

# VITA

## I. Basic Data

Name: **James Louis Gibson**

Birth date: April 30, 1951

Address: Department of Political Science  
Washington University in St. Louis  
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St. Louis, MO 63130-4899

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Positions: *Sidney W. Souers Professor of Government*, Washington University in St. Louis:  
1999 – present.  
Professor, African and African American Studies Program, Washington University in St.  
Louis: 2005 – present.  
Director, Program on Citizenship and Democratic Values, Weidenbaum Center on the  
Economy, Government, and Public Policy, Washington University in St. Louis:  
2004 – 2012.  
*Professor Extraordinary in Political Science*, Stellenbosch University (South Africa):  
2000 – present.  
*Visiting Scholar*, Russell Sage Foundation: 2012 – 2013.  
*Visiting Professor*, Columbia University, 2012-2013.  
*James B. McClatchy Visiting Professor*, Stanford Law School, Stanford University, Fall  
2009.  
*Fellow*, Centre for Comparative and International Politics, Stellenbosch University (South  
Africa): 2000 – present.  
*Distinguished Visiting Research Scholar*, Institute for Justice and Reconciliation (South  
Africa): 2000 – 2006.  
*Visiting Scholar*, Russell Sage Foundation: 2001 – 2002.  
*Cullen Distinguished Professor*, University of Houston: 1996 – 1999.  
*Distinguished University Professor of Political Science*, University of Houston:  
1990 – 1996.  
Professor, University of Houston: 1986 – 1990.  
Associate Professor, University of Houston: 1983 – 1986.  
Associate Professor, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee: 1981 – 1983.  
Assistant Professor, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee: 1975 – 1981.

Research Associate, Center for Public Policy, University of Houston, 1983-1999.  
Center Scientist, Urban Research Center, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 1977-1983.  
Research Fellow, Department of Political Science, University of Iowa, 1975.

## **II. Education**

Emory University: B.A. *with Highest Honors in Political Science*, 1972  
Honors Thesis: “Judicial Attitudes in Decision Making: A Behavioral Approach”  
Thesis Advisor: Thomas G. Walker

University of Iowa: M.A., Political Science, 1973  
Ph.D., Political Science, 1975  
Ph.D. Thesis: “The Judicial Decision: Social and Psychological Determinants of the Decisions of Criminal Courts in Iowa”  
Thesis Advisor: Justin J. Green

## **III. Awards and Honors**

Ranked the #1 political scientist on both the number of scholarly articles published in top publications and their scholarly impact.

See: Peress, Michael. 2018. “Measuring the Research Productivity of Political Science Departments Using Google Scholar.” *PS: Political Science & Politics*  
<https://doi.org/10.1017/S1049096518001610>. Published online: 02 November 2018.

Honorable Mention, 2015 *Law and Society Association Article Prize*.

Gibson, James L., Milton Lodge, and Benjamin Woodson. 2014. “Losing, but Accepting: Legitimacy, Positivity Theory, and the Symbols of Judicial Authority.” *Law and Society Review* 48 (#4, December): 837-866.

*Visiting Scholar*, Russell Sage Foundation, 2012-2013.

*Lifetime Achievement Award*, Law and Courts Section, American Political Science Association (honoring “a distinguished career of scholarly achievement”), 2011.

2006 *Award for Conceptual Innovation in Democratic Studies*. Tri-annual award, International Political Science Association Committee on Concepts and Methods (C&M), and Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas (CIDE), Mexico.

Gibson, James L. 2004. *Overcoming Apartheid: Can Truth Reconcile a Divided Nation?* New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

**African Edition:** Gibson, James L. 2004. *Overcoming Apartheid: Can Truth Reconcile a Divided Nation?* Cape Town: HSRC Press.

Honorable Mention, *Sage Paper Award for the Best Paper in the Field of Comparative Politics* Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, 2005. Comparative Politics Organized Section, American Political Science Association.

Gibson, James L. 2005. "Land Inequality and Squatting in South Africa: Judging Historical Injustices." Presented the 2005 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 1 – September 4, 2005, Washington, D.C.

2005 *Lucius Barker Award*, "for the best paper investigating race or ethnicity and politics honoring the spirit and work of Professor Barker." Midwest Political Science Association, 2006.

Gibson, James L. 2005. "Overcoming Land Injustices: An Experimental Investigation into the Justice and Injustice of Land Squatting in South Africa." Paper delivered at the 63<sup>rd</sup> Annual National Conference of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 7-10, 2005, Palmer House Hilton, Chicago, Illinois.

*Outstanding Faculty Mentor Award, Special Recognition*, "for excellence in mentoring," Graduate Student Senate and the Dean of the Graduate School of Arts & Sciences, Washington University in St. Louis, 2006.

2004 *Best Book Award*, Organized Section on Race, Ethnicity, and Politics, American Political Science Association.

Gibson, James L. 2004. *Overcoming Apartheid: Can Truth Reconcile a Divided Nation?* New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

**African Edition:** Gibson, James L. 2004. *Overcoming Apartheid: Can Truth Reconcile a Divided Nation?* Cape Town: HSRC Press.

2005 *Decade of Behavior Research Award*. Decade of Behavior 2000 – 2010. In recognition of my "research on democracy issues [that] has contributed to the use of social and behavioral science knowledge in policy settings and has enhanced public understanding of behavioral and social science principles."

*Alexander L. George Book Award* (for the best book published in the field of political psychology in 2003), 2004. International Society of Political Psychology.

Gibson, James L., and Amanda Gouws. 2003. *Overcoming Intolerance in South Africa: Experiments in Democratic Persuasion*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

*McGraw Hill Award* (recognizing the best journal article on law and courts written by a political scientist and published during the previous calendar year), 2003. Law and Politics Organized Section, American Political Science Association.

Gibson, James L. 2002. "Truth, Justice, and Reconciliation: Judging the Fairness of Amnesty in South Africa." *American Journal of Political Science* 46: (#3, July): 540-556.

*Sage Paper Award for the Best Paper in the Field of Comparative Politics* Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, 2001. Comparative Politics Organized Section, American Political Science Association.

Gibson, James L. 2001. "Does Truth Lead to Reconciliation? Testing the Causal Assumptions of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Process." Paper

delivered at the 2001 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Hilton San Francisco and Towers, August 30 - September 2, 2001.

*Visiting Scholar*, Russell Sage Foundation, 2001-2002.

“*Alumni Fellow*,” College of Liberal Arts, The University of Iowa, 2001.

President, Midwest Political Science Association, 1998-1999. (President-Elect, Midwest Political Science Association, 1997-1998.)

“For Outstanding Teaching in Political Science,” The American Political Science Association and Pi Sigma Alpha, 1998.

Guest Lectureships by Distinguished Americans at German Universities, The German Marshall Fund of the United States (Grant No. A-0376-04), 1997.

*Heinz Eulau Award*, Best Paper Published in the *American Political Science Review*, 1988, American Political Science Association.

Gibson, James L. 1988. “Political Intolerance and Political Repression during the McCarthy Red Scare.” *American Political Science Review* 82 (#2, June): 511-529.

*Franklin L. Burdette Pi Sigma Alpha Award*, Best Paper Presented at the 1986 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, 1987, American Political Science Association.

Gibson, James L. 1986. “The Policy Consequences of Political Tolerance.” Paper delivered at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, August, 1986.

Award, Best Published Article, 1987. Political Organizations/Parties Organized Section, American Political Science Association.

Huckshorn, Robert J., James L. Gibson, Cornelius P. Cotter, and John F. Bibby. 1986. “Party Integration and Party Organizational Strength.” *Journal of Politics* 48 (#4, November): 976-991.

Phi Beta Kappa

### **Named Lectures**

Gibson, James L. “Un-teaching Intolerance?” Distinguished Lectures, Lingnan University (on the occasion of the 50th Anniversary of the Re-establishment of the university in Hong Kong), March 13, 2018.

Gibson, James L. 2013. “Public Reverence for the United States Supreme Court: Is the Court Invincible?” *Samuel I. Clark Memorial Lecture*. Western Michigan University, April 8, 2013.

Gibson, James L. 2010. “The American Mass Public and the U.S. Supreme Court: The Sotomayor and Kagan Nominations.” *R. Gordon Hoxie Lecture on the Presidency*, University of

- Northern Iowa, September 24, 2010.
- Gibson, James L. 2005. "Can Truth Reconcile a Divided Nation?" *David M. Robinson Human Rights Lecture*. Reed College, February 28, 2005.
- Gibson, James L. 2004. "Enigmas of Intolerance: Fifty Years After Stouffer's Communism, Conformity, and Civil Liberties." *The Alexander George Award Lecture*. International Society of Political Psychology Annual Conference, Eden Hall, Lund University, Lund, Sweden, July 15-18, 2004.
- Gibson, James L. 2003. "Overcoming Apartheid: Can Truth Reconcile a Divided Nation?" *Solomon Interdisciplinary Social Science Workshop Lecture*, Cornell University, March 12, 2003.
- Gibson, James L. 1999. "Reconciliation or Retribution? The Effect of Truth Processes on Perceived Fairness and the Legitimacy of Law." *Wooten Lecture*, May 10, 1999, Tufts University.

#### IV. Research

##### A. Books

- Gibson, James L., and Michael J. Nelson. 2018. *Black and Blue: How African Americans Judge the U.S. Legal System*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Gibson, James L. 2012. *Electing Judges: The Surprising Effects of Campaigning on Judicial Legitimacy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Gibson, James L. 2009. *Overcoming Historical Injustices: Land Reconciliation in South Africa*. New York: Cambridge University Press.  
Published in the series: *Cambridge Studies in Political Psychology and Public Opinion*.  
**Paperback edition** published by the same title in South Africa as part of the *Cambridge Africa Collection*.
- Gibson, James L., and Gregory A. Caldeira. 2009. *Citizens, Courts, and Confirmations: Positivity Theory and the Judgments of the American People*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Gibson, James L. 2004. *Overcoming Apartheid: Can Truth Reconcile a Divided Nation?* New York: Russell Sage Foundation.  
**African Edition:** Gibson, James L. 2004. *Overcoming Apartheid: Can Truth Reconcile a Divided Nation?* Cape Town: HSRC Press.  
**Paperback edition:** 2006.  
**Recipient of the 2004 Best Book Award, Organized Section on Race, Ethnicity, and Politics, American Political Science Association.**
- Gibson, James L., and Amanda Gouws. 2003. *Overcoming Intolerance in South Africa: Experiments in Democratic Persuasion*. New York: Cambridge University Press. [ISBN: 0521813905]  
Published in the series: *Cambridge Studies in Political Psychology and Public Opinion*.  
**Paperback edition** published by the same title in South Africa as part of the *Cambridge Africa Collection*. [ISBN: 0-521-533627]  
**Paperback edition**, United States edition, 2005. New York: Cambridge University Press.

[ISBN: 0-531-67515-4].

**Recipient of the Alexander L. George Book Award (for the best book published in the field of political psychology in 2003), 2003. International Society of Political Psychology.**

Gibson, James L. 1997. *United States Supreme Court Judicial Data Base, Phase II: User's Guide*. New York: Peter Lang, Publishers.

Gibson, James L., and Richard D. Bingham. 1985. *Civil Liberties and Nazis: The Skokie Free-Speech Controversy*. New York: Praeger.

Cotter, Cornelius P., James L. Gibson, John F. Bibby, and Robert J. Huckshorn. 1984. *Party Organizations and American Politics*. New York: Praeger.

**Paperback edition:** Cotter, Cornelius P., James L. Gibson, John F. Bibby, and Robert J. Huckshorn. 1989. *Party Organizations and American Politics*. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press.

Greer, Scott, Ronald D. Hedlund, and James L. Gibson. 1978. *Accountability in Urban Society: Public Agencies Under Fire*. Beverly Hills: Sage.

## B. Articles and Chapters

Nelson, Michael J., and James L. Gibson. 2018. "How Does Hyper-Politicized Rhetoric Affect the U.S. Supreme Court's Legitimacy." *The Journal of Politics*, forthcoming.

Claassen, Christopher, and James L. Gibson. 2018. "Macro-Tolerance and Political Protest: Does a Culture of Political Intolerance Dampen Dissent?" *Political Behavior* forthcoming.

Gibson, James L., Christopher Claassen, and Joan Barceló. Forthcoming. "Putting Groups Back Into the Study of Political Intolerance." In *At the Forefront of Political Psychology: Essays in Honor of John L. Sullivan*. Edited by Eugene Borgida, Chris Federico, and Joanne Miller. New York: Routledge. Forthcoming.

Nelson, Michael J., and James L. Gibson. 2018. "U.S. Supreme Court Legitimacy: Unanswered Questions and an Agenda for Future Research." In *Routledge Handbook of Judicial Behavior*, edited by Robert M. Howard and Kirk A. Randazzo. New York: Routledge. Pp. 132-150.

- Gibson, James L., and Michael J. Nelson. 2017. "Judicial Elections: Judges and their New-Style Constituencies." In *The Oxford Handbook of U.S. Judicial Behavior*. Edited by Lee Epstein and Stefanie A. Lindquist. New York, NY: Oxford University Press. Pp. 48-69.
- Gibson, James L., and Michael J. Nelson. 2017. "Reconsidering Positivity Theory: What Roles do Politicization, Ideological Disagreement, and Legal Realism Play in Shaping U.S. Supreme Court Legitimacy?" *Journal of Empirical Legal Studies* 14 (#3, September): 592-617.
- Gibson, James L., Miguel M. Pereira, and Jeffrey Ziegler. 2017. "Updating Supreme Court Legitimacy: Testing the 'Rule, Learn, Update' Model of Political Communication." *American Politics Review* 45 (#6): 980-1002.
- Nelson, Michael J., and James L. Gibson. 2017. "Expectancy Theory and the Election of Judges: Do Judicial Campaigns Really Stink?" In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*. Edited by Shanto Iyengar. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Gibson, James L., and Michael J. Nelson. 2016. "Change in Institutional Support for the U.S. Supreme Court: Is the Court's Legitimacy Imperiled by the Decisions It Makes?" *Public Opinion Quarterly* 80 (#3, Fall): 622-641.
- Reprinted** in: "President Trump, Public Opinion, and the U.S. Supreme Court." Virtual issue of *Public Opinion Quarterly*. Michael J. Nelson and James L. Gibson. Guest Editors. [https://academic.oup.com/poq/pages/supreme\\_court](https://academic.oup.com/poq/pages/supreme_court)
- Gibson, James L. 2016. "Reassessing the Institutional Legitimacy of the South African Constitutional Court: New Evidence, Revised Theory." *Politikon* 43 (#1, April): 53-77.
- Gibson, James L. 2015. "Legitimacy Is for Losers: The Interconnections of Institutional Legitimacy, Performance Evaluations, and the Symbols of Judicial Authority." In *Motivating Cooperation and Compliance with Authority: The Role of Institutional Trust*. [Nebraska Symposium on Motivation, Volume 62.] Edited by Brian H. Bornstein and Alan J. Tomkins. New York: Springer. Pp. 81-116.
- Gibson, James L. 2015. "Apartheid's Long Shadow: How Racial Divides Distort South Africa's Democracy." *Foreign Affairs* 94 (#2, March/April): 41-48.
- Gibson, James L., and Michael J. Nelson. 2015. "Is the U.S. Supreme Court's Legitimacy Grounded in Performance Satisfaction and Ideology?" *American Journal of Political Science* 59 (#1, January): 162-174.
- Gibson, James L., and Michael J. Nelson. 2015. "Can the U.S. Supreme Court Have Too Much Legitimacy?" In *Making Law and Courts Research Relevant: The Normative Implications of Empirical Research*. Edited by Brandon L. Bartels and Chris W. Bonneau. New York: Routledge. Pp. 169-179.
- Gibson, James L., Milton Lodge, and Benjamin Woodson. 2014. "Losing, but Accepting: Legitimacy, Positivity Theory, and the Symbols of Judicial Authority." *Law and Society Review* 48 (#4, December): 837-866.
- Honorable Mention, 2015 Law and Society Association Article Prize.**
- Gibson, James L., and Michael J. Nelson. 2014. "The Legitimacy of the U.S. Supreme Court: Conventional Wisdoms and Recent Challenges Thereto." *Annual Review of Law and Social Science* 10: 201-219.
- Gibson, James L. 2013. "Electing Judges: Future Research and the Normative Debate About Judicial Elections." *Judicature* 96 (#5, March/April): 223-231.
- Gibson, James L. 2013. "Measuring Political Tolerance and General Support for Pro-Civil Liberties Policies: Notes, Evidence, and Cautions." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 77 (Special Issue): 45-68.
- Gibson, James L., and Gregory A. Caldeira. 2013. "Judicial Impartiality, Campaign Contributions, and Recusals: Results from a National Survey." *Journal of Empirical Legal Studies* 10 (#1, March): 76-103.
- Critical Dialogue:*

- Gibson, James L. 2012. Review of *Skeletons in the Closet: Transitional Justice in Post-Communist Europe*. Monika Nalepa. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010. *Perspectives on Politics* 10 (#2, June), 425-427.
- Gibson, James L. 2012. "Response to Monika Nalepa's Review of *Overcoming Historical Injustices: Land Reconciliation in South Africa*." *Perspectives on Politics* 10 (#2, June), 431-432.
- Gibson, James L. 2012. "Being Free in Obama's America: Racial Differences in Perceptions of Constraints on Political Action." *Daedalus* 141 (#4, Fall): 114-129.
- Gibson, James L., and Gregory A. Caldeira. 2012. "Campaign Support, Conflicts of Interest, and Judicial Impartiality: Can the Legitimacy of Courts Be Rescued by Recusals?" *The Journal of Politics* 74 (#1, January): 18-34.
- Gibson, James L. 2011. "Judging the Politics of Judging: Are Politicians in Robes Inevitably Illegitimate?" In *What's Law Got To Do With It? What Judges Do, Why They Do It, and What's at Stake*. Edited by Charles Gardner Geyh. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press. Pp. 281-305.
- Gibson, James L., and Gregory A. Caldeira. 2011. "Has Legal Realism Damaged the Legitimacy of the U.S. Supreme Court?" *Law and Society Review* 45 (#1): 195-219.
- Gibson, James L., Jeffrey A. Gottfried, Michael X. Delli Carpini, and Kathleen Hall Jamieson. 2011. "The Effects of Judicial Campaign Activity on the Legitimacy of Courts: A Survey-based Experiment." *Political Research Quarterly* 64 (#3, September): 545-558.
- Gibson, James L., and Christopher Claassen. 2010. "Racial Reconciliation in South Africa: Interracial Contact and Changes Over Time." *Journal of Social Issues* 66 (#2): 255-272. [Edited by Gillian Finchilescu and Colin Tredoux.]
- Gibson, James L., Jeffrey Sonis, and Sokhom Hean. 2010. "Cambodians' Support for the Rule of Law on the Eve of the Khmer Rouge Trials." *The International Journal of Transitional Justice* 4: 377-396.
- Gibson, James L. 2010. "Public Images and Understandings of Courts." In *The Oxford Handbook of Empirical Legal Research*. Edited by Peter Cane and Herbert M. Kritzer. Oxford, England: Oxford University Press. Pp. 828-853.
- Gibson, James L. 2010. "The Political Consequences of Religiosity: Does Religion Always Cause Political Intolerance?" In *Religion and Democracy in America: Danger or Opportunity?* Edited by Alan Wolfe and Ira Katznelson. New York and Princeton, NJ: Russell Sage Foundation and Princeton University Press. Pp. 147-175.
- Gibson, James L. 2010. "Land Redistribution/Restitution in South Africa: A Model of Multiple Values, as the Past Meets the Present." *British Journal of Political Science* 40 (#1, January): 135-169.
- Sonis, Jeffrey, James L. Gibson, Joop T. V. M. de Jong, Nigel P. Field, Sokhom Hean, and Ivan Komproe. 2009. "Probable Posttraumatic Stress Disorder and Disability in Cambodia: Associations with Perceived Justice, Desire for Revenge, and Attitudes Toward the Khmer Rouge Trials." *Journal of the American Medical Association* 302 (#5, August 5, 2009): 527-536.
- Gibson, James L. 2009. "'New-Style' Judicial Campaigns and the Legitimacy of State High Courts." *The Journal of Politics* 71 (#4, October): 1285-1304.
- Gibson, James L., and Gregory A. Caldeira. 2009. "Knowing the Supreme Court? A Reconsideration of Public Ignorance of the High Court." *The Journal of Politics* 71 (#2, April): 429-441.
- Gibson, James L. 2009. "On Legitimacy Theory and the Effectiveness of Truth Commissions." *Law and Contemporary Problems* 72 (#2, Spring): 123-141.
- Gibson, James L. 2009. "Taking Stock of Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa: Assessing Citizen Attitudes Through Surveys." In *Assessing the Impact of Transitional Justice: Challenges for Empirical Research*. Edited by Hugo van der Merwe, Victoria Baxter, and Audrey R. Chapman. Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press. Pp. 173-190.
- Gibson, James L., and Gregory A. Caldeira. 2009. "Confirmation Politics and the Legitimacy of the U.S.



- Supreme Court: Institutional Loyalty, Positivity Bias, and the Alito Nomination.” *American Journal of Political Science* 53 (#1, January): 139-155.
- Springer, Melanie J., and James L. Gibson. 2009. “Public Opinion and Systems for Nominating Presidential Candidates.” In *Reforming the Presidential Nomination Process*. Edited by Steven S. Smith and Melanie J. Springer. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press. Pp. 109-135.
- Gibson, James L. 2008. “Campaigning for the Bench: The Corrosive Effects of Campaign Speech?” *Law and Society Review* 42 (#4, December): 899-928.
- Gibson, James L. 2008. “Judicial Institutions.” In *The Oxford Handbook of Political Institutions*. Edited by R. A. W. Rhodes, Sarah A. Binder, and Bert A. Rockman. New York: Oxford University Press. Pp. 514-534. [Chapter 26]
- Gibson, James L. 2008. “The Evolving Legitimacy of the South African Constitutional Court.” In *Justice and Reconciliation in Post-Apartheid South Africa*. Edited by François du Bois and Antje du Bois-Pedain. New York: Cambridge University Press. Pp. 229-266.
- Gibson, James L. 2008. “Group Identities and Theories of Justice: An Experimental Investigation into the Justice and Injustice of Land Squatting in South Africa.” *The Journal of Politics* 70 (#3, July): 700-716.
- Gibson, James L. 2008. “Is Intolerance Incurable? An Analysis of Change Among Russians.” In *Tolerance on Trial*. Edited by Ingrid Creppell, Russell Hardin, and Stephen Macedo. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books. Pp. 257-286.
- Gibson, James L. 2008. “Challenges to the Impartiality of State Supreme Courts: Legitimacy Theory and ‘New-Style’ Judicial Campaigns.” *American Political Science Review* 102 (#1, February): 59-75.
- Gibson, James L. 2008. “Intolerance and Political Repression in the United States: A Half-Century After McCarthyism.” *American Journal of Political Science* 52 (#1, January): 96-108.
- Gibson, James L. 2007. “The Legitimacy of the U.S. Supreme Court in a Polarized Polity.” *Journal of Empirical Legal Studies* 4 (#3, November): 507-538.
- Gibson, James L., and Marc Morjé Howard. 2007. “Russian Anti-Semitism and the Scapegoating of Jews.” *British Journal of Political Science* 37 (#2, April): 193-223. [Lead Article.]
- Gibson, James L. 2007. “‘Truth’ and ‘Reconciliation’ as Social Indicators.” *Social Indicators Research* 81 (#2, April): 257-281.
- Gibson, James L. 2007. “Political Intolerance.” In *The Oxford Handbook of Political Behavior*. Edited by Russell J. Dalton and Hans-Dieter Klingemann. New York: Oxford University Press. [Chapter 17]. Pp. 323-341.
- Gibson, James L. 2006. “The Contributions of Truth to Reconciliation: Lessons from South Africa.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 50 (#3, June): 309-432.
- Gibson, James L. 2006. “Do Strong Group Identities Fuel Intolerance? Evidence From the South African Case.” *Political Psychology* 27 (#5): 665-705. [Lead article.]
- Gibson, James L. 2006. “Enigmas of Intolerance: Fifty Years after Stouffer’s *Communism, Conformity, and Civil Liberties*.” *Perspectives on Politics* 4 (#1, March): 21-34.
- Gibson, James L. 2006. “Can Truth Reconcile Divided Nations?” In *Conflict Prevention and Peacebuilding in Post-War Societies: Sustaining the Peace*. Edited by T. David Mason and James D. Meernik. New York: Routledge. Pp. 176-195.
- Gibson, James L. 2006. “Overcoming Apartheid: Can Truth Reconcile a Divided Nation?” *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 603 (#1, January): 82-110.
- Gibson, James L. 2005. “Parsimony in the Study of Tolerance and Intolerance.” *Political Behavior* 27 (#4, December): 339-345.
- Gibson, James L. 2005. “On the Nature of Tolerance: Dichotomous or Continuous?” *Political Behavior* 27 (#4, December): 313-323. [Lead article.]

- Gibson, James L. 2005. "The Truth About Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa." *International Political Science Review* 26 (#4, October): 341-361. [Lead article.]
- Gibson, James L., Gregory A. Caldeira, and Lester Kenyatta Spence. 2005. "Why Do People Accept Public Policies They Oppose? Testing Legitimacy Theory with a Survey-Based Experiment." *Political Research Quarterly* 58 (#2, June): 187-201. [Lead Article.]
- Gibson, James L. 2004. "Overcoming Apartheid: Can Truth Reconcile a Divided Nation?" *Politikon: South African Journal of Political Studies* 31 (#2, November): 129-155. [Lead article.]
- Gibson, James L. 2004. "Review Essay: Addressing Historical Injustice." *Social Justice Research* 17 (#4, December): 421-433.
- Gibson, James L. 2004. "Does Truth Lead to Reconciliation? Testing the Causal Assumptions of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Process." *American Journal of Political Science* 48 (#2, April): 201-217.
- Gibson, James L. 2004. "Truth, Reconciliation, and the Creation of a Human Rights Culture in South Africa." *Law and Society Review* 38 (#1, March): 5-40.  
**Reprinted** in part in: Larson, Erik, and Patrick Schmidt. Eds. 2014. *The Law and Society Reader II*. New York: New York University Press. Pp. 301-312.
- Gibson, James L. 2004. "BCRA's Assault on the First Amendment: The Death of the Overbreadth Doctrine?" *Election Law Journal* 3 (#2, Spring): 245-249.
- Gibson, James L., Gregory A. Caldeira, and Lester Kenyatta Spence. 2003. "The Supreme Court and the U.S. Presidential Election of 2000: Wounds, Self-Inflicted or Otherwise?" *British Journal of Political Science* 33: (#4, October): 535-556.  
**Reprinted** in part in: Murphy, Walter F., C. Herman Pritchett, Lee Epstein, and Jack Knight. 2006. *Courts, Judges, and Politics: An Introduction to the Judicial Process, Sixth Edition*. New York: McGraw-Hill. Pp. 375- 378.  
**Reprinted** in: Gibson, James L., and Gregory A. Caldeira. 2009. *Citizens, Courts, and Confirmations: Positivity Theory and the Judgments of the American People*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Gibson, James L. 2003. "The Legacy of Apartheid: Racial Differences in the Legitimacy of Democratic Institutions and Processes in the New South Africa." *Comparative Political Studies* 36: (#7, September): 772-800.
- Gibson, James L., Gregory A. Caldeira, and Lester Kenyatta Spence. 2003. "Measuring Attitudes toward the United States Supreme Court." *American Journal of Political Science* 47 (#2, April): 354-367.
- Gibson, James L., and Gregory A. Caldeira. 2003. "Defenders of Democracy? Legitimacy, Popular Acceptance, and the South African Constitutional Court." *The Journal of Politics* 65 (#1, February): 1-30. [Lead article.]  
**Reprinted** in part in: *Inside the Judicial Process: A Contemporary Reader in Law, Politics, and the Courts*, edited by Jennifer Segal Diascro and Gregg Ivers. Boston: Houghton Mifflin. Pp. 429-436.
- Gibson, James L. 2003. "Russian Attitudes towards the Rule of Law: An Analysis of Survey Data." In *Law and Informal Practices: The Post-Communist Experience*, edited by Denis J. Galligan and Marina Kurkchian. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Pp. 77-91.
- Gibson, James L., Gregory A. Caldeira, and Lester Kenyatta Spence. 2002. "The Role of Theory in Experimental Design: Experiments Without Randomization." *Political Analysis* 10 (#4, Autumn): 362-375. (In the *Special Issue on Experimental Methods in Political Science*.)
- Gibson, James L. 2002. "Truth, Justice, and Reconciliation: Judging the Fairness of Amnesty in South Africa." *American Journal of Political Science* 46: (#3, July): 540-556.  
**Recipient of the McGraw Hill Award (recognizing the best journal article on law and**

**courts written by a political scientist and published during the previous calendar year), 2003. Law and Politics Organized Section, American Political Science Association.**

- Gibson, James L. 2002. "Becoming Tolerant? Short-Term Changes in Russian Political Culture." *British Journal of Political Science* 32 (April): 309-334.
- Gouws, Amanda, and James L. Gibson. 2001. "The Study of Political Tolerance in the South African Context." *Social Dynamics* 27 (#2, Winter): 109-133.
- Gibson, James L., and Amanda Gouws. 2001. "Making Tolerance Judgments: The Effects of Context, Local and National." *The Journal of Politics* 63 (#4, November): 1067-1090.
- Gibson, James L. 2001. "The Russian Dance with Democracy." *Post-Soviet Affairs* 17 (#2, April-June): 101-128.
- Gibson, James L. 2001. "Social Networks, Civil Society, and the Prospects for Consolidating Russia's Democratic Transition." *American Journal of Political Science* 44 (#1, January): 51-68.  
**Reprinted** in: Badescu, Gabriel, and Eric M. Uslaner. Eds. 2003. *Social Capital and the Transition to Democracy*. London: Routledge. Pp. 61-80.  
**Reprinted** in: Ethridge, Marcus E. 2002. *The Political Research Experience: Readings and Analysis*. Third Edition. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe.
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### C. Articles in Law Reviews

- Nelson, Michael J., and James L. Gibson. 2018. “Has Trump Trumped the Courts?” *New York University Law Review* (Online Symposium) 93 (April 2018): 32-40.
- Gibson, James L. 2017. “Performance Evaluations Are Not Legitimacy Judgments: A Caution About Interpreting Public Opinions Toward the United States Supreme Court.” *Washington University Journal of Law and Policy* 54: 71-88.
- Gibson, James L. 2009. “The Effects of Electoral Campaigns on the Legitimacy of Courts.” *Syracuse Law Review* 59 (#3): 397-415.
- Gibson, James L. 2007. “Changes in American Veneration for the Rule of Law.” *DePaul Law Review* 56 (#2, Winter): 593-614.

### D. Grants

- Gibson, James L., and Michael J. Nelson. Co-Principal Investigators. “Judging Inequality.” Russell Sage Foundation, 2018-2020. Approximately \$150,000.
- Gibson, James L., and Michael J. Nelson. Co-Principal Investigators. “Testing Models of Representation and Institutional Design in State Courts’ Consideration of Inequality.” National Science Foundation, 2015 – 2018. Approximately \$226,355. [SES-1456568]
- Gibson, James L. Principal Investigator. “Symbols of Justice or of Social Control? Legal Authority and the Views of African Americans.” Funded by *TESS: Time-Sharing Experiments for the Social Sciences*, 2014 – 2015. [TESS-0610]
- Gibson, James L. Principal Investigator. “Creating a State-Level Public Opinion Data Base for Law and Courts Scholarship: New Frontiers in Research on the Public’s Views of Third Branch Politics.” National Science Foundation, 2012 – 2014. Approximately \$91,264. [SES 1228619]
- Gibson, James L., and Milton Lodge. Co-Principal Investigators. “The Legitimacy Conferring Capacity of



- the U.S. Supreme Court: The Influence of Institutional Symbols.” Funded by *TESS: Time-Sharing Experiments for the Social Sciences*, 2011 – 2012. [TESS-0230]
- Steven S. Smith, and James L. Gibson, Co-Principal Investigators. “Majority Rule and Minority Rights: A Panel Study of Democratic Values and Attitudes toward the Senate Filibuster Among the American Public.” National Science Foundation, 2010 – 2012. Approximately \$248,105. [SES 0960991]
- Gibson, James L. Principal Investigator. “Rescuing Judicial Legitimacy through Recusal? A West Virginia Experiment.” Funded by *TESS: Time-Sharing Experiments for the Social Sciences*, 2009 – 2010. [TESS-730]
- Gibson, James L. Principal Investigator. “Public Support for the Supreme Court in the Obama Era: Expectancy Theory and the Replacement of Justice Souter.” National Science Foundation, 2009 – 2010. Approximately \$40,000. [SES 0943389]
- Gibson, James L., and Gregory A. Caldeira. Co-Principal Investigators. “Money, Politics, and the Legitimacy of State Supreme Courts: The Impact of Recusals and Disqualifications.” National Science Foundation, 2009 – 2010. Approximately \$99,000. [SES 0915106]
- Gibson, James L. Co-Investigator (in collaboration with Jeffrey Sonis, et al.) “The Mental Health Effects of the Khmer Rouge Trials in Cambodia.” National Institute of Health, 2008 – 2012. Approximately \$900,000.
- Gibson, James L. Co-Investigator. “The Khmer Rouge Trials in Cambodia.” United States Institute of Peace, 2006-2008. Approximately \$39,565. [USIP-094-06S]
- Gibson, James L. Principal Investigator. “Re-conceptualizing the Legitimacy of the United States Congress: New Evidence, New Approaches.” *The Dirksen Congressional Center*. 2006. Approximately \$3,500.
- Gibson, James L. Principal Investigator. “Assessing the Consequences of Politicized Confirmation Processes on the Legitimacy of the United States Supreme Court: The Bush Appointments.” National Science Foundation, 2006 – 2008. Approximately \$109,664. [SES 0553156]
- Gibson, James L. Principal Investigator. “The Politicization of State Judicial Elections: The Effects of New-Style Campaigns on State Court Legitimacy.” National Science Foundation, 2005 – 2008. Approximately \$450,000. [SES 05-20065]
- Gibson, James L. Principal Investigator. “The Justice of Land in a Land of Injustice.” National Science Foundation, 2002-2006. Approximately \$389,375. [SES 02-14451]
- Gibson, James L., and Alan Lambert. Co-Principal Investigators. “Intolerance and Prejudice: An Interdisciplinary Proposal.” *Arts & Sciences Interdisciplinary Initiative*, Washington University, 2002-2004. Approximately \$64,000.
- Gibson, James L., Lester Kenyatta Spence, and Gregory A. Caldeira. Co-Principal Investigators. “The Legitimacy of American National Institutions: Views of Governance within the African-American Community.” The Ford Foundation, 2001. Approximately \$30,000.
- Gibson, James L., Lester Kenyatta Spence, and Gregory A. Caldeira. Co-Principal Investigators. “The Supreme Court and the 2000 Presidential Election.” The Weidenbaum Center on the Economy, Government, and Public Policy, Washington University, St. Louis, 2001. Approximately \$40,000.
- Gibson, James L. Principal Investigator. “Reconciliation or Retribution? The Effect of Truth Processes on Perceived Fairness and the Legitimacy of Law.” National Science Foundation, 1999-2001. Approximately \$264,501. [SES 99-06576]
- Gibson, James L. Principal Investigator. “Democratic Theory, Democratization, and a Changing Political Landscape: A Decade After the Fall of the Berlin Wall.” National Science Foundation, 1997-2000 (Conference Grant). Approximately \$42,000. [SBR 97-10137]
- Gibson, James L. Principal Investigator. “Becoming Democratic(?): A Panel Study of Learning To Tolerate in South Africa.” National Science Foundation, 1997-2000. Approximately \$201,387. [SBR 97-

10214]

- Gibson, James L. Principal Investigator. "Consolidating Democracy? A Panel Study of Changes in the Political Culture of Russia." National Science Foundation, 1997-2000. Approximately \$328,766. [SES 97-10137, SES 00-96177]
- Gibson, James L. Principal Investigator. "Consolidating Democracy? Democratic Political Culture in the Transitional Russian Polity." National Science Foundation, 1995-1998. Approximately \$215,000. [SES 94-23614]
- Gibson, James L. Principal Investigator. "Law, Legal Culture, and Legal Consciousness in the Political Transformation of Russia." National Council for Soviet and East European Research, 1995-1996. Approximately \$55,000.
- Gibson, James L. Principal Investigator. "An Investigation Into the Socio-Legal and Cultural Bases of Democracy in South Africa: Rule of Law, Rights Consciousness, and Political Tolerance." National Science Foundation, 1995-1996. Approximately \$305,000. [SES-9424287]
- Gibson, James L. Principal Investigator. "Stability and Change in Mass Support for the European Court of Justice: A Panel Study of Legitimacy, Compliance, and a Transnational Legal Institution." National Science Foundation, 1993-1994. Approximately \$125,000.
- Gibson, James L. Principal Investigator. "Legitimacy, Judicial Power and Emerging Transnational Legal Institutions: The Court of Justice in the European Community." National Science Foundation, 1992-1993. Approximately \$175,000.
- Gibson, James L. Principal Investigator. "Legitimacy, Judicial Power and Emerging Transnational Legal Institutions: The Court of Justice in the European Community." von Humboldt Stiftung (Germany), 1992-1995. Approximately \$50,000.
- Gibson, James L. Principal Investigator. "Democratization in the USSR: The Impact of Political Culture on Processes of Political Change." National Science Foundation, 1991-1992. Approximately \$250,000.
- Gibson, James L. Principal Investigator. "Markets, Liberty, and Democracy in the Soviet Union: An Examination of the Cultural Requisites for the Political and Economic Transformation of the USSR." Advanced Research Program, State of Texas, 1991-1992. Approximately \$75,000.
- Gibson, James L. Principal Investigator. "Cultural Values and the Transformation of the Soviet Union." Dresser Foundation, 1990. Approximately \$2,000.
- Gibson, James L. Principal Investigator. "Cultural Values and the Transformation of the Soviet Union." National Science Foundation, 1990. Approximately \$30,000.
- Gibson, James L. Principal Investigator. "Computer-Assisted Content Analysis of Judicial Opinions." National Science Foundation, 1988-1989. Approximately \$30,000.
- Gibson, James L. Principal Investigator. "U.S. Supreme Court Judicial Data Base: Phase II." National Science Foundation, 1987-1988. Approximately \$225,000.
- Gibson, James L. Principal Investigator. "The Political Tolerance and Political Freedom of Minorities." National Science Foundation, 1987-1989. Approximately \$75,000.
- Gibson, James L. Principal Investigator. "Panel Study of Political Tolerance and Political Freedom in the United States." National Science Foundation, 1986-1988. Approximately \$225,000.
- Gibson, James L. Principal Investigator. "The Policy Consequences of Political Intolerance." National Science Foundation, 1985-1986. Approximately \$50,000.
- Gibson, James L. Principal Investigator. "Conditions of Commitment to Civil Liberties: Libertarian Behavior of American Elites." National Science Foundation, 1978-1979. Approximately \$75,000.
- Gibson, James L. Co-Principal Investigator. "Institutional Party Strength and the Doctrine of Party Dissolution." National Science Foundation. Approximately \$350,000.

Miscellaneous intra-university research grants and miscellaneous grants on which I was an investigator, but

not the main investigator.

## E. Research in Progress

### Completed Manuscripts Under Review/Under Revision

- Gibson, James L., and Michael J. Nelson. 2018. "De-Conferring Judicial Legitimacy." Unpublished paper, Washington University in St. Louis. (Under revision)
- Gibson, James L., Lee Epstein, and Gregory P. Magarian. 2018. "Taming Uncivil Discourse" Unpublished paper, Washington University in St. Louis. (Under review.)
- Nelson, Michael J., and James L. Gibson. 2017. "Testing Spatial Models of Politics: The Perils of Subtraction-Based Measures of Ideological Proximity." Unpublished paper, Washington University in St. Louis. (Under review.)
- Gibson, James L., Christopher Claassen, and Joan Barceló. 2018. "Deplorables: Emotions, Political Sophistication, and Political Intolerance." Unpublished paper, Washington University in St. Louis. July 2017. (Under revise and resubmit.)
- Gibson, James L., and Joan Barceló. 2016. "Putting Up With Islamists? American Intolerance of Radical Muslims." (In preparation.)
- Gibson, James L., Corey M. Barwick, Vanessa Baird, and Christopher Claassen. 2016. "State-Level Variability in the Legitimacy of the U.S. Supreme Court." (Under revision.)

## F. Miscellaneous

- Nelson, Michael J., and James L. Gibson. 2017. "Using Survey Technology for Data Collection." *Law & Courts: Newsletter of the Law & Courts Section of the American Political Science Association* 27 (#3, Winter): 9-11.
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- Gibson, James L. 2011. "A Note of Caution about the Meaning of 'The Supreme Court can usually be trusted . . .'" *Law & Courts: Newsletter of the Law & Courts Section of the American Political Science Association* 21 (#3, Fall): 10-16.
- Gibson, James L. 2010. "Expecting Justice and Hoping for Empathy." *Law & Courts: Newsletter of the Law & Courts Section of the American Political Science Association* 20 (#3, Summer): 21-25.
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- Gibson, James L. 2003. "Rebuttal to the Expert Reports of Kenneth M. Goldstein and Jonathan S. Krasno and Frank J. Sorauf." In *Inside the Campaign Finance Battle: Court Testimony on the New Reforms*. Edited by Anthony Corrado, Thomas E. Mann, and Trevor Potter. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press. Pp. 201- 220.
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- Gibson, James L. 2002. "Truth and Reconciliation Survey 2001." Compact Disk. Cape Town (South Africa): Institute for Justice and Reconciliation.
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- Gibson, James L. 1995. "Cautious Reflections on a Data-Archiving Policy for Political Science." *PS: Political Science & Politics* 28 (September): 473-476.
- Gibson, James L. 1994. *Democratization: A Strategic Plan for Global Research on the Transformation and*

- Consolidation of Democracies*. Prepared for the National Science Foundation.
- Gibson, James L. 1988. "Public Opinion and Civil Rights." *Activists' Quarterly* 18 (Second Quarter, 1988): 4-5.
- Gibson, James L. 1988. "How Much Do Americans Believe In The Constitution? Freedom and Tolerance in the U.S." *Texas Civil Liberties Reporter* Winter, 1988, pp. 2-3.
- Gibson, James L. 1980. "Changes in State Party Organization 1960-1980: A Preliminary Report and Request for Data." *PS: Political Science & Politics* 13 (Fall, 1980): 428-432.

### G. Major Archived Data Sets

- "State Party Organizations, 1960-1980." ICPSR 8281. University of Michigan.
- "Freedom and Tolerance in the United States, 1987." ICPSR 9454. University of Michigan.
- "Cultural Democratization in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR): Moscow Oblast Survey, 1990." ICPSR 9726. University of Michigan. [Cited as a "Foundational Study in Comparative Politics," ICPSR: <http://www.icpsr.umich.edu/IDRC/foundational.html> ]
- "Survey of Soviet Values, 1990." ICPSR 6099. University of Michigan. [Cited as a "Foundational Study in Comparative Politics," ICPSR: <http://www.icpsr.umich.edu/IDRC/foundational.html> ]
- "Euro-Barometer 38.0: European Court of Justice." ICPSR 6044, University of Michigan.
- "United States Supreme Court Data Base, Phase II." ICPSR 6987, University of Michigan.
- "Panel Study of Political Values in the Former Soviet Union, 1990-1992." ICPSR 6731, University of Michigan. [Cited as a "Foundational Study in Comparative Politics," ICPSR: <http://www.icpsr.umich.edu/IDRC/foundational.html> ]
- "Becoming Democratic(?): A Panel Study of Learning to Tolerate in South Africa." ICPSR 3578, University of Michigan.
- "Survey of Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa, 2000 – 2001." ICPSR 4030, University of Michigan.
- Marc Morjé Howard, James L. Gibson, and Dietlind Stolle. 2005. "The U.S. Citizenship, Involvement, and Democracy Survey." Washington, DC: Georgetown University, Center for Democracy and Society (CDACS).
- Gibson, James L. "The Politicization of State Judicial Elections: The Effects of New-Style Campaigns on State Court Legitimacy in Kentucky, 2006" [Computer file]. ICPSR31041-v1. Ann Arbor, MI: Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research [distributor], 2011-08-17. doi:10.3886/ICPSR31041.
- Gibson, James L. The Justice of Land in a Land of Injustice, 2004 [Computer file]. ICPSR30102-v1. Ann Arbor, MI: Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research [distributor], 2011-11-29. doi:10.3886/ICPSR30102.v1.

### V. Fields of Teaching and Research Interest

Judicial Behavior and Process  
Trial Courts and Criminal Justice  
Law and Society  
Constitutional Law and Civil Liberties  
Research Methods and Statistics

American Politics and Policy  
Public Opinion and Political Psychology  
Political Tolerance and Prejudice  
Political Behavior  
Political Parties  
Comparative Politics  
Comparative Politics – Law and Society  
European Politics  
African Politics

## **VI. Teaching Experience**

### **A. Courses Taught**

Comparative Politics:	Introductory undergraduate course
American Politics:	Introductory undergraduate course
Law and Society:	Interaction of legal systems and political system; law and social change
Trial Courts:	Advanced undergraduate course emphasizing policy at the trial court level; particular emphasis on criminal justice policies
Legal Research Methods:	Advanced undergraduate course on quantitative methods and computer assisted analysis of legal processes
Civil Liberties:	Advanced undergraduate course on the politics of civil liberties, integrating constitutional law, American public policy, public opinion, and political behavior
Judicial Process:	Graduate seminar on judicial process and behavior; particular emphasis on decision making
Research Methods:	Graduate seminar emphasizing regression/correlation, scaling, empirical political research
Statistics:	Three semester graduate seminar on statistics
Survey Research:	Graduate seminar on all aspects of survey research
Data Analysis:	Undergraduate courses on the basics of research design, methodology, and quantitative data analysis
Politics & Policy:	Graduate seminar on the linkages among elites, the mass public, and public policy
Public Opinion:	Graduate seminar on public opinion
Law and Society:	Graduate seminar on the interrelationship of the American political and legal systems
Constitutional Law:	Graduate seminar on constitutional law
Political Tolerance & Prejudice:	Undergraduate course, jointly taught with a psychologist, emphasizing the causes and consequences of individual and societal intolerance and prejudice
Transitional Justice:	Undergraduate course on political transitions, with particular focus on processes of truth and reconciliation.

Political Intolerance in  
World Politics:

Undergraduate course on political intolerance at both the micro and macro levels, with a focus on South Africa as a case study.

**B. Special Teaching Assignments**

Instructor, Summer School on Peace and Conflict, Universität Osnabrück, Loccum, Germany, July 1997.

Instructor, Law and Society Association, 1998 Graduate Student Workshop, Aspen, Colorado, June 2-3, 1998.

**VII. Professional Associations and Activities**

**A. Professional Associations**

American Political Science Association

Law and Society Association

Midwest Political Science Association

International Political Science Association

Southern Political Science Association

Western Political Science Association

American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies

American Association for the Advancement of Science

International Society of Political Psychology

Society for Personality and Social Psychology

The Society for the Psychology Study of Social Issues

**B. Conference Participation – See Appendix A**

### C. Book Reviews

- Gibson, James L. 2013. "Balancing Independence and Accountability of State Court Judges." Review of *Without Fear or Favor: Judicial Independence and Judicial Accountability in the States*. Alan G. Tarr. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 2012. The Online Library of Liberty. <http://www.libertylawsite.org/book-review/balancing-independence-and-accountability-of-state-court-judges/>
- Review of *Beyond Common Sense: Psychological Science in the Courtroom*. Eugene Borgida and Susan T. Fiske (eds.). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publisher, 2008. *Political Psychology* 31 (#4, 2010): 653-655.
- Review of *Public Opinion and the Rehnquist Court*. Thomas R. Marshall. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, Albany. 2008. *Public Opinion Quarterly* 72 (#4, Winter): 828-830.
- Reprinted** in: "President Trump, Public Opinion, and the U.S. Supreme Court." Virtual issue of *Public Opinion Quarterly*. Michael J. Nelson and James L. Gibson. Guest Editors. [https://academic.oup.com/poq/pages/supreme\\_court](https://academic.oup.com/poq/pages/supreme_court)
- Review of *Transitional Amnesty in South Africa*. Antje Du Bois-Pedain. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007. *The Law and Politics Book Review* 18 (#7, July, 2008): 582-586.
- Review of *Democracy and the Culture of Skepticism: Political Trust in Argentina and Mexico*. Matthew R. Cleary and Susan S. Stokes. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2006. *Political Psychology* 28 (#3, June, 2007): 386-388.
- Review of *Political Disagreement: The Survival of Diverse Opinions within Communications Networks*. Robert Huckfeldt, Paul E. Johnson, and John Sprague. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005. *Perspectives on Politics* 4 (#3, September, 2006): 595-596.
- Review of *Rethinking the Rise and Fall of Apartheid*. Adrian Guelke. 2005. New York: Palgrave. *Political Science Quarterly* 120 (#4, Winter, 2005-06): 721-723.
- Review of *Robben Island and Prisoner Resistance to Apartheid*. Fran Lisa Buntman. 2003. New York: Cambridge University Press. *The Law and Politics Book Review* 14 (#6, June, 2004): 398-401.
- Review of *Social Capital and Social Cohesion in Post-Soviet Russia*. Judyth L. Twigg and Kate Schecter, eds. 2003. Armonk, New York: M. E. Sharpe. *Slavic Review* 63 (#4, Winter, 2004): 900-902.
- Review of *The Struggle for Constitutional Justice in Post-Communist Europe*. Herman Schwartz. 2000. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. *The Law and Politics Book Review* 10 (#12, December, 2000): 630-632.
- Review of *Supreme Court Decision-Making: New Institutional Approaches*. Clayton, Cornell W., and Howard Gillman, eds. 1999. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. *The Journal of Politics* 62 (#3, August, 2000), 940-942.
- Review of *Crime, Public Opinion, and Civil Liberties: The Tolerant Public*. Shmuel Lock. 1999. Westport, Connecticut: Praeger Publishers. *The Law and Politics Book Review* 9 (August, 1999): 340-341.
- Review of *Must We Defend Nazis? Hate Speech, Pornography, and the New First Amendment*. Richard Delgado and Jean Stefancic. 1997. New York: New York University Press. *The Law and Politics Book Review* 7 (August, 1997): 397-399.
- Review of *Public Opinion in Postcommunist Russia*. Matthew Wyman. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997. *Slavic Review* 57 (Spring): 218-220.
- Review of *Social Justice and Political Change: Public Opinion in Capitalist and PostCommunist States*. Edited by James R. Kluegel, David S. Mason, and Bernd Wegener. Hawthorne, NY: Aldine de Gruyter. *Public Opinion Quarterly* 60 (Winter, 1996): 655 – 657.
- Review of *With Malice Toward Some: How People Make Civil Liberties Judgments*, George E. Marcus, John L. Sullivan, Elizabeth Theiss-Morse, and Sandra L. Wood. New York: Cambridge University Press. *American Political Science Review*, 90 (December, 1996): 916-917.



Review of *Public Opinion and the Supreme Court*, Thomas R. Marshall, *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 54 (Summer, 1990), 289-290.

Review of *Party Campaigning in the 1980s*, Paul S. Herrnson, *Congress and the Presidency* 16 (Spring, 1989), 72-73.

Review of *Dimensions of Tolerance: What Americans Believe About Civil Liberties*, Herbert McClosky and Alida Brill, *American Political Science Review* 78 (September, 1984), 803-804.

Review of *American Trial Judges: Their Work Styles and Performance*, John Paul Ryan, Allan Ashman, Bruce D. Sales, and Sandra Shane-DuBow, *American Political Science Review* 75 (December, 1981), 1055-1057.

Review of *Case Selection in the United States Supreme Court*, Doris Marie Provine, *American Political Science Review* 75 (June, 1981), 507-508.

Review of *Exclusionary Justice: The Problem of Illegally Obtained Evidence*, Steven R. Schlesinger, *American Political Science Review* 73 (March, 1979), 258-259.

#### D. Journal Referee

*American Political Science Review* – Member, Editorial Board (G. Bingham Powell, Editor)

*Law and Society Review* – Member, Editorial Board: Frank Munger, Editor; Joe Sanders, Editor

*American Journal of Political Science* – Member, Former Member, Editorial Board

*British Journal of Political Science*

*Political Methodology*

*Journal of Politics* – Member, Editorial Board (John G. Geer, Editor, Jan Leighley & Bill Mishler, Editors)

*Law and Policy* – Member, External Review Board, “Judicial Discretion in Sentencing,” Special Issue, Sandra Shane-Dubow, Editor, 1997-1998.

*American Politics Quarterly* – Member, Editorial Board (Susan Welch and John Hibbing, Editors; James C. Garand, Editor; Thomas M. Holbrook, Editor)

*Political Research Quarterly (Western Political Quarterly)*

*Social Science Quarterly*

*Public Opinion Quarterly*

*Legislative Studies Quarterly*

*Midsouth Political Science Journal*

*Public Administration Quarterly*

*Policy Studies Journal*

*Law and Human Behavior*

*International Studies Quarterly*

*Southeastern Political Review*

*Comparative Political Studies*

*International Interactions*

*American Review of Politics* – Member, Editorial Board (Charles D. Hadley, Christine L. Day, and Richard L. Engstrom, Editors)

*Political Psychology* – Member, Editorial Board, 2005 – 2010. [Stanley Feldman, Leonie Huddy, Howard Lavine, and Charles Taber, Editors]

*Mobilization: An International Journal*

*Governance: An International Journal of Policy and Administration*

*Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*

*The Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics*  
*Politikon: South African Journal of Political Studies*  
*European Union Politics*  
*PS: Political Science and Politics*  
*Political Communication* – Member, Editorial Board, 2013 – present [Shanto Iyengar, Editor]  
*African Studies Quarterly*  
*Electoral Studies*  
*Justice Quarterly*  
*Punishment and Society*  
*World Development*  
*Journalism*  
*Latin American Politics and Society*  
*Politics and Policy*  
*Social Forces*  
*The Journal of Early Adolescence*  
*Journal of Peace Research*  
*Journal of Conflict Resolution*  
*International Journal of Transitional Justice*  
*Social Behavior and Personality: An International Journal*  
*European Journal of Political Research*  
*Political Studies*  
*Congress & the Presidency: A Journal of Capital Studies*  
*The Journal of Law, Economics, and Organization*  
*Social Problems*  
*State and Local Government Review*  
*Journal of Experimental Political Science* – Member, Editorial Board, 2013 – present [Josh Tucker and  
Becky Morton, Editors].

**E. Proposal Referee**

National Science Foundation — *Member, Advisory Panel, Law and Social Sciences*  
National Institute of Justice  
National Research Council  
Australian Research Council — *Expert Advisory Committee*  
Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada  
Russell Sage Foundation  
South African National Research Foundation (NRF)  
United States Institute of Peace  
City University of Hong Kong, Research Committee  
Israeli Science Foundation  
National Research Foundation (South Africa)  
Miscellaneous Private Foundations

#### F. Miscellaneous Advisory Panels and Consultancies

Member, National Screening Committee (South Africa 1), Institute of International Education, Fulbright-Hays Program. 2012.

Member, AmericasBarometer International Advisory Board. Latin American Public Opinion Project, Vanderbilt University. 2009 – present.

Short Term Consultant, The World Bank, 2006-2007.

Member, International Panel of Editorial Advisers and Consultants, *International Encyclopedia of Political Science*, CQ Press. 2005.

Associate Director, “Citizenship, Involvement, Democracy: Survey Project,” Center for Democracy and the Third Sector, Georgetown University, Washington, DC, 2005 – 2008.

Advisory Board, “Reconciliation Barometer,” Institute for Justice and Reconciliation, Cape Town, South Africa, 2003 – 2006.

“Three State Study,” James Eisenstein, Roy B. Flemming, Peter F. Nardulli, National Institute of Justice. Board of Overseers, “U.S. Supreme Court Judicial Data Base Project,” National Science Foundation.

Advisory Board, *The Handbook of Law and Social Science*, Bruce D. Sales and Felice J. Levine, General Editors. Plenum Publishers.

#### G. Professional Service

Chair, Nominating Committee, Midwest Political Science Association, 2016.

Member, Editorial Board, *Journal of Experimental Political Science*, 2013 – present [Josh Tucker and Becky Morton, Editors].

Member, Editorial Board, *Political Communication*, 2013 – present [Shanto Iyengar, Editor].

Member, Executive Committee, Law and Courts Organized Section, American Political Science Association, 2011 – present.

Member, Executive Committee, Political Psychology Organized Section, American Political Science Association, 2011 – present.

Member, Best Paper Award Committee, Experimental Research Organized Section, American Political Science Association, 2011 – 2011.

Chair, Lasting Contributions Award, Law and Courts Organized Section, American Political Science Association, 2010 – 2011.

Nominations Committee, Law and Courts Organized Section, American Political Science Association, 2008 – 2009.

President, Jury on the “Award for Conceptual Innovation in Comparative Politics,” jointly given by the International Political Science Association Committee on Concepts and Methods (C&M) and CIDE in Mexico City, 2007 – 2009.

Member, Alexander George Book Award Committee, International Society for Political Psychology, 2007 – 2008.

Chair, Best Book Prize Committee, APSA Organized Section on Comparative Democratization, 2007 – 2008.

Member, James Madison Award Committee, American Political Science Association, September, 2007 – August, 2008.

Member, Religion and Politics Task Force, American Political Science Association, 2006 – 2011.  
 Member, Governing Board, International Political Science Association Committee on Concepts and Methods (C&M), 2006-2009.  
 Member, Editorial Board, *American Journal of Political Science*, 2006-2009. [Marianne Stewart, Editor]  
 Chair, American Judicature Society Award Committee, Law and Politics Organized Section, American Political Science Association, 2005-2006.  
 Chair, Pi Sigma Alpha Award Committee, Southern Political Science Association, 2005.  
 Member, Editorial Board, *Political Psychology*, 2005 – 2010. [Stanley Feldman, Leonie Huddy, Howard Lavine, and Charles Taber, Editors]  
 Member, Editorial Board, *The Journal of Politics*, 2005 – 2006. [John G. Geer, Editor]; 2009 – present. [Jan Leighley and William Mishler, Editors]  
 Member, Council, American Political Science Association, 2004 – 2006.  
 Co-Program Chair, XIX World Congress of Political Science, International Political Science Association, Durban, South Africa, 2003.  
 Member, Editorial Board, *Law and Society Review*. Various terms; 2000 – 2003. (Joseph Sanders, editor)  
 Member, Committee on International Political Science, American Political Science Association, 1998-2000. [Chair, 1999-2000]  
 Member, Advisory Committee for the Directorate for Social, Behavioral and Economic Sciences, National Science Foundation, 1992 - 1998. Chair, Subcommittee on Social Science Infrastructure.  
 Member, various committees. Midwest Political Science Association.  
 Member, Editorial Board, *American Journal of Political Science*.  
 Member, Editorial Board, *The Journal of Politics*  
 Member, Editorial Board, *American Politics Quarterly*.  
 Member, Advisory Panel, Law and Social Sciences Program, National Science Foundation.  
 Member, Editorial Board, *American Political Science Review*.  
 Member, Screening Committee for the position of Assistant Director, Social, Behavioral, and Economic Sciences Directorate, National Science Foundation, 1999.  
 Member, Council, American Political Science Association, 1992-1994, Administrative Committee, 1993 - 1994.  
 Member, Heinz Eulau Award Committee, American Political Science Association, 1994.  
 Chair, C. Herman Pritchett Award Committee, American Political Science Association, 1995.  
 Associate Editor, *Law and Society Review*, 1994 - 1997.  
 Member, Executive Committee, Centennial Campaign, American Midwest Political Science Association,  
 Member, Board of Trustees, Law and Society Association, 1990 - 1992.  
 Member, Council, Midwest Political Science Association, 1990 - 1993.  
 Chair, Committee to Select the Best Graduate Student Convention Paper in Judicial Behavior and Process, American Political Science Association, 1988.

### **VIII. Administrative Experience and University Service**

Director, Political Research Laboratory, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 1978-1983.  
 Official Representative, Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research, 1978-1983.  
 Chair, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Computer Policy Committee, 1981-1983.  
 Director, Political Research Lab, University of Houston, 1989-1990.  
 Member, University Research Council, University of Houston, 1989-1999.

Vice-Chair, University Research Council, University of Houston, 1993-1994.  
Chair, University Research Council, University of Houston, 1994-1995.  
Vice-Chair, University Research Council, University of Houston, 1997-1998.  
Chair, University Research Council, University of Houston, 1998-1999.  
Member, University Faculty Senate, University of Houston, 1989-1993.  
Chair, Search Committee, Vice Provost for Research and Studies, 1994-1995.  
Vice-Chair, Moores Scholarship Selection Committee, University of Houston, 1996-1997.  
Member, Conflict of Interest Committee, University of Houston, 1996-1997.  
Chair, Search Committee, Dean of College of Business Administration, University of Houston, 1997-1998.  
Chair, Shell Research Grant Committee, University of Houston, 1998-1999  
Numerous other college and university committees (e.g., Promotion and Tenure)  
Miscellaneous tenure and promotion reviews.

## **IX. References**

Available upon request.

## Appendix A: Conference Participation

- Gibson, James L. 1976. "Judges as Representatives: Constituency Influence on Trial Courts," Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September, 1976.
- Gibson, James L. 1977. "Performance Indicators in the Court System, "Institutional Accountability of Public Agencies in an Urban World Conference, April, 1977.
- Gibson, James L. 1978. "Personality and Elite Political Behavior: The Influence of Self-Esteem on Judicial Decision Making," Annual Meeting of the Western Political Science Association, March, 1978.
- Gibson, James L. 1978. "Decision Making Across Institutions: Legislators and Lower Court Judges in California," Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April, 1978.
- Gibson, James L. 1978. "Attitudes, Role Perceptions, and Criminal Court Decision Making," Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September, 1978.
- Gibson, James L., and Richard D. Bingham. 1979. "Conditions of Commitment to Civil Liberties: Libertarian Behavior of American Elites," Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September, 1979.
- Gibson, James L. 1980. "State Party Organizations and the Thesis of Party Decline," Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September, 1980 (co-authored).
- Bibby, John F., Robert J. Huckshorn, James L. Gibson, and Cornelius P. Cotter. 1981. "State Party Chairmen Role Orientations and Institutional Party Strength." Paper delivered at the 1981 Annual Meeting of the Western Political Science Association, The Denver Hilton, Denver, Colorado, March 26-28, 1981.
- Gibson, James L. 1981. "Assessing Institutional Party Strength," Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 1981 (co-authored).
- Cotter, Cornelius P., James L. Gibson, John F. Bibby, and Robert J. Huckshorn. 1981. "Party Organization, Electoral Success, and Public Policy: An Analysis of Reciprocal Effects." Paper delivered at the 1981 Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, Rivermont Holiday Inn, Memphis, Tennessee, November 5 - 7, 1981.
- Gibson, James L., Cornelius P. Cotter, John F. Bibby, and Robert J. Huckshorn. 1982. "Whither the Local Parties?: A Cross-Sectional and Longitudinal Analysis of the Strength of Party Organizations." Delivered at the 1982 Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, Bahia Hotel, San Diego, California, March 25-27, 1982
- Cotter, Cornelius P., James L. Gibson, John F. Bibby, and Robert J. Huckshorn. 1982. "Party-Government Linkages in the States." Paper delivered at the 1982 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, The Denver Hilton Hotel, Denver, Colorado, September 2 - 5, 1982.
- Gibson, James L. 1982. "On the Resistance of State Party Organizations to Dealignment: National Parties as Agents of State Party Development," Shambaugh Conference on Political Science at Iowa, University of Iowa, December, 1982 (invited participant, co-authored).
- Section Chair, Judicial Process, Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April, 1983.
- Gibson, James L. 1983. "The Science and Ideology of Judicial Politics," Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September, 1983.
- Gibson, James L., and Arthur J. Anderson. 1984. "The Political Tolerance of Elites and Masses: The Structure of Beliefs and Implications for Public Policy." Paper delivered at the 1984 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, April 12-14, 1984.
- Gibson, James L., and Gregg W. Smith. 1984. "Local Party Organizations and Electoral Outcomes: Linkages Between Parties and Elections." Paper delivered at the 1984 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, The Washington Hilton, August 30 - September 2, 1984.
- Cotter, Cornelius P., James L. Gibson, Robert J. Huckshorn, and John F. Bibby. 1984. "The Condition of

- Party Organizations at the State Level,” Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, October, 1984 (co-authored).
- Gibson, James L. 1984. “Party Organizations in the Political Process.” William Bennett Munro Conference on Research in Comparative American State Politics, October, 1984 (co-authored).
- Gibson, James L., John P. Frendreis, and Laura L. Vertz. 1985. “Party Dynamics in the 1980s: Changes in County Party Organizational Strength from 1980-1984.” Paper delivered at the 1985 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, The Palmer House, Chicago, Illinois, April 17-20, 1985.
- Gibson, James L. 1985. “Homosexuals and the Ku Klux Klan: A Contextual Analysis of Political Tolerance.” Annual Meeting of the Law and Society Association, June, 1985.
- Gibson, James L. 1985. “Modeling the Decisions of Judges.” Annual Meeting of the Law and Society Association, June, 1985.
- Gibson, James L. 1985. “Party Organizations In American Politics.” 13<sup>th</sup> World Congress of the International Political Science Association, July, 1985 (co-authored).
- Frendreis, John P., James L. Gibson, and Laura L. Vertz. 1985. “Local Party Organizations in the 1984 Elections.” Paper delivered at the 1985 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, The New Orleans Hilton, New Orleans, LA, August 29 – September 1, 1985.
- Gibson, James L. 1985. “The Role of Party Organizations in the Intermountain West: 1960-1980.” Conference on Political Change in the Intermountain West: Forerunner of Realignment?, Park City, Utah, September, 1985 (invited participant).
- Section Chair, Judicial Politics, Annual Meeting of the Southwestern Political Science Association, March, 1986.
- Gibson, James L. 1986. “Political Tolerance and the Rights of Homosexuals: A Contextual Analysis.” Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April, 1986 (co-authored).
- Gibson, James L. 1986. “Political Repression in the American States.” Annual Meeting of the Law and Society Association, May, 1986.
- Gibson, James L. “Political Tolerance in the Netherlands and the United States.” Annual Meeting of the Law and Society Association, May, 1986 (co-authored).
- Gibson, James L. 1986. “The Policy Consequences of Political Tolerance.” Paper delivered at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, August, 1986.
- Recipient of the Franklin L. Burdette Pi Sigma Alpha Award Best Paper Presented at the 1986 Annual Meeting, American Political Science Association.**
- Gibson, James L. 1986. “Toward a Dynamic Understanding of Party Organizations.” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, August, 1986.
- Gibson, James L. “Freedom, Pluralism, and Federalism: An Enigmatic Trio?” “E Pluribus Unum: Constitutional Principles and the Institutions of Government” Conference, October, 1986 (invited participant).
- Gibson, James L., and James P. Wenzel. 1987. “Tolerance Belief Systems: Complexity and Constraint.” Paper delivered at the 1987 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, April 8 - 11, 1987.
- Gibson, James L. “The Evolution of Intolerance in the United States.” Delivered at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, The Palmer House, September 3 - 6, 1987.
- Frendreis, John P., Laura L. Vertz, James L. Gibson, and John R. Todd. 1987. “Party Activists in a Changing Party System: County Party Chairs and State Convention Delegates in Texas.” Delivered at the 1987 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, The Palmer House, Chicago, Illinois, September 3-6, 1987.

- Gibson, James L. 1987. "Freedom, Pluralism, and Federalism: The Constitution and the Protection of Civil Liberties," Conference on "The Constitution and the American Political Process." University of Illinois, December, 1987.
- Gibson, James L. 1988. "The Psychology of Political Freedom." Paper delivered at the 42<sup>nd</sup> Annual Meeting of the Western Political Science Association, Sir Francis Drake Hotel, San Francisco, California, March 10-12, 1988.
- Gibson, James L. "Intelligence, Cognitive Sophistication, and Political Tolerance." Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April, 1988 (co-authored).
- Gibson, James L. "Understandings of Justice: Public Perceptions of Procedural Aspects of Political Tolerance." Annual Meeting of the Law and Society Association, June, 1988.
- Program Committee, Political Organizations and Parties, American Political Science Association, 1989.
- Program Committee, Law and Society Association, 1989.
- Section Chair, Political Parties, Southern Political Science Association, 1989.
- Gibson, James L. "The Intolerant Personality: The Psychodynamics of Political Intolerance." Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September, 1988.
- Gibson, James L. "The Etiology of Public Support for the Supreme Court." Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April, 1989 (co-authored).
- Gibson, James L. "Cultural Barriers to European Integration? A Cross-Level Analysis of Democratic Tolerance." Annual Meeting of the Law and Society Association, June, 1989 (co-authored).
- Gibson, James L. "Political Freedom: A Socio-Psychological Analysis," Symposium on Democratic Theory." Williams College, August, 1989 (invited participant, funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities).
- Gibson, James L. "The Political Consequences of Intolerance: Cultural Conformity and Political Freedom." Annual Meeting of the Western Political Science Association, March, 1990.
- Gibson, James L., and Raymond M. Duch. "Elitist Theory and Political Tolerance in Western Europe." Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April, 1990.
- Gibson, James L., and Gregory A. Caldeira. 1990. "Black Support for the U.S. Supreme Court." Paper delivered at the 1990 Annual Meeting the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, April 5 - 7, 1990.
- Gibson, James L. "Political Consciousness in Europe: Cross-National Models of Attitudes Toward Democratic Rights." Annual Meeting of the Law and Society Association, May, 1990 (coauthored).
- Section Chair, Political Organizations and Parties, American Political Science Association, 1990.
- Gibson, James L. "Cultural Values and the Transformation of the Soviet Union." Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September, 1990 (co-authored).
- Gibson, James L. "Political Culture in the Emerging Soviet Democracy." Delivered at "The New Soviet Citizen: Public Opinion and Politics" Benjamin F. Shambaugh Conference, University of Iowa, November, 1990 (invited participant, co-authored).
- Gibson, James L. "Political Intolerance in the USSR: The Distribution and Etiology of Mass Opinion." Annual Meeting of the Western Political Science Association, March, 1991 (coauthored).
- Gibson, James L. "The Crisis of Democracy: Soviet Political Participation in Comparative Perspective." Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April, 1991 (co-authored).
- Gibson, James L. "Democratic Tolerance in the European Community." Annual Meeting of the Law and Society Association, June, 1991 (co-authored).
- Gibson, James L. "Political Culture and the Emerging Soviet Democracy." Annual Meeting of the Law and Society Association, June, 1991 (co-authored).
- Gibson, James L. "Support for Rights in Western Europe and the Soviet Union: An Analysis of the Beliefs of Mass Publics." Annual Meeting of the International Political Science Association, July, 1991



- (co-authored).
- Gibson, James L. "Post-Materialism and the Emerging Soviet Democracy." Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, August, 1991 (co-authored).
- Gibson, James L. "Perceived Political Freedom in the Soviet Union: A Comparative Analysis." Paper delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Western Political Science Association, March 19-21, 1992, San Francisco, California.
- Gibson, James L. "The Origins of a Democratic Culture in the Soviet Union: Models of the Acquisition of Democratic Values." Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April, 1992, Chicago, Illinois. (Co-authored with Raymond M. Duch)
- Gibson, James L. "Perceptions of Procedural Justice in the Soviet Union: An Exploratory Analysis." Procedural Justice Workshop, Onati, Spain, June 8-13, 1992 (invited participant).
- Gibson, James L., and Gregory A. Caldeira. "Legitimacy, Judicial Power, and the Emergence of Transnational Legal Institutions: The Court of Justice in the European Community." Interim Meeting of the Research Committee on Comparative Judicial Studies, International Political Science Association, June 14-17, 1992, University of Bologna, Forli, Italy.
- Duch, Raymond M., and James L. Gibson. 1992. "The New Democratic Activists in the Former Soviet Union." Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September, 1992, Chicago, Illinois.
- Gibson, James L. "The Political Freedom of African Americans: A Contextual Analysis of Racial Attitudes, Political Tolerance, and Individual Liberty." NCGIA Conference on Spatial and Contextual Models of Political Behavior, State University of New York at Buffalo, Buffalo, New York, October 23-25, 1992 (invited participant).
- Gibson, James L. "Political Freedom, Social Networks, and Atomization in the Contemporary (Former) Soviet Union." 1993 Annual Meeting of the Western Political Science Association, March 18-20, 1993, Pasadena Hilton, Pasadena, California.
- Gibson, James L. "The Legitimacy of the Court of Justice in the European Community: Models of Institutional Support." Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April, 1993, Chicago, Illinois. (Co-authored with Gregory A. Caldeira.)
- Gibson, James L., and Gregory A. Caldeira. "Compliance, Diffuse Support, and the European Court of Justice: An Analysis of the Legitimacy of a Transnational Legal Institution." Annual Meeting of the Law and Society Association, May, 1993, Chicago, Illinois.
- Gibson, James L. "Mass Opposition to the Soviet Putsch of August 1991: Democratic Participation in the (Former) Soviet Union." Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association, Fountainebleau Hilton, Miami Beach, Florida, August 13-17, 1993.
- Gibson, James L. "Political and Economic Markets: Connecting Attitudes Toward Political Democracy and a Market Economy Within the Mass Culture of the USSR." Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington Hilton, Washington, D.C., September 2-5, 1993.
- Gibson, James L. "Compliance, Diffuse Support, and the European Court of Justice: An Analysis of the Legitimacy of a Transnational Legal Institution." Procedural Justice Workshop, Onati, Spain, September 20-24, 1993. (Co-authored with Gregory A. Caldeira; invited participant).
- Gibson, James L. "Political Reform in the Fledgling Russian Democracy: The Mass Politics of the April 1993 Referendum." Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 14-16, 1994, Palmer House Hilton, Chicago, Illinois.
- Gibson, James L. "Changes in the Legitimacy of the European Court of Justice: A Post-Maastricht Analysis." "Frontiers of EC-Judicial Research" Conference, Copenhagen, Denmark, 2-4 June, 1994. (Co-authored with Gregory A. Caldeira; invited participant).
- Gibson, James L. "The European Court of Justice and Its Publics: Frontiers of Research in Political

- Science.” “Frontiers of EC-Judicial Research” Conference, Copenhagen, Denmark, 2-4 June, 1994. (Co-authored with Gregory A. Caldeira; invited participant).
- Gibson, James L. “The Legal Cultures of Western Europe: A Preliminary Report.” Annual Meeting of the Law and Society Association, Arizona Biltmore, Phoenix, Arizona, June 16-19, 1994. (Co-authored with Gregory A. Caldeira).
- Gibson, James L., and Gregory A. Caldeira. “Stability and Change in Mass Support for the European Court of Justice.” Interim Meeting of the Research Committee on Comparative Judicial Studies, Florence, Italy, August 16-18, 1994.
- Gibson, James L. “The Structure of Democratic and Economic Commitments in Russia and Ukraine.” XVIth World Congress of the International Political Science Association, Berlin, Germany, August 22-26, 1994.
- Gibson, James L. “A Mile Wide But an Inch Deep (?): The Structure of Democratic Commitments in the Former USSR.” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association. The New York Hilton, September 1-4, 1994.
- Gibson, James L. “The Resilience of Mass Support for Democratic Institutions and Processes in the Nascent Russian and Ukrainian Democracies.” “Political Culture and Civil Society” conference, The Russian Littoral Project, University of Maryland at College Park, October 24, 1994.
- Gibson, James L. “The Legal Cultures of Europe: Explorations and Explanations.” Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Palmer House Hilton, Chicago, Illinois, April 6-8, 1995. (Co-authored with Gregory A. Caldeira).
- Gibson, James L. 1995. “The Visibility of the Court of Justice in the European Union.” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago Hilton and Towers, Chicago, Illinois, August 31-September 2, 1995. (Co-authored with David J. Klein and Gregory A. Caldeira).
- Gibson, James L. (Keynote Address), 1995. “The Paradoxes of Political Tolerance in Processes of Democratization.” Annual Meeting of the South African Political Science Association, Stellenbosch, South Africa, 27-29 September 1995.
- Gibson, James L. 1996. “‘Putting Up With’ Fellow Russians: An Analysis of Political Tolerance in the Fledgling Russian Democracy.” Conference on “Civic Culture in Post-Communist Societies,” Centre for European Studies, Nuffield College, Oxford University, Oxford England, 8-9 March 1996. (Invited participant)
- Reprinted** as: “Putting Up With Fellow Russians: Political Tolerance in a Fledgling Democracy.” “Studies in Public Policy. Centre for the Study of Public Policy, University of Glasgow, Glasgow, Scotland (#275).
- Gibson, James L. 1996. “Political Intolerance in the Fledgling Russian Democracy.” Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 18-20, 1996, Palmer House Hilton, Chicago, Illinois.
- Gibson, James L. 1996. “Procedural Justice, the Rule of Law, and Democratization: A Comparative Analysis.” Joint Meetings of the Law and Society Association and the Research Committee on the Sociology of Law of the International Sociological Association, University of Strathclyde, Glasgow, Scotland, 10-13 July, 1996. (Co-authored with Joseph Sanders)
- Gibson, James L. and Amanda Gouws. 1996. “Support for the Rule of Law in the Emerging South African Democracy.” 1996 Interim Meeting of the Research Committee on Comparative Judicial Studies, International Political Science Association, The Hebrew University, Jerusalem, Israel, July 1-4, 1996.
- Gibson, James L. 1996. “The Evolution of Public Support for the European Court of Justice, 1992-1993.” 1996 Interim Meeting of the Research Committee on Comparative Judicial Studies, International Political Science Association, The Hebrew University, Jerusalem, Israel, July 1-4, 1996. (Co-authored with Gregory A. Caldeira)

- Gibson, James L. 1996. "Democratic Political Culture in the Transitional Russian Polity." 1996 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, The San Francisco Hilton and Towers, August 29 - September 1, 1996.
- Participant, "Scientific Research in Universities, Academies and Extra-University Institutions of Central Eastern European Countries, Germany, and the USA – Approaches, Experiences, Perspectives," German-American Academic Council Foundation, April 6 - 9, 1997, Halle, Germany. (Invited Participant)
- Gibson, James L. 1997. "A Sober Second Thought: Experiments in Persuading Russians to Tolerate." Paper delivered at the 1997 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 10-12, 1997, Palmer House Hilton, Chicago, Illinois.  
**Reprinted** as "An Experiment in Persuading Russians to Tolerate," *Studies in Public Policy*, Number 291, Centre for the Study of Public Policy, University of Strathclyde.
- Gibson, James L. 1997. "On the Legitimacy of National High Courts." Paper delivered at the 1997 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 10-12, 1997, Palmer House Hilton, Chicago, Illinois. (Co-authored with Gregory A. Caldeira and Vanessa Baird.)
- Gibson, James L., Gregory A. Caldeira, and Vanessa Baird. 1997. "On the Legitimacy of National High Courts." Paper delivered at the 1997 Annual Meeting of the Law and Society Association, May 29 - June 1, 1997, Adam's Mark Hotel, St. Louis, Missouri.
- Gibson, James L. 1997. "Perceptions of Governmental Obligations to the Unemployed: A Distributive Justice Inquiry." Paper delivered at the 1997 Annual Meeting of the Law and Society Association, May 29 - June 1, 1997, Adam's Mark Hotel, St. Louis, Missouri. (Coauthored with Joseph Sanders.)
- Gibson, James L. 1997. "Individualism, Democracy, and Conceptions of Social Justice: A Cross National, Cross-Level Analysis." Paper delivered at the 1997 Annual Meeting of the Law and Society Association, May 29 - June 1, 1997, Adam's Mark Hotel, St. Louis, Missouri. (Co-authored with Joseph Sanders and Vanessa Baird.)
- Gibson, James L. 1997. "The Political Significance of Mass Political Intolerance: A Cross-National Inquiry." Paper delivered at the conference on "Comparative Human Rights and Repression: Theory, Explanatory Variables, and Persisting Paradoxes," Boulder, Colorado, University of Colorado at Boulder, June 19-22, 1997.
- Caldeira, Gregory A., James L. Gibson, and Vanessa Baird. 1997. "The Micro-Foundations of Support for National High Courts." Paper delivered at the 1997 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington Sheraton Hotel, Washington, DC, August 27-31, 1997.
- Gibson, James L. 1997. "Social Networks and Civil Society in Processes of Democratization." Paper delivered at the 1997 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, The Washington Sheraton Hotel, Washington, DC, August 27-31, 1997.  
**Reprinted** as: "Social Networks and Civil Society in Processes of Democratization." *Studies in Public Policy*. Centre for the Study of Public Policy, University of Glasgow, Glasgow, Scotland (#301).
- Gibson, James L. and Amanda Gouws. 1997. "Political Tolerance in the Emerging South African Democracy." Paper delivered at the 1997 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington Sheraton Hotel, Washington, D.C., August 28-31, 1997.
- Section Chair, "Political Culture," Midwest Political Science Association, 1998.
- Gibson, James L. 1997. "Expectancy Theory and Institutional Decision Making: Thinking About How Norms Constrain Choices," presented at the Second Annual Conference on the Scientific Study of Judicial Politics, November 14-16, 1997, Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia. (Invited participant.)
- Gibson, James L. 1998. "The Politics of Social Identity in South Africa." Paper delivered at the 1998

- Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Palmer House Hilton, Chicago, Illinois, April 23-26, 1998.
- Gibson, James L. and Amanda Gouws. 1998. "Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa: Attributions for Blame and the Struggle Over Apartheid." Paper delivered at the 1998 Annual Meeting of the Law and Society Association, Aspen, Colorado, June 4-7, 1998.
- Organizer. 2000. "Democratic Theory, Democratization, and a Changing Political Landscape: A Decade After the Fall of the Berlin Wall," Conference, February, 2000.
- Gibson, James L., and Amanda Gouws. 1998. "Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa: Attributions of Blame and the Struggle Over Apartheid." Paper delivered at the 1998 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston Marriott Copley Place and Sheraton Boston Hotel and Towers, September 3-6, 1998.
- Gibson, James L. 1998. "The Consequences of Russian Intolerance: The Political Freedom of Minorities." Paper delivered at the 1998 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston Marriott Copley Place and Sheraton Boston Hotel and Towers, September 3-6, 1998.
- Gibson, James L. 1998. "Generational Differences in Attitudes Toward Political Liberty: Longitudinal and Generational Perspectives." Paper delivered at the conference on "The New Generation: Is It on the Right Track?" Central Intelligence Agency in cooperation with Eurasia Group, 28 September 1998, Washington, D.C.
- Gibson, James L. 1999. "Reconciliation or Retribution? The Effect of Truth Processes on Perceived Fairness and the Legitimacy of Law." Research and Scholarship Day, April 9, 1999, University of Houston. (Invited Speaker)
- Gibson, James L. 1999. Panelist. "Unanswered Questions in Research on Political Tolerance: Looking Backward/looking Forward" (Theme Panel). 1999 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 15-18, 1999, Palmer House Hilton, Chicago, Illinois.
- Gibson, James L. 1999. Panelist. "Roundtable: Trust, Democracy and Culture." 1999 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 15-18, 1999, Palmer House Hilton, Chicago, Illinois.
- Gibson, James L. 1999. Panelist. "Roundtable on Cross-national Survey Projects in the New Millennium" (Theme Panel 2). 1999 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 15-18, 1999, Palmer House Hilton, Chicago, Illinois.
- Gibson, James L. 1999. Panelist. "The Changing American Electorate: Is Tolerance Enough?" "Roundtable: The American Future: *E Pluribus Unum* or *E Pluribus Pluribus*?" 1999 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 15-18, 1999, Palmer House Hilton, Chicago, Illinois.
- Gibson, James L. 1999. "Reconciliation or Retribution? The Effect of Truth Processes on Perceived Fairness and the Legitimacy of Law." *Wooten Lecture*, May 10, 1999, Tufts University.
- Gibson, James L. 1999. "The Long Term and Short Term Stability of Political Intolerance: Implications for Russian Democratization." Delivered at the 1999 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Atlanta Marriott Marquis and Atlanta Hilton and Towers, September 2-5, 1999.
- Gibson, James L. 1999. "Experiments as a Method for Understanding Comparative Judicial Politics." Delivered at the 1999 Annual Conference on the Scientific Study of Judicial Politics, Texas A&M University, College Station, Texas, October 21-23, 1999.
- Gibson, James L. 2000. "Being Democratic in a Deeply Divided Society: Racial, Ethnic, Linguistic Conflict Over Democratic Values in the New South Africa." Presented at the 58<sup>th</sup> Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 27-30, 2000, Palmer House Hilton, Chicago, Illinois.
- Gibson, James L. 2000. "Changes in Russian Attitudes Toward Democratic and Economic Reform: Results

- From a 1996 – 2000 Panel Survey.” Presented at the 2000 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Marriott Wardman Park, August 31 - September 3, 2000.
- Gibson, James L. 2000. “The Persistence of Persuasion: The Temporal Stability of Attitude Change Due to Persuasibility Experiments.” Presented at the 2000 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Marriott Wardman Park, August 31 - September 3, 2000.
- Gibson, James L., and Gregory A. Caldeira. 2000. “The Emerging Legitimacy of the South African Constitutional Court.” Presented at the 2000 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Marriott Wardman Park, August 31 - September 3, 2000.
- Macdonald, Helen, and Gibson, James L. 2000. “An Empirical Snapshot of the Nature of Racial Attitudes in South Africa.” Presented at the National Conference on Racism, Sandton (South Africa), 30 August – 2 September 2000.
- Gibson, James L., and Gregory A. Caldeira. 2001. “The Emerging Legitimacy of the South African Constitutional Court.” Presented at the Interim Meeting of the Research Committee on Comparative Judicial Studies, International Political Science Association, Cape Town, South Africa, January 7 - 9, 2001.
- Gibson, James L. 2001. “Making Tolerance Judgments.” Presented at the Tolerance and Identity Conflict Conference, George Washington University, Washington, DC, March 23-24, 2001.
- Gibson, James L. 2001. “Truth, Justice, and Reconciliation: Judging Amnesty in South Africa.” Paper delivered at the 59<sup>th</sup> Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 19-21, 2001, Palmer House Hilton, Chicago, Illinois.
- Gibson, James L., Gregory A. Caldeira, and Lester Kenyatta Spence. 2001. “Accepting the Objectionable: An Experiment on Institutional Legitimacy and Acquiescence.” Paper delivered at the Conference on Experimental Methods, The Center for Basic Research in the Social Sciences, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, May 11-12, 2001.
- Gibson, James L, and Helen Macdonald. 2001. “Truth – Yes, Reconciliation – Maybe: South Africans Judge the Truth and Reconciliation Process.” Report, Press Conference, and Public Lecture, Institute for Justice and Reconciliation, Cape Town (South Africa), 11 June 2001.
- Gibson, James L. 2001. “Does Truth Lead to Reconciliation? Testing the Causal Assumptions of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Process.” Paper delivered at the 2001 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Hilton San Francisco and Towers, August 30 - September 2, 2001.
- Recipient of the Sage Paper Award for the Best Paper in the Field of Comparative Politics Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, 2001. Comparative Politics Organized Section, American Political Science Association.**
- Gibson, James L. 2002. “The Implications of Extant Research on Political Tolerance for the September 11<sup>th</sup> Attack on the United States.” Paper delivered at the workshop on “Separating Fact from Fiction After 9/11: Insights from Conflict and International Development Scholarship,” a Workshop organized by the Center for International Development and Conflict Management, University of Maryland, February 12, 2002.
- Gibson, James L. 2002. “The Value of Law in Russia’s Legal Culture: Does Legal Nihilism Predominate?” Paper delivered at the Conference on “Democracy in Russia,” Uppsala University, Uppsala, Sweden, April 11-13, 2002.
- Gibson, James L. 2002. “Truth, Reconciliation, and the Creation of a Human Rights Culture in South Africa: An Investigation of the Effectiveness of the Truth and Reconciliation Process.” Paper delivered at the 60<sup>th</sup> Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 25-28, 2002, Palmer House Hilton, Chicago, Illinois.

- Gibson, James L. 2002. Panelist. "Roundtable: Responding to Terrorism and the Rule of Law." 60<sup>th</sup> Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 25-28, 2002, Palmer House Hilton, Chicago, Illinois.
- Gibson, James L. 2002. Panelist. "Roundtable: Tensions in Comparative Politics: Methods or Substance?" 60<sup>th</sup> Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 25-28, 2002, Palmer House Hilton, Chicago, Illinois.
- Gibson, James L. 2002. "Does Truth Lead to Reconciliation? Testing the Causal Assumptions of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Process." Sixth National Political Science Congress, Chilean Political Science Association, May 8-9, 2002, Santiago, Chile.  
[“¿Conduce la verdad a la reconciliación? Poniendo a prueba los principios causales del proceso sudafricano de verdad y reconciliación.” VI Congreso Nacional de Ciencia Política, Entre la Soberanía y la Globalización: La Ciencia Política frente al milenio,]
- Gibson, James L. 2002. "Quantitative Approaches to Truth and Reconciliation." "Empirical Research Methodologies of Transitional Justice Mechanisms." 18-20 November 2002, Stellenbosch, South Africa. Co-sponsored by the American Association for the Advancement of Science and the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation.
- Gibson, James L. 2003. "Overcoming Apartheid: Can Truth Reconcile a Divided Nation?" *Solomon Interdisciplinary Social Science Workshop Lecture*, Cornell University, March 12, 2003.
- Gibson, James L., and Marc Morjé Howard. 2004. "Russian Anti-Semitism and the Scapegoating of Jews: The Dog that Didn't Bark?" Kennan Institute, Woodrow Wilson Center, Washington, D.C., February 17, 2004.  
**Reprinted** as "Russian Anti-Semitism and the Scapegoating of Jews: The Dog that Didn't Bark?," *Studies in Public Policy*, Number 397, Centre for the Study of Public Policy, University of Strathclyde.
- Gibson, James L. 2004. "The Role of Truth and Reconciliation Processes in Understanding Civil Conflict." Working paper delivered at the conference on "Understanding Civil War: Quantity versus Quality? – Toward More Effective Collaboration between the Quantitative and Qualitative Conflict Research Communities." Bellagio, Italy. April 2004.
- Gibson, James L. 2004. "The Maturation of Democracy in South Africa? An Analysis of Change in Democratic Values, 1996 – 2001." Paper delivered at the 62<sup>nd</sup> Annual National Conference of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 15-18, 2004, Palmer House Hilton, Chicago, Illinois.
- Gibson, James L. 2004. "Overcoming Apartheid: Can Truth Reconcile a Divided Nation?" International Center for Transitional Justice, Manhattan, NY, May 4, 2004. Symposium on *Overcoming Apartheid: Can Truth Reconcile a Divided Nation?* (Book Launch). Discussants on the book: Alex Boraine, Mahmood Mamdani, and Paul van Zyl.
- Gibson, James L. 2004. "Enigmas of Intolerance: Fifty Years After Stouffer's Communism, Conformity, and Civil Liberties." The Alexander George Award Lecture. International Society of Political Psychology Annual Conference, Eden Hall, Lund University, Lund, Sweden, July 15-18, 2004.
- Gibson, James L. 2004. "Overcoming Apartheid: Can Truth Reconcile a Divided Nation?" HSRC Press, Cape Town, South Africa, August 18, 2004. Symposium on *Overcoming Apartheid: Can Truth Reconcile a Divided Nation?* (Book Launch). Discussants on the book: Alex Boraine, Charles Villa-Vicencio, and Mary Burton.
- Gibson, James L. 2004. "Linking Identities and Intolerance: Conditional Relationships," Paper delivered at the 2004 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 2 – September 5, 2004.
- Gibson, James L. 2004. "The Contributions of Truth to Reconciliation: Lessons from South Africa." Paper delivered at the conference on "Judging Transitional Justice: An Interdisciplinary Workshop on

- New Democracies' Coming to Terms with Their Past," University of California in Irvine, October 30-31, 2004.
- Gibson, James L. 2004. "Overcoming Apartheid: Can Truth Reconcile a Divided Nation?" Presented at "Celebrating Our Books, Recognizing Our Authors," Washington University, The Center for the Humanities in Arts and Sciences, December 2, 2004.
- Gibson, James L. 2005. "Can Truth Reconcile Divided Nations?" Paper delivered at the conference "After the Storm: Reconstructing States, Reconciling Societies," University of North Texas, Denton, Texas, January 14-15, 2005.
- Gibson, James L. 2005. "Overcoming Land Injustices: An Experimental Investigation Into the Justice and Injustice of Land Squatting in South Africa." Keynote Address, delivered at the "Justice Preconference" at the Society for Personality and Social Psychology Annual Meeting, New Orleans, January 20-22, 2005.
- Gibson, James L. 2005. "Can Truth Reconcile a Divided Nation?" David M. Robinson Human Rights Lecture." Reed College, Portland, Oregon, February 28, 2005. (Also delivered as part of Reed's Black History Month).
- Gibson, James L. 2005. "Overcoming Land Injustices: An Experimental Investigation Into the Justice and Injustice of Land Squatting in South Africa." Paper delivered at the 63<sup>rd</sup> Annual National Conference of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 7-10, 2005, Palmer House Hilton, Chicago, Illinois.
- Gibson, James L. Mini-Conference Organizer. "Political Tolerance and Political Psychology Mini-Conference," Weidenbaum Center, Washington University in St. Louis, April 29-30, 2005.
- Gibson, James L. 2005. "Overcoming Land Injustices: An Experimental Investigation Into the Justice and Injustice of Land Squatting in South Africa." Paper delivered at the Spring Meeting of the Working Group on African Political Economy, University of California at Los Angeles, May 13-14, 2005, Los Angeles, CA.
- Gibson, James L. 2005. "Becoming Democratic: Learning to Embrace Democracy." Presented at "The State of Democracy: Engaging a Changing Citizenry." 2005 Decade of Behavior Research Award Symposium, Rayburn House Office Building, Capitol Hill, Washington, D.C., May 23, 2005.
- Gibson, James L. 2005. "Land Inequality and Squatting in South Africa: Judging Historical Injustices." Paper delivered at the 2005 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 1 – September 4, 2005, Washington, D.C.
- Gibson, James L. 2005. "Judging Historical Land Injustices: The Views of the South African People." Presented at the New York Law School, South African Reading Group Meeting, October 14, 2005, New York, New York.
- Program Committee, Joint International Socio-Legal Studies Meeting, Berlin, Germany, July 25-28, 2007 (joint meeting of Law and Society Association and Research Committee on Sociology of Law of the International Sociological Association).
- Gibson, James L. 2005. "Answers to Tolerance's Enigmas: Part I." Paper delivered at the Semi-Annual Meeting of the New York Area Political Psychology Meeting, Columbia University, October 29, 2005.
- Gibson, James L. 2005. "Intolerance and Support for Political Repression in the United States: A Half-Century After McCarthyism." Paper delivered at the "Workshop for Preliminary Presentations of Findings from the Citizenship, Involvement, Democracy (CID) Survey Project," Center for Democracy and the Third Sector (CDATS), Georgetown University, December 12-13, 2005.
- Gibson, James L. 2005. "Intolerance and Support for Political Repression in the United States: A Half-Century After McCarthyism." Paper delivered at "The Causes and Consequences of Civic Engagement," Workshop co-sponsored by the Friedrich Ebert Foundation and the Brookings

- Institution, December 14, 2005.
- Gibson, James L. 2006. "The Evolving Legitimacy of the South African Constitutional Court." Paper delivered at the Interim Meeting of the Research Committee on Comparative Judicial Studies, International Political Science Association, Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona, February 16-17, 2006.
- Gibson, James L. 2006. "The Rule of Law as an Impediment to Tyranny?" Paper delivered at the 2006 Tanner Lecture on Human Values, panel entitled "Human Rights, Law, and Constitutionalism: Transnational Resonances," March 30, 2006, The University of Utah, Salt Lake City, UT.
- Gibson, James L. 2006. "Changes in American Veneration for the Rule of Law." Paper delivered at the 12<sup>th</sup> Annual Clifford Symposium on Tort Law and Social Policy, "Is the Rule of Law Waning in America?" DePaul University College of Law, April 20 – 21, 2006, Chicago, Illinois.
- Gibson, James L., and Gregory A. Caldeira. 2006. "Politicized Confirmation Processes and the Legitimacy of the U.S. Supreme Court." Paper delivered at the 64<sup>th</sup> Annual National Conference of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 20–23, 2006, Palmer House Hilton, Chicago, Illinois.
- Gibson, James L. 2006. "Conceptualizing and Measuring Support for Democratic Institutions and Processes." Paper delivered at the LAPOP-UNDP Workshop: "Candidate Indicators for the UNDP Democracy Support Index (DSI)," Vanderbilt University, May 5-6, 2006.
- Gibson, James L., and Gregory A. Caldeira. 2006. "Confirmation Politics and the Legitimacy of the U.S. Supreme Court: Institutional Loyalty, Positivity Bias, and the Alito Nomination." Paper delivered at the 2006 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, August 31 – September 3, 2006, Philadelphia, PA.
- Gibson, James L., and Gregory A. Caldeira. 2007. "Knowing About Courts." Paper delivered at the 65<sup>th</sup> Annual National Conference of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 12–15, 2007, Palmer House Hilton, Chicago, Illinois.
- Gibson, James L., and Gregory A. Caldeira. 2007. "Supreme Court Nominations, Legitimacy Theory, and the American Public: A Dynamic Test of the Theory of Positivity Bias." Paper delivered at the 2007 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, August 30 – September 2, 2007, Chicago, IL.
- Gibson, James L., and Gregory A. Caldeira. 2007. "Knowing About Courts." Paper delivered at the Second Annual Conference on Empirical Legal Studies, November 9-10, 2007, New York University Law School.
- Gibson, James L. 2008. "'New-Style' Judicial Campaigns and the Legitimacy of State High Courts: Results from a National Survey." Paper delivered at the 66<sup>th</sup> Annual National Conference of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 3–5, 2008, Palmer House Hilton, Chicago, Illinois.
- Gibson, James L., Jeffrey A. Gottfried, Michael X. Delli Carpini, and Kathleen Hall Jamieson. 2008. "The Effects of Judicial Campaign Activity on the Legitimacy of Courts: A Survey-Based Experiment, Pennsylvania, 2007." Paper delivered at the 2008 State Politics and Policy Conference, May 30-31, 2008, Temple University, Philadelphia, PA.
- Gibson, James L., Jeffrey A. Gottfried, Michael X. Delli Carpini, and Kathleen Hall Jamieson. 2008. "The Effects of Judicial Campaign Activity on the Legitimacy of Courts: A Survey-Based Experiment, Pennsylvania, 2007." Paper delivered at the 2008 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, August 28 – August 31, 2008, Boston, MA.
- Gibson, James L. 2008. "Land Redistribution/Restitution in South Africa: A Model of Multiple Values, as the Past Meets the Present." Paper delivered at the 2008 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, August 28 – August 31, 2008, Boston, MA.
- Gibson, James L. 2009. "Research on Legitimacy: An Overview." Paper presented at the conference on



- “Conceptualizing and Measuring Legitimacy for Comparative and Cross-National Analyses: A Research Agenda.” Sponsored by the Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies, the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, March 14, 2009.
- Gibson, James L. 2009. “Judging the Politics of Judging: Are Politicians in Robes Inevitably Illegitimate?” Paper presented at the “What’s Law Got To Do With It?” conference, Indiana University School of Law – Bloomington, March 27-29, 2009.
- Gibson, James L., and Gregory A. Caldeira. 2009. “Campaign Support, Conflicts of Interest, and Judicial Impartiality: Can the Legitimacy of Courts Be Rescued by Recusals?” Paper delivered at the Chicago Area Political and Social Behavior Workshop, May 8, 2009, Northwestern University.
- Gibson, James L., and Gregory A. Caldeira. 2009. “Campaign Support, Conflicts of Interest, and Judicial Impartiality: Can the Legitimacy of Courts Be Rescued by Recusals?” Paper delivered at the 2009 Conference on Empirical Legal Studies, November 20-21, 2009, University of Southern California Law School.
- Gibson, James L., Milton Lodge, Charles Tabor, and Benjamin Woodson. 2010. “Can Judicial Symbols Produce Persuasion and Acquiescence? Testing a Micro-Level Model of the Effects of Court Legitimacy.” Paper delivered at the 68<sup>th</sup> Annual National Conference of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 21–24, 2010, Palmer House Hilton, Chicago, Illinois.
- Gibson, James L., and Gregory A. Caldeira. 2010. “Judicial Impartiality, Campaign Contributions, and Recusals: Results from a National Survey.” Paper delivered at the Fifth Annual Conference on Empirical Legal Studies, November 5-6, 2010, Yale Law School.
- Gibson, James L., and Gregory A. Caldeira. 2011. “Judicial Impartiality, Campaign Contributions, and Recusals: Results from a National Survey.” Paper delivered at the Fourth Annual CESS NYU Experimental Political Science Conference, New York University, March 4-5, 2011.
- Woodson, Benjamin, James L. Gibson, and Milton Lodge. 2011. “Judicial Symbols and the Link between Institutional Legitimacy and Acquiescence.” Paper delivered at the 2011 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, March 31-April 3, 2011.
- Woodson, Benjamin, James L. Gibson, and Milton Lodge. 2011. “Judicial Symbols and the Link between Institutional Legitimacy and Acquiescence.” Paper delivered at the 2011 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Seattle, Washington, September 1 – September 4, 2011.
- Gibson, James L. 2011. “Judges, Elections, and the American Mass Public: The Net Effects of Judicial Campaigns on the Legitimacy of Courts.” Paper delivered at the CELS 2011 6<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference on Empirical Legal Studies, Northwestern University Law School, November 4, 2011 through November 5, 2011.
- Gibson, James L. 2012. “Public Reverence for the United States Supreme Court: Is the Court Invincible?” Paper delivered at the Countermajoritarian Conference, University of Texas Law School, March 29 – 30, 2012.
- Gibson, James L., and Michael J. Nelson. 2013. “Can the U.S. Supreme Court Have Too Much Legitimacy?” Paper delivered at the NSF-Sponsored Workshop on the Normative Implications of Empirical Research on Law and Courts, George Washington University, Washington, D.C., May 10, 2013.
- Gibson, James L., and Michael J. Nelson. 2013. “Is the U.S. Supreme Court’s Legitimacy Grounded in Performance Satisfaction and Ideology?” Paper delivered at the 2013 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, August 29 – September 1, 2013. Hilton Chicago, Chicago, Illinois.
- Gibson, James L. 2013. “Truth, Justice, and Reconciliation: Lessons from South Africa.” Presented at the 13<sup>th</sup> World Summit of Nobel Peace Laureates, Non-Violence, Peacebuilding and Reconciliation Conference, Warsaw, Poland, October 22, 2013.

- Gibson, James L. 2014. "Legitimacy is for Losers: The Interconnections of Institutional Legitimacy, Performance Evaluations, and the Symbols of Judicial Authority." Paper presented at the 62<sup>nd</sup> *Nebraska Symposium on Motivation – Motivating Cooperation and Compliance with Authority: The Role(s) of Institutional Trust and Confidence.* (Keynote Speaker). Lincoln, Nebraska, April 24-25, 2014.
- Gibson, James L. 2014. "Reassessing the Institutional Legitimacy of the South African Constitutional Court: New Evidence, Revised Theory." Paper presented at the Conference on "Twenty Years of South African Constitutionalism: Constitutional Rights, Judicial Independence, and the Transition to Democracy." New York Law School, November 13-16, 2014.
- Gibson, James L., and Michael J. Nelson. 2015. "Too Liberal, Too Conservative, or About Right? The Implications of Ideological Dissatisfaction for Supreme Court Legitimacy." Paper delivered at the 2015 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 3-6, 2015. San Francisco, California.
- Nelson, Michael J., James L. Gibson. 2016. "U.S. Supreme Court Legitimacy: Unanswered Questions and an Agenda for Future Research." Paper delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, San Juan, Puerto Rico, January 7-9, 2016.
- Claassen, Christopher, and James L. Gibson. 2016. "Tolerance and Dissent in the American States." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the European Political Science Association, Brussels, Belgium, 25 June 2016.
- Gibson, James L. 2017. "Unlearning Intolerance." Presented at the "Teaching Tolerance & Peace in Education: American Experiences & International Lessons" Conference. University of Central Florida, March 27, 2017. (Invited presentation.)
- Gibson, James L., Christopher Claassen, and Joan Barceló. 2017. "Is Hatred Really the Main Emotional Source of Political Intolerance?" Presented at the "Political Tolerance (and Related Matters) and the New World Disorder" Conference. Uppsala University, Uppsala, Sweden, May 3, 2017. (Invited presentation.)
- Claassen, Christopher, and James L. Gibson. 2017. "Does Intolerance Dampen Dissent? Macro-Tolerance and Protest in American Metropolitan Areas." Presented at the "Political Tolerance (and Related Matters) and the New World Disorder" Conference. Uppsala University, Uppsala, Sweden, May 3, 2017. (Invited presentation.)
- Gibson, James L. 2017. "Unlearning Intolerance." Presented at the "Political Tolerance (and Related Matters) and the New World Disorder" Conference. Uppsala University, Uppsala, Sweden, May 3, 2017. (Invited presentation.)
- Gibson, James L., and Michael J. Nelson. 2018. "Judging Inequality in the American States: A Preliminary Investigation." Paper presented at the 2018 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, MA, August 30 – September 2, 2018.

Miscellaneous invited talks and roundtable presentations.