

CURRICULUM VITAE OF RICHARD M. VALELLY

CLAUDE C. SMITH '14 PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL SCIENCE  
Swarthmore College  
Swarthmore, PA 19081

**Education**

Harvard University. Ph.D. in Political Science. September 1976 - September 1984.

Dissertation: "State-Level Radicalism and the Nationalization of American Politics: The Case of the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party." Fall, 1984.

Dissertation Committee: Sidney Verba (chair), Amy Bridges, Harry Hirsch.

Swarthmore College. B.A. in History and Political Science. January 1974 - June 1975.

University of Chicago, The College, September 1971 - December 1973.

**Academic Appointments**

Swarthmore College, Department of Political Science

Claude C. Smith '14 Professor: 2008 - Present

Professor, August 2000 - 2007

Associate Professor, September 1992 - August 2000.

University of Pennsylvania, Department of Political Science. Spring 2007. Visiting Lecturer to teach "Civil Rights and Civil Liberties."

University of Pennsylvania, Department of Political Science. Spring 2003, 2004. Visiting Lecturer to teach "Elections in American Politics."

MIT, Department of Political Science. Assistant Professor and Associate Professor, July 1985 - July 1993.

Harvard University, Committee on Degrees in Social Studies. Visiting Professor, Spring 1993.

College of the Holy Cross, Department of Political Science. Lecturer and Assistant Professor, January 1983 - June 1985.

**Professional and  
Academic Honors**

- 2006:  
V.O. Key, Jr. Book Award, Southern Political Science Association,  
for Best Book on Southern Politics published in 2004. [For *The Two  
Reconstructions: The Struggle for Black Enfranchisement* (Chicago:  
*University of Chicago Press, 2004.*)]
- 2005:  
Ralph J. Bunche Book Award, American Political Science  
Association. [For *The Two Reconstructions*]  
  
J. David Greenstone Book Award, Politics and History Organized  
Section, American Political Science Association [For *The Two  
Reconstructions.*]
- 1994:  
Mary Parker Follett Award for Best Journal Article, 1992-93, Politics  
and History Organized Section, American Political Science  
Association. [For "Party, Coercion, and Inclusion: *The Two  
Reconstructions of the South's Electoral Politics,*" *Politics and Society* 21  
(March 1993): 37-68]
- 1986:  
Nomination of Ph.D. thesis by Harvard University Government  
Department for E.E. Schattschneider Prize of the American Political  
Science Association.
- 1985:  
DeLancey K. Jay Prize, Harvard University, Graduate School of Arts  
and Sciences. [For *Ph.D. Dissertation.* ]
- 1975:  
Graduation from Swarthmore College with High Honors; Election  
to Phi Beta Kappa

**Publications***Monographs:*

American Politics: A Very Short Introduction (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013)

The Two Reconstructions: The Struggle for Black Enfranchisement American Politics and Political Economy Series (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004)

Radicalism in the States: The Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party and the American Political Economy Foreword by Martin Shefter; American Politics and Political Economy Series (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989)

*Edited Volumes:*

Oxford Handbook of American Political Development, co-editor, with Robert Lieberman and Suzanne Mettler (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016)

Princeton Readings in American Politics (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009)

The Voting Rights Act: Securing the Ballot Landmark Events in U.S. History (Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2005)

*Chapters in  
Edited Volumes:*

“The Distinctiveness and Necessity of American Political Development,” in Richard Valelly, Suzanne Mettler, and Robert Lieberman, eds. Oxford Handbook of American Political Development (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016.) [Co-authored with Suzanne Mettler.]

“How Suffrage Politics Made, And Makes, America,” in Richard Valelly, Suzanne Mettler, and Robert Lieberman, eds. Oxford Handbook of American Political Development (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016.)

“Making a Rainbow Military: Parliamentary Skill and the Repeal of ‘Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell,” in Jeffery Jenkins and Eric Patashnik, eds. Congress and Policymaking in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016.)

“Introduction,” in Richard M. Valelly, ed., Encyclopedia of U.S. Political History Volume 7: The Clash of Conservatism and Liberalism, 1976-Present (CQ Press/Division of SAGE, 2010)

“The NAACP Nobody Knows,” in Gary King, Kay Lehman Schlozman, and Norman H. Nie, eds. The Future of Political Science: 100 Perspectives (New York: Routledge, 2009), pp. 159-160

“Partisan Entrepreneurship and Policy Windows: George Frisbie Hoar and the 1890 Federal Elections Bill,” in Stephen Skowronek and Matthew Glassman, eds, Formative Acts: American Politics in the Making (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), pp. 126-149.

“The Law of Preclearance: Enforcing Section 5,” in David L. Epstein, et al, eds. The Future of the Voting Rights Act (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2006). [Co-authored with Peyton McCrary and Christopher Seaman.

“Representation of the Antebellum South in the House of Representatives: Measuring the Impact of the Three-Fifths Clause,” in David W. Brady and Mathew D. McCubbins, eds. Party, Process, and Political Change in Congress: New Perspectives on the History of Congress (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002). [Co-authored with Brian D. Humes, Elaine K. Swift, Kenneth Finegold, and Evelyn C. Fink.]

“Net Gains: The Voting Rights Act and Southern Local Government,” in Martha Derthick, ed. Dilemmas of Scale in America’s Federal Democracy (New York: Cambridge University Press, for the Woodrow Wilson Center, 1999)

“National Parties and Racial Disenfranchisement” in Paul E. Peterson, ed. Classifying By Race (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995).

"Public Policy for Reconnected Citizenship," in Helen Ingram and Steven Rathgeb Smith, eds. Public Policy for Democracy, (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 1993).

"Cooperation for What? The Democratic-Labor Alliance in the Reagan Bush Era," in Jane Jenson and Rianne Mahon, eds. The Challenge of Restructuring: North American Labor Movements Respond (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1993).

*Law Review Articles:*

"The End of Preclearance as We Knew It: How the Supreme Court Transformed Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act," Michigan Journal of Race & Law 11: 2 (Spring 2006): 275-323 [Co-authored with Peyton McCrary and Christopher Seaman.]

*Journal Articles:*

"Clarifying How The Fed Is Political," PS: Political Science & Politics Politics Symposium, First View July 2018

"NOMINATE and American Political Development," Studies in American Political Development 30 (October 2016): 97-115 [Co-authored with Phil Everson, Jim Wiseman, and Arjun Vishwanath.]

"LGBT Politics and American Political Development," Annual Review of Political Science 15 (June 2012): 313-332

"The Reed Rules and Republican Party-Building: A New Look," Studies in American Political Development 23 (October 2009): 115-142.

"Party, Coercion, and Inclusion: The Two Reconstructions of the South's Electoral Politics" Politics & Society 21 (March 1993): 37-67.

*Academic Newsletters:*

"Keith Poole and the Evolution of American Political Science," The Legislative Scholar: Newsletter of the Legislative Studies Section of the American Political Science Association 2 (Fall 2017): 28-32

*Conference Memos:*

"The Populist Scare of the 1890s – And How It Changed American Populism," Global Populisms: A Threat to Democracy? Conference at Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies, Stanford University, November 3-4, 2017

*Essays:*

“How Gay Rights Activists Remade the Federal Government.” In *Made By History* section. Washington Post 1 October 2018.

[https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/2018/10/01/how-gay-rights-activists-remade-federal-government/?utm\\_term=.0913bcb4f46d](https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/2018/10/01/how-gay-rights-activists-remade-federal-government/?utm_term=.0913bcb4f46d)

“How About Erecting Monuments to the Heroes of Reconstruction?” The American Prospect August 23, 2017 at <http://prospect.org/article/how-about-erecting-monuments-heroes-reconstruction>

“Kerry’s ‘Lavender Scare’ Apology Reveals An Important Shift in LGBT Politics.” In *Monkey Cage* Section. Washington Post 19 January 2017.

[https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2017/01/19/john-kerrys-startling-apology-marks-an-important-shift-in-lgbt-politics/?utm\\_term=.8cfe5682db64](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2017/01/19/john-kerrys-startling-apology-marks-an-important-shift-in-lgbt-politics/?utm_term=.8cfe5682db64)

“What A 100-Year Old Racist Movie Tells Us About Civil Rights Then and Now,” *Monkey Cage Blog*, Washington Post, March 8, 2015, at

<http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/monkey-cage/wp/2015/03/08/what-a-100-year-old-racist-movie-tells-us-about-civil-rights-then-and-now/>

“Two Political Sciences Or One? Liberal Arts Political Science As A Disciplinary Partner.” Polity 46 (January 2014): 150-156.

“The Conflicted Gay Pioneer,” The American Prospect September/October 2013, pp. 87-91.

“What Political Scientists Can Teach Us About Income Inequality,” Chronicle of Higher Education, *Chronicle Review*, 17 October 2008

“The Dynamics of Power,” Chronicle of Higher Education *Chronicle Review* 11 August 2006; Cover Story.

“What’s Gone Right in the Study of What’s Gone Wrong,” Chronicle of Higher Education *Chronicle Review* 16 April 2004, Cover Story.

“An Overlooked Theory on Presidential Politics,” Chronicle of Higher Education *Chronicle Review* 31 October 2003, p. B-10.

“How Political Scientists Can Help Fight the War on Terrorism,” Chronicle of Higher Education *Chronicle Review* 19 July 2002, p. B-10.

"Voting Rights in Jeopardy" The American Prospect September/October 1999, pp. 43-49.

"Voting Alone: The Case Against Virtual Ballot Boxes," The New Republic September 13 and 20, 1999, pp. 20-22.

"Vanishing Voters." In American Society and Politics: Comparative, Historical and Theoretical Perspectives, Theda Skocpol and John L. Campbell, eds., (New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1994). [Reprinted from The American Prospect Spring 1990, pp. 140-150; also re-published in The American Prospect Reader in American Politics ed. by Walter Dean Burnham. Chatham, NJ: Chatham House Publishers, 1994.]

*Reference Works and Entries:*

Encyclopedia of U.S. Political History Vol. 7: 1976-Present (Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2010)

"The Changing Shape of the American Electorate: Suffrage Laws and Turnout," in William G. Shade and Ballard C. Campbell, eds., American Presidential Campaigns and Elections 3 vols. 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition (M.E. Sharpe, Inc., forthcoming)

"Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party." In Robert S. McElvaine, editor-in-chief, Encyclopedia of the Great Depression 2 vols. (New York: Macmillan Reference USA, an imprint of the Gale Group Inc./Thomson Learning, Inc., 2004)

"Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party," The Encyclopedia of Third Parties in America Vol. 2 (Armonk: Sharpe Reference/M.E. Sharpe, Inc., 2000), pp. 354-360.

"Nineteenth Century Suffrage," Encyclopedia of African-American Culture and History (New York: Macmillan Library Reference, 1995), pp. 2587-2590.

"Democratic Farmer-Labor Party," "Farmer-Labor Party," "Ku Klux Klan," "Alexander Mackenzie," "Walter Mondale," "National Non-Partisan League," "Non-Partisan League of North Dakota," "People's Party," "Progressive Party of Idaho," "Progressive Party of Wisconsin," "State-Level Radicalism," "A.C. Townley," "Union Party." In Sandy Maisel, ed., Political Parties and Elections in the United States: An Encyclopedia (New York: Garland Publishing Co., 1991)

*Review Essays:*

“Trump Meets Political Science.” Review essay of Steven Levitsky and Daniel Ziblatt, How Democracies Die (Crown, 2018) and Yascha Mounk, The People vs. Democracy: Why Our Freedom Is In Danger & How To Save It (Harvard University Press, 2018). In Washington Monthly April/May/June 2018 <https://washingtonmonthly.com/magazine/april-may-june-2018/trump-meets-political-science/>

“Slavery, Emancipation, and the Civil War Transformation of the American State.” Review essay of Christopher Childers, The Failure of Popular Sovereignty: Slavery, Manifest Destiny, and the Radicalization of Southern Politics (University Press of Kansas, 2012); David E. Ericson, Slavery in the American Republic: Developing the Federal Government, 1791-1861 (University Press of Kansas, 2011); Bruce Levine, The Fall of the House of Dixie: The Civil War and the Social Revolution That Transformed the South (Random House, 2013); James Oakes, Freedom National: The Destruction of Slavery in the United States, 1861-1865 (W.W. Norton & Company, 2013); Martin H. Quitt, Stephen A. Douglas and Antebellum Democracy (Cambridge University Press, 2012). In Perspectives on Politics 12 (March 2014): 145-152.

“Ghosts of Ballots Past.” Review essay of Richard L. Hasen, The Voting Wars: From Florida 2000 to the Next Election Meltdown (Yale University Press, 2012), in The American Prospect September/October 2012, pp. 81-85.

Review essay of Bruce Bartlett, Wrong on Race: The Democratic Party’s Buried Past (New York and Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008) and Andrew Wroe, The Republican Party and Immigration Politics: From Proposition 187 to George W. Bush (New York and Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), in Party Politics 17 (March 2011): 261-272.

“Where Are We With Party Strengthening?” Review essay of Daniel J. Galvin, Presidential Party Building: Dwight D. Eisenhower to George W. Bush (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010); David Karol, Party Position Change in American Politics: Coalition Management (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Matthew Levendusky, The Partisan Sort: How Liberals Became Democrats and Conservatives Became Republicans. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009). Election Law Journal 9:3 (September 2010): 223-230.

“Recognizing the True Greatness of Booker T. Washington.” Review essay of Robert Norrell, Up From History: The Life of Booker T. Washington (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2009), Journal of Policy History 22:1 (Winter 2010): 110-117.



“Bureaucratic Learning and Statutory Design: The Governmental Origins of the 1965 Voting Rights Act.” Review essay of Brian K. Landsberg, Free At Last To Vote: The Alabama Origins of the 1965 Voting Rights Act (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2007), Election Law Journal 6:4 (2007): 429-433.

“Who Needs Political Parties?” The American Prospect 14 August 2000, pp. 48-50. Political science literature on political parties. [Reprinted in Principles and Practice of American Politics: Classic and Contemporary Readings eds. Samuel Kernell and Steven S. Smith (CQ Press, 2007)]

“Divided They Govern,” The American Prospect Fall 1992, pp. 124-136. Political science literature on divided government. [Published simultaneously in Mexico in Estados Unidos: Informe Trimestral; re-published in The American Prospect Reader in American Politics, ed. Walter Dean Burnham (Chatham, NJ: Chatham House Publishers Inc., 1994).]

“Democratic Dreams.” Review essay of Hillel Levine and Lawrence Harmon, Death of An American Jewish Community: A Tragedy of Good Intentions (Free Press, 1992), Boston Review September/October 1992, pp. 20-21.

*Web Publication:*

“Democratic Citizenship,” Oxford Bibliographies in Political Science, ed. Rick Valelly  
[http://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/browse?module\\_0=obo-9780199756223](http://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/browse?module_0=obo-9780199756223)

*Scholarly Book  
 Reviews:*

Review of Julian E. Zelizer, The Fierce Urgency of Now: Lyndon Johnson, Congress, and the Battle for the Great Society (Penguin Press, 2015)  
*Political Science Quarterly* 131 (Fall 2016): 631-632.

Review of Mark Wahlgren Summers, The Ordeal of the Reunion: A New History of Reconstruction (University of North Carolina Press, 2014).  
*Journal of American History* 102 (March 2016): 1211-1212.

Review of Susan D. Carle, Defining the Struggle: National Organizing for Racial Justice, 1880-1915 (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013).  
*American Historical Review* 119 (December 2014): 1710-1711.

Review of Kate Masur, An Example for All The Land: Emancipation and the Struggle Over Equality in Washington, D.C. (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2010). *Journal of American History* 98 (December 2011): 838-839.

Review of Philip Dray, Capitol Men: The Epic Story of Reconstruction through the Lives of the First Black Congressmen (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2008). *Journal of Southern History* 76 (May 2010): 469-71.

Review of Mark Graber, Dred Scott and the Problem of Constitutional Evil (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006). *Political Science Quarterly* 122 (Fall 2007): 505-7.

Review of Richard Striner, Father Abraham: Lincoln's Relentless Struggle to End Slavery (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006). *American Historical Review* 112 (April 2007): 507-8.

Review of Charles L. Zelden, The Battle for the Black Ballot: Smith v. Allwright and the Defeat of the Texas All-White Primary Landmark Law Cases and American Society Series (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2004). *H-Law* July, 2005.

Review of Michael P. Brown, et al., White-Washing Race: The Myth of a Color-Blind Society (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003). *Political Science Quarterly* 119 (Winter 2004-5): 699-700.

Review of William A. Millikan, A Union Against Unions: The Minneapolis Citizens Alliance and Its Fight Against Organized Labor, 1903-1947 (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2001). *Minnesota History* 58 (Summer 2002): 125-126.

Review of Marda Liggett Woodbury, Stopping the Presses: The Murder of Walter W. Liggett (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998). *Minnesota History* 56 (Fall 1999): 405-407.

Review of John J. Coleman, Party Decline in America: Policy, Politics and the Fiscal State (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996). *American Historical Review* 102 (December 1997): 1587-1588.

Review of Dan T. Carter, From George Wallace to Newt Gingrich: Race in the Conservative Counterrevolution, 1963-1994 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1996). *Political Science Quarterly* 112 (Fall 1997): 498-499.

Review of Carol Swain Black Faces, Black Interests: The Representation of African-Americans in Congress (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993). *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management* 14 (Spring 1995): 346-350.

Review of Radicalism in Minnesota, 1900-1960: A Survey of Selected Sources 20th Century Radicalism in Minnesota Project, Carl Ross, Director (St. Paul, MN: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1994). *Minnesota History* 54 (Spring 1995): 234.

Review of Richard H. King, Civil Rights and the Idea of Freedom (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992). *American Political Science Review* 88 (September 1994): 768-69.

Review of Steven M. Gillon, The Democrats' Dilemma: Walter F. Mondale and the Liberal Legacy (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992). *Minnesota History* 53 (Fall 1993): 287-88.

Review of Greg Mitchell, The Campaign of the Century: Upton Sinclair's Race for Governor of California and the Birth of Media Politics (New York: Random House, 1992). *Journal of American History* 80 (September 1993): 736-37.

Review of Otis L. Graham, Jr., Losing Time: The Industrial Policy Debate (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992). *Policy Currents*, November 1992, pp. 10-11.

Review of Gary Gerstle, Working-Class Americanism: The Politics of Labor in A Textile City, 1914-1960 (Cambridge University Press, 1989). *International Labor and Working Class History* 39 (Spring 1991): 127-28.

Review of Royce Hanson, Tribune of the People: The Minnesota Legislature and Its Leadership (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989). *Minnesota History* 49 (Spring 1990): 36.

Review of Irving Howe, Socialism in America (Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1985) and Eric Thomas Chester, Socialists at the Ballot Box (Praeger Publishers, 1985). *American Political Science Review* 80 (September 1986): 1017-1019.

Review of Theda Skocpol, ed., Vision and Method in Historical Sociology (Cambridge University Press, 1985). American Political Science Review 79 (December 1985): 1270-1271.

*Book Reviews:*

“A Republic, If We Can Build It.” Review of Nolan McCarty, Keith T. Poole, and Howard Rosenthal, Polarized America: The Dance of Ideology and Unequal Riches (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2006), and Ruth Milkman, L.A. Story: Immigrant Workers and the Future of the U.S. Labor Movement (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2006). The American Prospect Fall Books Issue November 2006, pp. 56-58.

“Patriotism in Black and White.” Review of Roger Wilkins, Jefferson’s Pillow: The Founding Fathers and the Dilemma of Black Patriotism (Boston: Beacon Press, 2002), Melinda Lawson, Patriot Fires: Forging a New American Nationalism in the Civil War North (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2002), and Carol M. Swain, The New White Nationalism in America: Its Challenge to Integration (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002). The American Prospect 13 January 2003.

“Illuminating the Enlightenment.” Review of Emma Rothschild, Economic Sentiments: Adam Smith, Condorcet, and the Enlightenment (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001). The American Prospect, 28 January 2002, pp. 45-46.

“To Live and Die in Dixie.” Review of Kari Frederickson, The Dixiecrat Revolt and the End of the Solid South 1932-1968 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001). The Weekly Standard 14 May 2001, pp. 35-37.

The Vote Counts.” Review of Alexander Keyssar, The Right to Vote: The Contested History of Democracy in the United States (New York: Basic Books, 2000). The American Prospect, January 1-15 2001, pp. 44-46.

Review of Stephen Holmes, Benjamin Constant and the Making of Modern Liberalism (Yale University Press, 1984). Commonweal 20 June 1986, p. 382.

Review of Charles Beitz, Political Theory and International Relations (Princeton University Press, 1979). Harvard International Review April-May 1980, pp. 25-27.

*Political  
Commentary:*

“America’s Crisis of Voting Rights,” The Hindu (Chennai, India), Editorial Page, July 4, 2013. <http://www.thehindu.com/opinion/lead/americas-crisis-of-voting-rights/article4878065.ece>

“Is the Voting Rights Act Dead?” Washington Monthly online, July 2, 2013 [http://www.washingtonmonthly.com/ten-miles-square/2013/07/is\\_the\\_voting\\_rights\\_act\\_dead045607.php](http://www.washingtonmonthly.com/ten-miles-square/2013/07/is_the_voting_rights_act_dead045607.php)

“Deficit-Attention Disorder,” The American Prospect November 2010, pp. A8-A10. (Second author; co-authored with Christopher Howard.)

“The Fate of Constitutional Government in a New Era,” The Hill, 28 November 2001, p. 27.

Comment on Joe Klein, “In God We Trust,” The Responsive Community Winter 1998.

“Couch-Potato Democracy?” The American Prospect March-April 1996, pp. 25-26. [Comment on Robert Putnam, “The Strange Disappearance of Civic America,” The American Prospect Winter 1996. Re-published in Robert L. Kuttner, ed., Ticking Time Bombs: The New Conservative Assaults on Democracy (New York: The New Press, 1996)]

“Cut the Purse Strings; End the War,” St. Louis Post-Dispatch 28 January 1988, p. 3-B. [Co-authored with Kenneth Sharpe]

“US-Canada Trade Pact Needs A Closer Look,” Boston Globe, Business Section, 12 July 1988, p. 40.

“Reagan ‘PIKS’ A Farm Program,” The Nation 5 February 1983, pp. 140-41. [Co-authored with Kenneth Finegold.]

“Spain’s Road To A Coup,” The New York Times 17 April 1981, p. A-25.

“Guard’s End Changed US-Nicaraguan Relations,” Minneapolis Tribune 23 August 1979, p. 6A.

“To Make Puerto Rico’s Plebiscite Genuinely Fair,” Christian Science Monitor, 16 July 1979, p. 23. (Also published as “Which Road? Puerto Rico Feeling Strains of Future Rule,” The Houston Post Sunday Edition, 22 July 1979.)

**Residential Appointments/Fellowships**

Fox Family Pavilion Distinguished Scholar-in-Residence, Robert A. Fox Leadership Program, University of Pennsylvania, July 1, 2016-June 30, 2019.

Visiting Research Scholar, Center for the Study of Democratic Politics, Woodrow Wilson School, Princeton University, 2004-2005.

Andrew W. Mellon Fellowship, Center for the Study of New England History, Massachusetts Historical Society, June, 1996. To study papers of Senators George Frisbie Hoar and Henry Cabot Lodge in connection with Federal Elections Bill of 1890.

Guest Fellowship, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, July - August 1994.

Research Fellow, W.E.B. Du Bois Institute for Afro-American Studies, Harvard University, January - August 1992

**Funding Awards**

Eugene Lang Faculty Fellowship, Swarthmore College, Spring 2017.

American Philosophical Society, Franklin Grant, "Exile, Vision, and Legal Mobilization: Creative Political Responses of Discharged Lesbian and Gay Military Personnel, 1965-1995." For travel to research collections in 2015.

American Council of Learned Societies Fellowship, 2012-13. "Dismantling Straight Government."

<http://www.acls.org/research/fellow.aspx?cid=7d742366-258a-e111-bd9e-000c293a51f7>

Eugene Lang Faculty Fellowship, Swarthmore College, Spring, 2009.

"Why the Reed Rules? Party, Race, and the Foundations of the U.S. House's Governability." Congressional Research Award, 2006. Dirksen Congressional Research Center, Pekin, Illinois.

Eugene Lang Faculty Fellowship, Swarthmore College, Spring, 2001.

Fellowship for College Teachers and Independent Scholars, National Endowment for the Humanities (January - August 1997).

Selected by NEH Chairman to form part of special NEH initiative, the National Conversation on American Pluralism and Identity. See Sheldon Hackney, One America, Indivisible: a national conversation on American pluralism and identity (Washington, DC: National Endowment for the Humanities, 1997).

Swarthmore College Joel Dean Fund for Student Research Supervision, Summer 2015, 1997, 1994.

Swarthmore College Faculty Research Grants, 1993 – present

Mark DeWolfe Howe Civil Liberties Fund, Harvard Law School, Spring 1992.

Research Grants, Provost's Fund, MIT, Fall 1985; MIT Dean's Fund, 1987 - 1992.

Tuition grants, small travel grants, Harvard University, 1979-1982.

Research and travel grants, Marion and Jasper Whiting Foundation, Boston, MA (1979 and 1980).

### **Professional Service**

*Chair, Nominations Committee, 2017 - 2018: Public Policy Organized Section of the American Political Science Association.*

*Executive Committee, Political Development Workshop, 2015-16, Center for the Study of the United States, University of Toronto and Nuffield College, Oxford University (funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada and Nuffield College, Oxford)*

*Committee on the Status of Lesbians, Gays, Bisexuals and Transgenders in the Profession, American Political Science Association*  
<http://www.apsanet.org/statuscommitteelgbt>

*Workshops on the Social Sciences at Liberal Arts Colleges, Higher Education Program: Social Science Research Council, April 2015 - June 2017.*

*Mentor:* Miller Center National Fellowship Program, University of Virginia (for Boris Heersink, Ph.D Candidate in Political Science, University of Virginia; Project Title: “Beyond Service: National Organization and Party Brands in American Politics” (2015-16)

*External Review:* Department of Politics, Mt. Holyoke College, February 2014

*President, Politics and History Organized Section, American Political Science Association:* 2011-2012

*Delegate of the American Political Science Association to the American Council of Learned Societies:* 2011-2014

*Founder and Editor-in-Chief* Oxford Bibliographies in Political Science, 2010-2012

*Co-Chair, Program Committee, Politics and History Organized Section, American Political Science Association:* 2011 Annual Meeting.

*Proposal Reviewer:* American Council of Learned Societies; Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada; Political Science Program, National Science Foundation; Russell Sage Foundation; Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Division of United States Studies.

*Founder and Co-Editor, American Governance: Politics, Policy, and Public Law, Series of the University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009-present*

*Member, Faculty Editorial Board, University of Pennsylvania Press, September 2007-present*

*Member, Editorial Board Journal of Politics January 2007-January 2009*

*Co-Chair, Program Committee, American Political Science Association:* 2006 Annual Meeting. Member ex-officio, Executive Council, American Political Science Association, 2005-2006.

*Philip E. Converse Best Book Award Committee:* Organized Section on Elections, Public Opinion, and Voting Behavior, American Political Science Association, 2003-2004

*Executive Committee, Social Science History Association.* 2002-2005.

*Franklin Burdette Prize Award Committee:* American Political Science Association, 2002-2003



*Ralph Bunche Prize Award Committee:* American Political Science Association, 2001-2002

*Mary Parker Follett Award Committee:* Politics and History Organized Section of the American Political Science Association, 1998-1999.

*Co-Chair, Program Committee of Social Science History Association, 1998:* Preparation of 23rd Annual Meeting of the Social Science History Association, November 19-22, 1998, Chicago.

*Nominations Committee, 1995 - 1996:* Politics and History Organized Section of the American Political Science Association.

*Co-Editor:* Clio, Newsletter of the Politics and History Organized Section of the American Political Science Association, Fall 1992 - Summer 1994.

*Co-Treasurer:* Politics and History Organized Section of the American Political Science Association, Fall 1992 - Summer 1994

*Book manuscript review for:* Cambridge University Press, Cornell University Press, The Free Press, Harvard University Press, Johns Hopkins University Press, University Press of Kansas, Minnesota Historical Society Press, New York University Press, Oxford University Press, Princeton University Press, University of Chicago Press, University of Michigan Press, University of North Carolina Press, University of Pennsylvania Press, Yale University Press.

*Article manuscript review for:* American Journal of Political Science, American Politics Research, American Political Science Review, Comparative Politics, Du Bois Review, Journal of American History, Journal of Policy History, Journal of Politics, Radical History Review, Legislative Studies Quarterly, Perspectives on Politics, Political Research Quarterly, Social Science History, Studies in American Political Development

*Tenure and Promotion Reviews:* American University; Barnard College; Columbia University of New York City; Cornell University; Franklin and Marshall College; George Washington University; Hobart and William Smith Colleges; Johns Hopkins University; Indiana University; Kennedy School of Government - Harvard University; Queens College of the City University of New York; MIT; New York University; Northwestern University; Ohio State University; University of Pennsylvania; Pennsylvania State University; Princeton University; Rutgers University-New Brunswick; Simmons College; Temple University; Trinity College (Hartford); Tufts University; University of California at Berkeley; University of California at Santa Cruz; University of Massachusetts at Amherst; University of Michigan; University of Oregon; University of Washington; Vanderbilt University; Wabash College; Williams College; Yale University.

#### **Invited Presentations**

“The Cold War Governmentalization of Sexual Orientation: What Happened, How, and Why It’s Interesting.” American Politics Workshop, University of Pennsylvania, January 29, 2018.

Keynote Remarks, Book Launch for Kevin Corder and Christina Wolbrecht, Counting Women’s Ballots: Female Voters From Suffrage Through the New Deal (Cambridge University Press, 2016), Rooney Center for the Study of American Democracy, University of Notre Dame, March 24, 2017

“Building A New Heterosexual State: The Cold War Governmentalization of Sexual Orientation,” American Politics Workshop, Vanderbilt University, October 28, 2016

“Building A New Heterosexual State: The Cold War Governmentalization of Sexual Orientation,” American Politics Workshop, Johns Hopkins University, November 10, 2016

“Building A New Heterosexual State: The Cold War Governmentalization of Sexual Orientation,” Workshop in Comparative Historical Social Science, Buffett Institute, Northwestern University, November 6, 2015.

“Building A New Heterosexual State: The Cold War Governmentalization of Sexual Orientation,” American Politics Workshop, Institute for Social and Economic Research and Policy, Columbia University, October 13, 2015.

“Building A New Heterosexual State: The Cold War Governmentalization of Sexual Orientation,” Philadelphia Region American Politics Conference, Temple University-Center City, September 18, 2015.

“Literacies in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century,” Plenary Session Panel, American Council of Learned Societies Annual Meeting, Philadelphia, PA, May 8, 2015.

“Uncle Sam’s Closets: Party, State, and Sexual Orientation During the Cold War,” Oakley Center for the Humanities, Williams College, October 16, 2014.

“The Senate’s Census of Gays and Lesbians in Federal Service, 1950.” Center for Legislative Archives, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC, March 13, 2014.

“Making a Rainbow Military: Parliamentary Skill and the Repeal of ‘Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell,” Conference on Congress and Policy Making in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, University of Virginia, June 3-4, 2013.

“Why the Political Homophobia of the 1950s?” Harvard University, Center for American Political Studies (CAPS), March 1, 2013

“Why the Political Homophobia of the 1950s?” Bowdoin College, John Donovan Lecture Fund/Department of Government and Legal Studies, February 5, 2013.

“Explaining the Lavender Scare: Party, ‘State,’ and Political Entrepreneurship, Workshop on “American Political Parties: Past, Present, and Future,” University of Virginia, October 8-9, 2012

“Moving to a Liberal Arts College Made Me A Better Political Scientist.” Keynote Address. Alliance to Advance Liberal Arts Colleges Workshop. Amherst College. November 11, 2011.

Commentator, Manuscript Review Colloquium for Ira Katznelson. Miller Center National Fellowship Program. 2011 Spring Fellowship Conference. The Miller Center, University of Virginia. May 13, 2011.  
<http://millercenter.org/academic/fellowship2011>

“Desegregating the Straight State: The Obama Administration in Historical Perspective,” Vanderbilt University, Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, March 18, 2011

Mellon Junior Faculty Mentoring Visit, Department of Political Science, University of Massachusetts at Amherst (to work with Prof. Jesse Rhodes and to give a presentation to the department of my research), March 8-10, 2010

“Why The Reed Rules? The Post-Reconstruction South, Republican Party-Building, and Congressional Development.” October 7, 2009. Campaigns and Elections Speaker Series, Institute for Public Affairs, Temple University.

Discussant, Annual International End of Year Conference, May 1, 2009, “Civic Representation, Elections, and Public Opinion.” Penn Program on Democracy, Citizenship, and Constitutionalism, University of Pennsylvania.

“Switchman of American Citizenship: Senate Distinctiveness, *Dred Scott* and the Ironies of the Citizenship Clause,” History of Congress Conference, University of Virginia, May 17-19, 2009

“Why the Reed Rules? Race, Party, and the Procedural Foundations of the Modern House,” History of Congress Conference, Princeton University, Center for the Study of Democratic Politics, May 18-May 19, 2007.

“W(h)ither the Voting Rights Act? Agreements and Contestations in the Debate Over Its Renewal,” Duke University, Center for the Study of Race, Ethnicity and Gender in the Social Sciences, April 7, 2006

“New Scholarship in African-American History.” Panel Discussion. Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Division of United States Studies, Washington, DC., June 22, 2005

Roundtable panel discussion of The Two Reconstructions. New England Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Portland, ME, April 30, 2005.

“The Two Reconstructions: The Struggle for Black Enfranchisement.” Demos Events Series. Demos-USA, New York City. April 26, 2005:

University of Pennsylvania, Fox Leadership Program, Lunchtime Presentations Series, Discussion of the Voting Rights Act, March 17, 2005.

“How I Tried to Save the Voting Rights Act: Reflections on the Relevance of APD,” Johns Hopkins University, Political Science Departmental Colloquium. March 1, 2005.

“Counterfactualizing American Political Development: What We Can Learn From the Federal Elections Bill of 1890.” University of Virginia, Miller Center of Public Affairs, American Political Development Program, Colloquia Series on Politics and History. December 3, 2004.

“Reconstructing the Reconstruction: George Frisbie Hoar and the Federal Elections Bill of 1890.” Yale University, Center for the Study of American Politics, Conference on “Political Action and Political Change: Leaders, Entrepreneurs, and Agents in American Political Development.” October 22-23, 2004.

“Congressional Modernization and the Federal Elections Bill of 1890,” Workshop on Political Institutions, Department of Political Science, University of Michigan at Ann Arbor. March 13, 2003.

“National Parties and Racial Disenfranchisement.” American Politics Research Seminar. University of Pennsylvania. April 12, 2002.

“Thick and Thin: Viewing Rational Choice as Democratic Theory.” Columbia University. Institute for Social and Economic Theory and Research/ Paul Lazarsfeld Center for the Social Sciences ~ Institutions Workshop. January 27, 2000.

“Party Struggle and the Making of African-American Disfranchisement, 1877-1910,” University of Virginia, Department of Government and Foreign Affairs, April 6, 1994.

Panelist, Roundtable on “What’s Happening With American Democracy?” Future Directions in American Politics Workshop, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, November 18, 1993.

“The Puzzle of Disfranchisement: Party Struggle and African-American Suffrage in the South, 1867-1894,” Northwestern University Department of Political Science, American Politics Faculty/Graduate Student Workshop, January 26, 1993.

“The Puzzle of Disfranchisement: Party Struggle and African-American Suffrage in the South, 1867-1894,” Harvard University Center for American Political Studies/Ford Foundation Workshop on Race, Governance, and Ethnicity, Cambridge, MA, January 21-23, 1993.

“Democratic Struggle and the Political System: The Two Reconstructions of Southern Electoral Politics,” University of Chicago Department of Political Science, American Politics Workshop, April 22, 1992.

“Explaining the Struggle for the Privilege of Directing American Foreign Policy: The Importance of the International-National Connection,” Hoover Institution/Social Science Research Council Workshop on Legislative Institutions and Foreign Policy, Stanford, California, April, 1991.

Participant, University of Arizona Udall Center for Public Policy/Ford Foundation Workshop on Democratic Renewal in America, Tucson, Arizona, March 26-29, 1991.

“Constructing Democracy: Federal Voting Rights Policy and the American South, 1867-1877 and 1944-Present,” Cornell University Government Department Seminar on State and Society, February 11, 1991.

“Beating the Odds: Vermont’s Progressive Party in Historical and Comparative Perspective,” University of Vermont Political Science Department, November 2, 1990.

“Constructing Threats to Democracy? The Domestic Impact of Post-War Foreign Policy,” New School/MacArthur Foundation Seminar on U.S. Democracy and World Politics, December 18, 1989.

“A Tale of Two Political Scandals: Iran-Contra and Watergate,” Public lectures sponsored by the MIT Office of Special Summer Programs, Summer 1987.

### Conference Papers & Presentations

Author Meets Critics Panel, Eric Schickler’s Racial Realignment (Princeton 2016), Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, 2017

Roundtable Presentation, “The Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments,” Organization of American Historians Annual Meeting, New Orleans Marriott Hotel, April 9, 2017

“The Paradox of Superstatute Vulnerability: How The Voting Rights Act Suddenly Seemed Obsolete.” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 3-6, 2015, San Francisco, CA.

“The Strategy of the Citizenship Clause.” Annual Meeting of the Midwestern Political Science Association, April 3-6, 2014, Chicago, Illinois.

“Did Roger Taney Author the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment? Congress and the Definition of American Citizenship.” Co-authored with Lauren Kluz-Wisniewski. Annual Meeting of the Midwestern Political Science Association, April 2-5, 2009, Chicago, Illinois.

“Institutions and Processes, Not Results: Making Sense of Democratic Performance,” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, CA, August 30-September 2, 2001

“Thinking About the Current Counter-Revolution in Voting Rights,” 22nd Annual Meeting of the Social Science History Association, Washington, DC, October 16-19, 1997

“Thinking About America’s Democratic Performance,” 21st Annual Meeting of the Social Science History Association, New Orleans, October 10-13, 1996.

“Banging At The Doors: The NAACP Voter Registration Drive of 1944-1954,” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, New York City, Labor Day Weekend, 1994.

“Justice in History: African-American Political Capacities, Voting Rights, and the U.S. Department of Justice, 1870-1890 and 1937-1965.” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, Labor Day Weekend, 1992.

“Party and Bureaucracy in the Two Reconstructions of Southern Electoral Politics,” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, Labor Day Weekend, 1991.

“Bringing Democracy Back In: Citizens, Governability, and Economic Performance,” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, Labor Day Weekend, 1991.

“Constructing the Imperial Presidency: A Tale of Two Visions,” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, CA, Labor Day Weekend, 1990.

“Constructing Tensions Between Capitalism and Democracy: Toward A Framework For Explaining The ‘Rise of the Fed,’” Conference Group on Political Economy, Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Atlanta, GA, Labor Day Weekend, 1989.

“War and American National Institutions, 1945-Present: The Persistence of Constitutional Crisis?” Annual Meeting of the Organization of American Historians, St. Louis, MO, April 6-9, 1989.

“Responding to Reaganomics: The Politics of Policy Ideas and the Democratic-Labor Alliance,” Conference on North American Labor Movements Into the 1990s, Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, February 3-5, 1989.

“Democracy Can Be A Rational Choice: A Comparison of the Two Reconstructions in American Political Development,” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, Labor Day Weekend, 1988.

“Ideas, Institutions, and Interests: The Persistence of Constitutional Crisis in Post-War American Politics,” Conference Group on Political Economy, Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, Labor Day Weekend, 1988.

“How and Why the New Deal Helped Labor,” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, Labor Day Weekend, 1987.

“The Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party and the New Deal: The Consequences of Building A Bureaucracy,” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, New York City, Labor Day Weekend, 1981

### **Study Groups**

Co-Chair (with Theda Skocpol and Margaret Weir), Boston-Area Colloquium on American Society and Politics [CASP], October 1986 - May 1987.

### **Service/Swarthmore College**

Social Science Division Chair, 2018-19

Member, Committee on Promotion and Tenure, 2018-19

Member, Provost Search Committee, 2017-18

Chair, Ad Hoc Committee on the Provost, 2015-16

Steering Committee, Lifelong Learning at Swarthmore College



Chair, Institutional Review Board, 2011-2012

Acting Chair, Department of Political Science, Spring 2007 and Spring 2011

Faculty and Staff Benefits and Compensation Committee (2002-2004; 2005-2006; 2013-2014)

Faculty Advisory Committee to Dean of Admissions (1999-2000)

Swarthmore College Budget Committee (1997-1999; 2015-16)

Faculty Advisor to student group coordinating lecture series for Fall, 1997, funded by the William J. Cooper Foundation, on organized labor and the transformation of work in America. (*Lectures delivered by Linda Chavez-Thompson, AFL-CIO, Joel Rogers, Univ. of Wisconsin, and Nelson Lichtenstein, Univ. of Virginia.*)

Faculty Research Committee (1994-1996)

Foreign Study Committee (1995-1996)

Honorary Degrees Committee (1994-1995)

Public Policy Review Committee (1994-95)

#### **Service/ MIT**

Admissions Committee, Ph.D. Program, Department of Political Science, MIT (1993)

Institute Committee on Corporate Relations, MIT (1990-1993)

#### **Provider/Organizer: Continuing Education**

“Lincoln and Slavery.” Lifelong Learning at Swarthmore College, Spring 2014.

“The Presidential Election of 2008.” Lifelong Learning at Swarthmore College, Spring 2008

“The U.S. Presidency.” Lifelong Learning at Swarthmore College, Spring 2009.

Convener, Mellon Faculty Seminar on Democracy and Expertise, Swarthmore College, 1994-1995.

Director, Seminar on “The Myth and Reality of American Decline,” MIT Office of Special Summer Programs, August 8-10, 1990.

Co-Director (with Michael McGerr) Seminars on “Beyond the Reagan Era” and “The Myth and Reality of American Decline,” MIT Office of Special Summer Programs, June 19-23, 1989.

Co-Director, (with Michael McGerr) Seminar on “1988 and After: America’s Political Future,” MIT Office of Special Summer Programs, July 18-20, 1988.

### Consulting

National Advisory Committee, National Constitution Center, Exhibition planning for new exhibit on the Reconstruction Amendments, “A New Birth of Freedom: The Constitutional Battle for Equality.”

Brief of Historians and Social Scientists, Amicus Curiae Brief for Petitioners, *Crawford et al v. Marion County Election Board et al* 553 U.S. 351 (2008) at: [http://www.brennancenter.org/content/resource/crawford\\_v\\_marion\\_county\\_election\\_board](http://www.brennancenter.org/content/resource/crawford_v_marion_county_election_board)

Participation in Scholars’ Brief, Amicus Curiae Brief for Appellee, *Timmons v. Twin Cities Area New Party* 520 U.S. 351 (1997)

Public Broadcasting Service - Democracy Project Online. Consulting writer, March 20-August 1, 2000 - design of and copy for American suffrage timeline and copy for feature on presidential party platforms.

### Relevant Work Experience

Paralegal, Landlord/Tenant Unit, Community Legal Services, Inc., Philadelphia, September 1975 - July 1976.

Field Worker for Leelenau County, United Migrants for Opportunity, Inc., Traverse City, Michigan, Summer 1972.

### Community Service

Math Olympiad Volunteer Teacher, 5th Grade, Swarthmore-Rutledge School, 2000-2001.

Publicly Elected Member, Board of Trustees, Swarthmore Borough Library, 1999-2000.