

CARISSA L. TUDOR

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ACADEMIC POSITIONS

Assistant Professor (with tenure), 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. L. "The Political Limits of the Patriarchy: Women's Rights in Early Representative Institutions", *Perspectives on Politics*. Published online 2025:1-22. doi:10.1017/S1537592725103253.

Tudor, C.L. and D. Teele, "Modernization and Gender Equality? It's Complicated" in ed. Daron Acemoglu and James Robinson, *Handbook of Political Economy*, North Holland Press. Forthcoming.

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.

WORK IN PROGRESS

Revolutionary Exclusion: State-Building, Democracy, and Women's Lost Rights. Book project.

Did modern political development in the West—by which I mean the overlapping processes of state formation, liberal institutional reform, and democratization—make society more equal? This book investigates this classical question through a study of women's political and economic rights across half a millennium in France and Western Europe. The findings disrupt a popular narrative of the progressive emancipation in which women's empowerment is seen as monotonically improving with political development. They show instead that early stages of democratization and concomitant state-building led to declines in women's rights long before these rights re-emerged in subsequent centuries. Such a revision in our understanding of the trajectory of women's rights and what it means for political development more broadly is acutely important at a moment when the durability of liberal democratic institutions and equality under them face existential threat. The insights of the book shed light both on the severity of these threats and why they have emerged.

Centering the study around a canonical case of Western political modernization: The French Revolution, I draw upon centuries of archival and primary source material analyzed using both qualitative and quantitative methods to carefully document and explain this alternative trajectory. For centuries some women had the right to participate in formal politics during the Ancient Regime—a right which was supported by their ability to own and control property, and to engage in economic activities. Counterintuitively, the French Revolution, the embodiment of democratization and institutional progress, restricted women's access to the public sphere, including eliminating their political rights. For all the genuine liberation brought by the Revolution, it also led to an historic regression in women's rights because it created for the state and its new regime the capacity to exclude on the grounds of one's ascriptive identity independent of their economic activities. I provide evidence that this theory travels beyond France and helps to explain why throughout the West women were largely absent from politics by the 19th century. This absence was not natural, nor a historical universalism. It was, in many cases, a modern phenomenon.

“The Imperial Modernization of Civil Law and Women's Political Participation in Europe.” *Working Paper, Revisions in Progress.*

This paper probes the impact of civil law modernization rooted in imperial intervention on women's political participation. The paper provides evidence that the diffusion 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. Empirically, I provide evidence for the relationship between French civil law and low women's political participation in two different contexts, using three different units of analysis. 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 at the regional level. Forced use of the French code is associated with lower suffrage activity in the early 20th century. These results are confirmed with a more fined-grained analysis at the municipal-level, which relaxes the assumption of exogeneity, but introduces a range of contemporaneous controls and probes the mechanism of marital authority. Across Europe, the legacy of widespread adoption of civil codes similar to the French code is likewise associated with lower political participation among women.

“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 Redistributive Logic of Equal Inheritance,” with Tine Paulsen, 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*

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

Specialization in Politics, Gender and Sexuality (MA), Fall 2025.

Gender and Capitalism (BA), Fall 2023, Fall 2024, Fall 2025.

Gender, Politics, Economics (MA), Spring 2025.

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

Mixed-Methods Research Design (Research MA), Spring 2024, 2025.

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 \LaTeX . 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, Vancouver CA, September 2025. 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: *Comparativ* Political Studies; *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. 2026 Award Committee for Walter Dean Burnham Award for the Best Dissertation in History and Politics 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.