

CAROL NACKENOFF
Richter Professor of Political Science
Swarthmore College

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Education

University of Chicago, Department of Political Science, Ph.D. 1980.
Thesis: Success and the Character of American Politics: The Last Three Decades.
Chair: J. David Greenstone

Ph.D. preliminary examinations passed Fall 1974 in Political Sociology, Parties and Policy Formation, Political Theory, Bureaucracy and Public Administration

University of Chicago, Department of Political Science, M.A. 1974. Thesis:
Legitimacy and Consensus in America

Smith College, Northampton, Massachusetts, A.B. 1971. Major: Government.
Minors: History, English, French

Teaching Experience

Swarthmore College, Department of Political Science, September 1992 – present.
Associate Professor, 1992-1996; Professor 1996-2008; Richter Professor 2008-present.

Bard College, Department of Political Studies, July 1986 – June 1992. Assistant Professor.

Rutgers University, Department of Political Science, New Brunswick, New Jersey, July 1979 – June 1986. Assistant Professor.

Governors State University, Park Forest South, Illinois. Lecturer and Assistant Professor, Public Service Program, College of Business and Public Service, 1976-78.

University of Chicago, summer 1976. Lecturer.

Northeastern Illinois University, Chicago, Illinois. Part-time lecturer in Political Science Department, July – December 1975.

Administrative Experience

Co-chair, Middle States Reaccreditation Process for Swarthmore College (with Robin Shores, Director of Institutional Research), 2016-2019

Chair, Department of Political Science, 1997-2003 and 2013-2015

Chair, Interdisciplinary Studies Programs Division, 2008-2011

Environmental Studies Program Chair, 2008-2011

Member, Tri-Co Environmental Studies Working Group, 2009-2011 (initiating coordination and integration of the Tri-Co programs)

Chair, Social Studies Division, 2005-2007

Elected member, Committee on Faculty Procedures, 2005-2007 and 2008-2010

Committee on Promotion and Tenure, 2006-2007, 2012-2013

Co-Chair, Women's Studies Program, Swarthmore College, 1994-95

Publications

Book(s):

The Fictional Republic: Horatio Alger, Jr. and American Political Discourse (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).

American by Birth: Wong Kim Ark and the Battle for Citizenship. With Julie Novkov. Forthcoming, the University Press of Kansas, May 2021; abridged edition forthcoming Fall 2021.

Edited Volumes:

Julie Novkov and Carol Nackenoff, eds., *Stating the Family: New Directions in the Study of American Politics* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2020)

Carol Nackenoff and Julie Novkov, eds., *Statebuilding from the Margins: Between Reconstruction and the New Deal* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014).

Marilyn Fischer, Carol Nackenoff, and Wendy Chmielewski, eds., *Jane Addams and the Practice of Democracy* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009).

Journal Articles:

“Only the Beginning, Only Just the Start . . . Mostly I’m Silent”: New Constitutional Challenges with Data Collection Devices Brought into the Home, Invited contribution, Symposium Issue, *Maryland Law Review* 79, no. 1 (2019/2020): 88-104.

“Sexual Harassment Trajectories: Limits of (Current) Law, and of the Administrative State,” *Journal of Women, Politics, and Policy* 40, no. 1 (Spring 2019): 21-41. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1554477X.2019.1563411>

“The Supreme Court and the ‘Reality of Lived Lives’,” *Constitutional Studies* 4 (2019): 45-63; special issue, festschrift honoring the scholarly contributions of Ronald Kahn.

“Civic Membership, Family Status, and the Chinese in America, 1870s-1920s,” (co-authored with Julie Novkov), Symposium on the Family, the State, and American Political Development, *Polity* 48, no. 2 (April 2016): 165-185.

“Privacy, Police Power, and the Growth of Public Power in the Early Twentieth Century: A Not So Unlikely Co-Existence,” *75 Maryland Law Review*, no. 1 (2015): 312-327.

“The Private Roots of American Political Development: The Immigrants’ Protective League’s ‘Friendly and Sympathetic Touch,’ 1908-1924,” *Studies in American Political Development* 28, no. 2 (October 2014): 129-160.

“Why Liberal Arts Colleges Can Often Do Political Science Better than Big Research Institutions: A Reflection from an Americanist.” Symposium on Liberal Arts Colleges and Political Science, edited by Austin Sarat and Amrita Basu. *Polity* 46, no. 1 (2014): 98-106.

“The Dueling First Amendments: Government as Funder, as Speaker, and the Establishment Clause,” *69 Maryland Law Review*, no. 1 (2009): 132-148.

“Keeping New England's Factories Off Limits: Horatio Alger's Erasure of the Industrial Landscape,” *Worcester Review* Vol. XXX, Nos. 1 & 2 (2010): 101-104.

“A Constitution for our Generation?” Symposium on Sanford Levinson's *Our Undemocratic Constitution*, *The Good Society* 18, no. 1 (2009): 29-34.

“Constitutional Reforms to Enhance Democratic Participation and Deliberation: Not All Clearly Trigger the Article V Amendment Process,” 67 *Maryland Law Review*, no. 1 (2007): 62-84.

“Groundhog Day Again? Is the ‘Liberal Tradition’ a Useful Construct for Studying Law, Courts, and American Political Development?” *The Good Society* 16, no. 1 (2007): 40-45.

“Is There A Political Tilt to ‘Juristocracy’?” 65 *Maryland Law Review*, no. 1 (2006): 139-151.

“Locke, Alger, and Atomistic Individualism Fifty Years Later: Revisiting Louis Hartz’s *Liberal Tradition in America*,” *Studies in American Political Development* 19, no. 2 (2005): 206-215.

“Of Factories and Failure: Exploring the Invisible Factory Gates of Horatio Alger, Jr.,” *Journal of Popular Culture* 25, no. 4 (Spring, 1992): 63-80. Reprinted in *Newsboy*, Jan/Feb. 1994.

“Economic Dualism and What it Means to American Labor Force Participants,” *Journal of Politics* 45, no. 1 (February 1983): 110-142.

“O’Connor’s Sectoral Model of the United States Economy: Examining Some Political Consequences,” *British Journal of Political Science* 12, no. 2 (April 1982): 227-239.

Chapters in Edited Volumes:

“The Legacy of Ruth Bader Ginsburg,” with Julie Novkov. In *Supreme Court Major Decisions 2021*, ed. Morgan Marietta (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2022, forthcoming).

“Jane Addams”. In *Handbuch Liberalismus*, ed. Michael Festl. Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler (Springer-Verlag), forthcoming April 2021.

“McGirt v. Oklahoma,” with Natasha Markov-Riss. In *Supreme Court Major Decisions 2020*, ed. Morgan Marietta (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2021): 111-120.

“Building the Administrative State: Courts and the Admission of Chinese Persons to the United States, 1870s-1920s.” with Julie Novkov. In *Stating the Family: New Directions in the Study of American Politics*, ed. Novkov and Nackenoff (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2020): 197-239.

“Sexual Harassment Trajectories: Limits of (Current) Law, and of the Administrative State.” In *Me Too Political Science*, ed. Nadia E. Brown (New York: Routledge, 2019). Reprinted from *Journal of Women, Politics and Policy* 40, no. 1 (2019).

“Rucho v. Common Cause on Partisan Gerrymandering and the Political Questions Doctrine,” with Abigail Diebold. In *Supreme Court Major Decisions 2019*, ed. David Klein and Morgan Marietta (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020), 111-121.

"Justice Neil Gorsuch Joins the Court," with Gilbert Orbea. In *Supreme Court Major Decisions 2018*, ed. Morgan Marietta and David Klein (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), 99-109. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-11255-4>

“Quaker Roles in Making and Implementing Federal Indian Policy: From Grant’s Peace Policy through the Early Dawes Act Era (1869-1900),” with Allison Hrabar. In *Quakers and Native Americans*, ed. Geoffrey Plank and Ignacio Gallup-Diaz, 171-292. European Expansion and Indigenous Response Series, Vol. 30. (Leiden, The Netherlands: Koninklijke Brill, 2019). <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004388178>

“Toward a More Inclusive Community: The Legacy of Female Reformers in the Progressive State.” In *The Progressives’ Century: Democratic Reform and Constitutional Government in the United States*, ed. Stephen Skowronek, Stephen Engel, and Bruce Ackerman, 219-242. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016).

“Gender and the American State” (with Eileen McDonagh). In *The Oxford Handbook on American Political Development*, ed. Richard Valelly, Suzanne Mettler, and Robert C. Lieberman, 112-131. (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2016).

“The House that Julia (and Friends) Built: Networking the Chicago Juvenile Court” (with Kathleen Sullivan). In *Statebuilding from the Margins: Between Reconstruction and the New Deal*, ed. Carol Nackenoff and Julie Novkov, 171-202. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014).

“The Case Against Arrested Development: Hartz's *Liberal Tradition in America* Revisited.” In *The Liberal Tradition in America: The Contested Legacy of Louis*

Hartz, ed. Mark Hulliung, 237-265. (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2010).

“Suffrage and American Political Development.” In *The U.S. Political System: An Interdisciplinary Encyclopedia of American Political Development*, ed. Richard Harris and Daniel Tichenor, Vo. 2, 195-209. (Santa Barbara, Denver, and Oxford: ABC-CLIO, 2010).

“New Politics for New Selves: Jane Addams’s Legacy for Democratic Citizenship in the 21st Century.” In *Jane Addams and the Practice of Democracy: Women’s Experiences Shaping Theory*, ed. Marilyn Fischer, Carol Nackenoff, and Wendy Chmielewski, 119-142. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009).

“Constitutionalizing Terms of Inclusion: Friends of the Indian and Citizenship for Native Americans 1880s-1920s.” In *The Supreme Court and American Political Development*, ed. Ronald Kahn and Ken I. Kersch, 366-413. (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2006).

“Gendered Citizenship: Alternative Narratives of Political Incorporation in the United States, 1875-1925.” In *The Liberal Tradition in American Politics: Consensus, Polarity or Multiple Traditions*, ed. David F. Ericson and Louisa Bertch Green, 137-169. (Abingdon, Oxon, UK and New York: Routledge, 1999).

“Of Factories and Failures: Exploring the Invisible Factory Gates of Horatio Alger, Jr.” Reprinted from the *Journal of Popular Culture*. In *Retracing the Past*, Gary Nash, ed. (Harper Collins College Publishers, 3rd ed., 1994) and Gary Nash and Ronald Schultz (Longman, 4th ed., 2000).

Encyclopedia Entries:

“Native Americans: Citizenship” (co-authored with John T. McMinn), *Encyclopedia of American Governance*. Edited by Stephen L. Schechter, Thomas S. Vontz, Thomas A. Birkland, Mark A. Graber, and John J. Patrick. Five vols. (Farmington Hills, MI: Macmillan Reference USA, 2016), vol. 3, pp. 306-308.

“Native Americans: Governance” (co-authored with John T. McMinn), *Encyclopedia of American Governance*. Edited by Stephen L. Schechter, Thomas S. Vontz, Thomas A. Birkland, Mark A. Graber, and John J. Patrick. Five vols. (Farmington Hills, MI: Macmillan Reference USA, 2016), vol. 3, pp. 308-312.

“Abortion Rights” (co-authored with Eileen McDonagh), *Encyclopedia of American Governance*. Edited by Stephen L. Schechter, Thomas S. Vontz, Thomas A. Birkland, Mark A. Graber, and John J. Patrick. Five vols. (Farmington Hills, MI: Macmillan Reference USA, 2016), vol. 1, pp. 5-9.

“U.S. Term Limits v. Thornton (1995)” in *Encyclopedia of the Supreme Court of the United States*, 5 vols. David S. Tanenhaus, Editor in Chief, Macmillan Reference 2008.

“Virginia v. Black (2003)” in *Encyclopedia of the Supreme Court of the United States*, 5 vols. David S. Tanenhaus, Editor in Chief, Macmillan Reference USA, 2008.

“Suffrage and American Political Development,” in Richard Harris and Daniel Tichenor, eds., *The U.S. Political System: An Interdisciplinary Encyclopedia of American Political Development*. ABC-CLIO, Vol. 2 (2010).

“Horatio Alger, Jr.” Entry in the *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, 2nd edition. Farmington Hills, Michigan: Macmillan Reference USA, 2007.

“Success,” *American History Through Literature, 1870-1920*. Edited by Gary Scharnhorst and Thomas Quirk. Charles Scribner’s Sons/Thomson Gale, 2005.

Electronic and/or Microfiche Articles:

“The Supreme Court of the United States,” in *Oxford Bibliographies in Political Science*. Ed. Richard Valelly. New York: Oxford University Press, 2012. Entry revised and expanded, 2015.

“Whose Citizenship? Which State? Work and Its Challenges for Women’s Visions of Citizenship, 1900-1925,” ERIC Clearinghouse on Adult, Career, and Vocational Education, sponsored by the Office of Educational Research and Improvement, U.S. Department of Education (microfiche database Entry #ED 467 534) 2003.

Reviews & Review Essays:

Review of Jeffrey S. Selinger, *Embracing Dissent: Political Violence and Party Development in the United States* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), in *Perspectives on Politics*, Vol. 16, no. 2 (June 2018): 547-548.

Review of Kyle G. Volk, *Moral Minorities and the Making of American Democracy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), in *Journal of American History* 102, no. 2 (2015): 556-557.

Review of Louis W. Knight, *Jane Addams: Spirit in Action* (W.W. Norton, 2010), in *Journal of Illinois History* 14 (Spring 2011): 66-68.

“Landmarks, Portents, or Just Curves in the Road?” Review Essay on several Landmark Law Cases and Society volumes from the University Press of Kansas, 45 *Tulsa Law Review* (Summer 2010): 659-667. Special issue edited by Mark Graber and Sanford Levinson.

Review of Stephen Breyer, *Making Our Democracy Work: A Judge’s View* (Knopf, 2010), in *America* (March 14, 2011): 22-24.

Review of Bonnie G. Mani, *Women, Power, and Political Change* (Lexington Books, 2007), *Journal of Women, Politics and Policy* 31 (Winter 2010): 362-363.

Review of Kristin Shrader-Frechette, *Taking Action, Saving Lives: Our Duties to Protect Environmental and Public Health* (Oxford, 2007) in *America* (October 1, 2007, Fall Books).

Review of Geoffrey R. Stone, *Top Secret: When Our Government Keeps Us in the Dark* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2007) online at the First Amendment Center, Freedom Forum (September 2007).

Review of Ralph Brauer, *The Strange Death of Liberal America* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2006) in *Political Science Quarterly* 121 (Winter, 2006): 734-736.

Review of Tim Flannery, *The Weather Makers: How Man Is Changing The Climate and What It Means for Life on Earth* (Atlantic Monthly Press, 2005) in *America* (September 25, 2006): 30-31.

Review of Kevin Keenan, *Invasion of Privacy: A Reference Handbook*, *Swarthmore Bulletin*, December 2005.

Review of Jill Quadagno, *One Nation, Uninsured: Why the U.S. Has No National Health Insurance*. *America* (September 12, 2005): 23-25.

Review of James Gustave Speth, *Red Sky at Morning* (Yale University Press, 2004). *America* (October 4, 2004): 16-17.

Review of Julie Novkov, *Constituting Workers, Protecting Women: Gender, Law, and Labor in the Progressive Era and New Deal Years* (University of Michigan Press, 2001). In *American Political Science Review* 96 (December 2002).

“Contested Terrain: Understanding the Persistence of Racial Inequality in America,” a review of Michael Goldfield, *The Color of Politics*; Jennifer

Hochschild, *Facing Up to the American Dream*; Robert Lieberman, *Shifting the Color Line*; Keith Reeves, *Voting Hopes or Fears?* and Paul Sniderman and Edward Carmines, *Reaching Beyond Race*. *Polity* 31 (Summer, 1999): 683-691.

“East Coast Men of Conscience,” a review of David M. Tucker, *Mugwumps: Public Moralists of the Gilded Age*. *Review of Politics* 61 (Summer, 1999): 549-551.

Review of Akhil Reed Amar, *The Bill of Rights: Creation and Reconstruction*. *America* (May 1, 1999): 27-29.

Review of Belinda Robnett, *How Long? How Long?: African- American Women in the Struggle for Civil Rights* and A. D. Gordon et al., eds., *African American Women and the Vote 1837-1965*. *American Political Science Review* 92 (September 1998): 705-707.

Review of Zillah Eisenstein, *The Color of Gender: Reimagining Democracy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994). *Women & Politics* 19 (April 1998): 108-110.

Review of Richard D. Mohr, *Gays/Justice: A Study of Ethics, Society and Law* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988). *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, Volume 1 (January 1991): 535-537.

“Rethinking the Meaning of Liberty,” a review of James MacGregor Burns, *The Vineyard of Liberty* and Robert Middlekauff, *The Glorious Cause*, *San Francisco Review of Books*, November-December, 1982: 12, 36.

Published or Broadcast Interviews and Talks:

Interview for KYW In Depth (Podcast) with Matthew Leon on Why Impeach a Former President, January 22, 2021.

Interview for New Hampshire Public Radio Civics 101 program, Birthright Citizenship: *U.S. v. Wong Kim Ark*. Aired August 25, 2020.
<https://www.civics101podcast.org/episodes>.

Invited Guest, Marty Moss Coane, WHYY, Special Coverage of the Neil Gorsuch Confirmation Hearing in the Senate, March 21, 2017. With Lisa McElroy.

Invited Guest, Radio Times, with Marty Moss Coane, WHYY, March 17, 2016. “President Obama’s Supreme Court Nomination: A Look at Merrick Garland and Reaction across Capitol Hill.” With Craig Green.

Invited guest, The Exchange, with Laura Kinoy. New Hampshire Public Radio, November 6, 2012. "Voting Rights." With Calvin R. Massey, UNH School of Law.

"Voting Rights and the Constitution." Talk presented at University of New Hampshire School of Law on November 17, 2012 as part of symposium on Constitutionally Speaking. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=E4C2etWkWDA>

"Supremeology: Has William Rehnquist Lost his Court?," a virtual roundtable discussion moderated by Roger Cossack. *Jungle Law* (September 2004).

"Election Odyssey," *Swarthmore Bulletin*, January 2009, pp. 18-19.

Invited Talks:

"The Supreme Court and the 'Reality of Lived Lives'," Symposium on the Supreme Court and American Political Development in Honor of Ronald F. Kahn, Oberlin College, April 13, 2017.

"The Supreme Court and the Electoral Process," League of Women Voters, Media, PA, April 7, 2017.

"The 2016 Election," Swarthmore Discussion Group, November 9, 2016.

"The 2016 Election," White Horse Village, Newtown Square, PA (November 3, 2016) and "Making Sense of the 2016 Election and Thinking about its Implications," the Quadrangle, Haverford, PA (December 8, 2016).

"How Different is the 2016 Election? Reflections from Political Science," invited lecture, Northern Arizona University, October 10, 2016.

"Jane Addams' Constitution," Rockford University, Constitution Day talk, September 12, 2016.

"The Liberal State in a Southern Cage: Reflections on the New Deal," Mellon Sawyer Seminar, CUNY, March 21, 2013. Commentator on Ira Katznelson's *Fear Itself*.

Invited speaker, "Voting Rights and the Constitution," Constitutionally Speaking Symposium: How Does the Constitution Keep Up with the Times?" University of New Hampshire School of Law, November 17, 2012.

Invited speaker, Swarthmore Discussion Group, November 14, 2012. The 2012 Election and What it Tells Us about the Future of American Politics. (A version of this talk also delivered at The Quadrangle, Haverford on October 25, 2012.)

Talk on the 2012 Presidential Election and American Politics given at Zhejiang University, Hangzhou, China during March visit to the University with Haili Kong.

Invited speaker, Alliance to Advance Liberal Arts Colleges Workshop, Session on “What We Teach Our Students: Is There Anything Distinctive About The Liberal Arts?” Amherst College, Amherst, MA, November 11-12, 2011.

Invited speaker on the upcoming 2008 Presidential Election, U.S. Embassy, Astana, Kazakhstan, October, 2008, with six days of talks in Almaty, Astana, Karaganda, and Kostanai.

Invited speaker, Fulbright Seminar, The Rise to Globalism: Ideas, Institutions, and American Political Development, Panel on “The Indian Question in American History,” City University of New York, July 1, 2003. With Jill Norgren and Richard Slotkin.

Keynote Address, Annual Meeting of the Horatio Alger Society, April 29, 1994, Grand Rapids, Michigan. Text reprinted in *Newsboy*, 1994.

Invited Contributions to Online Publications:

Carol Nackenoff and Julie Novkov, “Who Is Born A US Citizen?,” *The Conversation*, January 15, 2020; <http://theconversation.com/who-is-born-a-us-citizen-127403>

Carol Nackenoff, "The Supreme Court Hears Arguments on the Meaning of 'Sex Discrimination,'" *Gender Policy Report*, October 8, 2019. Center on Women, Gender and Public Policy at the University of Minnesota Humphrey School of Public Affairs, <https://genderpolicyreport.umn.edu/meaning-of-sex-discrimination>

Works in Progress:

Contested Citizenship, a monograph on struggles over the meaning of citizenship in the United States, 1875-1925, with special focus on women’s visions of citizenship and their role in statebuilding.

“Reconsidering the Role of Courts in Progressive Era Institution-Building: The Case of the Chicago Juvenile Court,” co-authored with Kathleen Sullivan. Journal length manuscript.

Grants, Honors and Awards:

James A. Michener Fellow, Swarthmore College, Spring, 2008.

William J. Cooper Foundation grant, with Wendy Chmielewski, for conference, "Rediscovering Jane Addams," held at Swarthmore College, February 1-2, 2002.

Earhart Foundation Fellowship research grant recipient, Contested Citizenship project, 1996.

Presidential Fellow, Salzburg Seminar on American Law and Legal Institutions, July 25-August 6, 1993, Salzburg, Austria.

Library Company of Philadelphia, McLean Contribution Fellow, 1992-93.

New York Council for the Humanities 1990 Outright Grant for a Conference, "The Supreme Court and Equal Protection: Race, Gender, and Law for the 1990s," held at Bard College, November 3, 1990.

William J. Cooper Foundation award for a lecture series, "The Politics of Possibility: Forging Democracy in America," held at Swarthmore College, 1993-94. With Richard Valelly.

Rutgers University Research Council Summer Fellowship, 1980. Rutgers University Research Council Grants 1980-81; 1981-82; Spring, 1983.

Fellowships from the Smith College Alumnae Association and the University of Chicago.

Junior Phi Beta Kappa (1970); Smith College Dean's List 1968-1971.

Selected Papers and Manuscripts:

"What Makes an American Constitutional Revolution, and Are We Having One?" presented at the 2021 University of Maryland Francis King Carey School of Law conference, February 26-27, 2021.

"Home on the Range: Constructing American Indian Families and Gendering the State, 1870s-1920s," presented at the 2017 Meetings of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, CA, August 31-September 3.

"Quaker Roles in Making and Implementing Federal Indian Policy: From Grant's Peace Policy Through the Dawes Act Era (1869-1934), with Allison Hrabec'16, Quakers, First Nations, and American Indians Conference, Philadelphia, PA, November 10-11, 2017.

“Women’s Labor Research as a Form of Advocacy during the Progressive Era,” presented at the 2017 Meetings of the Western Political Science Association, Vancouver, Canada, April 13-16.

“Linking Children and Families to the State through the Administrative Work of Early Juvenile Courts,” co-author Kathleen Sullivan. Presented at the 2016 Meetings of the Western Political Science Association, San Diego, CA, March 24-26.

“The Role of American Indian Families in State Building Projects, 1870s-1920s,” presented at the 2015 Meetings of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, August 28-31.

“Civic Membership, Family Status, and the Chinese in America, 1870s-1920s,” (with Julie Novkov), presented at the 2015 Meetings of the Western Political Science Association, Las Vegas, Nevada, April 2-4. Revised version presented at the 2017 Meetings of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, August 31-September 3.

“Family Matters, Public Work: Juvenile Courts as Administrators of Progressive Era Mothers’ Pensions (with Kathleen S. Sullivan), presented at the 2014 Meetings of the Policy History Association, Columbus, OH, June 4-7.

“Forging New State Collaborations: Institutional Networks Developed by Progressive Era Female Activists Aiding Chinese Women and Girls,” presented at the 2014 Meetings of the Policy History Association, Columbus, OH, June 4-7.

“Banking Reform, Reformers, and Chicago’s Immigrants in the Early Twentieth Century,” presented at the 2014 Meetings of the Western Political Science Association, Seattle, WA, April 17-19.

“What Became of Fundamental Rights? Of Voter IDs and Voting Rights,” presented at the University of Maryland 2014 Constitutional Law Schmooze on Voting and Elections, Baltimore, February 21-22.

“Family Matters as Public Work: Reformers’ Dreams for the Progressive Era Juvenile Court,” presented at the 2013 Meetings of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, August 29-September 1.

“Uneasy Alliances: Women Workers, Maternalist Visions, and Battles over Labor and Suffrage in the Early 20th Century,” presented at the 2013 Meetings of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 11-14.

“Policing Native Americans in the Dawes Act Era and the Making of ‘Progressive’ Indians,” presented at the 2013 Meetings of the Western Political Science Association, Portland, Oregon, March 28-30.

“Borrowing and Building State Capacity: The Immigrants’ Protective League 1908-1924 and the ‘Friendly and Sympathetic Touch,’” presented at the Policy History Conference, Richmond Virginia, June 6-9, 2012.

“Sovereignty and Governing the Self: Native American Governance during The Dawes Act Era,” invited presentation, University of Wisconsin Law School Conference, Madison, October 15-16, 2010.

“Municipal and County Courts as Sites of Political Development,” with Kathleen Sullivan. Presented at the 2010 Meetings of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, September 1-4.

“Formal and Informal Institutions Governing Native Americans during the Dawes Act Era: Following Women into the Field.” Presented at the 2010 meeting of the Western Political Science Association, San Francisco, April 1-3, 2010.

“Gendered Identities and State Building in the Progressive Era.” Presented at the Western Political Science Association Meetings, Vancouver, March 19-21, 2009.

“Prostitutes, Coolies, Slaves, and Citizens: Gender, Race and Class in Constructions of American Citizenship, 1875-1925,” presented at the 2008 Meetings of the American Political Science Association, Boston, August 28-31.

“Women Lawyers Forging Visions of Political Change and Shaping Public Agendas, 1900-1925,” presented at the 2007 Meetings of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 12-15.

“What Hartz Didn’t Understand about the ‘Liberal Tradition’ Then, and Why it Matters for Understanding Law Now,” University of Maryland Law School/ Georgetown Law Center Conference, March 3-4, 2006.

“Constructing an Agenda of Restriction: Activists, Institutions, and Immigration, 1980s-1920s.” American Political Science Association Meeting, September 1-4, 2005.

Service:

Reviewer of manuscripts for Cambridge University Press, Oxford University Press, the University of Chicago Press, Cornell University Press, the University of Pennsylvania Press, Vanderbilt University Press, Little Brown and Company,

Rowman and Littlefield, University Press of Kansas, *American Political Science Review*, *Polity*, *The Journal of the History of Sexuality*, *The Journal of Politics*, *American Journal of Political Science*, *Southeastern Political Review*, *PS: Political Science and Politics*, *Political Research Quarterly*, *Perspectives on Politics*, and *Studies in American Political Development*.

Chair, Lasting Contribution Award Committee, Law and Courts Section, American Political Science Association, 2021.

External review team member, Claremont Graduate University, Department of Politics and Policy, February, 2020.

Reviewer of proposals for federal grants from the National Historical Publications and Records Commission (National Archives and Records Administration, 2018), and the National Endowment for the Humanities Kluge Fellowships (2015).

Invited participant, Social Science Research Council workshop on Popular Sovereignty, Swarthmore, PA, January 2017. Council President Ira Katznelson invited a small group of scholars to design syllabi on popular sovereignty that could help bridge approaches of liberal arts colleges and specialized research institutions.

Observer Delegate from Swarthmore College (RINGO network), UN Framework Convention on Climate Change, COP-19 (Warsaw, 2013) and COP-22 (Marrakesh, 2016).

Editorial Board, *Polity*, 2004-2020.

Founding editorial board member, Oxford Bibliographies Online, Political Science (first phase launch November 2011)

External review team member for Pomona College Environmental Analysis Program, February 2017.

Chair, Franklin L. Burdette Pi Sigma Alpha Award Selection Committee, American Political Science Association, 2015- 2016. Recognizes best paper presented at the 2015 annual meetings.

Secretary, Law & Courts Section of the American Political Science Association, September 2013-September 2015

External review team, Lafayette University, Government and Law Department, February 2014.

Organizer, Politics & History Section panels, Western Political Science Association, 2012 (Portland, Oregon).

Member of External Review Committee, Scripps College Department of Political Science, November 2011.

Committee on Organized Sections, American Political Science Association, three year term commencing Fall, 2007; Chair, 2008-2010.

American Political Science Association mentor (for two successive junior faculty members), 2008, 2009.

Member, Lasting Contribution Award Committee Law and Courts Section American Political Science Association, 2010.

Invited participant, Panel on The Politics of Rights in Early Twentieth Century Law and Political Science: David Rabban's Law's History: American Legal Thought and the Transatlantic Turn to History, American Political Science Association Annual Meetings 2011, Seattle, WA, September 1-4.

Invited Participant, Roundtable on Race, Gender, and Sexuality in Institutional Development, American Political Science Association Annual Meetings 2011, Seattle, WA, September 1-4.

Invited participant, Roundtable: Do Ideas Matter in Constitutional Development?, American Political Science Association Annual Meetings 2010, Washington, D.C., September 1-4.

Participant ("Municipal and County Courts as Sites of Political Development, with Kathleen Sullivan"), Chair, and Discussant, Panel on Reform, Reformers, Regulation, and State-Building from Reconstruction to the Progressive Era, Western Political Science Association Annual Meetings 2011, San Antonio, TX, April 21-23.

Discussant, Panel on Water and Watershed Management, Environmental Politics Section, Western Political Science Association Meetings 2011, San Antonio, TX, April 21-23.

Participant, Mellon 23 Conference on Environment and Race, Middlebury College, October 8-10, 2010.

Participant, Mellon 23 Assembly, Wellesley College, February 2009.

Member, best journal article of 2006 prize committee, *Polity*.

Member, External Review Committee of the Political Science Department, DePauw University, Glencastle, Indiana, February 2007.

External examiner, University of Virginia Department of Government Honors Program, May, 2007 and May, 2008.

Member, Executive Committee, Phi Beta Kappa, Swarthmore College, 2006-2007; Chapter President, 2008-2011.

Chair, J. David Greenstone Award Selection Committee for the best book published in the past two years, Politics & History Section of the American Political Science Association, 2005-2006.

Organizer, panels, roundtables, and poster sessions for American Political Science Association 2006 Convention, Division 27, Constitutional Law & Jurisprudence.

Invited external faculty evaluator for tenure files and promotion files (for promotion to full professor), various colleges and universities, approximately one per year from 2008 to present.

Member, Alice Paul Dissertation Award Committee, Women's Caucus, American Political Science Association, 2003-04.

Member of the Board, Politics and History Section of the American Political Science Association, 1997-1999 and 2003-2005.

Co-organizer, Politics and History Section panels for the American Political Science Association Meeting, September 2003 (with Jytte Klausen).

Panel Organizer and Discussant: Reform, Reformers, Regulation, and State Building from Reconstruction to the Progressive Era, Western Political Science Association Meetings, San Antonio, Texas, April 21-23, 2011. (Co-author of panel paper on Municipal Courts as Sites of Political Development.) This is a panel organized in anticipation of a future edited volume on this theme, with Carol Nackenoff and Julie Novkov editors.

Co-organizer, Workshop on Gender and American Political Development, Politics and History Section, American Political Science Association Meeting, September 1, 1999.

Member, Women's Caucus Nominating Committee, 2000 and 2001.

Member, Politics and History Nominating Committee, 2001.

Member, American Political Science Association Small Research Grant Committee, Fall, 1999-Summer, 2002.

President, Horatio Alger Society, May 2000-May 2002. Board of Directors, Horatio Alger Society, 1995-97 and 2006-2008.

Organizer, chair, and participant, Smith College panel on the legacy of Professor Leo Weinstein, April 18, 2004. Distinguished alumni panelists included Catharine A. MacKinnon, Sally Dyck Katzen, Helen Edelstein Freedman, and Leanna Brown; Steve Goldstein represented the Smith College Faculty.

Invited participant, Roundtable on Nodes of Conflict, Law, and American Political Development, American Political Science Association Meeting, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, August 28-31, 2003.

Invited participant, conference on American Liberalism, University of Chicago, November 23, 1996.

Outside evaluator, faculty research grant, Amherst College, Fall, 1996.

Invited response to Citizens' Voices Project, *Philadelphia Inquirer*, November 3, 1996.

Chair, Committee Assessing the Progress of Women in the Discipline, Women's Caucus of the American Political Science Association, 1993-1996.

Swarthmore College Chapter (Epsilon of Pennsylvania), Phi Beta Kappa: Secretary-Treasurer, 1996-1999. Executive Committee 1995-1999. Selection Committee, 1994-1995.

American Politics Panel, Graduate Record Exam, Educational Testing Service, 1995.

1994 Awards Committee, Best Article, Politics and History Section, American Political Science Association.

Chair and discussant, panel on First Amendment, and for panel on Issues and Influences in Recent Presidential Elections. Northeast Political Science Association Meeting, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, November 13-16, 1997.

Chair and discussant, Panel on "The Social Bases of Liberalism and Republicanism," American Political Science Association Meeting, 1995.

Chair and discussant, "American Political Thought Meets Contemporary Social Issues," American Political Science Association Meeting, 1994.

Chair and participant, Women's Caucus Panel, "How Much Progress for Women in the Discipline?" American Political Science Association Meeting, 1994.

Participant and discussant in the Penn Mid-Atlantic Women's Studies Seminar, Fall, 1993.

Co-organizer (with Ronald Kahn) of the panel, The Legacy of J. David Greenstone, American Political Science Association Meeting, 1991.

Organizer, conference on "The Supreme Court and Equal Protection: Race, Gender, and Law for the 1990s," Bard College, November 3, 1990.

Chaired and organized panel on American Political Ideology: Literary and Cultural Keys, Midwest Political Science Association Meetings Chicago, Illinois, April, 1988.

Discussant, panel on Policy, Performance and Class in Voting Behavior, Midwest Political Science Association Meeting, Chicago, Illinois, April, 1987.

Chair, panel on economic performance and political behavior, International Society for Political Psychology Meeting, Toronto, Canada, June, 1984.

Professional Memberships:

American Political Science Association and its organized sections in Politics and History, Women and Politics, Law and Courts. Western Political Science Association

Recent Courses Taught:

Environmental Politics and Policy
Water Issues and Water Policies: China and the United States
Capstone Seminar, Environmental Studies Program (Environmental Justice)
American Constitutional Law (course; honors seminar)
Gender, Politics and Public Policy
Feminist Political Theory
Ancient Political Theory; Modern Political Theory
American Politics
American Political Thought
Honors Seminar in American Politics
Modern Social Thought
Studies in American Politics (graduate, core)
Social Bases of Political Behavior (graduate)
Seminar on American Institutions and Values: Values of 1787 (graduate)

