New York: Norton.

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- Clem Brooks and Jeff Manza. 'Class Politics and Political Change in the United States, 1952-1992.' *Social Forces* 76 (December): 379-409.
- Clem Brooks and Jeff Manza. 'The Social and Ideological Bases of Middle Class Political Alignments in the United States, 1972-92.' *American Sociological Review* 62 (April): 191-208.
- Clem Brooks and Jeff Manza. 'Partisan Alignments of the "Old" and "New" Middle Classes,' in *Citizen Politics in Post-Industrial Societies*, ed. Terry N. Clark and Michael Rempel (Boulder, CO: Westview Press), pp. 143-157.
- 1996 Jeff Manza and Clem Brooks. 'Does Class Analysis Still Have Something to Contribute to the Study of Politics?' *Theory and Society* 26: 723-30.
- 1995 Jeff Manza, Michael Hout and Clem Brooks. 'Class Voting in Democratic Capitalist Societies Since World War II: Dealignment, Realignment, or Trendless Fluctuation?' *Annual Review of Sociology* 21: 137-63.
- Michael Hout, Clem Brooks and Jeff Manza. 'The Democratic Class Struggle in the United States, 1948-92.' *American Sociological Review* 60: 805-28.

- 1994 Clem Brooks and Jeff Manza. 'Do Changing Values Explain the New Politics? A Critical Assessment of the Postmaterialist Thesis.' *The Sociological Quarterly* 35 (December): 541-70.
- 1993 Jeff Manza. 'Four Theories of Political Change and the Origins of the New Deal Labor Legislation.' *Research in Political Sociology* 6: 71-115.
- Michael Hout, Clem Brooks and Jeff Manza. 'The Persistence of Classes in Postindustrial Society.' *International Sociology* 8 (September): 259-77.
- Jeff Manza. 'The Elusive Polity.' *Contention* 7: 87-101.
- 1992 Jeff Manza. 'Postindustrial Capitalism, the State, and the Prospects for Economic Democracy.' *Journal of Political and Military Sociology* 20: 209-43.
- Jeff Manza. 'Classes, Status Groups, and Social Closure: A Critique of Neo-Weberian Social Theory.' *Current Perspectives in Social Theory* 12: 275-302.

Review Essays (Selected):

- 2013 'Putting Cultural Sociology to the Test: Reflections on Jeffrey Alexander's *The Performance of Politics*.' *Sociological Forum* (forthcoming Spring).
- 'The New Class War.' *Contexts* (forthcoming Summer).
- 2009 'Why Public Opinion?' *States, Power and Societies* 15: 15-16 [with Clem Brooks].
- 2003 'Fields of Misery.' Review essay on Evelyn Nakano Glenn, *Unequal Freedom: How Race and Gender Shaped American Citizenship and Labor*. In *Contexts* 2: 67-69.
- 1995 Review essay on Philippe Van Parijs, *Arguing for Basic Income*. In: *Theory and Society* 25: 881-89.
- 1994 Review essay on Charles Derber, William Sullivan, and Yale Magrass, *Power in the Highest Degree*. In: *Theory and Society* 21: 593-600.
- 1993 'Books on the Solidarity Movement in Poland': Review of Micheal Kennedy, *Professionals, Power, and Solidarity*; David Ost, *Solidarity and the Politics of Anti-Politics*; and Robert Zuzowski,

- Political Dissent and Opposition in Poland.* In: *Critical Sociology* 19 (3): 121-29.
- 1992 'Postindustrial Economics.' In *Socialist Review* 92/2, pp. 107-14.
- 1990 'Critical Legal Studies.' *Berkeley Journal of Sociology* 35: 137-50.

Short Book Reviews (Since 2000):

- 2013 Review of Irwin Garfinkel, Lee Rainwater, and Timothy Smeeding, *Welfare and Welfare States: Is the U.S. a Laggard or a Leader?* In: *Perspectives on Politics* forthcoming.
- 2011 Review of Steven Raphael and Michael Stoll (eds.), *Do Prisons Make Us Safer? The Benefits and Cost of the Prison Boom.* In: *American Journal of Sociology* 118: 306-08
- 2007 Review of Marie Gottschalk, *The Prisons and the Gallows.* In: *American Journal of Sociology* 113: 899-901
- 2006 Review of Richard Vallely, *The Two Reconstructions: The Struggle for Black Enfranchisement.* In: *Social Forces* 84: 1847-49.
- 2004 Review of Jacob S. Hacker, *The Divided Welfare State.* In: *American Journal of Sociology* 109: 1014-16.
- 2002 Review of Alexander Schuessler, *A Logic of Expressive Choice.* In: *Contemporary Sociology* 31: 321-22.
- 2000 Review of Suzanne Mettler, *Dividing Citizens: Gender and Federalism in New Deal Public Policy.* In: *Contemporary Sociology* 29: 542-43.

INVITED LECTURES AND CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

- 2012 Kennedy School, Harvard
 Department of Sociology, Rutgers University
 Department of Sociology, Florida State
 Texas Community College Association
 New York Law School
 Russell Sage Foundation Board of Trustees Meeting
 Pennsylvania Sociological Association (Invited keynote address)
 Department of Sociology, University of Toronto
- 2011 Tisch School, New York University

- 2010 Center for Democratic Politics, Princeton University
American Political Science Association Annual Meetings
- 2009 American Sociological Association (Two Papers)
Department of Sociology, CUNY Graduate Center.
Department of Sociology, Northeastern University (Distinguished Lecture Series).
Eastern Sociological Association Meetings, Baltimore, MD
Eastern Economic Association
- 2008 Department of Politics, New York University.
American Sociological Association, Boston
Conference on Election Administration, Center for the Study of Democratic Politics, Princeton
- 2007 American Sociological Association Meetings (Paper and Featured Authors Meets Critics Session)
Conference on the Politics of Taxation, Institute for Policy Research
Russell Sage Foundation
- 2006 Social Science History Association Annual Meeting
American Sociological Association Annual Meeting
American Society of Criminology Annual Meeting
Center for Poverty and Inequality, Stanford University
Conference on Social Class: How Does It Work?
Department of Sociology, University of California – Berkeley
Russell Sage Foundation
Workshop on Wealth and Inequality
Department of Sociology, New York University
Department of Sociology, Princeton University
Department of Sociology, Umea University [Sweden]
Program on Social Inequality and Public Policy, Harvard University
- 2005 Workshop on American Political Development, Departments of Political Science and History, Columbia University
Research Committee 19, International Sociological Association Annual Meeting (Two Presentations)
American Political Science Association Annual Meeting
American Sociological Association Annual Meeting (Two Presentations)
Conference on Comparative Perspectives on Urban Segregation: Chicago, Paris, Rio,” DePaul University.
Midwest Political Science Association, Annual Meeting.
Invited Presentation at Seminar Organized by Social Project Institute, (Moscow, Russia)
Department of Sociology, UCLA

- 2004 Social Science History Association Annual Meetings
 American Political Science Association Annual Meetings
 American Sociological Association Annual Meetings (Two Presentations)
 Political Sociology Mini-Conference, American Sociological Association
 Doris Selo Memorial Lecture, Department of Sociology, University of North
 Carolina – Chapel Hill
 Department of Sociology, University of California – Irvine
 Conference of the Council of European Studies
- 2003 Center for Comparative Research and Department of Sociology and Political
 Science, Yale University, January 16
 Department of Sociology, Stanford University
 Department of Sociology, University of California – Santa Barbara,
 Department of Sociology, Temple University
 Department of Sociology, University of California – Berkeley
 Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences
 American Sociological Association Annual Meetings (Two Presentations)
 New York University Law School
- 2002 Department of Sociology, University of California – Davis
 Survey Research Center, University of California – Berkeley
 American Sociological Association Annual Meetings (Two Presentations)
 Gender Workshop, Department of Sociology, Northwestern University,
 February 13.
- 2001 Institute for Policy Research, Northwestern University, November 30.
 American Sociological Association Annual Meetings
- 2000 American Society of Criminology Meetings, San Francisco, November 15-18.
 Russell Sage Foundation, New York, November 8, 2000.
 American Sociological Association Annual Meetings (Two presentations)
 International Political Science Association, World Congress
- Conference on 'Polls, Public Opinion, and the Future of American
 Democracy,' Institute for Policy Research, Northwestern University
- 1998 Political Sociology Mini-Conference on 'Politics or Markets,' American
 Sociological Association
 American Sociological Association Annual Meeting (Two Presentations)
 Theory Workshop, Department of Sociology, University of Iowa
 Institute for Policy Research, Northwestern University
- 1998 American Sociological Association
 Department of Sociology, University of Minnesota

- 1997 Graduate Social Thought Program, Pennsylvania State University
 Department of Sociology, University of Washington
 Department of Sociology, Temple University, November 6
 Survey Research Center, University of California, Berkeley
 Department of Sociology, Stanford University
 Department of Sociology, Northwestern University
 Department of Sociology, Ohio State University
 Department of Sociology, New York University
 Department of Sociology, University of Wisconsin-Madison
 Department of Sociology, University of Chicago
 American Sociological Association Annual Meetings
- 1997 American Sociological Association, San Francisco
 Department of Sociology, University of Minnesota
- 1996 Conference on 'After AFDC: Reshaping the Anti-Poverty Agenda,' New
 School for Social Research, New York
 American Sociological Association, Annual Meetings
 Conference on Social Class and Politics, Woodrow Wilson Center,
 Smithsonian Institute, Washington D.C., April 19-20.
- 1995 Social Science History Association Annual Meeting
 American Sociological Association Annual Meeting
 Conference on The Future of Class Politics, Nuffield College, Oxford
 University, England, February 14.
- 1994 Department of Sociology, UCLA
 Department of Sociology, Pennsylvania State University
 American Sociological Association Annual Meeting
 World Congress of the International Sociology Association
- 1993 American Sociological Association Annual Meeting
 Conference on Political Economy and Social Theory, University of
 California-Davis, June 5.

PUBLIC SOCIOLOGY (Selected)

Editorials/Comments (Since 2000):

- 2010 Eric Klinenberg and Jeff Manza. 'Obama Misses His Historic Moment.' *Le*

Monde Diplomatique English Edition. December: 4. (Also published in French as 'L'occasion gâchée du président Obama'; Reprinted in *The Best of Le Monde Diplomatique 2012*, ed. Wendy Kristiasen, pp. 37-41. London: Pluto Press)

- 2008 Doug Hartmann, Jeff Manza et al., 'Roundtable on the Social Significance of the Obama Campaign.' *Contexts* 7:4 (Winter): 16-22.
- 2005 Jeff Manza. 'Disaster Recovery Requires Government, Just Not Charity.' *Chicago Tribune* October 2, 2005.
- Clem Brooks and Jeff Manza. 'A Republican Realignment?' *Contexts* 4 (Winter): 27-29.
- Jeff Manza. 'The Crisis of the Rhetoric of Crisis.' *Chicago Tribune* February 20.
- 2004 Devah Pager and Jeff Manza. 'Making Good on the Promise of a Second Chance.' *Chicago Tribune* April 12.
- Jeff Manza and Christopher Uggen. 'The President is Right: Ex-Felons Need Aid.' *Newsday* February 5 (also published in various other papers and on the *LA Times/Washington Post* newswire).
- 2004 Christopher Uggen and Jeff Manza. 'They've Paid Their Debt: Let Them Vote.' *Los Angeles Times* July 18, 2003.
- Jeff Manza. 'Michael Jackson and Us.' *Chicago Tribune* February 20, 2003 (also published in *The Baltimore Sun* February 26, 2003).
- 2000 Jerome Karabel and Jeff Manza. 'Making Sense of the Over-Vote in Palm Beach County.' *Miami Herald*, November 15, 2000 (also published simultaneously in *San Diego Union-Tribune*)

Committee Reports:

- 2005 *Challenges Facing the American Electoral System: Research Priorities for the Social Sciences* (co-authored with Alexander Keyssar and others). National Research Commission on Elections and Voting (New York: Social Science Research Council).

Public Lectures and Presentations (since 2000):

- 2010 'The End of the Democratic Congressional Majority: How? Why? What Next?' NYU-Abu Dhabi, October 25.
- 2007 'Felon Disenfranchisement in America: The Social Science View'.

- Conference on 'Breaking the Chains: From Jail Cell to Voting Booth,'
Nashville, TN, May 3.
- Panelist, 'The Effects of Mass Incarceration on Families and Communities,'
Illinois Academy of Criminology, University of Illinois-Chicago,
Chicago, IL, January 23
- 2006 'Felon Disenfranchisement and American Democracy.'
Justice Maryland, Baltimore, MD, May 8
Demos Foundation, New York, NY, May 18
John Jay College Institute on Prisoner Re-Entry, New York, NY,
June 16
Open Society Institute, New York, NY, June 20
- 2005 'The Bush Presidency and the Future of American Politics.' Social
Project Institute, Moscow, Russia, January 27.
- 2004 'Felon Disenfranchisement.' Speech at Conference on Rebuilding Lives:
Restoration, Reformation and Rehabilitation in the U.S. Criminal
Justice System, Sponsored by Wayne Community College District,
Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and Local News Media.
Detroit, MI November 16.
- 'Social Science Research on Felon Disenfranchisement.' Brennan Center for
Social Justice, New York University, January 15.
- 2003 'Felon Disenfranchisement and American Democracy.' Lecture to the
Undergraduate Public Policy Program, Northwestern University,
October 25.
- 2002 'Public Attitudes Towards Felon Voting Rights.' Paper presented to the
National Symposium on Felon Disenfranchisement, Washington
D.C., September 30.
- 2001 'Political Possibilities for Universal Income Grants in the United
States.' First Congress of the U.S. Basic Income Network. New York,
NY, March 8-9.

Media Policy Briefings:

- 2005 'After Prison' (with John Hagan and Devah Pager). Public Policy Briefing
sponsored by the Institute for Policy Research, National Press Club,
Washington D.C., May 13.
- 2004 'Social Consequences of Mass Incarceration' (with Mary Pattillo,
Devah Pager, and Kathryn Edin). Public policy briefing, sponsored
by the Institute for Policy Research, Chicago, Illinois, June 7.

1996 'Class Politics in the United States' (with Michael Hout). Policy briefing sponsored by the American Sociological Association, Washington D.C., August 19.

GRANTS AND FELLOWSHIPS (Partial List)

Russell Sage Foundation, for 'Rich People's Movements' (Jennifer Heerwig, co-PI) [Award: \$35,000]

Russell Sage Foundation, for 'The Broken Public: Mass Opinion and the Great Recession.' July 2011-13 [Total Award: \$139,000]

National Science Foundation, SES-09-61536, for 'Americans' Response to the Economic Crisis: Public Attitudes toward Social Policies' (co-PI, Clem Brooks). May 2010-April 2011. [total award: \$165,500]

Russell Sage Foundation, for 'Inequality and American Social Policy Attitudes' (co-PI, Clem Brooks). January 2008-December 2010. [total award: \$151,750]

National Science Foundation, SES 04-52873, 'Public Opinion and the Welfare State in Comparative Perspective.' Principal Investigator (co-PI, Clem Brooks). August 2005-December 2007. [total award: \$147,000]

National Science Foundation, SES 01-11788, for 'Parties and Societies in Comparative Perspective.' (Principal Investigator; co-PI, Paul Nieuwbeerta). September 2001-August 2005. [total award: \$187,000]

Individual Project Fellowship, Open Society Institute, for 'Locking Up the Vote: The Social and Political Consequences of Felon Disenfranchisement' (Principal Investigator; with Christopher Uggen). June 2000-December 2001. [total award: \$101,500]

National Science Foundation, SES 98-18898, for 'The Political Consequences of Felon Disenfranchisement' (Principal Investigator; with Christopher Uggen). June 1999-June 2002. [total award: \$209,700]

National Science Foundation/American Sociological Association Fund for the Advancement of the Discipline (FAD) Award, for 'Values and Political Change' (Co-Principal Investigators: Jeff Manza and Clem Brooks), December 1996-June 1997. [award: \$6,000]

College of Liberal Arts, Research and Grants Office, Pennsylvania State University, Research Grant for 'Values and Political Change' (Co-Principal Investigators: Jeff Manza and Clem Brooks), July - December 1996. [award: \$7,500]

National Science Foundation, Dissertation Improvement Grant SBR 94-01115, for 'Policy Experts and Political Change During the New Deal' (Principal Investigator: Jeff Manza), July 1994-August 1995. [award: \$7,500]

Amy Bowles Johnson Dissertation Year Fellowship, 1993-1994.

SELECTED AWARDS AND HONORS (Major Only)

Elected Member, Sociological Research Association, 2006

Fellow, Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 2005-06

Doris Selo Memorial Lecturer, Department of Sociology, University of North Carolina – Chapel Hill, March 17, 2004

Fellow, Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, 2002-03

American Sociological Association, Section on Political Sociology, Distinguished Book Award for best book published in 1999, for *Social Cleavages and Political Change*, August 2000.

American Sociological Association, Section on Political Sociology, Political Sociology Section Award (honorable mention) for distinguished paper published in 1998, for 'The Gender Gap in U.S. Presidential Elections: When? Why? Implications?', August 1999.

Society for the Scientific Study of Religion, Distinguished Article Award for 1998, for 'The Religious Factor in U.S. Presidential Elections, 1960-1992,' November 1998.

American Sociological Association, Section on Political Sociology, Political Sociology Section Award for Best Paper published in 1996 or 1997, for 'The Religious Factor in U.S. Presidential Elections, 1960-1992,' August 1998.

American Sociological Association, ASA Dissertation Award, for the best dissertation in Sociology (all fields) defended in 1995, for *Policy Experts and Political Change During the New Deal*, August 1996.

MAJOR PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES

Editor-in-Chief, *Sociology Module*, Oxford Online Bibliographies, 2010-
Member, External Review Committee, Department of Sociology, CUNY Graduate
Center, 2010
Member, External Review Committee, Department of Sociology, UC-Riverside,
2010
Member, External Review Committee, Department of Sociology, Wellesley College,
2009
Member, Board of Overseers, General Social Survey, 2003-2008
Board Representative to the International Social Survey Program;
Member, Drafting Committee on Social Inequality Module, 2009 ISSP
Member, Editorial Board, *Cambridge Dictionary of Sociology* (General Editor:
Bryan Turner) (published by Cambridge University Press, August 2006)
Program Planning Committee, 2005 Annual Meetings of the Midwest Political
Science Association.
Member, Social Science Research Council, National Commission on the Electoral
Process, 2004-05
Member, Editorial Board, *American Sociological Review*, 2003-06

MAJOR UNIVERSITY COMMITTEE SERVICE

At New York University:

Chair, Department of Sociology, 2009-12
Member, Faculty of Arts and Science Tenure and Promotion Committee, 2010-13
Member, Department of Sociology Executive Committee, 2007-09
(Chair, 2008-09)

At Northwestern:

Director (Acting), Institute for Policy Research, Northwestern University, 2004-05.
Associate Director, 2002-07
Member, Program Review Council, Northwestern University, 2003-05
* Chair, Internal Subcommittee, Department of Intercollegiate Athletics,
2004-05
* Chair, Internal Subcommittee, Department of Industrial Engineering and
Management Science, 2003-04
* Member, Internal Subcommittee, Department of Psychology, 2001-02
Co-Chair, Departmental Self-Study Committee, Department of Sociology,
Northwestern University, 2001-02

Tenure Committee, Weinberg College of Arts and Sciences, Northwestern
University 2001-02
Member, Committee on the Status of Women in the Academic Community,
Northwestern University (COWAC), 2001-04
Member, Ad Hoc Tenure Review Committee, Weinberg College of Arts and
Sciences, Northwestern University, 2000-01; 2003-04
Member, Executive Committee, Institute for Policy Research, Northwestern
University, 1999-present