

**CURRICULUM VITAE**  
**2023**

**GREGORY A. CALDEIRA**

Department of Political Science  
Ohio State University  
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**EDUCATION**

Ph.D., Politics, Princeton University, 1978.  
A.M., Politics, Princeton University, 1975.  
B.A., Honors, Political Science, California State University, Stanislaus, 1973.

**FIELDS OF SPECIALIZATION**

Law and judicial politics, American political institutions, American political development, comparative law and courts

**CURRENT TEACHING**

Seminar on the Supreme Court (Moritz College of Law), American Constitutional Law (undergraduate), Foundations of American Politics (graduate seminar), Supreme Court (honors), Introduction to American Politics, The Supreme Court (undergraduate)

**ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS**

*Distinguished University Professor, Ann and Darrell Dreher Chair in Political Com-*

*munication and Policy Thinking, and Professor of Law, Ohio State University, September 2005-present.*  
*Distinguished University Professor and University Chaired Professor of Political Science, Ohio State University, June, 1999-September, 2005.*  
*Jack N. Pritzker Distinguished Visiting Professor of Law, Northwestern University School of Law, 2003-2004.*  
*Fellow, Center for Law and Policy Studies, Ohio State University, 1999-present.*  
*University Chaired Professor of Political Science, Ohio State University, November, 1998-September, 2005.*  
*Professor of Political Science, Ohio State University, January, 1987-1998.*  
*Visiting Professor of Political Science, UCLA, Summer 1990.*  
*Professor of Political Science, University of Iowa, 1985-1986; Associate Professor, 1981-1985; Assistant Professor, 1978-1981; Instructor, 1977-1978*

Courses taught: American Constitutional Law, Introduction to American Politics, The Judicial Process, Judicial Politics (graduate); Comparative Law and Courts (graduate), Law and Politics (graduate), The Politics of Civil Liberties, American Politics (graduate), The Supreme Court (honors), Interest Groups (graduate and undergraduate), Jurisprudence (graduate, undergraduate), Modern American Politics (honors), The Supreme Court (graduate, Law), Comparative Constitutional Law (Law).

## **ADMINISTRATION AND SERVICE (SELECTIONS)**

Chair, Department of Political Science, July 2019-present.  
Member, ASC Curriculum Committee for GE in Citizenship, Autumn 2023  
Member, Arts and Sciences Senate, 2018-2019, 2022  
Director, Undergraduate Studies, Department of Political Science, 2018-2019.  
Co-Director, Democracy Studies Program, 2012-July 2017 (except for Professional Leave, Fall 2015).  
Member, Financial Aid Committee, Department of Political Science, 2017-2018.  
Member, Selection Committee, Undergraduate International Studies Grants, 2018-2019.  
Member, Executive Committee, Department of Political Science, 2016-2017, 2018-2019.  
Member, Annual Review Committee, Department of Political Science, 2016-2019.  
Member, Awards Committee, Department of Political Science, 2016-2019.  
Member, College of Arts and Sciences Salary Appeals Committee, 2016-2018.  
Member, Chair, Ad Hoc Committee for Reappointment of Endowed Chair, Psychology, Steven Spencer, 2022  
Member, Ad Hoc Committee for Reappointment of Endowed Chair, Christopher

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- Gelpi, 2017.
- Chair, Ad Hoc Committee for Reappointment of Endowed Chair, Russell Fazio, 2017-2018.
- Chair, Ad Hoc Committee for Reappointment of Endowed Chair, Julian Thayer, 2017-2018 (evaluation aborted on his retirement).
- Chair, Ad Hoc Disciplinary Committee, Graduate School, 2016 (February-October).
- Member, Recruitment Committee, Director of Democracy Studies, 2016-2017.
- Member, LL.M. Admissions Committee, Moritz College of Law, Ohio State University, 2005-present (except for Professional Leave, Fall 2015).
- Member, President's and Provost's Advisory Committee, 1999-present.
- Member, University Fellowship Committee, 2013-2015.
- Member, Executive Committee, Department of Political Science, 2016-2017.
- Member, Presidential Fellowship Selection Committee, Graduate School, 2006-2015.
- Chair, Search Committee for Chair of Department of Psychology, Ohio State University, Spring 2015.
- Member, Executive Committee, 2005-2014, Department of Political Science.
- Field Coordinator, American Politics, Department of Political Science, 2011-2014
- Chair, Recruitment Committee in Political Behavior, Department of Political Science, 2013-2014.
- Chair, Recruitment Committee in Political Behavior, Department of Political Science, 2012-2013
- Chair, Recruitment Committee in American Politics, Department of Political Science, 2011-2012.
- Members, Arts and Sciences Subcommittee on Faculty Matters, 2012.
- Member, Arts and Sciences Advisory Committee, College of Arts and Sciences, 2010-2011.
- Member, Chair, Subcommittees PPAC, Evaluation of TIE's, Summer 2007, 2008, 2009.
- Member, SBS Budget Committee, 2007-2009.
- Member, University Distinguished Lecture Selection Committee, 2005, 2007, 2008, 2009.
- Member, American Politics Recruitment Committee, 2006-2007, Department of Political Science.
- Member, Dreher Chair Search Committee, Department of Political Science, 2004-2005.
- Chair, Search for Chair of Department of Psychology, Ohio State University, Fall

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2001.

Convener, 2000-2001 University Distinguished Lecture Series, Office of Academic Affairs, 2000.

Member, Advisory Committee on Promotion and Tenure, College of Social and Behavioral Sciences, 1995-1999, 2000-2003.

Member, Selection Committee, Academic Enrichment, Office of Academic Affairs, (Chair, Section B, 2000).

Member, Selection Committee, Distinguished Scholar Awards, 1999-2004.

Member, Advisory Committee, Center for Law, Policy, and Social Science, College of Law, Ohio State University, 1999-2005

Chair, Faculty Search in American Politics, Department of Political Science, 2000-2001.

Member, Faculty Search in American Politics, Department of Political Science, 1998-1999.

Chair, Search Committee for Chair of Department of Psychology, Ohio State University, 1997.

Member, General Faculty Recruitment Committee, Department of Political Science, 1997-1998, 1999-2000.

Member, Executive Committee, Department of Political Science, 1995-1997.

Member, Subcommittee on Research, Advisory Committee on College Priorities, College of Social and Behavioral Sciences, Ohio State University, 1998-2001.

Member, Advisory Committee on College Priorities, College of Social and Behavioral Sciences, Ohio State University, 1998-2001.

Coordinator, American Politics, Department of Political Science, 1995-1997.

Chair, Search Committee for Senior Faculty in Positive Political Theory, Department of Political Science, 1995-1997.

Member, Distinguished University Professor Selection Committee, Ohio State University, 1996.

Member, Search Committee for Dean of College of Social and Behavioral Sciences, Ohio State University, 1992-1993.

Member, Provost's Ad Hoc Committee on the Documentation of Teaching, 1992.

Chair, Search Committee for Chair of Department of Sociology, Ohio State University, 1992.

Member, Self-Study of Department of Political Science, Ohio State University (1992-1993).

Member, Restructuring Committee, Department of Political Science, Ohio State University (1993-1994)

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Member, Provost's Advisory Committee on Promotion and Tenure, Ohio State University, 1990-1992.

Member, University Senate, Ohio State University, 1989-1993.

Member and Chair (1991-1992), Committee on Legislative Affairs, Ohio State University, 1989-1992.

Director, Laboratory for Political Research, University of Iowa, 1983-1985.

Director, Undergraduate Study in Political Science, University of Iowa, 1979-1982.

## FELLOWSHIPS, GRANTS, AND AWARDS

APSA Section on Law and Courts, "Lifetime Achievement Award," 2020

APSA Section on Law and courts, "Lasting Contribution Award, 2020, for a journal article, 10 years or older, that has made a lasting impression on the field of law and courts, for "On the Legitimacy of National High Courts," 92 *American Political Science Review* (1998), 343-358, with James L. Gibson and Vanessa Baird.

APSA Section on Law Courts, "Lasting Contribution Award," 2013, for a book or journal article, 10 years or older, that has made a lasting impression on the field of law and courts, for "Organized Interests and Agenda Setting in the Supreme Court," 82 *American Political Science Review* 1109 (1988), with John R. Wright.

"Doctoral Dissertation Research in DRMS: Logical Incoherence in the United States Supreme Court," Program in Decision, Risk, and Management Science, National Science Foundation, Award 1259252, approximately \$16,827, start 2013-end January 31, 2015, for Matthew Hitt.

Grant, Law and Social Science Program, Small Grant Program Exploratory Research proposal, "Collaborative: Money, Politics, and the Legitimacy of State Supreme Courts: The Impact of Recusals and Disqualifications." \$98,700. Through Washington University in St. Louis, not Ohio State University, 2007-2008.

Grant, Mershon Center for International Security, "Change in Personnel and Policy and the Legitimacy of the Supreme Court"; defrayed a portion of the costs associated with a national survey of 1,000 Americans focused in part on public evaluations of the Supreme Court, reactions to its decisions, perceptions and evaluations of its membership, including the new

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- appointees, Chief Justice John Roberts and Associate Justice Samuel Alito, 2007-2008.
- Grant, Mershon Center for International Security, "Critical Nominations and the Legitimacy of the Supreme Court," for support of a three-wave panel study of Americans of the nominating process, in particular of the impact of Justice Alito's nomination on orientations toward the Court and the rule of law, 2006, 2007.
- American Judicature Society Prize (2005) for Best Paper on Law and Courts at a professional meeting ("A Spatial Model of Supreme Court Voting").
- Grant, Ford Foundation, "The Impact of *Bush v. Gore* on African-Americans' Views of the Supreme Court," through Washington University in St. Louis and spent at Ohio State University's Center for Survey Research, 2001.
- Grant, "The Causes and Consequences of the Globalization of Judicial Power," Mershon Center for National Security, Ohio State University, 1999-2001.
- American Judicature Society Prize (1998) for Best Paper on Law and Courts at the 1997 Annual Meetings of the American Political Science Association ("Sophisticated Judicial Behavior: Agenda-Setting Via the Discuss List").
- American Judicature Society Prize (1997) for Best Paper on Law and Courts at the 1996 Annual Meetings of the American Political Science Association ("Strategic Voting and Agenda Manipulation on the Supreme Court").
- University Distinguished Scholar Award, Ohio State University (1994-1997).
- Grant, National Science Foundation, Law and Social Science, "Amici Curiae in the American Legal System"; 1996-2001; with Epstein.
- Grant, National Science Foundation, Political Science Program, "Conference Group on the Scientific Study of Law and Courts"; June 1995-present; with Epstein.
- Grant, National Science Foundation, Law and Social Sciences Program, "Workshop on Legitimacy, Compliance, and the Roots of Justice," 1994-1996.
- Grant, Ohio State University, "Conference on the Scientific Study of Law and Courts," November 1994.
- Grant, National Science Foundation, Law and Social Sciences Program (with Gibson), "Stability and Change in Mass Support for the European Court of Justice: A Panel Study of Legitimacy, Compliance, and a Transnational Legal Institution"; 1993-1996.
- Grant, Federal Republic of Germany, "Stability and Change in Mass Support for the European Court of Justice in the Former East and West Germanies: A Panel Study of Legitimacy, Compliance, and a Transnational Legal Institution"; 1993-1995.

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- Grant, National Science Foundation, Law and Social Sciences Program (with Gibson), "Legitimacy, Judicial Power, and Emerging Transnational Legal Institutions: The Court of Justice in the European Community"; 1992-1994.
- Grant, Alexander von Humboldt Stiftung (with Gibson), "Legitimacy, Judicial Power, and Emerging Transnational Legal Institutions: The Court of Justice in the European Community"; 1993-1994.
- Grant, The Dirksen Congressional Center (with Patterson), "The Social Matrix of Leadership in the Senate"; 1991-1992.
- Grant, Center for Labor Research, Ohio State University, "Organized Labor and Federal Judicial Nominations"; 1990-1991.
- Grant, National Science Foundation, Political Science and Law and Social Sciences Program (with Wright), "Organized Interests Before the Senate: The Politics of Federal Judicial Nominations"; 1989-1992.
- Grant, Lyndon Baines Johnson Foundation, "Confirmation and Rejection of Nominations to the Supreme Court"; 1988-1989.
- Grant, National Science Foundation, Law and Social Sciences Program (with J. Wright), "The Influence of Interest Groups on Agenda-Setting in the Supreme Court"; 1986-1988.
- Grant, American Philosophical Society, "Confirmation and Rejection of Nominations to the Supreme Court"; 1988-1989.
- Grant, The Dirksen Congressional Center (with Wright), "Organized Interests Before the Senate: Confirmation and Rejection of Nominations to the Supreme Court"; 1988-1989.
- Seed Grant, Ohio State University, "Organized Interests Before the Senate: The Fight Over Judge Bork"; 1988-1989.
- Grant, American Philosophical Society, "The Evolution of the Supreme Court as a Political Institution"; 1984-1985.
- University Faculty Scholarship, University of Iowa, 1984-1986.
- Old Gold Summer Fellowship, University of Iowa, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981.
- Developmental Assignment, University of Iowa, Fall, 1980.
- Grant, National Science Foundation, Law and Social Sciences Division (with Kurtz); 1977-1978.
- Fellowship, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, U.S. Department of Justice; for doctoral research; 1975-1976.
- Grant, Research Program in Criminal Justice, Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, Princeton University; 1975-1976.
- Fellowship, Graduate Program, Danforth Foundation, 1973-1977.

**PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES**

Member, Editorial Board, *American Journal of Political Science*, 2014-February 2018.  
Promotion and Tenure Letters, for Princeton University, Yale University (promotion and tenure), University of Michigan (outside offer, full), University of Pittsburgh (promotion to full), Penn State University (promotion and tenure).

Promotion and Tenure Letters, for Princeton University, University of Rochester, University of Wisconsin, Madison (2015-2016).

Member, Graduate Fellowship Selection Committee, National Science Foundation, 2013-2015.

Promotion and Tenure Letters, for the University of Wisconsin, Madison; University of Pittsburgh; and Fordham University, 2013-2014.

Chair, Nominating Committee, Law and Courts Section, American Political Science Association, 2013-2014.

Chair, Nominations Committee, Law and Courts Section, American Political Science Association, 2013-2014.

Associate Editor, *American Political Science Review*, 2009-2012.

Member, Committee on the Status of the Law and Courts Field, American Political Science Association, 2010-2011.

Chair, "Best Journal Article" Award Committee, Section on Law and Courts, American Political Science Association, 2009.

President, President-Elect, Past-President, Midwest Political Science Association, 2005-2008.

Member, Edward S. Corwin Dissertation Award Committee, American Political Science Association, 2007-2008.

Member, Nominating Committee, Law & Society Association, 2005-2006.

Chair, Selection Committee for an Editor of the *American Journal of Political Science*, 2003-2004.

Member, Selection Panel on Graduate Fellowships, Program in Education, National Science Foundation, February 2003.

Chair, Franklin L. Burdette Pi Sigma Alpha Award Committee, for Best Paper Presented at the 2002 Annual Meetings, American Political Science Association, 01/01/03 -12/31/03.

Chair, 2002 Pi Sigma Alpha Award Committee, Midwest Political Science Association, for Best Paper Presented at the 2002 Annual Meetings, 05/02-03/03.

Chair, Committee to Consider Creating a Journal, Section on Law and Courts,

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- American Political Science Association, 2003.
- Member, Committee on the *E-AJPS*, Midwest Political Science Association, 2003.
- Editor, *American Journal of Political Science*, 1998-2001.
- Member, Editorial Board, *The Journal of Politics*, January 1, 2001-December 31, 2004.
- Member, Editorial Board, *American Journal of Political Science*, January 1, 2002-December 31<sup>st</sup>, 2005.
- Member, Committee to Choose a New Publisher for the *American Journal of Political Science*, Midwest Political Science Association, 2001-2002.
- Member, Selection Committee for Executive Director, Midwest Political Science Association, 1999-2000.
- Member, Committee to Study Electronic Publication of the *American Journal of Political Science*, Midwest Political Science Association, 1999-2001.
- Member, Committee on Future of the *American Journal of Political Science*, Midwest Political Science Association, 1998-1999.
- Vice President, Midwest Political Science Association, 1995-1997.
- Chair, Career Achievement Award Committee, Law and Courts Section, American Political Science Association, 1996-1997.
- Co-Convener, Conference for the Scientific Study of Law and Courts, sponsored by the National Science Foundation and various academic institutions, 1996-present.
- Member, Program Committee, Conference for the Scientific Study of Law and Courts, Michigan State University, October 1998.
- Chair, Program Committee, Conference for the Scientific Study of Law and Courts, Emory University, November 1997.
- Member, Program Committee, Law and Society Association, 1996-1997.
- Member, Editorial Board, *Political Research Quarterly*, 1996-2000.
- Member, Editorial Board, *Lawcourts-L*, Law and Courts Section, American Political Science Association, 1996-present.
- Member, Nominations Committee, Law and Courts Section, American Political Science Association, 1996.
- Chair, Committee on Nominations, Midwest Political Science Association, 1996-1997.
- Member, Committee on Nominations, Midwest Political Science Association, 1995-1996.
- Chair, Committee on the Heinz Eulau Prize for the Best Paper in the *American Political Science Review*, 1993-1994.
- Member, Editorial Board, Sage Monograph Series in Contemporary American

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### Politics.

- Member, Law and Social Science Advisory Panel, National Science Foundation, 1991-1994.
- Chair, Organized Section on Law, Courts, and Judicial Process, 1991-1992.
- Member, Committee on Career Achievement Award, Organized Section on Law and Courts, 1992-1993.
- Member, Executive Council, Midwest Political Science Association, 1991-1992.
- Chairman, Board of Overseers, United States Courts of Appeals Data Base, Program in Law and Social Science, National Science Foundation, 1989-1995.
- Member, Program Committee, Law & Society Association, 1991-1992.
- Member, Program Committee (Public Law and Judicial Politics), Western Political Science Association, 1991-1992.
- Member, Program Committee (Public Law and Judicial Politics), Midwest Political Science Association, 1990-1991.
- Chair, Prize Committee, Midwest Political Science Association, 1990-1991.
- Member, Committee on Status of the Section, Organized Section on Law, Courts, and Judicial Process, 1989-1990.
- Member, Editorial Board, *American Political Science Review*, 1989-1992; *Law & Society Review*, 1988-1995; *American Politics Quarterly*, 1987-1995.
- Chair-Elect, Organized Section on Law, Courts, and Judicial Process, 1990-1991.
- Member, Executive Council, American Political Science Association (1989-1991).
- Member, Executive Council, Section on Law, Courts, and Judicial Process (1989-1991).
- Member, Program Committee (Public Law and Judicial Politics), American Political Science Association, 1989-1990.
- Organizer and Chairman, Panel on "Organized Interests in the Courts," 1989 Meetings of the Law & Society Association, Madison, Wisconsin.
- Member, Planning Committee, United States Courts of Appeals Data Base Project, National Science Foundation, 1987-1988.
- Member, Editorial Board, *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 1984-1987.
- Member, Executive Council, Midwest Political Science Association, 1983-1986, 1991-1992.
- Member, Edward S. Corwin Award Committee, American Political Science Association, 1983-1984.
- Member, American Political Science Association, Midwest Political Science Association, and various sub-field groups.
- Referee, *Law & Society Review*, *Comparative Politics*, *British Journal of Political Science*, *American Politics Quarterly*, *American Journal of Political Science*,

*American Political Science Review, Criminology, Dubois Review, Journal of Politics, Legislative Studies Quarterly, Political Research Quarterly, Judicature, Social Science Quarterly, Law and Society Inquiry, Political Science Quarterly, Law and Politics Book Review, State Politics & Policy Quarterly, many other journals, various university presses and commercial publishers; the National Science Foundation, Dutch National Science Foundation, and other agencies.*

External Reviewer, Department of Political Science, Texas A&M University, May 1999; Department of Government, University of Notre Dame (2014).

### SCHOLARLY BOOKS, ARTICLES, CHAPTERS, ESSAYS

- "Justice-Level Heterogeneity in Certiorari Voting: The U.S. Supreme Court, October Terms 1939, 1968, 1982," *Political Science Research & Methods* 10 (2) 2022, 793-805.
- "Social Influence in the U.S. House of Representatives, 1801-1860," *American Political Science Review*, 115 (4), 2021. 1292-1307 (with William Minozzi).
- "Selection of Cases for Discussion: The U.S. Supreme Court, OT 1939, 1968, and 1982," *Journal of Law and Courts* (with Danny Lempert), 8(2), 2020, pp. 381-395.
- "Judicial Impartiality, Campaign Contributions, and Recusals: Results from a National Survey" (with Gibson), *Journal of Empirical Legal Studies*, 10 (2), (2013), 76-103.
- "Campaign Support, Conflicts of Interest, and Judicial Impartiality: Can the Legitimacy of Courts Be Rescued by Recusals? (With James Gibson), *Journal of Politics* 74, no. 1 (2012), 18-34.
- "Has Legal Realism Damaged the Legitimacy of the U.S. Supreme Court?" (With James L. Gibson), *Law & Society Review* 45, no. 1 (2011), 195-219.
- Citizens, Courts, and Confirmations: Positivity Theory and Americans Judgments of the Supreme Court* (with James Gibson, Princeton University Press, 2009).
- "Measuring Policy Content" (with McGuire, Vanberg, and Smith), *Journal of Politics* 71, No. 4, October 2009, 1305-1321.
- "Confirmation Politics and The Legitimacy of the U.S. Supreme Court: Institutional Loyalty, Positivity Bias, and the Alito Nomination" (with Gibson), *American Journal of Political Science* 53, no. 1 (2009), 139-155.
- "Knowing the Supreme Court? A Reconsideration of Public Ignorance of the High Court" (with Gibson), *Journal of Politics* 71, No. 2 (2008), 429-441.

- "The Study of Law and Politics" (with Whittington and Keleman), in *Oxford Handbook of Law and Politics* (Oxford University Press, 2008). Revised version published in Robert E. Goodin (editor), *The Oxford Handbook of Political Science* (Oxford University Press, 2009).
- Oxford Handbook of Law and Politics* (edited, with Whittington and Keleman; New York: Oxford University Press, 2008).
- "What Americans Know About the Courts and Why It Matters" (with K. McGuire). 2005. In *Institutions of Democracy: The Judiciary*, eds. Kermit L. Hall and Kevin T. McGuire.
- "Why Do People Accept Public Policies They Oppose? Testing Legitimacy Theory with a Survey-Based Experiment" (with Gibson and Spence), *Political Research Quarterly* 58:187-203 (June 2005).
- "Strategic Position-Taking, Timing, and Presidential Impeachment in the United States House of Representatives" (with Zorn), *Political Research Quarterly* 57:517-528 (December 2004).
- "The Supreme Court Forecasting Project: Prediction versus Explanation and Statistical Models versus Expert Judgments," *Perspectives on Politics* 2:777-800 (December 2004).
- "The Supreme Court and the U. S. Presidential Election of 2000" (with Gibson and Spence), *British Journal of Political Science* 33:535-556 (2003).
- "Measuring Attitudes Toward the U.S. Supreme Court" (with Gibson and Spence), *American Journal of Political Science* 47:354-367 (2003).
- "Defenders of Democracy? Legitimacy, Popular Acceptance, and the South African Constitutional Court" (with Gibson), *The Journal of Politics* 65:1-30 (2003).
- "The Role of Theory in Experimental Design: Experiments Without Randomization," *Political Analysis* 10:362-375 (2002), Gibson and Spence.
- "The Lobbying Activities of Organized Interests in Federal Judicial Nominations," 62 *The Journal of Politics*, 51-69 (2000); with Hojnacki and Wright.
- "Measuring the Ideologies of U.S. Senators: In Defense of Roll Call Votes," 25 *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 237-258 (2000); with Burden and Groseclose.
- "Sophisticated Voting and Gate-Keeping on the Supreme Court," 15 *Journal of Law, Economics, and Organization* 549-577 (1999); with Wright and Zorn.
- "On the Legitimacy of National High Courts," 92 *American Political Science Review* 343 (1998); with Gibson and Baird.
- "Lobbying for Justice: Organized Interests, Supreme Court Nominations, and the United States Senate," 42 *American Journal of Political Science* 499 (1998); with Wright.

- "On the Existence of Consensual Norms in the United States Supreme Court," 42 *American Journal of Political Science* 874 (1998); with Zorn.
- "Democracy and Legitimacy in the European Union: The Court of Justice and Its Constituents," 152 *International Social Science Journal*, 209 (1997); with Gibson.
- "Changes in the Legitimacy of the European Court of Justice: A Post-Maastricht Analysis," 28 *British Journal of Political Science* 63 (1998); with James L. Gibson.
- "Campaigning for the Court: The Dynamics of Public Opinion on the Thomas Nomination," 58 *The Journal of Politics* 655 (1996); with Smith.
- "The Legal Cultures of the European Union," 30 *Law & Society Review* 55 (1996); with Gibson.
- "The Legitimacy of the European Court of Justice: Models of Support," 89 *American Political Science Review* 356 (June 1995); with Gibson.
- "The Legitimacy of Transnational Legal Institutions: Compliance, Support, and the European Court of Justice," 39 *American Journal of Political Science* 459 (May 1995); with Gibson.
- "Lobbying for Justice: The Rise of Organized Conflict on Federal Judgeships," in Lee Epstein (ed.), *Contemplating Courts* (Congressional Quarterly Press, 1995); with Wright.
- "Legitimacy, Compliance, and the Roots of Justice: A Strategic Plan for Global Research," report for the National Science Foundation, 1994.
- "Understandings and Misunderstandings of the Relationship Between the European Court of Justice and Its Public," 15 *Zeitschrift fur Rechtssoziologie* 84 (1994); with Gibson.
- "Lawyers, Organized Interests, and the Law of Obscenity: Agenda-Setting in the Supreme Court," 87 *American Political Science Review* 717 (1993); with McGuire.
- "The European Court of Justice: A Question of Legitimacy," 14 *Zeitschrift fur Rechtssoziologie*. 204 (in English); with Gibson.
- "The Etiology of Public Support for the Supreme Court," 36 *American Journal of Political Science* 635 (1992); with Gibson.
- "Black Americans and the Supreme Court: Models of Support," 54 *Journal of Politics* 11-20 (1992); with Gibson.
- "Review Essay on Deciding to Decide," 2 *Law & Politics Book Review* 78 (1992, lengthy essay on agenda-setting in the Supreme Court).
- "The Supreme Court and Democratic Accountability," 85 *American Political Science Review* 984 (1991, review essay on the Bork nomination to the Supreme

- Court).
- "Lobbying for Justice: Organized Interests Before the Senate, 1916-1990," 10 *Vox Pop* 4 (1991); with Wright.
- "Lobbying, Litigation, and the Voting Rights Bar," chapter in *Controversies in Minority Voting: A Twenty-Five Year Perspective on the Voting Rights Act of 1965*, edited by Bernard Grofman and Chandler Davidson (Brookings, 1992).
- "Political Respect in the Legislature," 18 *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 3 (1993); with Patterson, Clark.
- "Robert H. Jackson," "Potter Stewart," and "Process of Review," pp. 443, 837, 732, in *The Oxford Companion to the Supreme Court of the United States* (Oxford University Press, 1993).
- "The Discuss List: Agenda-Setting in the Supreme Court," 24 *Law & Society Review* 807 (1990); with Wright.
- "Amici Curiae Before the Supreme Court: Who Participates, When, and How Much?" 52 *Journal of Politics* 781 (1990); with Wright. Reprinted in Kermit Hall (ed.), *"Equal Justice Under Law": The Supreme Court in American Life* (Brooklyn: Carlson Publishing, 1995).
- "Courts and Public Opinion," chapter in J. Gates and C. Johnson, eds., *American Courts: A Critical Assessment* (Congressional Quarterly Press, 1990).
- "Partisan Mobilization and Electoral Participation," 9 *Electoral Studies* 191 (1990); with Clausen, Patterson.
- "Standing Up for Congress: Variations in Public Esteem Since the 1960s," 15 *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 25 (1990); with Patterson.
- "Organized Interests and Agenda-Setting in the Supreme Court," 82 *American Political Science Review* 1109 (1988); with Wright.
- "Thoughts on the Confirmation and Rejection of Nominations to the Supreme Court: The Roles of Organized and Unorganized Interests," 77 *Kentucky Law Journal* 531 (1989).
- "Legal Precedent: Communication Between State Supreme Courts," 10 *Social Networks* 29 (1988).
- "Contours of Friendship and Respect in the Legislature," 16 *American Politics Quarterly* 466 (October, 1988); with Patterson.
- "Party Voting in Congress," 18 *British Journal of Political Science* 111 (January, 1988); with Patterson. Reprinted in J. H. Silbey (ed.), *The Rise and Fall of Political Parties in the United States, 1789-1989: The Congressional Roll Record* (Brooklyn: Carleton Publishing, 1991), 425-445; and in Philip Norton (ed.), *Legislatures and Legislators* (Aldershot, UK: Dartmouth-Ashgate Publishing Ltd.,

- 1998), 319-331.
- "Public Opinion and the American Supreme Court: FDR's Court-Packing Plan," 81 *American Political Science Review* 1139 (December, 1987).
- "In the Mirror of the Justices: Sources of Greatness on the Supreme Court," *Political Behavior* 247 (Fall, 1988).
- "Neither the Purse Nor the Sword: Dynamics of Confidence in the U.S. Supreme Court," 80 *American Political Science Review* 1209 (December, 1986); reprinted in S. Goldman and A. Sarat (eds.), *American Court Systems* (1989).
- "Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy: An Empirical Inquiry," 15 *European Journal of Political Research* (1987); with Brunk, Lewis-Beck.
- "Political Friendship in the Legislature," 49 *Journal of Politics* 953 (November, 1987); with Patterson.
- "Abstimmungskohasion in amerikanischen Kongress," 9 *Zeitschrift fur Parlamentsfragen* (Summer, 1986); with S. Patterson.
- "Constitutional Change in America: Dynamics of Ratification Under Article V," 15 *Publius* 29 (Fall, 1985).
- "Mailing in the Vote: Correlates and Consequences of Absentee Voting," 29 *American Journal of Political Science* 766 (November, 1985); with Patterson.
- "The Mobilization of Voters in Congressional Elections," 47 *Journal of Politics* 490 (May 1985); with Patterson, Markko.
- "The Transmission of Legal Precedent: A Study of State Supreme Courts," 79 *American Political Science Review* 178 (March 1985).
- "The Etiology of Partisan Competition," 78 *American Political Science Review* 691 (September 1984); with Patterson.
- "Departures in the Study of State Supreme Courts," 67 *Judicature* 458 (1984).
- "Getting Out the Vote: Participation in Gubernatorial Elections," 77 *American Political Science Review* 675 (September 1983); with Patterson.
- "On the Reputation of State Supreme Courts," 5 *Political Behavior* 83 (1983).
- "Changing the Common Law: The Effects of the Decline of Charitable Immunity," 16 *Law & Society Review* 669 (1981-1982).
- "Contextual Influences on Participation in U.S. State Legislative Races," 7 *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 359 (1982); with Patterson.
- "A Tale of Two Reforms: On the Work of the Supreme Court," in P. Dubois, ed., *The Analysis of Judicial Reform* (D. C. Heath, 1982).
- "Minding the Business of the Supreme Court: Thoughts on the Effects of the 'Judges' Bill' of 1925," 10 *Policy Studies Journal* 747 (1982).
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- "Partisan Identification and Political Socialization in Britain, France, and the United States," 93 *Political Science Quarterly* 35 (1978); with Greenstein.
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- "The Judges Judge the Supreme Court," 61 *Judicature* 208 (1977).
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- "Children's Images of the Supreme Court: A Preliminary Mapping," 11 *Law & Society Review* 851 (1977).

## BOOK REVIEWS

- The Supreme Court and the Attitudinal Model Revisited* [Jeffrey A. Segal and Harold J. Spaeth], *Perspectives on Politics* (2003).
- History of the Supreme Court of the United States: Vol. 9, The Judiciary and Responsible Government, 1910-21* [Alexander M. Bickel, Benno C. Schmidt, Jr.] *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 79, No. 2. (June, 1985), pp. 519-520.
- Public Opinion and the Supreme Court* [Thomas R. Marshall] *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 84, No. 2. (June, 1990), pp. 663-664.
- The Supreme Court and the Attitudinal Model* [Jeffrey A. Segal, Harold J. Spaeth]. *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 88, No. 2 (June, 1994), pp. 485-486.
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*Unequal Justice: Lawyers and Social Change in Modern America* [Jerold S. Auerbach]  
*Journal of Politics*, Vol. 39, No. 3 (August 1977), pp. 837-839.

*Procedural Justice: A Psychological Analysis* [John Thibaut, Laurens Walker] and *Improving the Legal Process* [Stuart Nagel] *Western Political Quarterly*, Vol. 29, No. 4 (December 1976), pp. 654-656.

## PAPERS IN PIPELINE

“Agenda Control in the Hughes Court, October Term, 1939” (with Danny Lempert), presented at 2018 Meetings of the American Political Science Association, Boston, MA, in revision.

“Socializing Statecraft: Wining and Dining Congress in the Jefferson Presidency,” with William Minozzi and William Massengill), in revision for submission.

“The Importance of “Importance” on Certiorari in the Supreme Court” (with Danny Lempert)

“Affirmances, Reversals, and the Supreme Court, with C. Smith, D. Rice, and C. Zorn, in revision for submission; presented at the American Political Science Association, Annual Meetings, 2023.

## WORKING PAPERS

“Organized Interests and Agenda-Setting in the U.S. Supreme Court Revisited” (with Zorn, Wright), presented at the 2012 Conference on Empirical Legal Studies, Stanford Law School.

“FDR’S Court-Packing Plan in the Court of Public Opinion”

“A Unified Model of Supreme Court Decision-Making” (with Wright and Zorn)

“Sophisticated Judicial Behavior: Agenda-Setting Via the Discuss List” (with Zorn and Wright)

“Organized Interests Before the Supreme Court: Setting the Agenda, 1968-1990 (with Wright)

“Measuring Supreme Court Ideology” (with Zorn).

“Organized Interests and Agenda-Control in the Supreme Court, 1968-1990” (with Wright)

## INVITED TALKS (SELECTIONS, 1994-PRESENT)

- “Socializing Statecraft: Wining and Dining Congress in the Jefferson Presidency,” paper presented at the History of Congress Conference, University of Oklahoma May 2016; with William Minozzi and William Massengill).
- “The Ideological Content of Reversals and Affirmances in the Supreme Court Revisited,” presented at the Meetings of the American Political Science Association, 2016 (with C. Smith, D. Rice, and C. Zorn).
- “Social Networks in Congress in the Ante-Bellum Period,” paper presented at the History of Congress Conference, Vanderbilt University, May 2015 (with William Minozzi; he delivered for us).
- “Social Networks in Congress in the Ante-Bellum Period,” Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Vanderbilt University, September 19<sup>th</sup>, 2014.
- “The New Deal, Constitutional Crisis, and American Political Development,” Department of Political Science, Northwestern University, January 30, 2004; and American Bar Foundation, February 14<sup>th</sup>, 2004.
- “FDR’s Court-Plan in the Court of Public Opinion,” Northwestern University School of Law, November 30<sup>th</sup>, 2003.
- “*Bush v. Gore* in the Court of Public Opinion,” Department of Politics, Princeton University, February 7<sup>th</sup>, 2003.
- “Strategic Timing in the Politics of Presidential Impeachment,” Department of Political Science, University of Colorado, November 1, 2002.
- “Strategic Timing in the Politics of Presidential Impeachment,” Department of Political Science, Trinity College, Dublin, May 2002.
- “Strategic Timing in the Politics of Presidential Impeachment,” Nuffield College, Oxford, May 2002.
- “Sophisticated Voting and Gatekeeping in the Supreme Court,” School of Law, Vanderbilt University, April 2002.
- “Sophisticated Voting and Agenda Manipulation in the Supreme Court,” Department of Political Science, University of Kentucky, November 1999.
- “Interest Groups in the Supreme Court,” invited talk, Center for Law, Public Policy, and Social Science, Ohio State University, March, 1999.
- “Interest Groups and the Supreme Court,” invited talk, Vanderbilt University, October, 1998
- “Stability and Change in Mass Support for the European Court of Justice,” delivered at the Conference on the Frontiers of EC-Judicial Research, Copenhagen, Denmark (1994) and the Interim Meetings of the Research Committee on Judicial Research of the International Political Science Association, Florence, Italy (1994)

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- "The European Court of Justice and Its Publics: Frontiers of Research on the European Court of Justice," delivered at the Conference on the Frontiers of EC-Judicial Research, Copenhagen, Denmark (1994)
- "Organized Interests in the Supreme Court," invited talk, University of Mississippi (1994)
- "The Legitimacy of the European Court of Justice," invited talk, Center for European Studies, Harvard University (1995)
- "Organized Interests, Agenda-Building, and the Supreme Court," invited talk, Department of Political Science, UCLA (1995)
- "Public Support for the European Court of Justice," invited talk, Department of Political Science, Washington University, St. Louis (1995)
- "Interest Groups in the Supreme Court," invited talk, Department of Political Science, Texas A&M University (1995)
- "Strategic Voting and Agenda Manipulation in the Supreme Court," delivered at the First Annual Meeting of the Conference Group on the Scientific Study of Judicial Politics, St. Louis (1996)
- "How Organized Interests Shape the Agenda of the Supreme Court," invited talk, Winston Chair, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, September 1998.

## CURRENT RESEARCH PROJECTS

- "The Development of the Congressional Community, 1790-1970." Study of the development of informal networks among members of Congress, based on data on congressional residences and other informal linkages and analysis of the effect of these ties on congressional behavior, in voting and coalitions (with William Minozzi). (1) Data collection: acquiring and assembling unofficial and official congressional directories, by session and edition, from 1790 through 1990. Finding and preparing pages on members' addresses from the directories for data entry; Suntec double enters addresses and names from the the materials we sent; several research assistants over a period of two years reconcile, correct, and organize the data from Suntec; preparation of relational dataset for use in statistical analysis. Completed all but pre-1811 period. (2) Assembled demographic and political data, including roll-call votes, on MC's from 1800 to the present, from the ICPSR collection. Completed all but pre-1811 period. (3) Acquisition and digital scanning of more than sixty historical maps of Washington DC, spanning

1790 to the present; research assistants from Geography geo-reference historical maps to the current map of Washington, DC, so we can locate MC's from different times in history to the same map and take into account physical changes in Washington. Completed. (4) Based on digital representations of historical maps of Washington and historical research, GIS research assistants started geo-coding MC's addresses to maps of Washington DC, beginning with post-Civil War congresses, after new system of street names was adopted.

"Agenda-Control in the Hughes and Stone Courts, 1939-1946." Studies of the Court's decision-making on whether to decide cases, based on individual votes, data on cases from US Supreme Court Records and Briefs, and analysis of the justices' private papers (with Daniel Lempert).

"Thomas Jefferson's Social Lobbying Strategy, 1801-1809: Presidential Leadership at the Dining Table" (with William Minozzi and William Massengill). Studies of Jefferson's use of "social statecraft," dinner invitations at the White House, to deal with Congress, in addition to other "notables." This involves testing of competing theories of lobbying, social influence, and network influences. We motivate this research with the observation that, in an isolated city, focused entirely on one occupation, absent other influences, Jefferson's use of what seem otherwise to be innocuous interactions, has considerable potential to play a role in his attempts to influence Congress. This project builds on, and uses some data from, the project on MC's social networks.

"The New Deal and the Constitution in Congress and the Court." Studies of the constitutional conflict the New Deal provoked in the Court and Congress and the reactions of those institutions, particularly in the Court-packing fight of 1937, based on data on public opinion, head counts of US senators likely votes on legislation, and FDR's actions (part with Minozzi, part solo).