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EDUCATION **University of Michigan**, Ann Arbor, MI
Ph.D., Political Science, *Expected*: 2019

- Committee: James D. Morrow (chair), Barbara Koremenos, Yonatan Lupu (George Washington University Political Science), Kiyoteru Tsutsui (Sociology), Kevin Quinn, Yuri Zhukov

Georgetown University Law Center, Washington, DC
LL.M., focus on International Law, 2012

Northwestern University School of Law, Chicago, IL
J.D., 2004

- Associate Editor, *Northwestern University Law Review*

The Ohio State University, Columbus, OH
B.A., Political Science, 2000

REVISE & RESUBMIT *A Nationalist Backlash to International Refugee Law: Evidence from a Survey Experiment in Turkey* (with [Charles Crabtree](#)) (Revise & Resubmit at the JOURNAL OF LEGAL STUDIES)

The Limits of Information Revelation in Multilateral Negotiations: A Theory of Treaty-making (with [James D. Morrow](#)) (Revise & Resubmit at INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION)

PUBLISHED & FORTHCOMING ARTICLES *The Empirical Study of Rights and Institutions*, 15 ANNUAL REVIEW OF LAW & SOCIAL SCIENCE (forthcoming 2019) (with [Cosette D. Creamer](#) & [Mila Versteeg](#))

Patterns of Disagreement in State Repression Measures, 6 POLITICAL SCIENCE RESEARCH & METHODS __ (2019) (with [Charles Crabtree](#) & [Christopher J. Fariss](#))

Beyond Physical Integrity, 81 LAW & CONTEMPORARY PROBLEMS 185 (2018) (conclusion to special issue) (with [Charles Crabtree](#) & [Yonatan Lupu](#))

Disaggregating the Human Rights Treaty Regime, 56 VIRGINIA JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL LAW 459 (2016) (with [Cosette D. Creamer](#))

Congress's International Legal Discourse, 113 MICHIGAN LAW REVIEW 1115 (2015)

- Excerpted in CURTIS A. BRADLEY & JACK L. GOLDSMITH, FOREIGN RELATIONS LAW: CASES AND MATERIALS (5th ed. summer 2016 supp.)
- Reprinted as *O Discurso Jurídico Internacional do Congresso Estadunidense*, SEQUÊNCIA: ESTUDOS JURÍDICOS E POLÍTICOS 37 (74), 19–96

The Intermestic Constitution: Lessons From the World's Newest Nation, 53 VIRGINIA JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL LAW 667 (2013)

- Revised and Reprinted in THE SOCIAL & POLITICAL FOUNDATIONS OF CONSTITUTIONS (Cambridge University Press 2013)

EDITED-
VOLUME
CHAPTERS

National Legislatures: The Foundations of Comparative International Law, in COMPARATIVE INTERNATIONAL LAW (Anthea Roberts et al. eds., Oxford University Press 2017) (with Hooman Movassagh)

Treaty Law and National Legislative Politics, in RESEARCH HANDBOOK ON THE POLITICS OF INTERNATIONAL LAW (Wayne Sandholtz & Christopher Whytock eds., Edward Elgar 2017)

Reconceptualizing Recognition Uniformity, in FOREIGN COURT JUDGMENTS AND THE U.S. LEGAL SYSTEM (Paul Stephan ed., Brill 2014)

ESSAYS &
BOOK
REVIEWS

Review Essay: "The Interpretation of International Law by Domestic Courts" (Helmut Philipp Aust & Georg Nolte eds., Oxford University Press 2016), 111 AMERICAN JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL LAW 538 (2017) (with Mila Versteeg)

Lost in Translation: The Accidental Origins of Bond v. United States, 112 MICHIGAN LAW REVIEW (FIRST IMPRESSIONS) 133 (2014)

WORKING
PAPERS

Making Treaties

- Presented at the 2018 Canadian Law & Economics Association Annual Conference
- This Article aims to improve our understanding of treaty-making through both theory development and empirical analysis. I first develop a positive decision-theoretical model of the factors that states consider in drafting, negotiating, approving, and ratifying multilateral treaties. The model takes account of states' right to opt-out of a treaty and that right's several implications: that treaty-making entails a three-stage decisional process unique in democratic lawmaking, and that both treaty externalities and the quantity and character of future members affect states' decisional logic during negotiations. These phenomena have not been fully appreciated in either the legal or international relations literatures, much less formally theorized. I then apply these insights to analyze real-world drafting efforts. I code the drafting states' recorded positions based on two treaties' negotiating histories, and I use them to estimate states' ideal points on multiple issues. My findings demonstrate that this method can predict states' ratifications and reservations with considerable accuracy. The analysis provides novel insights into how international law is created and implemented, and under what circumstances it meaningfully affects later state behaviors. Specifically, the issues that divide states differ across treaties, and I find evidence that states' preferences for particular treaty provisions coincide with those we would expect of utility-maximizing states. That the state positions predict subsequent behavior implies that treaty negotiations yield a rich trove of relatively authentic revealed state preferences. That suggests that, in addition to fueling theory and data-generation, these methods and the insights they provide could also be used to aid ongoing treaty negotiations in the future.

Estimating Judicial Traits Using Text Analysis of Expert Evaluations (with Charles Crabtree & Adam Feldman)

- Presented at the December 2018 Online Workshop on the Computational Analysis of Law, 2018 Conference on Empirical Legal Studies, and 2017 meeting of the American Political Science Association
- We introduce the first ideology measure covering every Article III judge in the federal judiciary. The dataset comprises dynamic, interval-level data featuring multiple dimensions. It includes every district and appellate judge who has served since 1985. The measure is derived from text analysis of tens of thousands of qualitative judicial evaluations – surveys conducted by the Almanac of the Federal Judiciary (AFJ) – of a representative sample of legal experts familiar with those judges' decisions and their approaches to judging. By drawing on expert evaluations, our method exploits some of the best features of the leading vote-based and proxy approaches. But it also overcomes many of the issues that limit those methods, including endogeneity, sample bias, lack of dynamic capability, and inability to measure the lower courts. Analysis of pilot data indicates that our time-aggregated point estimates predict appellate outcomes significantly more accurately than the Judicial Common Space and Clerkship-Based Ideology scores. Our data also cover almost six times as many judges as the next largest dataset and are dynamic, include standard errors, differentiate between almost every judge in the dataset, and include judicial traits that no existing measure captures. We hope our approach will foster breakthroughs in fields such as judicial behavior,

jurisprudence, and empirical legal studies, opening avenues of research that until now were closed due to data limitations.

Conceptualizing and Measuring Repression (with [Charles Crabtree](#))

- Presented at the 2017 *What's Next for Human Rights Scholarship?* Conference, UVA
- The rights-measures boom of the last two decades has been a gift to legal and political empirical scholars, who have used them to explore the determinants of state performance. This article probes into the data-generating processes – both theoretical and actual – of negative rights measures. We identify three key characteristics – (1) conceptualization, (2) measurement, and (3) scope and aggregation – that together cover the core characteristics of any measure. We then use these three criteria to evaluate seven of the leading negative rights measures. Based on our framework, we determine how closely the measures capture the same underlying concepts. We then use this information to examine the extent to which they should be truly interchangeable. In contrast to recent debates that center on which measure is ‘best,’ our core finding is that the validity of a given measurement approach depends on the purpose for which the researcher uses it; we provide some guidance on the conditions under which certain measures are most appropriate.

WORKS-IN-
PROGRESS

U.S. Migrant-Family Separation and International Law: Evidence for a Backfire Effect
(with [Charles Crabtree](#))

The Rhetoric of Immigration Enforcement (with [Charles Crabtree](#))

Estimating State Interest From Treaty Negotiations (with [Charles Crabtree](#), [Kevin McAlister](#),
& [James D. Morrow](#))

Non-immigrant Visas as Foreign Policy (with [David Leblang](#))

SHORT
WRITINGS

*It's Hard to Find a Federal Judge More Conservative than Brett Kavanaugh, in THE
WASHINGTON POST MONKEY CAGE* (Sept. 5, 2018) (with [Joshua Fischman](#))

- Cited by Senator Mazie Hirono and entered into the record during Senate confirmation hearings

*Voters are Much More Likely to Support Immigrant-Family Separation if They Watch
Fox News or Read Breitbart, in LSE UNITED STATES POLITICS & POLICY BLOG*
(Aug. 1, 2018) (with [Charles Crabtree](#))

*Exactly How Conservative are the Judges on Trump's Short List for the Supreme Court?
Take a Look at This One Chart, in THE WASHINGTON POST MONKEY CAGE* (July
7, 2018)

*For a Trump Nominee, Neil Gorsuch's Record is Surprisingly Moderate on Immigration
(and Employment Discrimination), in FIVETHIRTYEIGHT.COM* (Mar. 27, 2017)
(with [Joshua Fischman](#))

‘Constitutions,’ in INTERNATIONAL ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE SOCIAL & BEHAVIORAL
SCIENCES (2d ed. Elsevier 2015) (with [Mila Versteeg](#))

South Sudan's Constitutional Bait-and-Switch, in JURIST – Forum (Feb. 14, 2014)

*The Accidental Origins of Bond v. United States, in THE SUMMIT: GEORGETOWN J.
INT'L L. ONLINE* (2014)

*In Sickness and in Health: The Constitution Should Give Americans the Right to Basic
Health Care, in SLATE.COM, The Hive: How Can We Fix the Constitution?* (June
12, 2012) (with [Mila Versteeg](#))

ACADEMIC POSITIONS **University of Virginia**, Charlottesville, VA
Associate Professor of Law, *School of Law*, 2019–Present
Faculty Affiliate, *Woodrow Wilson Department of Politics*, 2017–Present
Research Assistant Professor of Law, *School of Law*, 2017–19
Visiting Scholar, *School of Law*, 2012–13

University of Oxford, United Kingdom
Visiting Scholar, *Faculty of Law Centre for Socio-Legal Studies*, Summer 2012

MEDIA APPEARANCES ‘It Doesn’t Feel Right’: How The Travel Ban Is Playing Out For One D.C.-Area Family,
WAMU (NPR Washington, DC) Radio Interview (July 19, 2018)
What Went Wrong With The Police Response In Charlottesville, *The Huffington Post*
(Aug. 14, 2017)

UNIVERSITY & PROFESSIONAL SERVICE Model International Mobility Treaty Commission Member, Columbia University Global
Policy Initiative, 2018–present
Board of Advisors Member, *Virginia Journal of International Law*, 2017–present
Admissions Committee Member, University of Michigan Political Science Department,
2014–15
University Senate Member, The Ohio State University, 1999–2000
University Senate Fiscal Committee Member, The Ohio State University, 1998–99

CONFERENCES & PANELS ORGANIZED Co-organizer, “What’s Next for Human Rights Scholarship?” Conference, University of
Virginia School of Law, March 2017
Organizer, Model International Mobility Convention Launch Event, University of Virginia
School of Law, April 2018

HONORS, GRANTS, & AWARDS Rackham Summer Award research grant (\$8000), University of Michigan (2016)
University Research Initiative Grant (\$7500), Center for Global Inquiry + Innovation
(CGII) (with James Loeffler, David Leblang, and Mila Versteeg), University of
Virginia (2016–17)
First-year Rackham Fellowship (\$9800), University of Michigan (2014–15)
LL.M., *Dean’s List & With Distinction* (highest academic honor), Georgetown University
Law Center (2012)
‘CALI’ Award (best course paper) in three seminars, Georgetown University Law Center
(2011–12)
B.A., *Cum Laude*, The Ohio State University (2000)
President’s Leadership Award, The Ohio State University (2000)
National Merit Finalist & Scholar, National Merit Foundation (1995)

TEACHING
EXPERIENCE

Graduate/Law:

Immigration Law, University of Virginia School of Law (Spring 2018, 2019)

The Law of Refugees and Forced Migration, University of Virginia School of Law (short course) (January 2019)

Public Law & Economics (with Michael Gilbert), University of Virginia School of Law (Spring 2018)

POLSCI 993: *Graduate Student Instructor Training* (Graduate Student Mentor, with Professor Lisa Disch), University of Michigan (Fall 2016)

POLSCI 514: *Social Science Computer Programs*, University of Michigan (Winter 2016)

The Law of Treaties, University of Virginia School of Law (short course) (Spring 2015, 2016)

Introduction to Contracts, Georgetown University Law Center (Spring 2014)

Appellate Litigation Clinic, University of Virginia School of Law (2012–14)

Federal Judicial Process, University of Virginia School of Law (Spring 2013)

International Law I: Introduction to International Law, Georgetown University Law Center (Summer 2013)

Undergraduate:

POLSCI 371: *Law, Courts, and Politics* (Grader, with Charles Adside III), University of Michigan (Fall 2016)

POLSCI 160: *Introduction to World Politics* (Administrative Coordinating Graduate Student Instructor, with James Morrow), University of Michigan (Fall 2015)

TALKS,
PRESENTATIONS,
& PANELS

Presenter: Migrant Family Separation and the Backlash to International Law, 77th Annual Midwest Political Science Association Conference, Chicago, IL, April 2019 (upcoming)

Presenter: Estimating Judicial Traits From Text Analysis of Expert Evaluations, Online Workshop on the Computational Analysis of Law, December 2018

Presenter: Making Treaties, University of Virginia School of Law, November 2018

Presenter: A Nationalist Backlash to International Refugee Law: Evidence from a Survey Experiment in Turkey, University of Alabama School of Law, October 2018

Presenter: Making Treaties, USC Gould School of Law, Los Angeles, CA, October 2018

Presenter: Estimating Judicial Traits From Text Analysis of Expert Evaluations, Conference on Empirical Legal Studies, Ann Arbor, MI, November 2018

Presenter: Making Treaties, 2018 Canadian Law & Economics Association Annual Conference, Toronto, ON, September 2018

Presenter: Estimating Judicial Traits From Text Analysis of Expert Evaluations, Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, MA, August 2018

Presenter: A Nationalist Backlash to International Refugee Law: Evidence from a Survey Experiment in Turkey, Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, MA, August 2018

Presenter: A Nationalist Backlash to International Refugee Law: Evidence from a Survey Experiment in Turkey, Immigration Law Scholars & Teachers Workshop, Philadelphia, PA, May 2018

Presenter: Alliance-Forming in Treaty Negotiations, International Studies Association 59th Annual Convention, San Francisco, CA, April 2018

Presenter: Estimating Judicial Traits From Text Analysis of Expert Evaluations (with Adam Feldman), University of Michigan Inter-disciplinary Workshop in American Politics, Ann Arbor, MI, February 2018

Discussant: Achiume Tendayi, “Migration as Decolonization” and Alex Huneeus, “How International Courts Are Changing Peace,” Public Law Works-in-Progress Roundtable, Vanderbilt Law School, Nashville, TN, January 2018

Presenter: International Law and Attitudes Toward Refugees: A Field Experiment (with Charles Crabtree), University of Michigan Conflict, Peace, Research & Development Workshop, Ann Arbor, MI, January 2018

Presenter: Measuring Judicial Traits Using Supervised Text Analysis of Expert Evaluations: A New Dataset (with Adam Feldman), Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, CA, September 2017

Discussant: Laura Jakli, Melissa Carlson, and Katerina Linos, “Refugees’ Digital Footprint,” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, CA, September 2017

Discussant: Laura Jakli, Melissa Carlson, and Katerina Linos, “Refugees’ Digital Footprint,” International Migration and Refugee Law Workshop, UC Berkeley School of Law, Berkeley, CA, August 2017

Presenter: A Theory of Multilateral Treaty Negotiations, International Studies Association 58th Annual Convention, Baltimore, MD, February 2017

Presenter: A Theory of Multilateral Treaty Negotiations, Conference on Empirical Legal Studies, Duke University School of Law, Durham, NC, November 2016

Presenter: Modeling States’ Ideological Positions in Treaty Negotiations, Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, September 2016

Presenter: Modeling States’ Ideological Positions in Treaty Negotiations, 74th Annual Midwest Political Science Association Conference, Chicago, IL, April 2016

Presenter: Domestic Judicial Reform, Civil Conflict, and the Shadow of the International Criminal Court, 74th Annual Midwest Political Science Association Conference, Chicago, Illinois, April 2016

Presenter: Treaty Law and National Legislative Politics, University of New South Wales Comparative Roundtable, Sydney, Australia, December 2015

Commentator: National Courts and International Law Panel, University of Virginia School of Law, Sokol Colloquium on Private International Law, Charlottesville, Virginia, November 2015

Presenter: Congress’s International Legal Discourse, University of Texas Department of Politics, Austin, Texas, September 2015

Panelist: Georgetown Journal of International Law Symposium—World Courts Without World Courts: The Role of the United States in Shaping Public International Law, Georgetown University Law Center, Washington, DC, April 2015

Guest Speaker: Congress’s International Legal Discourse, University of Southern California Gould School of Law, Faculty Workshop, Los Angeles, CA, March 2015

Guest Lecturer: National Legislatures and International Law, Universidade Federal Santa Catarina & Universidade do Vale do Itajaí, Santa Catarina, Brazil, November 2014

Panelist: Symposium on Constitution-Making and Constitutional Design, Boston College Law School, Chestnut Hill, MA, October 2014

Panelist: Comparative International Law, University of Virginia School of Law, Sokol Colloquium, Charlottesville, Virginia, September 2014

Presenter: Congress's International Legal Discourse, Georgetown University Law Center, Faculty Workshop, Washington, DC, August 2014

Presenter: International Law in National Legislatures, 3rd Annual Conference of the Young Comparativists Committee, American Society of Comparative Law, Lewis & Clark Law School, Portland, Oregon, April 2014

Panelist: Bond and the Separation of Powers, Hosted by the University of Virginia Federalist Society, Charlottesville, Virginia, April 2014

Panelist: Does Congress Use International Law?, Georgetown University Law Center, Washington, DC, March 2014

Panelist: Advancing the Rule of Law in East Africa, Regent University Center for Global Justice, Human Rights, and the Rule of Law Symposium, Virginia Beach, Virginia, February 2014

Selected Paper Author: Elective International Law in Congress, American Society of International Law, International Law in Domestic Courts Interest Group Annual Workshop, Yale Law School, New Haven, Connecticut, December 2013

Presenter: Elective International Law in Congress, Washington and Lee University School of Law, Faculty Workshop, Lexington, Virginia, October 2013

Commentator: Presented oral critique of David Fontana's paper, Government by Location, First Annual Montpelier Roundtable in Comparative Constitutional Law, Orange, Virginia, October 2013

Supreme Court Mock Panelist: Bond v. United States (Chemical Weapons Convention case) Moot, Supreme Court Institute, Georgetown University Law Center, Washington, DC, October 2013

Presenter: International Law in Congress, University of Virginia School of Law, Summer Faculty Workshop, Charlottesville, Virginia, August 2013

Panelist: Federalism, Foreign Affairs, and Foreign Judgments Panel, University of Virginia School of Law, Sokol Colloquium on Private International Law, Charlottesville, Virginia, April 2013

Panelist and Presenter: The Intermestic Constitution, Law & Society Association 2012 International Conference on Law and Society, Honolulu, Hawaii, June 2012

Panelist: Transnational Constitutionalism Willamette University College of Law, Comparative Constitutional Law Symposium, Salem, Oregon, February 2012

Presenter: Dualistic Constitutionalism in Sub-Saharan Africa, University of Oxford Foundation for Law, Justice and Society Workshop, The Social and Political Foundations of Constitutions, University of Oxford, December 2011

Rapporteur: Presented oral critique of Willem Witteveen's essay, The Constitution Behind the Constitution: Two Frames for Europe, University of Oxford Foundation for Law, Justice and Society Workshop, The Social and Political Foundations of Constitutions, University of Oxford, September 2011

ACADEMIC ORGANIZATIONS & ACTIVITIES International Studies Association, Member, 2015–Present
Midwest Political Science Association, Member, 2015–Present
American Political Science Association, Member, 2014–Present
American Society of International Law, Member, 2013–Present
American Society of Comparative Law, 2013–14, Membership Advisory Group Member, Younger Comparativists Committee, 2013–14
Society for Empirical Legal Studies (SELS), Cornell University Law School, Member, 2011–Present

ACADEMIC BOOK & JOURNAL REVIEWING *International Organization*, 2018–Present
Oxford University Press, 2016–Present
Journal of College & University Law (Notre Dame Law School), 2012

LAW TEACHING & LEGAL PRACTICE EXPERIENCE **Georgetown University Law Center**, Washington, DC
Adjunct Faculty, 2013–14
University of Oxford, Oxford, United Kingdom
Visiting Scholar, **Faculty of Law Centre for Socio-legal Studies**, Summer 2012
U.S. Court of Federal Claims, Washington, DC
Judicial Clerk to the Honorable George W. Miller, Judge, 2010–11
U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit, El Segundo, California
Judicial Clerk to the Honorable Milan D. Smith, Jr., Circuit Judge, 2008–09
Skadden, Arps, Slate, Meagher & Flom LLP, Washington, DC
Government Enforcement Litigation Associate, 2006–08

- Handled matters involving, e.g., the World Bank, investigations into business practices of a multi-national corporation, a Togolese asylum petitioner, and the U.S. Constitution

U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Ohio, Cleveland, Ohio
Judicial Clerk to the Honorable James S. Gwin, District Judge, 2005–06
Morgan, Lewis & Bockius LLP, Chicago, Illinois
Labor & Employment Litigation Associate, 2004–05

COMPUTER SKILLS L^AT_EX, R, Stata

REFERENCES

James D. Morrow

AFK Organski Collegiate Prof. of World Politics
Research Professor, Center for Political Studies
Professor, Department of Political Science
University of Michigan
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Kevin Quinn

Professor, Department of Political Science
Research Professor, Institute for Data Science
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Honorable Milan D. Smith, Jr.

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