

# Carol M. Swain

Professor of Political Science and Professor of Law

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## Education

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1999-2000	<b>Yale University Law School</b> M.S.L. Law	New Haven, CT.
1985-1989	<b>University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill</b> Ph.D., Political Science	Chapel Hill, NC.
1983-1984	<b>Virginia Polytechnical Institute and State University</b> M.A., Political Science	Blacksburg, VA.
1980-1983	<b>Roanoke College</b>	Salem, VA.
1980-1984	B.A., Criminal Justice (Magna Cum Laude)  Member, Phi Beta Kappa; Pi Sigma Alpha, National Political Science Society, Pi Gamma Mu (International Social Science Society), Alpha Chi (National Honor Society); Who's Who Among Students in American Colleges and Universities; National Dean's List; Criminal Justice Award	
1976-1978	<b>Virginia Western Community College</b> A.A.S., Business Merchandising	Roanoke, VA.

## Employment

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1999--	<b>Professor of Political Science and Professor of Law</b> Vanderbilt University	
1994-2000	<b>Associate Professor of Politics and Public Affairs</b> , Woodrow Wilson School, Princeton University	
1990-1994	<b>Assistant Professor of Politics and Public Affairs</b> , Woodrow Wilson School, Princeton University	
1989-1990	<b>Visiting Assistant Professor</b> Duke University	

## Publications

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### Books

*Who's Stealing our Kids: Revealing the Hidden Agenda to Secularize our Children* (Forthcoming, June 2016, Frontline). Co-Authored with Steve Feazel.

*Be the People: A Call to Reclaim America's Faith and Promise* (Thomas Nelson Press, 2011)

*Debating Immigration* (Cambridge University Press, 2007). (edited volume). *Contract is pending on a new edition.*

*Contemporary Voices of White Nationalism in America* (Cambridge University Press, 2003). Co-authored with Russ Nieli

*The New White Nationalism in America: Its Challenge to Integration* (Cambridge University Press, 2002) Nominated by Cambridge University Press for the Pulitzer Prize Competition.

*Race versus Class: The New Affirmative Action Press* (Maryland: The Rowman & Littlefield Publishing, 1996). (edited volume)

*Black Faces, Black Interests: The Representation of African Americans in Congress* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993, 1995). Reprinted 2006 (University of America Press).

- Selected out of 611 titles by *Library Choice Journal* as one of the seven outstanding academic books of 1994.
- Winner of the 1994 Woodrow Wilson prize given to "the best book published in the United States during the prior year on government, politics or international affairs."
- Co-winner of the V.O. Key Award for the best book published on Southern politics
- Winner of the 1995 D. B. Hardeman Prize for the best scholarly work on the U.S. Congress during a biennial period.
- Cited by Justice Kennedy in *Johnson V. DeGrandy*, 512 U.S. 997, 1027 (1994)
- Cited Twice by Justice O' Connor in *Georgia v. Ashcroft*, 539 U.S. (2003)

### Chapters

"Federalism and the Politics of Immigration Reform" with Virginia M. Yetter. in Jeffery A. Jenkins and Sidney M. Milkis, ' "The Politics of Major Policy Reform in America (Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp.179-202.

"Mixed-Status Families and the Conundrums Imposed by Birthright Citizenship," in Mona Parsa and Deborah Robinson (ed.), *Legal Briefs on Immigration Reform from 25 of the Top Legal Minds in the Country,*" ( Robinson Omnimedia Publishing 2011), pp. 407-415.

"Response to Joseph Carens's The Case for Amnesty" in Joseph Carens's *Immigrants and the Right to Stay*, Boston, MA: MIT Press, Fall 2010., pp. 65-72.

"Understanding White Nationalism in America," *Race, Ethnicity, and Migration Series*, edited by Maykel Verkuyten and Fariyal Ross-Sheriff, Ashgate Publishing Limited, United Kingdom, December 2008.

"New Dilemmas in Redistricting and Racial Politics," *The Unfinished Agenda of the Selma-to-Montgomery Voting Rights March*, editors of the Journal of Blacks in Higher Education and Dara J. Byrne. Hoboken, N.J.: J. Wiley & Sons, 2005., pp. 55-64.

"Understanding Racial Polarization on Affirmative Action Issues: The View From Focus Groups" with Kyra Greene and Christine Min Wotipka, *Color Lines: Affirmative Action, Immigration, and Civil Rights Options for America*, edited by John D. Skrentny. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, edited by J. Skrentny. University of Chicago Press, 2001, (with K. Greene and C. Wotipka).

"Affirmative Action, Legislative History, Judicial Interpretations, Public Consensus," in Neil Smelser, William J. Wilson, and Faith Mitchell, *America Becoming: Racial Trends and Their Consequences*, Washington, DC: National Research Council, edited by N. Smelser, W. Wilson & F. Mitchell. Nat'l. Res. Council, 2001.

"Representation and the Electoral Interests of Women and African Americans: A Convergence at Last?," in Jytte Klausen and Charles Maier, *Has Liberalism Failed Women?: Parity, Quotas, and Political Representation*, edited by J. Klausen & C. Maier, University of Chicago Press, 2000.

"Racial and Political Minorities in the House of Representatives: What We Can Expect in the Next Century?" in Joseph Zimmerman and Wilma Rule, *The U.S. House of Representatives: Reform or Rebuild?* (Westport, CT: Praeger Press, 2000).

"The Rise and Decline of the Congressional Black Caucus," in *Politicians and Party Politics*, edited by John Geer. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins Press, 1998.

"Women and Blacks in Congress: 1870-1996 in *Congress Reconsidered, Sixth Edition*, edited by Larry Dodd and Bruce Oppenheimer. Washington, DC, Congressional Quarterly Press, 1997.

"Changing Patterns of African-American Representation in Congress," in *The Atomistic Congress*, edited by Allen D. Hertzke and Ronald Peters. New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1992.

"Some Consequences of the Voting Rights Act," In *Controversies in Minority Voting: The Voting Rights Act in a Twenty-Five Year Perspective*, edited by Chandler Davidson and Bernard Grofman. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 1992, 292-296 (Selected by the Gustavus Meyers Center as an Outstanding Book on the Subject of Human Rights in the United States).

"Double Standard, Double Bind: African-American Leadership After the Thomas Debacle," In *Race-ing Justice and En-Gendering Power: Anita Hill, Clarence Thomas and the Construction of Social Reality*, edited by Toni Morrison. New York: Pantheon Press, 1992.

"An Overview of Twentieth Century Black Representatives," and biographical Statements: Shirley Chisholm, Edward Brooke, and Oscar DePriest in *The Encyclopedia of the United States Congress*," edited by Donald Bacon, Roger H. Davidson, and Morton Keller. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1994.

"Strategies for Increasing Black Representation in Congress," edited by Theodore Rueter, *The Politics of Race*. New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1995. (reprint).

## Articles and Comments

"Free Speech, Politics, and Academia." *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 48, pp 100-107. doi:10.1017/S1049096515000517.

"A Judeo-Christian Approach to "Comprehensive Immigration Reform," *The Review of Faith and International Affairs*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (Spring 2011) pp. 11-15

"Reauthorization of the Voting Rights Act: How Politics and Symbolism Failed America," 5 *Georgetown. Journal of Law & Public Policy* 29 (2007)

"An Inside Look at Education and Poverty," *Academic Questions* 19 (Spring 2006)

"Race as a Plus Factor in Undergraduate Admissions: The Public Seeks an Alternative," *Harvard Journal of African American Policy*, (Winter 2001)

"Life after *Bakke* Where Whites and Blacks Agree: Public Support for Fairness in Educational Opportunities," (coauthored, Swain, Rodgers, Silverman, *Harvard Black Letter Law Journal*, Vol. 16 (Spring 2000)

"The Sociology of Affirmative Action," in *International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences*, edited by Neil Smelser and Paul Baltes, (Elsevier Science, United Kingdom, 2001)

"African Americans in Congress," in Kwame A. Appiah and Henry L. Gates, *Africana: The Encyclopedia of African American Experience*, (New York: Perseus Books, 1999)

"An Optimist's View of Minority Representation" in *Redistricting and Minority Representation* edited by David Bositis. University Press of America, 1998 (commentary)

"Not Wrongful By Any Means: The Court's Decisions in the Redistricting Cases," *Houston Law Review*, 34:2 (Summer 1997) (commentary)

The Supreme Court's Rulings on Congressional Districts Could Benefit Minority Voters", *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, p. B3-4, September 27, 1996

"The Future of Black Representation," *The American Prospect*, Fall 1995, 78-83. in *Race, Ethnicity, and Public Policy*, edited by Stephen Steinberg. Oxford: Blackwell

"Where do we go from Here?" *The New Democrat*, May/June 1995, pp. 20-21

"Black Body Politic," *Transition*, 1994, 63:112-117, International Review Journal published by Oxford University Press.

"The Voting Rights Act: Some Unintended Consequences," *Brookings Review*, Winter 1991, 51; Reprinted in *Roll Call*, January 30, 1992.

## **Selected Professional Service and Community Activities**

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### **Vanderbilt University**

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| 2014 | Member Michaela Mattes Tenure Committee               |
|      | Member Zeynep Somer-Topcu's 4th-Year Review Committee |
|      | Undergraduate Committee, Political Science            |
|      | Faculty Council (Spring 2014)                         |
| 2013 | Organized a conference on "Debating Racial Reality."  |
|      | Undergraduate Committee, Political Science            |

- 2012 Undergraduate Committee, Political Science  
Advisor, Vanderbilt Students for Life
- 2010 Advisor, Christian Legal Society  
Advisor, Law School Republicans  
Advisor, Christians United for Israel  
Campus Presentation, Young Republicans.  
Teach-in for Martin Luther King, Jr., Law School
- 2008-2009 Interim Director of the Public Policy Program  
Undergraduate Committee  
Advisor, Christian Legal Society  
Advisor, Law School Republicans  
University Committee for Program Directors
- 2008 Chair, Speakers Committee, Political Science  
Organized and hosted Conference on “Debating Immigration”  
Undergraduate Committee, Political Science  
Director of Internship Program for U.S. Civil Rights Commission

### **National and Local**

- 2016 Appointed to Senator Ted Cruz’s Religious Advisory Council
- 2015 Appointed to the Citizen’s Committee for the Governor’s Prayer Breakfast
- 2013 Appointed to APSA Taskforce on Public Engagement
- 2013-2016 Appointed to the Operation Andrews Board
- 2010- Advisory Council and National Board of Christian Women in the Media

2008-	Member of Planning Committee of the National Faculty Leadership Conference
2008-2014	Member, National Endowment for the Humanities (six-year term)
2007-	CNN Contributor for Lou Dobbs
2008	Director of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission's Tennessee Internship Program
2008-	Member, Board of Directors, Teen Challenge International
2007	Organized a conference at Vanderbilt on Debating Immigration.
2007-2009	Member of Tennessee Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
2007	Member of American Political Science Association's Ralph Bunche Prize Committee
2006	Panelist National Endowment for the Humanities
2006	Senate Judiciary Testimony on Renewal of the Voting Rights Act
2006-07	Humanity-in-Action Advisory Board
1993-	Roanoke College Board of Trustees
2001-2003	Editorial Board, Legislative Studies Quarterly
1998-2001	Executive Board, Southern Political Science Association
1997	Editorial Board, American Journal of Political Science
1996-97	Member, V.O. Key Book Awards Committee
1994-96	Member, the Committee on the Status of Women, American Political Science Association
1994	Reviewer for the National Science Foundation's Minority Graduate Fellowship Program
1993-94	Chair of the Brooks/Cole Best Graduate Student Paper, Southern Political Science Association

- 1992 Member of the V. O. Key Book Awards Committee, Southern Political Science Association
- 1993 Reviewer for the National Research Council's Minority
- 1994 Graduate Fellowship Program

## **Selected Awards, Grants, Fellowships, and Honors**

- 2012 William Bentley Ball Award for Life and Religious Liberty Defense (Christian Legal Society.)
- 2012 Named a permanent Fellow in the Carl F H Henry Society at Union University.
- 2012 Excellence in Communications Award, Christian Women in the Media
- 2007 Distinguished Alumna Award, Virginia Tech
- 2006 Received a Booker T. Washington Legacy Award, Heartland Institute, Chicago, IL
- 2005 James Madison Society (an International Community of Scholars)
- 1994 *Black Faces, Black Interests* winner of the D.B. Hardeman prize given to the best scholarly work published on the U.S. Congress during a biennial period.
- 1994 *Black Faces, Black Interests* winner of the Woodrow Wilson prize given to "the best book published in the United States during the prior year on government, politics or international affairs"
- 1994 *Black Faces, Black Interests*, co-winner of the V.O. Key Award given to "the best book published on southern politics"
- 1994 *Black Faces, Black Interests* cited by Justice Kennedy in *Johnson V. Degrandy* 512 U.S. 997 (1994).
- 1993 Cornelious P. Turner Award for Outstanding Achievement by a GED Graduate
- 1986 Junior Stone Award. Awarded by the ASPA section on Intergovernmental Administration and Management, Anaheim, CA (Best Student Paper)

### **Grants**

- 2006 Awarded National Science Foundation SGER Grant (\$30,000)

- 1993-98 National Science Foundation Young Investigator Award (Matching grants: from the Mellon Foundation (\$94,000), the Sloan Foundation (\$30,000), and the Smith-Richardson Foundation (\$63,750)
- 1988 National Science Foundation Dissertation Grant (directed by William R. Keech)
- 1989 American Association of University Women, Research Grant

**Fellowships, Etc.**

- 2005 Copenhaver Fellow, Roanoke College
- 2004 James Madison Fellowship, Princeton University
- 1997-98 Fellow at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, Palo Alto, CA
- 1993-96 Jacob Viner University Preceptorship, Princeton University
- 1993-94 Visiting scholar at the Russell Sage Foundation, New York, NY
- 1992 Selected for a fellowship at The Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, Palo Alto, CA
- 1988 Ford Foundation Minority Dissertation Fellowship (Selected out of national competition, among all fields, for one of fourteen awards designated for members of six minority groups)
- 1983 American Political Science Association Minority Fellowship (Selected out of national competition for one of three cash awards)

**Feature Stories**

- 2012 6-minute documentary film about Swain life story.  
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OUI3ibKO38k>
- 2008 "A Woman Apart," P.J. Tobia, *Nashville Scene*, June 5, 2008
- 2003 Jack White, "Whites and the Next Racial Class in America" *Time Magazine*
- 2002 Chosen by the Bedford City/County Museum for inclusion of life story in its African-American exhibition display

## Selected Conferences and Invited Talks

September 2014	Panelist, APSA Taskforce on Public Engagement
January 2013	Panelist, Southern Political Science Association Meetings
February 2013	Leadership Nashville's Diversity Panel
September 2013	APSA Taskforce on Public Engagement
March 2013	University of Virginia, Miller Center's Colloquium Series
August 2012	Stetson University, Panel on Black Republicans
May 2012	Commencement Speaker at Union University, Jackson, Tennessee
February 2012	Paper Presentation, Pepperdine University Law School
October 2009	Speaker, Blue Ridge Women's Center, Roanoke, VA
February 2009	Speaker, Black History Month, Kent State University, Kent, OH
January 2009	Keynote Speaker, Center for Immigration Studies, Washington, DC
December 2008	Presenter and Commentator on Law Track, Intervarsity Conference, Chicago, IL
September 2008	Convocation Speaker, Race and the Presidential Elections, Belmont University, Nashville, Tennessee
June 2008	Speaker, National Faculty Leadership Conference, Arlington, VA
May 2008	Speaker, Race, Ethnicity, and Migration, Trans-Atlantic Graduate Exchange Program, Utrecht University, the Netherlands
January 2008	Speaker, Christian Legal Thought Conference, New York, NY
June 2007	Keynote Speaker, Immigration Reform, The Cleveland Club, Cleveland, OH
	Participant, Roundtable on Immigration Reform, Center for Migration and Development, Princeton University, Princeton, NJ

April 2007	Committee Chair, Issues in the News Panel, Midwest Political Science Meetings, Chicago, IL
March 2007	Keynote Speaker, "Myths and Truths about Black America, North Park University, Chicago, IL
March 2007	Panelist, Distinguished Alumna, Political Science Department's 40 <sup>th</sup> Anniversary Virginia Tech, Blacksburg, VA
January 2007	Panelist, "The Ethics of Teaching: Values at Work," Center for Teaching and Center for Ethics, Vanderbilt University
August 2006	Panelist, American Political Science Association, Annual Meeting, Philadelphia, PA
June 2006	Panelist, <i>Wetback</i> Film and Discussion Panel, Watkins Film School, Nashville, TN
	Discussant, Two Tasks Conference, Washington, DC
	Testimony, Senate Judiciary Committee, Washington, DC
	Discussant, Booker T. Washington Conference, Heartland Coalition, Chicago, IL
May 2006	Presentation, Jubilee School, Philadelphia, PA
	Discussant, Russell Sage Foundation Workshop, New York, NY
April 2006	Presentation, Indian Creek Correction Center, Norfolk, VA
March 2006	Plenary Lectures, Center for Applied Christian Ethics Spring Conference on Community & Freedom, Wheaton College, IL
	Symposium Presentations, Present-Day Race, Religious and International Relations at Roanoke College, Copenhaver Scholar in Residence
February 2006	Lecturer, Montgomery Bell Academy, Nashville, TN
	Program Moderator, "The Underground Railroad of Self-Determination: Beyond Victimization," James Madison Program Visiting Fellow at Princeton University, Princeton, NJ

January 2006 Discussant, Nashville against Violence Symposium, Belmont University, Nashville, TN

November 2005 Discussant, conference panel on "The Voting Rights Act, 1965-2005: Historical and Legal Perspectives," Southern Historical Association Annual Convention

October 2005 Keynote speaker, "Personal Testimony," Virginia Community Colleges Association

Panelist, "A Raft of Hope: Beyond Affirmative Action and Racial Profiling," *Journal of Law & Religion* Symposium, Hamlin University

May 2005 Discussant, conference panel on "Johnson v. Gomez: Racial Segregation in Prisons," The Supreme Court: Case and Controversy, Law and Public Affairs Program, Princeton University

April 2005 Presentation, The Global Legacy of the Civil Rights Movement, Amherst College

Presentation, "Academia and Faith," Ivy League Faith and Action Congress, Princeton, NJ

March 2005 Presentation, "The Global Legacy of the Civil Rights Movement," Princeton University

Presentation, "Research and Methods Discussion of *The New White Nationalism*," (with Russ Nieli)

Keynote address, "Racial Harmony or Racial Unrest? America's Choice", James Madison Program, Princeton University, Princeton, NJ

February 2005 U.S. State Department sponsored tour. Public lectures and small group meetings 2005 commemorating Black History month. Tour included speeches and small group meetings in Myanmar (Burma), Malaysia, Republic of the Philippines, and Vietnam

January 2005 Video Conference, "The Global Legacy of the Civil Rights Movement", to reflect upon the U.S. Civil Rights Movement and the life and work of Martin Luther King Jr. Conference participants from three cities in Korea: Seoul, Daegu and Gwangju; and Guangzhou, China