

CARISSA L. TUDOR

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ACADEMIC POSITIONS

Assistant Professor, University of Amsterdam, September 2023 -
Department of Political Science.

Postdoctoral Research Associate, Brown University, July 2021 - June 2023
Watson Institute for International and Public Affairs.

EDUCATION

Ph.D. in Politics, Princeton University, April 2022.

Subfields: Comparative Politics, International Relations, Economic History.

Committee: Deborah Yashar, Carles Boix, Jeremy Adelman (History), Dawn Teele (JHU).

Fieldwork: Paris, 2018-19 academic year and summer 2017; Madrid and Lisbon summer 2016;
New Delhi and Hyderabad summer 2015.

Dissertation: Whose Modernity? Revolution and the Rights of Woman

*Awarded 2023 Walter Dean Burnham Award for the Best Dissertation in History and Politics,
American Political Science Association*

Visiting Ph.D. Student Researcher, École d'Économie de Paris, 2018-2019.
Centre d'histoire économique et sociale François Simiand.

M.A. in Politics, Princeton University, GPA: 3.94, 2016.

M.S. in Applied Mathematics and Statistics, Georgetown University, GPA: 3.97, 2012.

B.A. in Government Honors, Claremont McKenna College, Cum Laude, GPA: 3.75, 2009.

TEACHING AND RESEARCH INTERESTS

Historical political economy; political economy of gender; politics and history; state formation and political regimes; democratization; European political development; inequality and institutions; social movements; historical and mixed methods.

PUBLICATIONS

Tudor, C. and D. Yashar, "Gender and the Editorial Process: *World Politics, 2007-2017*," *PS: Political Science & Politics*, Vol. 51 Num. 4 (2018): 870-880. DOI:10.1017/S1049096518000641.

Tudor, C. L. and H. Appel, "Is Eastern Europe to Blame for Falling Corporate Taxes in Europe? The Politics of Tax Competition Following EU Enlargement," *East European Politics & Societies & Cultures*, Vol. 30 Num. 4 (2016): 855-884. DOI:10.1177/0888325416663834.

Appel, H. and C. Tudor Block, "The Sovereign Debt Crisis, Bailout Politics, and Fiscal Coordination in the European Union," in *The European Union Beyond the Crisis: Evolving Governance, Contested Policies, and Disenchanted Publics*, Ed. Boyka M. Stefanova. Lexington Books, 2015. 107-122.

Tudor, C. L. and C. Vega, "A Review of Textual Analysis in Economics and Finance," in *Communication and Language Analysis in the Corporate World*, Ed. Roderick P. Hart. IGI Global, 2014. 122-139.

UNDER REVIEW

“The Economic Logic of Women’s Political Rights in Pre-Democratic Representative Institutions: The Case of Ecclesiastical Women in Early Modern France.” *Under Review.*

Political scientists often assume that women had no political rights before the 20th century. Archival records show that this is not the case and reveal that an unlikely source enabled women to participate in politics: the Church. Using novel data based on the consultation of records for over 350 assembly meetings between 1493 and 1789, I demonstrate that ecclesiastical women had and exercised political rights across France. Using qualitative analysis, I argue that ecclesiastical women, like their male counterparts, had these rights because religious vocation involved economic activities—including, but not limited to, property ownership. In the eyes of the state and local officials, economic entitlement, not sex, determined access to representative institutions. Ecclesiastical women’s political rights logically followed their other public engagements—as was also the case for some non-clerical women. The findings suggest that in the long trajectory of western political development, it is the universal political exclusion of women, on the basis of sex, that is illogical and puzzling.

“Modernization and Gender Equality: It’s Complicated” with Dawn Teele, in *Handbook of Political Economy* eds. Daron Acemoglu and James Robinson. *Invited contribution, Under Review*

Did “modernization,” by which we mean Western style economic and political development, lead to an improvement in the lives of women and greater gender equality? Foundational works on gender in political science and economics have often answered yes. In this chapter we outline this intellectual tradition and then argue that the relationship between development and women’s equality is more complicated than it appears. Focusing on the evolution of women’s inheritance rights and access to property in marriage, we show that laws were highly variable in the medieval period; that in the early modern period countries moved toward primogeniture (especially in land-based economies); and that equal inheritance became common prior to industrialization. We further show that marital property was not linked deterministically to development. Turning to women’s political rights, we show that some women had rights prior to modernization, even losing them in the process of political development. Moreover, political incentives, more than economic pressures, explain universal suffrage. Just as political economists have moved beyond modernization theory in the study of democratization, we push gender scholars toward a more developmental, by which we mean more historical, understanding of the evolution of gender rights.

WORK IN PROGRESS

Revolutionary Exclusion: How Liberal Institutions Undermined Women’s Rights. Book project.

Did modern liberal institutions make society more equal? This project investigates this question through a study of women’s political and economic rights across half a millennium in France and Western Europe. I present a cautionary tale of the fragility of rights and sobering origin story of a distinctively modern form of gender inequality and its enduring legacy. I combine qualitative and quantitative analyses to reverse a popular narrative asserting the progressive emancipation of women. In popular rhetoric and the social sciences alike, there is a common assumption that women were universally subordinate and without rights until the late 19th century at which point, they were slowly but progressively liberated. In contrast, I show that the very birth of economic and political liberalism marked a reversal in women’s public rights. The French Revolution, the embodiment of democratization and of modern economic rights and freedoms, facilitated the exclusion of women from formal politics, a critical alteration in family property laws, and a shift in the relationship between these political and economic institutions.

Using archival and primary sources I demonstrate the surprisingly widespread participation of women in early modern assembly meetings across France and highlight its

connection to women's economic activities. I show how local and national economic relations, including patriarchal lineage-based property relations, facilitated the rights of some women. I then trace the post-revolutionary reforms that excluded women from politics and elevated husbands over lineage in family property relations, creating a new familial-political order based on nuclear families with authoritarian husbands. Finally, I quantitatively and qualitatively show how the new familial-political order stymied women's 20th century suffrage efforts and political participation not only in France but also in Germany and across Europe.

“Women’s Suffrage and the Threat of Redistribution in the Family.” *Working Paper, Revisions in Progress.*

The distribution of power and resources are paramount in our theoretical understandings of democracy, dictatorship, and men's struggle for suffrage. This paper argues that this is likewise true for women, but the locus of distributional conflict is within the family rather than between families of different classes. From the foundation of democracy, women's suffrage was seen as a threat to the marital authority of men. And indeed, by the 20th century, suffragist often sought political rights in service of or alongside an agenda set on redistributing power and resources in the family. Focusing on the case of France and using a multi-method approach, I provide evidence that the issue of redistribution in the family was central to how proponents and opponents thought about women's suffrage and that variation in actual family distribution—based on marital property arrangements—systematically shaped geographic patterns of women's suffrage activity. The findings suggest that a distribution of power and resources in the family that strongly favors husbands, and the fear of alternative arrangements, helped to establish and prolong women's disenfranchisement.

“The Legacy of Imperial Institutions and Women’s Political Participation.” *Working Paper, Revisions in Progress.*

This paper probes the historical legacy of imperial civil institutions on women's political participation. The paper provides evidence that the imperial introduction of the French Civil Code –often celebrated as the progenitor of modern civil liberalism in Europe – counterintuitively constrained women's mobilization for political rights in Germany and women's political participation across Europe. I argue that the reason for this is the ways in which the French code strongly privileged husbands in marriage. Using novel primary source data collected and geocoded on women's suffrage organizations in Germany in the early 20th century, I exploit a quasi-natural experiment to suggest a potential causal relationship between civil institutions and this spatial measure of suffrage mobilization. The use of the French code is associated with lower suffrage activity in the early 20th century, especially among women who were or had been married. Across Europe, the imperial legacy of widespread adoption of civil codes similar to the French code is likewise associated with lower political participation among women.

“Divided Interests: How Women’s Economic Activities Overcome Religious Doctrine.”
Ongoing research

“The Redistributive Logic of Equal Inheritance,” with Tine Paulsen, University of Southern California and University of Zurich. *Ongoing research*

Drivers and Consequences of Labor Reform in Early 20th Century France, with Victor Gay, Toulouse School of Economics. *Ongoing research*

OTHER WRITING

“Gender-Submission Gap and Women’s Underrepresentation in Political Science Journals” Cambridge Core Blog, with Deborah Yashar.

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

University of Amsterdam

Gender and Capitalism (BA), Fall 2023, Fall 2024

The Political Economy of Gender and Sexuality (MA), Spring 2024.

Mixed-Methods Research Design (Research MA), Spring 2023.

Brown University

Gender and Capitalism (designed and taught new course), Fall 2021, Spring 2023.

Princeton University (Assistantship in Instruction)

Senior Thesis Poster Session, Coordinator, Spring 2020.

Junior Research Seminar: Quantitative Methods, School of Public and International Affairs, Fall 2016 and Spring 2017.

Completed Princeton Pedagogy Course, Fall 2020.

PROFESSIONAL POSITIONS

Research Analyst, International Monetary Fund

Research Department, under Luc Laeven, January-July 2014.

Senior Research Assistant, Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System

Macroeconomic Analysis, Research & Statistics, April 2013-January 2014.

Global Capital Markets, International Finance, June 2011-April 2013.

FELLOWSHIPS AND GRANTS

National Science Foundation, Law and Social Sciences Doctoral Dissertation Improvement Research Grant, 2018-2020, \$21,565.

Georges Lurcy Charitable and Educational Trust, Dissertation Field Research Fellowship, Paris, France, 2018-2019, \$25,000.

Mamdouha S. Bobst Center for Peace and Justice, the Niehaus Center for Globalization and Governance, and the Center for the Study of Democratic Politics at Princeton University, Multi-Center Dissertation Research Grant, 2018-2019, \$15,000.

American Political Science Association's Centennial Center for Political Science, Artinian Fund Grant, funding to organize a workshop: "Women at the Forefront of Historical Comparative Politics", Spring 2017, \$2,800 (with Mona Morgan-Collins) - *Declined*.

Princeton Institute for International and Regional Studies, Princeton University, Fieldwork Grant, Paris, France, Summer 2017, \$1,300.

Council for European Studies, Small Event Grant, funding to organize a workshop on gender and historical political economy in Glasgow, Scotland, Summer 2017, \$1,500 (with Mona Morgan-Collins).

Princeton Institute for International and Regional Studies, Princeton University, Fieldwork Grant, Madrid, Spain and Lisbon, Portugal, Summer 2016, \$1,700.

Princeton Institute for International and Regional Studies, Princeton University, Fieldwork Grant, Delhi and Hyderabad, India, Summer 2015, \$1,800.

Niehaus Center for Globalization and Governance, Princeton University, Enrollment Grant, Fall 2014, \$500.

Keck Center for International and Strategic Studies, Claremont McKenna College, Donald A. Henriksen Fellowship in Economic Diplomacy, Research Grant, October 2007-April 2008, \$1,000.

Keck Center for International and Strategic Studies, Field Research Fellow, Prague, Czech Republic, May 2007, full coverage of travel expenses.

ADDITIONAL SKILLS AND TRAINING

Languages: English: native; French: research proficiency; Dutch: beginner.

Institute for Qualitative and Multi-Method Research (IQMR), Syracuse University, 2016. Advanced proficiency in R, Matlab, Stata, and L^AT_EX. Limited proficiency in QGIS and Python.

CONFERENCES AND INVITED TALKS

Invited Talks

University of Barcelona, Barcelona, April 2024.
University of Amsterdam, Amsterdam, June 2022.
University of Toronto, Remote, January 2021.

Conference Organizer

Frontiers in Political Economy Workshop, Amsterdam NL, April 2024 (with Abbey Steele, Ruth Carlitz, and Franca van Hooren).

Women in Society from a Historical Perspective, Glasgow, UK, July 2017 (with Mona Morgan-Collins).

Conference Presenter

American Political Science Association Annual Conference, Philadelphia PA, September 2024.

American Political Science Association Annual Conference, Montreal, September 2022.

Council for European Studies Annual Conference, Remote, June 2021.

American Political Science Association Annual Conference, Virtual, September 2020.

Council for European Studies Annual Conference, Reykjavik, Iceland, June 2020 - *Cancelled*.

Historical Political Economy Workshop, New York, NY, September 2019.

American Political Science Association Annual Conference, Washington, DC, August 2019.

European Conference on Politics & Gender, Amsterdam, NL, July 2019.

Council for European Studies Annual Conference, Madrid, Spain, June 2019.

Empirical Approaches to Gender (EGEN) Annual Workshop, Nashville, TN, May 2018.

American Political Science Association Annual Conference, San Francisco, CA, September 2017.

Council for European Studies Annual Conference, Glasgow, UK, July 2017.

Graduate Conference on Empirical Approaches to Gender, New Haven, CT, May 2017.

American Political Science Association Annual Conference, Philadelphia, PA, September 2016.

Midwest Political Science Association Annual Conference, Chicago, IL, April 2013.

Diction Conference for Automated Textual Analysis, University of Texas, Austin, February 2013.

Math in Industry Workshop, Harvey Mudd College, Claremont, CA, July 2009.

EU Center of California Undergraduate Conference, Scripps College, Claremont, CA, April 2008.

PROFESSIONAL SERVICE

Reviewer: PS: Political Science & Politics; Journal of Common Market Studies; Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State and Society.

2025 Award Committee for Mancur Olson Best Dissertation Award, Political Economy Section APSA.

INSTITUTIONAL SERVICE

University of Amsterdam: Member of the Political Science Department Restructuring Committee; Member of Political Economy MA track Revision Committee.

PERSONAL

Citizenship: USA.

Maternity leave: Fall 2019, Spring 2022.