

CAROL NACKENOFF

Richter Professor of Political Science Emerita
Senior Research Scholar
Swarthmore College

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Education

University of Chicago, Department of Political Science, September 1971-August 1979. Ph.D. received March 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

M.A. received December 1974. Thesis: Legitimacy and Consensus in America

Smith College, Northampton, Massachusetts, September 1967 – June 1971
A.B. awarded June 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 2008-2021. Emeritus Professor since June 2021.

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.

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

Books:

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. (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, June 2021); Landmark Law
Cases and American Society (abridged) edition, 2022.

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:

“Federal Aid to Women and Children: The Children’s Bureau, the Social Security Act, and Political Development Victories and Failures,” with Kathleen S. Sullivan, Studies in American Political Development 28 (October 2024): 1-15.

“What Makes an American Constitutional Revolution, and Are We Having One?” Maryland Law Review, 81, no. 1 (2021): 320-335.

“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 #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, special issue, festschrift honoring the scholarly contributions of Ronald Kahn, 45-63.

“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 (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 (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 #2 (October 2014): 129-160.

“Why Liberal Arts Colleges Can Often Do Political Science Better than Big Research Institutions: A Reflection from an Americanist.” Polity Symposium on Liberal Arts Colleges and Political Science, edited by Austin Sarat and Amrita Basu. Polity 46 (2014): 98-106.

“The Dueling First Amendments: Government as Funder, as Speaker, and the Establishment Clause,” 69 Maryland Law Review #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 #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’?” Symposium Issue, 65 Maryland Law Review #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 #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 (February 1983): 110-142.

“O’Connor’s Sectoral Model of the United States Economy: Examining Some Political Consequences,” British Journal of Political Science 12 (April 1982): 227-239.

Chapters in Edited Volumes:

“*Loper Bright v. Raimondo* and *Relentless v. Department of Commerce*: The End of Chevron Deference,” with Avishai Greenberg. In Supreme Court Major Decisions 2024, ed. Howard Schweber (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, forthcoming 2025).

“The Place of Constitutional Courts in Regimes Embracing Popular Sovereignty: Recent Problems in American Self-Governance.” In When the People Rule: Popular Sovereignty in Theory and Practice, ed. Ewa Atanassow, Thomas

Bartscherer, and David A. Bateman (New York: Cambridge University Press, November 2023). <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781009263757>.

“U.S. v. Texas on State Challenges to Immigration Enforcement Priorities,” with Adithi Attada. In Supreme Court Major Decisions 2023, ed. Morgan Marietta and Howard Schweber (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2024).

“Biden v. Texas on Immigration Policy at the U.S.-Mexico Border,” with Sydney White. In Supreme Court Major Decisions 2022, ed. Morgan Marietta (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2023): 127-136.

“Jane Addams’s Democratic Vision”. In The Oxford Handbook of Jane Addams, ed. Patricia M. Shields, Maurice Hamington, and Joseph Soeters (Oxford University Press, 2023). DOI: 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780197544518.013.26

“The Legacy of Ruth Bader Ginsburg,” with Julie Novkov. In Supreme Court Major Decisions 2021, ed. Morgan Marietta (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2022): 153-164.

“Jane Addams”. In Handbuch Liberalismus, ed. Michael G. Festl. (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler [Springer-Verlag], 2021): 107-115.

“McGirt v. Oklahoma,” with Natasha Markov-Riss. In Supreme Court Major Decisions 2020, ed. Morgan Marietta (Cham, Switzerland: 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 #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 (Cham, Switzerland: 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 (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), 99-109.

“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: Reassessing the Legacy of American Liberalism, 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), 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 and Invited Blog Posts

“Is This Battle Royale?” Balkinization Symposium on Rogers M. Smith and Desmond King, *America’s New Racial Battle Lines: Protect Versus Repair* (December 14, 2024). <https://balkin.blogspot.com/2024/12/is-this-battle-royale.html>

“Move Over, Grant McConnell,” Balkinization Symposium on *The Political Development of American Debt Relief* by Emily Zackin and Chlöe Thurston (August 19, 2024). <https://balkin.blogspot.com/2024/08/move-over-grant-mcconnell.html>

“Stiff Joints Don’t Bend Anymore: Religion in the Court, 2022,” presented as part of Levinsonfest 2022. In *Balkinization*, July 31, 2022. <https://balkin.blogspot.com/2022/07/stiff-joints-dont-bend-anymore.html>

Symposium on Nackeroff and Novkov, *American by Birth: Wong Kim Ark and the Battle for Citizenship* on *Balkinization* with guest bloggers and authors’ response, November 10-24, 2021. <https://balkin.blogspot.com/2021/11/how-america-became-american.html>

“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.

Selected Reviews & Review Essays:

“How Parties and Ambitious Politicians Undermined American Democracy, and the Reforms that Might Save It.” Review Essay, *Political Science Quarterly*, forthcoming, 2024. DOI:10.1093/psquar/qqae019.

Review of Sara Chatfield, *In Her Own Name: The Politics of Women’s Rights Before Suffrage* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2023), in *American Political Thought* 13, no. 1 (Winter 2024): 124-129.

Review of Alex Zakaras, *The Roots of American Individualism: Political Myth in the Age of Jackson* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2022), *Perspectives on Politics* 21 (June 2023): 722-724.

Review of Mae Ngai, *The Chinese Question: The Gold Rushes and Global Politics* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2021), in Journal of American History 109 (3):665-666 (December 2022).

Review of Renée Cramer, *Birth of a Movement: Midwives, Law, and the Politics of Reproductive Care* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2021), in Law and Politics Book Review 32, no. 4 (April 2022): 43-47.

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 (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 #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 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 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.

Published or Broadcast Interviews and Talks:

NPR Throughline Podcast, By Accident of Birth, interview with Ramtin Arablouei, (podcast aired June 9, 2022). <https://www.npr.org/2022/06/06/1103291268/by-accident-of-birth>. Rebroadcast August 24, 2023, <https://www.npr.org/2023/08/21/1195066446/by-accident-of-birth-2022>

Interview, New Books in Political Science, hosted by Susan Liebell, on *American by Birth: Wong Kim Ark and the Battle for Citizenship* (podcast aired December 13, 2021). <https://newbooksnetwork.com/american-by-birth>

Interview for KYW In Depth (Podcast) with Matthew Leon on Why Impeach a Former President, January 22, 2021. <https://www.audacy.com/kywnewsradio/>

[podcasts/kyw-newsradio-in-depth-229/why-impeach-a-former-president-355216387](https://www.kyw-newsradio-in-depth-229/why-impeach-a-former-president-355216387)

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.

"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:

Invited presenter, Lifetime Achievement Award Panel for Mark Graber, Law and Courts Section, American Political Science Association meetings, September 1, 2023.

Invited presenter, panel on Wrestling with Religious Diversity, in honor of Sanford Levinson's 40th Anniversary at the University of Texas, June 15, 2022.

"Born in the U.S.A.: The Constitution and Birthright Citizenship," Constitution Day talk, Union College, Schenectady, New York, October 6, 2021 (with Julie Novkov).

"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.

Fulbright Seminar panel on Native Americans and American Politics, CUNY, July 1, 2003, joined by 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, "Long-standing American Principle of Birthright Citizenship Under Attack from Trump Allies," *The Conversation*, December 5, 2024, an invited update of "Who Is Born A U.S. Citizen" (below). Shortened version appeared in the *Chicago Sun-Times*, December 27, 2024.

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.

Grants, Honors and Awards:

Teaching and Mentoring Award, Law and Courts Section, American Political Science Association, 2021.

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 Conference Papers and Presentations:

"Constitutional Revolution and the Erosion of Democratic Norms and Institutions," to be presented at the 2023 American Political Science Association Meetings, Los Angeles, CA, August 31-September 3.

"Maternalists and the Social Security Act: Victories, Defeats, and Lessons in American Political Development, 1899-1939," with Kathleen S. Sullivan. Presented at the 2023 Policy History Conference, Columbus, OH, June 7-9, 2023. Invited participant, Society for the Advancement of American Philosophy panel on The Ongoing Relevance of Jane Addams's Thought, March 9-11, Denver, CO.

Organizer and participant, roundtable on Undesirable Citizens and Unwanted Immigrants in American Politics, discussing books on American immigration published in 2021-2022. American Political Science Association Meetings, Montréal, Québec, Canada, September 15-18, 2022.

"Congress and the Curious Case of Unwanted Citizens," with Julie Novkov (revised). Presented at the 2022 Policy History Conference, Tempe, AZ, June 2-3, 2022.

"Unwanted Citizens and the Curious Case of the U.S. Congress," with Julie Novkov. Presented at the 2022 University of Maryland Francis King Carey School of Law conference on citizenship. March 18-19, 2022.

"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 Hraber’ 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.

“Women Lawyers and Governance in the Progressive Era,” co-authored with Kathleen Sullivan. Presented at the 2009 Meetings of the American Political Science Association, Toronto, September 3-6, 2009.

“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.

“Locke, Alger, and Atomistic Individualism Fifty Years Later: Louis Hartz’s *The Liberal Tradition in America*. American Political Science Association Meeting, Chicago, Illinois, September 2-5, 2004.

“Native American Citizenship 1880s-1920s: How Courts, Congress and Friends-of-the-Indian Shaped Terms of Political Incorporation,” presented at the Social Science History Association Meeting, Baltimore, Maryland, November 13-16, 2004.

“Setting the Terms of Inclusion: Progressive Era Debates on Citizenship Meet the Court,” Western Political Science Association Meeting, Denver, Colorado, March 27-30, 2003.

“Jane Addams’ Legacy for American Citizenship and for the Contemporary Feminist Ethic of Care Debate,” presented at the Exploring Jane Addams Conference, 29th Annual Richard R. Baker Colloquium in Philosophy, University of Dayton, Ohio, November 8-9, 2002.

“Women Activists’ Role in Mediating the Terms of Native American Citizenship, 1880s-1920s,” American Political Science Association Meeting, Boston, Massachusetts, August 28-September 1, 2002.

“Cross-Class Collaboration in the Progressive Era Women’s Movement and its Potential to Expand and Transform the Meaning of Citizenship,” presented at the Feminism and Legal Theory Workshop on Gender and Citizenship, Cornell University, New York, April 19-20, 2002.

“Whose Citizenship? Which State? Work and its Challenges for Women’s Visions of Citizenship, 1900-1925,” presented at the Special Session on Women and Politics, American Political Science Association Meeting, San Francisco, California, August 29-September 2, 2001.

“American Women, Immigration, and American Political Development in the Progressive Era: Did the Woman Suffrage Movement Contribute to Immigration Restriction Policies?” American Political Science Association Meeting, Atlanta, Georgia, September 2-5, 1999.

“From Objects to Subjects?: White and African-American Women and the Transformation of the American State.” American Political Science Association Meeting, Washington, D.C., August 28-31, 1997.

“Gendered Citizenship: Alternative Narratives of Political Incorporation in

the United States, 1875-1925.” Politics and History Section, American Political Science Association, Meeting San Francisco, CA, August 28-September 1, 1996.

“Frank Norris and the Limits of Liberalism,” Panel on Literary Visions and the Liberal Tradition, American Political Science Association Meeting, Chicago, IL, August 31-September 3, 1995.

“Horatio Alger and the Politics of Identity in America,” Politics of Identity in American Thought Panel, American Political Science Association Meeting, Washington, D.C., September 2-5, 1993.

“Decoding Discourses of Class in the Gilded Age,” Panel on History, Historiography, and Political Science, American Political Science Association Meeting, Washington, D.C., September 2-5, 1993.

“Constructing America in the Gilded Age: Power, Manliness, Virtue and Independence in the Era of Horatio Alger,” Midwest Political Science Association Meeting, Chicago, IL, April 15, 1993.

“After Consensus: Is There Any Common Threat in American Political Thought?,” presented at the panel on The Legacy of J. David Greenstone, American Political Science Association Meeting, Washington, D.C., 1991.

“Culture Wars and the Battle for the Republic in the Fiction of Horatio Alger, Jr.,” American Political Science Association Meeting, San Francisco, California, August 30-September 2, 1990.

“Guidebooks to Survival, Not Success: Horatio Alger, Jr. Views a Changing Economic Order,” Midwest Political Science Association Meeting, Chicago, Illinois, April 1988.

“Some Effects of Changes in the U.S. Job Structure on Political Attitudes, Attachments, and Agendas,” International Society of Political Psychology Meeting, Toronto, Canada, June 25, 1984.

“The Political Agendas of American Workers in the Reagan Era.” American Political Science Association Meeting, Chicago, Illinois, September 1983.

“Job Experience and Political Satisfaction: Economic Sectors and Subjective Consequences.” Northeast Political Science Association Meeting, New Haven, Connecticut, November 1980.

“Political and Economic Consequences of a Bifurcated Workforce.” American Political Science Association Meeting, Washington, D.C., August 30-September 2, 1979.

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, Studies in American Political Development, and New Political Science.

External reviewer for tenure, promotion, and endowed chairs for a number of universities and colleges.

Invited Participant, Roundtable on Sarah Chatfield’s In Her Own Name: The Politics of Women’s Rights Before Suffrage, American Political Science Association, Los Angeles, September 2023.

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).

Chair, Teaching and Mentoring Award Committee, Law and Courts Section, American Political Science Association, 2022.

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

External reader and oral examiner, senior honors thesis in Politics, Bates College, Elise Lambert, “Emotion in the Neutral Court: Attorney Appeals to Emotion in Jury Trial Argumentation,” spring 2022.

Invited Participant, Roundtable on Simon Gilhooley’s *Antebellum Origins of the Modern Constitution* and Robinson Woodward-Burns’ *Hidden Laws*, Northeast Political Science Association Meetings, November 11-13, 2021 (virtual).

Invited participant, Supreme Court Roundup (Roundtable), New England Political Science Association meetings, April 23-24, 2021 (virtual).

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).

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

Editorial Board, Polity, 2004-2021.

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).

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.

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.

Prepared study questions for Swarthmore Alumni Book Group in Washington, D.C. area on Henry Addams, *Democracy*, for use fall, 2005.

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).

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.

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 Profession, Women's Caucus of the American Political Science Association, 1995-1997.

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, Northeast Political Science Association Meeting, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, November 13-16, 1997.

Chair and discussant, 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, Panel on “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. Midwest Political Science Association, New England Political Science Association.

