

## JENNIFER KLEIN

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### EMPLOYMENT

**Yale University** Bradford Durfee Professor of History, Fall 2021-  
Professor, Department of History, July 2008-2021  
Associate Professor, Department of History, 2007-2008  
Assistant Professor, Department of History, 2003 – 2007

**Smith College,** Assistant Professor, Department of History, 1999-2002

### EDUCATION

Ph.D. in History, University of Virginia (May 1999)  
Dissertation: “Managing Security: The Business of American Social Policy, 1910s-1960”  
Director: Nelson Lichtenstein [M.A. in History, University of Virginia, Jan. 1993]  
B.A., Barnard College, Columbia Univ. (1989), magna cum laude, Phi Beta Kappa, Centennial Scholar

### PUBLICATIONS

#### **Books**

Jennifer Klein and Eileen Boris, *Caring for America: Home Health Workers In the Shadow of the Welfare State* (Oxford University Press, 2012)

**Awarded:** \*Sarah Whaley Prize, National Women’s Studies Association

Jennifer Klein, editor, “The Class Politics of Privatization: Global Perspectives on the Privatization of Public Workers, Land, and Services,” a special volume of *International Labor and Working-Class History* (Fall 2007)

*For All These Rights: Business, Labor, and the Shaping of America’s Public-Private Welfare State* (Princeton University Press, 2003)

**Awarded:** \* Ellis W. Hawley Prize, Organization of American Historians  
\* 2004 Hagley Prize in Business History, Business History Conference

#### **New Project in Progress:**

“Wastelands: The Economic Geography of Waste, Coercion, and Marginalization in Southeastern Louisiana, 1790-1990s”

#### **Articles/Essays**

“Inoculations: The Social Politics of Time, Labor, and Public Good in COVID-America,” *International Labor & Working-Class History*, Special Issue: Labor Amid the COVID-19 Pandemic (Spring 2021)

Shahzad Habibi and J. Klein, “Austerity v. Reinvestment: A Roadmap for a Broad-based Connecticut Economic Recovery,” *In the Public Interest Report*, March 2021, [www.inthepublicinterest.org](http://www.inthepublicinterest.org)

“Between Home and State: Care Workers and Labor Strategy for the New Open-Shop Era of Trumplandia,” in *Labor in the Era of Trump*, peer-reviewed collection, ed. Jamine Kerrisey, Eve

- Weinbaum, Clare Hammonds, Tom Juravich, & Dan Clawson (Cornell University Press, 2020).
- “The Business Offensive and the Limits of Employer-Provided Welfare in the United States,” in *The Small Welfare State: Rethinking the Welfare State in the U.S., Japan, and South Korea*, ed. Jae-jin Yang (UK: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2020)
- “The Economics of Labor,” in *A Cultural History of Work*, Daniel Walkowitz, ed. (Bloomsbury Academic Press, 2018).
- “Talking About Inequality Without Talking About Power: Organized Labor and the 2016 U.S. Presidential Election,” *Labor Studies Journal*, (2017)
- “New Haven Rising: The Left and Local Activism,” *Dissent* (Winter 2015)
- “Social Policy and Welfare in the U.S., 1948-1972,” *Oxford Handbook of Social Policy in the United States*, Daniel Beland, Christopher Howard, and Kimberly Morgan, eds. (2014)
- \_\_\_\_\_, Daniel Beland, and Klaus Petersen, “The Language of Social Policy in the United States,” in *Analyzing Social Policy Language and Concepts: Comparative and Transnational Perspectives*, eds. Daniel Beland and Klaus Petersen (2014)
- \_\_\_\_\_ and Eileen Boris, “The Fate of Care Worker Unionism and the Promise of Domestic Worker Organizing,” *Feminist Studies*, vol. 40: 2 (2014).
- “Way Down in the Hole: Commentary on Class and HBO’s *The Wire*,” *LABOR: Studies in Working-Class History of the Americas* (Spring 2013)
- “Class Power, Democracy, and the Market: Reflections on the Work of David Montgomery,” *LABOR: Studies in Working-Class History of the Americas* (Spring 2013)
- “We Have to Take it to the Top!”: Workers, State Policy and the Making of Home Care,” *Buffalo Law Review*, April 2013.
- \_\_\_\_\_ and Eileen Boris, “When the Present Disrupts the Past: Narrating Home Care,” in *Doing Recent History: On Privacy, Copyright, Video Games, Institutional Review Boards, Activist Scholarship, and History That Talks Back*, eds. Claire Bond Potter & Renee C. Romano (Univ. of Georgia Press, 2012)
- “The Politics of Economic Security in Post-War America,” in *Liberty and Justice For All? Rethinking Politics in Cold War America*, ed. Kathleen Donohue (University of Massachusetts Press, 2012)
- \_\_\_\_\_ and Eileen Boris, “Challenging Care: The Future of Home Care Workers,” *Social Policy* (Winter 2012/13), vol. 42:4.
- \_\_\_\_\_ and Eileen Boris, “Frontline Caregivers: Still Struggling,” *Dissent* (Winter 2012)
- \_\_\_\_\_ and Eileen Boris, “Organizing Home Care” in *Feminist Frontiers*, eds. Verta Taylor, Nancy Whittier, and Leila Rupp (McGraw Hill 2011).
- \_\_\_\_\_ and Eileen Boris, “Making Home Care,” *Intimate Labors: Cultures, Technologies, and the Politics of Care*, eds. Eileen Boris and Rachel Parrenas (Stanford University Press, 2010)
- \_\_\_\_\_ and Eileen Boris, “Organizing the Carework Economy: When the Private Becomes Public,” in *Rethinking U.S. Labor History: Essays in the Working-Class Experience, 1756-2009*, Donna Haverty-Stacke and Daniel Walkowitz, eds. (Continuum, 2010)
- “Economy and Politics in Post-World War II America,” in *The Princeton Encyclopedia of American Political History*, Michael Kazin, Rebecca Edwards, and Adam Rothman, eds. (Princeton University Press, 2009)
- “A New Deal Restoration: Individuals, Communities, and the Long Struggle for the Collective Good,” *International Labor and Working-Class History*, vol. 74 (Fall 2008).
- \_\_\_\_\_ and Eileen Boris, “Labor on the Home Front: Unionizing Home-Based Care Workers,” *New Labor Forum*, June 2008
- \_\_\_\_\_ and Eileen Boris, “Laws of Care: The Supreme Court and Aides to Elderly People” *Dissent* (Fall 2007)
- \_\_\_\_\_ and Eileen Boris, “We Were the Invisible Workforce: Unionizing Home Care,” in *The Sex of Class: Women and America’s New Labor Movement*, ed. Dorothy Sue Cobble, (ILR/Cornell University Press, 2007)
- “Welfare and Security in the Aftermath of World War II: How Europe Influenced America’s Divided Welfare State,” in Maurizio Vaudagna, ed., *The Place of Europe in American History: Twentieth Century Perspectives*, American Studies book series “Nova Americana” (Torino, Italy: Otto Publisher, 2007)

- \_\_\_\_\_ and Eileen Boris, "Organizing Home Care: Low-wage Workers in the Welfare State," *Politics and Society* 34 (March 2006)
- "Welfare Capitalism," *Poverty in the United States: An Encyclopedia of History, Politics, and Policy*, Gwendolyn Mink and Alice O'Connor, eds. (ABC-CLIO, Nov. 2004)
- "Open Moments and Surprise Endings: Historical Agency and the Workings of Narrative in *The Social Transf. of American Medicine*," *Journal of Health Politics, Policy, & Law*, 29: 4 (Oct. 2004)
- "The Politics of Economic Security: Employee Benefits and the Privatization of New Deal Liberalism," *Journal of Policy History*, vol. 16: 1 (2004)
- "Managing Security: The Business of American Social Policy," *Enterprise and Society* (December 2001).
- "The Business of Health Security: Health Benefits, Commercial Insurers, and the Reconstruction of Welfare Capitalism, 1940-1960," *International Labor and Working Class History* (Fall 2000)

### **Book Reviews**

- "Apocalypse Then and Now: Review Essay of Judith Stein's Pivotal Decade: How the U.S. Traded Manufacturing for Finance in the 1970s and Jefferson Cowie's *Stayin' Alive: The Last Days of the Working-Class, Democracy: A Journal of Ideas*, no. 19 (Winter 2011)
- The Cost of Living in America: A Political History of Economic Statistics, 1880-2000*, by Thomas Stapleford, in *Labor* (Spring 2011)
- Public Workers: Government Employee Unions, the Law, and the State, 1900-1962*, by Joseph E. Slater, in *American Historical Review* (Dec. 2006)
- Sweated Work, Weak Bodies: Anti-Sweatshop Campaigns and the Languages of Labor*, by Daniel E. Bender and *Sweatshop USA: The American Sweatshop in Historical and Global Perspective*, by Daniel E. Bender and Richard Greenwald, in *LABOR: Studies in Working-Class History of the Americas* (Spring 2006)
- Accidental Republic: Crippled Workingmen, Destitute Widows, and the Remaking of American Law*, John Fabian Witt, in *Business History Review*, 78: 3 (Autumn 2004).
- Stuck in Neutral: Business and the Politics of Human Capital Investment*, Cathy Jo Martin, in *Journal of Health Politics, Policy, and Law*, 27: 4 (August 2002)
- Running Race, Running Steel: Race, Economic Policy, and the Decline of Liberalism*, Judith Stein, and *Capital Moves: RCA's 70 Year Quest For Cheap Labor*, Jefferson Cowie, in *Social History* (October 2000)
- Modern Manors: Welfare Capitalism Since the New Deal*, Sanford Jacoby, in *Social History* (May 2000)
- The Union Inspiration in American Politics: The Autoworkers and the Making of a Liberal Industrial Order*, Stephen Amberg, in *The Political Science Quarterly*, (Fall 1995).

### **FELLOWSHIPS & HONORS**

- Visiting Research Scholar, University of Paris-Diderot, Spring 2019
- Hans Sigrist Prize (\$100,000 international prize from Hans Sigrist Foundation and University of Bern, awarded in Bern, Switzerland for work in the field of "Women and Economic Precarity: Historical Perspectives")**
- Yale Public Voices Fellow, 2013-2014
- Rockefeller Foundation, Bellagio Research and Study Center Residency, February 2006
- Morse Fellowship, Yale University 2005-2006
- Robert Wood Johnson Foundation Scholar in Health Policy, Yale University 2001-2003
- National Endowment for the Humanities Fellowship, 2001-2002
- John Heinz Dissertation Prize, National Academy of Social Insurance, Jan. 2000
- The Brookings Institution, Predoctoral Fellow in Governmental Studies, 1996-1997
- American Association of University Women, American Fellow, 1996-97
- Rovensky Fellow in Business and Economic History, 1996-97
- Bankard Fellow in Political Economy, University of Virginia, 1996
- John Geilfuss Fellow in Business and Economic History, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1996
- Henry Belin DuPont Fellowship, Hagley Museum and Library, 1995
- Centennial Scholar, Barnard College

## **BLOGS/OP-Eds/Podcast**

Yale History Podcast, Episode 3: “Shifting Labor Conditions and Fiscal Policy in the Era of COVID,” July 2, 2021, <https://history.yale.edu/news/2021-07>

“Why Yale Graduate Students Are on a Hunger Strike,” *The New York Times*, May 9, 2017

\_\_\_\_\_ and Eileen Boris, “History Shows How 2 Million Workers Lost Rights,” **TIME.com**, <http://time.com/3664912/flsa-home-care-history/>

\_\_\_\_\_ and Eileen Boris, “Reducing Labor to Love: Harris v. Quinn,” July 2, 2014, *The Nation.com*, [http://www.thenation.com/article/180478/after-harris-v-quinn-state-our-unions#boris\\_klein](http://www.thenation.com/article/180478/after-harris-v-quinn-state-our-unions#boris_klein)

\_\_\_\_\_ and Eileen Boris, “A Shameful Setback For Workers [Harris v. Quinn],” July 2, 2014, *Al Jazeera America.com*, <http://america.aljazeera.com/opinions/2014/7/supreme-court-harrisvquinnunionhomecarelaborwomen.html>

“Women’s Fight For Better Pay Is About More Than Money,” *Washington Post.com*, “She The People” Blog, March 28, 2014, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/she-the-people/wp/2014/03/28/womens-fight-for-better-pay-is-about-more-than-just-money/>

\_\_\_\_\_ and Eileen Boris, “Are Home Care Workers About to Get Screwed by the Supreme Court” *American Prospect.com*, Jan. 22, 2014, <http://prospect.org/article/are-home-health-care-workers-about-get-screwed-supreme-court>

\_\_\_\_\_ and Eileen Boris, “Revaluing the Labor of Care,” *The Washington Spectator*, Sept. 19, 2013, <http://washsp.ec/157OND3#.UjtjTZukDG8.gmail>

\_\_\_\_\_ and Eileen Boris, “Still Waiting For Obama,” *Labor Notes*, Sept. 2012

\_\_\_\_\_ and Eileen Boris, “Home Care Workers Aren’t Just Companions,” *New York Times*, July 2, 2012

\_\_\_\_\_ and Eileen Boris, “Promises Kept? Obama Acts on Home Care,” *Dissent* blog, Dec. 22, 2012, <http://www.dissentmagazine.org/atw.php?id=640>

“What Wisconsin Was All About,” [www.democracyjournal.org](http://www.democracyjournal.org), May 10, 2011

\_\_\_\_\_ and Eileen Boris, “Not Really a Worker: Home-Based Unions Challenged in Court,” *Labor Notes*, Oct. 19, 2010, [www.labornotes.org](http://www.labornotes.org)

“Don’t Cut Our (Public) Health Care,” Commentary Essay, CNN.com, Sept. 15, 2009, <http://www.cnn.com/2009/POLITICS/09/15/klein.health.care.government/index.html>

**LEAD CONFERENCE ORGANIZER and HOST:** “Valuing Women’s Work and Building Women’s Power: A Conference Celebrating the Centenary of the International Labor Organization and the Future of Women’s Labor Rights,” Yale University, Oct. 10-12, 2019. Organized in conjunction with U.S. Rep. Rosa DeLauro and ILO.

## **INVITED LECTURES/PAPERS**

“Wastelands: The Economic Geography of Waste, Coercion, and Marginalization in Southeastern Louisiana, 1890s-1980s,” at **In the Shadow of the Petrochemical Smokestack:** International Invitational Conference, Sciences-Po Lyon, Lyon, France, Nov. 28-29, 2019

“The Economic and Social Geography of Waste in Southeastern Louisiana, 1970s-80s,” L’Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris, France, March 29, 2019

“The Economic and Social Geography of Waste in Southeastern Louisiana, 1970s-80s,” University of Basel, Basel, Switzerland, March 21, 2019.

“Gender, Work, and Security,” University of Paris-Diderot, Paris, France, March 25, 2019

Commentator, George J. Aumoithe’s, “Disparate Impacts: Hospitals and the Diminution of Civil Rights Laws in the 1970s,” Shelby Cullom Davis Center for Historical Studies, Princeton, Sept. 2019.

“Public Labor and the U.S. Welfare State After World War II.” Comparative Project on Welfare States, UC San Diego, School of Global Policy and Study, sponsored by Institute for Welfare State Research, Yonsei University, Seoul, Korea, Aug. 23-24, 2018.

“Between Home and State: Care Workers and Labor Strategy in the New Open-Shop Era,” Panel on Labor in the Era of Trump, University of Massachusetts-Amherst, Mar. 2, 2018

“Between Home and State: Care Workers and Labor Strategy in the New Open-Shop Era,” Conf., After the Care Crisis, University of Pennsylvania, Nov. 15-16, 2018

“The Labors of Participatory Democracy: Why Labor is Necessary for a Democratic Society,” Tobin Project Conference, Harvard University, June 2, 2017

“The Shifting History and Meanings of Equal Pay,” Equal Pay Day Panel, Yale Law School, Apr 4, 2017

“Capabilities, Civic Belonging and Social Rights in the U.S.,” Socioeconomic Rights in History Workshop, Leverhulme Trust International Network, Harvard Law School, March 20-21, 2017

“Municipalization and the Solidarity Economy,” Invitational Workshop: Toward an Urban Reconstruction: Beyond Ferguson and Flint, Institution for Social and Policy Studies-Center for Study of Inequality, Yale University, Jan. 13, 2017

“The Politics of Security: Labor, Business, and the Struggle for Health Insurance and Pensions in 20<sup>th</sup> Century U.S.,” YONSEI UNIVERSITY, SOUTH KOREA, May 6, 2016

Sunday Symposium, Moderated Discussion Following the play, “Other People’s Money,” LONG WHARF THEATER, New Haven, CT, Dec. 11, 2016.

“Caring For America,” Invited Book Symposium, Robert Wood Johnson Foundation Scholars in Health Policy, Harvard University School of Public Health, March 2016

“Rights, Capabilities, and Solidarities,” An Invited Address for Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Memorial at Bethel AME Church, Jan. 16, 2016; union, community activists, advocacy groups, NAACP, and faith leaders as audience. Hartford/Bloomfield, CT.

“Women, Work, and Welfare: A History of Gender and Precarious Labor Markets,” Keynote Address, Hans Sigrist Symposium, University of Bern, Dec. 5, 2014  
[Also guest lecture in University of Bern course, “Gender and Global Labor,” taught by Professor Brigitte Studer, Dec. 2, 2014]

“Social Rights and Domestic Labor,” University of Pennsylvania Mellon Symposium on Social Rights, Labor, and Citizenship, May 9, 2014

New Deal Lectures, Paris, France, U.S. State Department/US Embassy Scholar Exchange Program, January 2014

“There’s No Place Like Home: Long-Term Care and the Growth of Low-Wage Labor in the US Welfare State,” Miller Center for Public Affairs, University of Virginia, Oct. 25, 2013

Opening Plenary: Business and the Good Society, “The Business of Security and the Good Society,” Business History Conference, Columbus, OH, March 21, 2013

“Thirty Years of Building Home Care Unionism,” 30<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Celebration and Symposium of SEIU Illinois, Indiana, Missouri, Kansas, Sept. 8, 2013, Chicago, IL.

“Strategies for Organizing Home Care Workers,” Invited to Speak at Annual Staff Retreat of SEIU 1199 New England (representing hospital, nursing home, group home, and home care workers)

“The Labor of Care,” 2012 Mitchell Lecture, SUNY Buffalo Law School, Oct. 20, 2012

“Caring For America: A Dialogue on Justice, Dignity, and Health Care,” Kalmanovitz Initiative for Labor and the Working Poor, Georgetown University, Sept. 5, 2012 (with commentary by Craig Becker and Sonya Michel)

“Labor and Progressivism in Turn of the Century New York,” Teaching American History, Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, New York, NY, July 11, 2012, and “The Politics of Health Care from the Progressive Era through World War II,” July 12, 2012.

“Organizing the Care Work Economy: Long-Term Care and Home Health Workers in the Shadow of the Welfare American Welfare State,” Johnson-Shoyama Graduate School of Public Policy, Policy Change Lecture Series, University of Saskatchewan and University of Regina, SA, Canada, April 3-4, 2012

“The Boundaries Between Public and Private: Untangling American Health Care Politics” Symposium on the Affordable Care Act, Drexel University, April 30, 2012

“Labor and Progressivism in Turn of the Century New York,” Teaching American History Grant, Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, New York, NY, Aug. 26, 2011

“An On-Going Experiment in Democracy: The Politics of Labor, Citizenship, and Economic Development, From the 19<sup>th</sup> Century to the Present,” A Lecture to the Visiting Provincial Government Delegation from Guangdong, China, Yale School of Management, Executive Leadership Program, Aug. 8, 2011

“The Labor of Care,” Annual Lecture in Women’s History for Women’s History Month, Barnard College, March 8, 2011

- “From New Deal to Obama: The Politics of Labor Rights and Labor Standards,” Invited Plenary Speaker, Work, Employment, and Security Conference, “Toward A New New Deal?”, Brighton, England, Sept. 7, 2010
- Invited Paper Presentation: “Caring For America: Home Health Workers in the Shadow of the Welfare State,” Center for Work, Labor, and Democracy, UC-Santa Barbara, CA, 02/26/2010
- “The Politics of Economic Security: The Long History Leading to Health Care Reform,” Oakland University, Michigan, Feb. 1, 2010
- “The Politics of Security: Health Care and Pensions in Historical Perspective,” New Haven Teachers Institute (Program for New Haven public school teachers across all fields), March 2009
- “Health Care Workers and Health Care Politics: The Long Struggle,” United Healthcare Workers West-SEIU, Annual Leadership Convention, San Jose, CA, Sept. 5, 2008
- Invited Plenary Speaker, “The Social Transformation of American Medicine,” Policy History Conference, St. Louis, May 31, 2008
- “The Struggle for Security,” C. Mildred Thompson Lecture, Vassar College, Oct. 24, 2006
- “The Legacies of Security: A History of Health Care and Social Security in Modern America” Cadenhead-Settle Memorial Lecture, University of Tulsa, Tulsa, OK, Oct. 25, 2005
- “The Politics of Economic Security: Europe and the American Welfare State,” University of Torino, Torino, Italy, May 12, 2005
- “The Labor Question: Reclaiming the Language of Democracy, and Citizenship” Union for Reform Judaism, Commission on Social Action, New York, Oct. 25, 2004
- “Neither Nurses, Nor Maids: Law, Social Policy and the Making of the Home Health Care Workforce,” Yale Legal History Forum, Yale Law School, Oct. 4, 2004
- “Health Care and the Politics of Economic Security,” University of Connecticut School of Law, Hartford, CT, April 27, 2004.
- “The Politics of Economic Security: Community Activism, Health Insurance, and the Privatization of New Deal Liberalism,” City University of New York (CUNY) Graduate Center, Oct. 31, 2003
- “The Politics of Economic Security: Community Activism, Health Insurance, and the Privatization of New Deal Liberalism,” University of California, Berkeley, Oct. 13, 2003 and UCLA, Institute for Labor and Employment, Oct. 14, 2003
- “Health Insurance and the Privatization of New Deal Liberalism,” American Political History Seminar, Columbia University, March 14, 2002
- “Health Security For Whom?: Women Activists, Policymakers, and Alternative Models For Health Care Policy, 1935-1948,” Berkshire Conference of Women Historians, June 9, 2001
- “Health Security For Whom?: Women Activists, Policymakers, and Alternative Models For Health Care Policy, 1935-1948,” Five College Women’s Studies Research Center, Mount Holyoke College , Nov. 6, 2000
- “Welfare Capitalism and Social Security,” Hagley Museum and Library Research Seminar, April 14, 1999

### **CONFERENCE PAPERS/PANELS**

- Moderator, “Global Care Extractivism: An International Conversation on Care Labors, Neoliberal Financial Policies, and Organizing Solutions,” Global Health Justice Project [Yale Law School], Zoom, 11/29/21
- “St. Gabriel and the Long Arc of Coercion, Confinement, and Waste in Southeastern Louisiana,” OAH Annual Conference 2021 (owing to COVID-19, held on-line), April 16, 2021
- “The Geography and Politics of Waste in Louisiana in the 1970sand 1980s,” American Historical Association Conference, Chicago, IL, Jan. 2019.
- “The Economic Geography of Waste and Marginalization in Southeastern Louisiana, 1890-1990,” American Historical Association Conference, Denver, CO, Jan. 7, 2017.
- “Labor and the 2016 U.S. Elections,” Social Science History Association Conference, Chicago, Ill., Nov. 18, 2016
- Invited Commentator, "Babies of the Jungle, or How to Care for Endangered Species: The Unpaid Labor of Women Caregivers in American Zoos, 1874 - 1965." Labor and Working-Class History Workshop, Hunter College, New York, April 21, 2015

Book Panel on *Caring For America*, capstone of “Women’s Memory and Politics of Belonging: Challenging Historical Narratives of Labour, Welfare, and Citizenship” Symposium, University of London, London, June 15, 2015.

“The Political Economy of Long-Term Care: Business, the State, and Home Health Aides in the U.S., 1930s-2014,” Panel on Business and the Welfare State, **World Economic History Conference, Kyoto, Japan**, Aug. 3-7, 2015

Panelist, “Urban Narratives of Injustice: On *The Wire*,” Initiative on Race, Gender, and Globalization, Institution for Social and Policy Studies, Yale University, New Haven, CT, Nov. 6, 2015

“Litigating Public Labor: Home Care Workers, Anti-Labor Legal Strategies and Labor Standards in the U.S.,” Social Science History Association Conference: Baltimore, MD, Nov. 14, 2015

Invited Commentator, “Crisis and Confidence: Reimagining New York City in the Late 20<sup>th</sup> Century,” dissertation by Ben Holtzman, Interdisciplinary Mellon Dissertation Workshop (“The Making of Market Societies”), Brown University, Nov. 23, 2015

“Reading Health Security Through Health Care Labor Markets,” paper presented at “Beyond the New Deal Order” Invitational Conference, University of California Santa Barbara, Santa Barbara, CA, Sept. 24-26, 2015

Book Panel on *Caring For America*, capstone of “Women’s Memory and Politics of Belonging: Challenging Historical Narratives of Labour, Welfare, and Citizenship” Symposium, University of London, London, June 15, 2015.

Panelist, Wage Theft, Long Hours, and Domestic Workers, Connecticut Wage Theft Conference, New Haven, CT, Nov. 22, 2014

Commentator, “Growing Apart: A Political History of American Inequality,” [www.inequality.org](http://www.inequality.org), panel on interactive website, SSHA Annual Conference, Toronto, CA, Nov. 8, 2014.

Commentator, book panel, *The Employee: A Political History*, by Jean-Christian Vinel, SSA Annual Conference, Toronto, CA, Nov. 8, 2014.

Book Panel on *Caring for America*, North American Labor History Conference, Wayne State University, Detroit, Dec. 18, 2014.

“Institutional Factors in the History of Domestic Labor Markets,” Justice in the Home Conference, Barnard College, Oct. 17, 2014

Commentator, “U.S. Labor’s Decline and Possibilities for Renewal: Politics, Policies, & Strategies,” *Social Science History Conference*, Nov. 2013, Chicago, IL.

Commentator, “Engaging with Liberalism,” *Business and Politics in 20<sup>th</sup> Century America*, Hagley Museum and Library Conference, Nov. 8, 2013

Commentator, “The Progressive Faith in a Managed Economy,” *The Progressives’ Century* Conference, Yale University, Nov. 2, 2013

Class Struggles on the Home Front, Commentator, *Rethinking Marxism* Conference, University of Massachusetts—Amherst, Sept. 20, 2013.

Excluded Workers: Fighting Precarity, More Than Elder Companions: Home Care and Domestic Workers, Labor and Working-Class History Conference (LAWCHA), NY, NY, June 7, 2013

Commentator, Panel: “Intimacy, Invisibility, and Class Conflict in Service Workplaces Across the 20<sup>th</sup> Century,” LAWCHA Conference, June 7, 2013

Book Panel on *Caring for America*, Law and Society Association Conference, Boston, MA, May 31, 2013

Commentator, Panel: “Voluntary Organizations and the American State,” Policy History Conference, Richmond, VA, June 7, 2012

Discussant, Panel, “Scholarship and Activism: The Labors of Eileen Boris,” Western Association for Women’s History, Annual Conference, Berkeley, CA, May 5, 2012

“Organizing Workers in the New Jungle: Labor Activists and Scholars in Dialogue,” Panel, Organization of American Historians Annual Conference, Milwaukee, April 20, 2012

“Social Welfare and Medical Models in the History of Home Care,” Eastern Sociological Association Conference, New York, February 2012

Discussant, Book Panel on Greta Krippner’s, *Capitalizing on Crisis: The Political Origins of the Rise of Finance*, Social Science History Association Conference, Boston, Nov. 2011

Discussant, Book Panel on Judith Stein's, *Pivotal Decade: How the U.S. Traded Factories For Finance in the 1970s*, Social Science History Association Annual Conference, Chicago, Nov. 2010

"What's Labor Got To Do With It? Labor Standards and Social Insurance," National Academy of Social Insurance Annual Conference: "Beyond the Bad Economy: Jobs, Retirement, Health, and Social Insurance," Washington D.C., Jan. 21, 2010.

"Performing Home Care," Labor and Working-Class History Association Conference, Roosevelt University, Chicago, May 29, 2009

"Mobilized Politics and the New Deal" PANEL: Recent Literature on the New Deal, Organization of American Historians Conference, Seattle, March 2009

"The Bonds of Care: Domestic Labor and the Law in the U.S. Welfare State," American Society for Legal History Conference, Ottawa, CA, Nov. 15, 2008, with Eileen Boris.

"From Public Employees to Independent Contractors: Privatization of Social Welfare Labor in the Era of Welfare State Devolution," PANEL: The Gendered Side of the New Free Market: Working Women at the American Century's End, Berkshire Conference of Women's History, Minneapolis, MN, June 12-15, 2008, with Eileen Boris

"Caring and Cleaning for the Welfare State," Waged Domestic Work and the Making of the Modern World, University of Warwick, May 2008, presented by Eileen Boris

"There's No Place Like Home: Long-Term Care, Privatization, and the Growth of Low-wage Labor in New York," American Historical Association Conference, Washington D.C., Jan. 5, 2008, and Organization of American Historians Conference, New York, April 2008

"The Bonds of Home: Reproducing Race and Gender in the U.S. Welfare State," Intimate Labors: An Interdisciplinary Conference on Domestic, Care, and Sex Work, University of California at Santa Barbara, Oct. 5, 2007, with Eileen Boris

"Memphis Comes to Chicago: Home Care, Public Employment, and ACORN Unionism," LAWCHA/Southern Labor History Conference, Duke University, May 17-19, 2007 and International Carework Conference, CUNY Graduate Center, Aug. 10, 2007, with Eileen Boris

"Organizing Home Care: Devolution, Privatization, and the Growth of Low-wage Labor in New York City," Organization of American Historians Conference, March 30, 2007, with Eileen Boris

"The Political Economy of Federalism: Long-Term Care, Low-Wage Labor, and the American Welfare State," American Historical Association Conference, Jan. 2007, Washington D.C.

"The Political Economy of Federalism: Social Welfare and the Service Provider State, 1930s-1990s," Policy History Conference, Charlottesville, VA, June 3, 2006

Commentator, Panel: "Morning in America? Deindustrialization, Neoliberalism, and Women Workers," Organization of American Historians Conference, Washington D.C., Apr. 22, 2006

Commentator, Council on European Studies Workshop: Kate Brown, "Know Your Place: Toward a Comparative History of Incarcerated Space in the Soviet Union and the United States," Council on European Studies, Chicago, IL, March 30, 2006

"The Legacy Costs of Company Pensions: Whose Legacy is It?" Working Conference on Public-Private Dichotomy in Social Policy, Northwestern University, Sept. 7, 2005

"Home Care Workers and Unions: SEIU and United Domestic Workers of America," with Eileen Boris, Southwest Labor Studies Association and LAWCHA Conference, Santa Barbara, May 6, 2005.

"50 Years of Collective Bargaining For Health Security," *Health Care Crisis of American Workers*, Hofstra University, March 22, 2004

Discussant, Book Panel: Michael Katz's *The Price of Citizenship*, with Michael Katz, Annual Convention of the Social Science History Association, Baltimore, Nov. 14, 2003

"The Politics of Economic Security," North American Labor History Conference, Wayne State University, Oct. 18, 2003

"Organizing Home Care: Homecare Workers, Old Age Policy, and Employment Law," Robert Wood Johnson Foundation Scholars in Health Policy Conference, Aspen, CO, May 30, 2003

"Organizing Home Care: Defining Work in the Service Provider State" Organization of American Historians Conference, Memphis, TN, April 5, 2003 and Institute for Women's Policy Research, June 23, 2003, in collaboration with Eileen Boris

"Welfare Capitalism in the Era of the Welfare State," European Social Science History Association, The Hague, Netherlands, March 1, 2002.



- “The Politics of Private Pensions: The 1958 Health and Welfare Fund Disclosure Act and the Privatization of New Deal Liberalism,” Annual Convention of the Social Science History Association, Nov. 17, 2001, Chicago, Ill.
- “Security and Citizenship: Social Rights and the Social Wage During the New Deal Order,” *Frances Perkins and Her Legacies: Labor, Women, and the Unfinished Business of the New Deal*, Conference, Mount Holyoke College, March 8-9, 2001.
- Commentator, OAH Panel: “From Rehabilitation to Rights: Gender, Race, and Expertise in the Making of Social Welfare, 1945-1970” Organization of American Historians Conference, Los Angeles, CA. Apr. 27, 2001.
- “Welfare Capitalism in the Era of the Welfare State,” Journal of Policy History Tenth Anniversary Conference, May 28, 1999, St. Louis, MO.
- “The Politics of Private Pensions,” Annual Convention of the Social Science History Association, Nov. 19, 1998, Chicago, Ill.
- Commentator, OAH Panel: “Welfare in the Sixties,” Organization of American Historians Conference, San Francisco (April 19, 1997)
- “The Triumph of Welfare Capitalism: Labor’s Pursuit of Health Security and the Rise of Commercial Health Insurance, 1945-1960” *Labor and the Welfare State*, 9th Annual Symposium of the George Meany Memorial Archives, Nov. 17-18, 1996
- “Mass Marketing Industrial Security: Metropolitan Life Insurance Company and the Growth of a Private Welfare System, 1919-1935,” 20th Annual Convention of the Social Science History Association, Nov. 17, 1995.
- “The Business of Welfare: Commercial Health Insurance in the 1940s,” *Aftermath: The Transition from War To Peace in America, 1943-1949*, Hagley Museum and Library Conference, Oct. 27, 1995.

## **TEACHING**

**Yale University:** “HIST 500: Approaching History: Problems, Methods, and Theory” (Grad Course for all first-year History PhD students); “Class and Capitalism in 20<sup>th</sup> Century America (graduate readings seminar); “Research Seminar in U.S. Political Economy” (graduate research seminar); “20<sup>th</sup> Century Social and Political History,” (graduate readings seminar); “Women, Gender, and Grassroots Politics in Post-WWII U.S.” (History and WGSS junior seminar); “Politics and Society in the U.S., World War II-Present” (First-year seminar); “Urban History in the U.S.” (History and E,R, & M seminar); “American Social and Political History, 1940-Present” (undergraduate lecture; first year seminar) “Capitalism, Class, and Power in the U.S.” (History junior seminar); “Labor, Migration, and Democracy in 20<sup>th</sup> Century U.S.” (History junior seminar)

**Smith College:** “The Development of Modern America, 1890-Present” (undergraduate lecture); “Contemporary America, 1940-Present” (undergraduate lecture); “Women, Work, and Protest in 20th Century America” (undergraduate seminar); “City Limits: Urban History 1865-Present” (undergraduate lecture); “The History of Social Policy and the Welfare State in the U.S., 1890s-1960s” (undergraduate seminar); “The Politics and Culture of the Great Depression, 1929-1939” (undergraduate seminar); “Politics and Principle: Political Movements and Political Economy in the United States, 1865-1920” (undergraduate seminar).

## **PROFESSIONAL SERVICE**

Board Member, A Better Connecticut Institute (labor, faith, and community organization coalition for progressive policy in CT)

Editorial Board Member, *International Labor and Working-Class History Association*, On-going

Outside Evaluator/Site Visit for NEH Institutional Fellowship Grants Program

Evaluator/Reviewer, Postdoctoral Fellowship Applications, Center for Engages Scholarship

Board of Editors, *Studies in American Political Development*

Organization of American Historians (OAH) Ellis Hawley Book Prize Committee

LAWCHA, Nominating/Elections Committee

Outside Full Professor Promotion/Tenure Review for Stanford University, Fall 2019

Outside Full Professor Promotion review for Vanderbilt University, Fall 2018  
Senior Editor, *International Labor and Working-Class History*, July 2010—Fall 2015  
Review manuscript for Columbia University Press  
Program Committee, Labor and Working-Class History Association Conference (LAWCHA), 2016-2017  
Outside tenure promotion review for Rochester Institute of Technology (Fall 2016); for Barnard College;  
promotion review for University of Iowa  
Elected to Board of Directors, Labor and Working-Class History Association (LAWCHA), April 2012—  
May 2015  
Outside full professor promotion review for University of Maryland, Sept. 2014  
Outside full professor promotion review for University of Buffalo, Aug. 2013  
Reviewer, Applications for National Humanities Center Fellowship, Research Triangle Park, North  
Carolina, Nov-Dec. 2013  
Invited to do three outside tenure reviews, academic year, 2012-2013  
Participated in three outside tenure reviews, 2011-2012  
Editorial Board, *International Labor and Working Class History*, 2003—present  
Contributing Editor, *Labor: Studies in Working-Class History of the Americas* (2003-2006)  
Advisory Board, Greater New Haven Labor History Association (2004-2007)  
Program Committee, Labor and Working-Class History Association (LAWCHA), 2005-06  
Outside reviewer for articles for *Journal of American History*, *Journal of Policy History*, *ILWCH*,  
*LABOR*, *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, *Studies in American Political Development*  
Host, WPKN 89.5 FM: “Health Care in Mind,” A Monthly Radio Show on Health Care Activism, Politics  
and Policy, 2002-2003  
Facilitator/Organizer, Five College Faculty History Seminar, Amherst, MA, 1999-2001  
Outside Reader and Consultant for Second Edition of *Major Problems in the History of American  
Workers*, (Boris and Lichtenstein, eds), a textbook/reader published by Houghton Mifflin.  
Executive Committee, New England Historical Association, 2001

### **UNIVERSITY SERVICE**

History Dept/Jackson School of Global Affairs, Exploratory Committee for Joint Appointment (2021)  
Director, History of Science/History of Medicine Senior Essay Program (2020-21)  
History Dept. Graduate Program Advisor Committee (2020-2021)  
Tenure Committee, Prof. Manu Goswami (Fall 2020)  
Deputy Chair, Yale Faculty of Arts and Science Senate (2019-2020)  
Elected Faculty Senator, Yale Faculty of Arts and Sciences Senate (2017-2019; 2019-2021)  
WGSS Tenure Committee (Fall 2019); WGSS Executive Committee (2018-2020)  
History Dept. Graduate Admissions Committee-US History (Dec. 2018-Feb. 2019)  
Chair, 20<sup>th</sup> Century U.S. History Search Committee, 2019-2020  
Director, History Department Senior Essay Program (oversee program with 146 students writing senior  
essays and prize committees), 2017-2018  
African American History Search Committee (2017-2018; Summer and Fall 2018)  
Chair, History Department Committee on Faculty Diversity and Gender Equity (2017-2018)  
Reappointment/Promotion Committee for HSHM (Fall 2017)  
Organized History Dept faculty panel on Russian Revolution—Reflecting on 100<sup>th</sup> Anniversary  
(Nov. 2017)  
Director, History Department Senior Essay Program (oversee program with 115 students writing senior  
essays), 2016-2017  
Russian History Search Committee (2016-2017)  
History Department Undergraduate Committee (Fall 2016)  
Russian History Search Committee (Fall 2016)  
WGSS Council (2016-2017; 2017-2018)  
History Department Graduate Committee, Fall 2015 (2016)  
Advising 5 Senior Essays in History (2016-2017), plus Supervised an Independent Study (F 2016)  
Russian History Search Committee, History Department, Fall 2015

Chair, U.S. History Graduate Admissions Committee, Dec. 2015 (Jan-Feb 2016)  
U.S. History Senior Thesis Essay Prize Committee, Spring 2014  
Promotion Committee, HSHM/Medical School, Spring 2014  
U.S. History Graduate Admissions Committee, Dept. of History, Jan. 2014  
Search Committee, Silliman College Dean, Spring 2014  
First-year student advising for Silliman College, 2014  
Senior Essay Advising, History Dept, 2013-2014  
Chair, Reappointment Committee, History Dept  
Search Committee, Modern Jewish History/Studies  
Participant, "Public Voices Op-ed Project," *Women's Faculty Forum* (2013-14)  
WGSS Keywords Symposium, Oct. 4, 2013, Yale University  
Recording Secretary, History Department Meetings (Spring 2013)  
Presented book chapters from *Caring for America* at WGSS Graduate Student Workshop, Nov. 5, 2012  
WGSS Panel Discussion, "Gender, Race, and Sexuality and the 2012 Presidential Election," Oct. 2012  
Member, Reappointment Committee, Hist. Dept, Fall 2012  
Panel member, with George Perez, president, New Haven Board of Alderman, Graduate Student  
Conference, *The Changing University: An Interdisciplinary Symposium*, Dec. 8, Yale University  
Lunch Lecture for undergraduate Party of the Left, Silliman College, March 23, 2012  
Chair, Mentoring Committee, History Department, 2011-2012  
Chair, Graduate Admissions Committee, 2011-2012  
Member, Tenure Review Committee for US History Prof, History Dept, 2011-2012  
Member, Self-Study Committee ("Kitchen Cabinet" Committee) to prepare for outside review of History  
Department, 2011-2012  
Director of Undergraduate Studies, History Department, 2008-2009; 2010-2011  
Member, Reappointment Committee, 2011  
Carnegie Endowment Fellowship Committee, 2007, 2008  
Chair, Senior Essay Prize Committee, U.S. History, 2008  
Faculty Advisory Committee to the Libraries, Yale University, 2004-05  
Women's Studies Program Committee, Yale University 2004-05  
European Intellectual History Search Committee, 2004-05  
Graduate Admissions Committee (U.S. History), Spring 2004; Spring 2005; Spring 2007; Spring 2008  
Beinecke Fellowship Committee (undergraduates applying for graduate school), Spring 2005  
Senior Essay Prize Committee, Spring 2004  
U.S. Political History Search Committee, 2003-04  
Women's Studies Program Committee, Smith College, 1998-2001

### **Graduate Advising**

Oral Exams (2021-2022): Jacob Morrow-Spitzer; Sofia Cutler  
Dissertation Advisor (2018-2020): Kelly Goodman, Salonee Bhaman, Puya Gerami, Ben Zdencanovic,  
Paul Seltzer  
Dissertation Committee: Carlos Hernandez, Mexican History (completed July 2020)  
Oral Exams: Paul Seltzer (Nov. 2020)  
Dissertation Committee/ Prospectus Colloquium—Ana Calderon (Oct. 2020)  
First Chapter Conference: Salonee Bhaman (May 2020)  
Dissertation Advisor (2017-2018): Kelly Goodman, Gabriel Winant, Ben Zdencanovic, Puya Gerami  
Grad Advisor: Paul Seltzer (1<sup>st</sup> year PhD student); Salonee Bhaman (2<sup>nd</sup> Year student)  
Grad PhD Committees (completed in May 2018): Ted Fertik, Samuel Milner, Gabriel Winant  
Oral Exams: Kate Redburn and Salonee Bhaman (Fall 2018)  
Dissertation Prospectus Colloquium: Anne Lessy (Fall 2017); Kelly Goodman (Fall 2017)  
Oral Exams: Anne Lessy (Feb. 2017); Kelly Goodman (June 2017)  
Graduate Advising (2017-2018): Salonee Bhaman, Puya Gerami, Kelly Goodman, Anne Lessy, Ben  
Zdencanovic, Paul Selzer  
Final Dissertation Evaluation and Report: Max Fraser (Oct. 2017)

Final Dissertation Evaluation and Report: Sakena Abedin (March 2016); Allyson Brantley (March 2016); Sara Silverstein (Oct/Nov. 2016)  
Dissertation Chapter Conference: Max Fraser, April 12, 2016.  
Dissertation Advisor: Max Fraser, Gabriel Winant, Ben Zdencanovic (2016)  
Dissertation Committee Member: Ted Fertik, Allyson Brantley, Sakena Abedin, Samuel Milner (2016)  
Orals Committees (2014-2015): Samuel Milner; Ben Zdencanovic  
Dissertation chapter conference, Feb. 2015: Sara Silverstein  
Dissertation Prospectus Defense (Spring 2015): Samuel Milner; Ben Zdencanovic  
Graduate student chapter conference (Oct 2014): Gabriel Winant; prospectus defense: Max Fraser  
Graduate student chapter conference (2013-14): Lisa Furchtgott and Sakena Abedin  
Oral Exams: Max Fraser  
Graduate Student Dissertation Committees (2013-14): Zane Curtis-Olsen (director); Lisa Furchtgott (co-director); Gabriel Winant (director); Max Fraser (director); Robin Scheffler (member); Allyson Brantley (member); Sara Silverstein (member); Sakena Abedin (member); Ted Fertik (member); Mary Ellen Leuver (member)  
Graduate Advisees (2013-14; 2014-15): Ben Zdencanovic, Kelly Goodman; (2014-2015): Anne Lessy Puya Gerami (starting Fall 2015)

### **MEDIA INTERVIEWS**

Guest, "America's Front-line Workers: A Historical Perspective," Sept. 25, 2020, for "The Full Story," WSHU (Connecticut NPR)  
Interviewed, "Stop and Shop Grocery Workers Strike," April 2019, "The Take Away," National NPR show  
Interviewed, "Caring: A Radio IQ Series," WVTF / RADIOIQ / Virginia Public Radio (also BBC World Service), Sept. 2018  
Guest, "Radium Dial Painters and the Legacies of Occupational Health and Safety," *NPR Marketplace*, May 31, 2017  
Guest, "May Day and Immigrants' Rights Marches," *BBC News*, May 1, 2017  
Guest, Podcast, "State of Democracy in the U.S.," Berlin Community Radio (interviewed by journalist from Der Spiegel) and Aftonbladet/Sweden, April 18, 2017.  
Guest, "International Women's Day and a Women's General Strike," The Stream, Al Jazeera International, March 7, 2017.  
Guest, "War on Poverty: 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary," *Where We Live*, hosted by John Dankosky, Feb. 13, 2015, WNPR, Connecticut  
Guest: "Struggles Over the Welfare State," on *Democracy At Work* radio show, hosted by Richard Wolff, WBAI, Dec. 15, 2013 <http://www.democracyatwork.info/radio/2013/12/struggles-over-the-welfare-state/>  
*Dissent* pod cast, "Belabored Podcast #38, Caring For America," on Harris v. Quinn, Jan. 24, 2014, [www.dissentmagazine.org/blog/belabored-podcast-38-caring-for-america-with-eileen-boris-and-jennifer-klein](http://www.dissentmagazine.org/blog/belabored-podcast-38-caring-for-america-with-eileen-boris-and-jennifer-klein)  
*The Real News*, "SCOTUS Hears Case With Potentially Huge Consequences For Public Sector Unions," January 26, 2014, [www.therealnews.com.t2/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=31&Itemid=74&jumival=113776](http://www.therealnews.com.t2/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=31&Itemid=74&jumival=113776)  
Live NPR Show, "Franklin Roosevelt's Economic Bill of Rights," on Action Speaks! Hosted by Marc Levitt, Providence, RI (broadcast in Providence and WGBH in Boston), Nov. 14, 2012  
Interview with Laura Flanders, GRIT TV, on *Caring for America*, Oct. 2012  
PODCAST Interview on *Caring for America*, for *Critical Sociology Labor Scholar Series*, Aug. 14, 2012 <http://clasweb.clas.wayne.edu/Sociology/SageCriticalSociologyLaborScholarsSeries>  
Interview, Health Care Politics, NPR show, "Tell Me More," Hosted by Michel Martin, Aug. 29, 2009  
Interview, PBS Documentary for Chicago PBS, "Retirement in America," Boyer Productions, Ltd., Interview on Aug. 27, 2007 (aired nationally on PBS Jan. 2008)

Interview: «Ce système ne satisfait plus personne» Jennifer Klein, historienne du mouvement syndical, revient sur le «traité de Detroit» Par Thomas Dévry, *Liberation*, Paris, France, lundi 30 juillet 2007,

[http://www.liberation.fr/actualite/economie\\_terre/269690.FR.php](http://www.liberation.fr/actualite/economie_terre/269690.FR.php)

Interview, PBS American Experience Documentary, “One Nation Under Law: The History of the Supreme Court,” (Episode 2: Progressive Era-New Deal), Hidden Hill Productions, Mark Zwonitzer, Producer; Interviewed in Lawrence, MA, Nov. 22, 2005 (Jan. 2007)

“Private Pensions and Social Security,” on Studio Tulsa, KWGS, Public Radio Tulsa, Oct. 25, 2005

“The Moral Logic of Social Security,” ODYSSEY, Chicago Public Radio, Nationally Syndicated Show, Jan. 20, 2005.

Interviewed about pensions, health insurance, collective bargaining contracts, care workers, and labor politics and policy by reporters from the *New Yorker*, *Fortune*, *The Nation*, *The New York Times*, *USA Today*, *Bloomberg News Service*, *Dissent*, *Real News*, *New Haven Independent*, *In These Times*, *American Prospect*, *MSNBC.com*, *NPR(APR) Marketplace*, *NPR Weekend Edition*, *WSHU CT*

**Extra Activity:**

Jazz Drummer, Jazz Standards Ensemble, Neighborhood Music School  
New Haven, CT

Co-planned and Organized Series of Congregational Discussions, Films, and Panels on “Racial Justice and Jewish Action Toward Racial Justice”—**Fall 2020/Winter 2020-21**, Congregation Beth El-Keser Israel. [BEKI Schmoozes]

DSA Campaigns for CT state races 2018-2020