Celebrating 150 Years of Women at Berkeley - Political Science

by Ritika Goel supervised by Professor Alison Post

2020 marks the 150th anniversary of the Regents' Resolution that "young ladies be admitted into the University on equal terms in all respects with young men." The resolution was passed just two years after the university's founding. It took sixty more years before Helen Ruth Rosenberg became the first woman to graduate with a PhD in Political Science in 1930, twenty-seven years after the creation of a separate Department of Political Science in 1903.

While women continued to be severely underrepresented in the department's graduate student body and faculty in the first half of the century, there has been a sharp increase in representation in the last ftfy years. The percentage of doctoral degrees awarded to women increased from a mere 7.5% in 1966-69 to 41% in 2010-19. More than one-third of the women recipients of doctoral degrees between 2010 and 2019 were non-white American women.

Meanwhile, the share of women undergraduates in the department increased from 33% in 1966-69 to 59% in 2019-20. The percentage of women on the faculty in the department has also grown from 2.8%in 1966-69 to 29%, paving the way for a next generation of young women political scientists. Interviews and archival research for this site were conducted by Ritika Goel (Ph.D. student), under the direction of Professor Alison Post. Data sources for the introduction include the 150 Years of Women at Berkeley Project, 2020, and the Report of the Subcommittee on the Status of Academic Women on the Berkeley Campus, University of California, Berkeley, 1970

What follows are short biographies of several pioneering women in the Berkeley Political Science Department including Professors Hanna Fenichel Pitkin, Ruth Berins Collier, Judy Emily Gruber and Wendy Brown; and early women Political Science doctorates; Jessica Blanche Peixotto, Sadako Ogata, Pearl Alice Marsh and Kathleen Thelen.

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Jessica Blanche Peixotto

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Jessica Blanche Peixotto received her Ph.D. at U.C. Berkeley in 1900 and was one of the first women to do so. She was supervised by Bernard Moses, from the Department of History and Political Science, which was the forerunner of one of the earliest departments of Political Science in the country. Her dissertation was a comparative study of the French Revolution and modern French Socialism.

She was later appointed as a faculty member in the Economics Department and became the first woman faculty member to be promoted to full professor in 1918. Born in New York City to a well-to-do family, she was the eldest child (and only girl) among five children. After graduating high school in 1880, Jessica was kept at home, unlike her younger brothers. In 1891, at the advanced age of twenty-seven, Jessica enrolled as a special student at U.C. Berkeley, receiving her B.A. in 1894.

After graduation, Peixotto was hired as a lecturer and taught at the economics department till her retirement in 1935. She established, with her colleagues Lucy Ward Stebbins and Emily Nobel Plehn, a field of “social economics”, that they called the feminine form of political economics. She published studies on living wages for a variety of workers, including faculty, and taught courses on social welfare. Peixotto's academic contributions were recognized at a national level when she was elected as Vice President of the American Economic Association in 1928.

Peixotto also dedicated considerable time to public service. She served on several statewide and national child welfare boards and spoke frequently on social wellbeing using data she gathered in her studies. As war approached in 1917, Peixotto developed a special curriculum in the economics department for the training of professional social workers. During World War I, Peixotto served in Washington, D.C. on the Council of National Defense, including on sub-committees on women in war production, and heading committees for children’s welfare. Today, her portrait hangs in a corner of the dining room of the Women’s Faculty Club, an institution that she helped establish when women were excluded from the existing Faculty Club.

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Hanna Pitkin

Born in Berlin and a resident of the United States since 1938, Hanna Fenichel Pitkin is a distinguished political theorist and Professor Emerita of Political Science at the University of California, Berkeley.

Hanna Fenichel Pitkin is an American political theorist and Professor Emerita of Political Science at the University of California, Berkeley. Born in Berlin and a resident of the United States since 1938, Hanna received her Doctor of Philosophy degree from U.C. Berkeley in 1961. After an appointment at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, she joined the political science faculty at Berkeley in 1966. In 1982, she was granted the Distinguished Teaching Award from UC Berkeley. She is best known for her seminal study "The Concept of Representation," published in 1967.

Pitkin's diverse interests range from the history of European political thought from ancient to modern times, through ordinary language philosophy and textual analysis, to issues of political psychology and gender in political and social theory.

In 2003, she was awarded the Johan Skytte Prize in Political Science, one of the most prestigious awards in the field, "for her groundbreaking theoretical work, predominantly on the problem of representation." Established in 1995 by the Johan Skytte Foundation at Uppsala University in Sweden, the prize is known by many as the "Nobel Prize in Political Science".

How has being at Berkeley influenced your work?

“I came to this country when I was six years old. Spending my adolescence in Los Angeles with its Hollywood influence, I thought that there was something wrong with me because I did not fit in. When I moved to Berkeley in the middle of my undergraduate studies, I discovered that there was not something wrong with me, there was something wrong with Los Angeles! Berkeley was very like Europe, more leftwing and intellectual as compared to the rest of America, and I felt much more at home.”

“With my background and interests, this happens to be the best university in the world! I am very fortunate I got to teach here.”

How has being a woman impacted your research and teaching?

“I am not sure whether to say - in every possible way, or not really!”

“I took it for granted that one could be a woman and do intellectual work, because of my upbringing - my mother did that as a matter of course, my parents took it for granted. I was the first woman faculty member in a ladder position in the Political Science Department at Berkeley, and I took considerable pride in doing well by the prevailing standards at the time. Initially, I did not address gender questions in my work. After federal legislation about affirmative action brought gender issues into the academy, I learned from my women students about their experience, and from some of my male colleagues, how they actually thought about women in academia. I went to department meetings and began to pay attention to gendered jokes and stories. And it did shake me up some. Even male professors who were less prejudiced thought that investing time and money on a woman candidate was wasteful because she would just get married and raise children. One of my woman students shared with me that it was very hard for her to talk in class because, at home, her parents were never interested in what she had to say, as they were in her brother’s ideas. Remarks like that educated me."

“Years later, I was the only woman on an important university committee. The committee chairman drafted the committee’s annual report mentioning our “serious efforts” on affirmative action. When I read the draft, I said I couldn’t sign it, because I did not recall our making any particular efforts! They were fine, well-meaning people, but both they and I had a lot to learn about how gender functioned in the university.”

What advice would you give to the next generation of women political scientists?

“What I would say would depend on the particular student, so this is hard to answer in general. I guess I would say: thinking, reading, writing and discussing ideas are such great pleasures! Enjoy yourself.”

Sadako Ogata

In 1991, Sadako Ogata became the first woman, the first Japanese person, and the first academic to be named the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).

Sadako Ogata at the World Economic Forum Annual Meeting 1993. Copyright by World Economic Forum (www.weforum.org). This photo is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 2.0 Generic license.

Sadako Ogata is among the most prominent alumni of Berkeley's Ph.D. program in Political Science. A 1963 graduate, she was a Japanese academic, diplomat, author, administrator, and professor emeritus at the Roman Catholic Sophia University. In 1991, she became the first woman, the first Japanese person, and the first academic to be named the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). Well-respected by UN staff and world leaders alike, she was described by her colleagues as a "five-foot giant" for her formidable negotiating skills and ability to confront hostile factions. Ogata is rightly remembered for having broken the gender barrier at a major UN agency. But just as important a part of her legacy is that she transformed UNHCR, expanding its protective coverage to encompass not just refugees but also internally displaced people and other war-affected civilians.

Ogata was born on Sept. 16, 1927, in Tokyo, the eldest daughter of Toyoichi Nakamura, a diplomat in the foreign ministry, and Tsuneko Yoshizawa, a granddaughter of Tsuyoshi Inukai, a prime minister who was assassinated in 1932. After earning her Bachelor's degree from the University of the Sacred Heart in Tokyo, a Rotary Foundation fellowship took her to the Georgetown University School of Foreign Service in Washington, where she pursued a master's degree. Ogata earned a doctorate in political science from the University of California, Berkeley, specializing in political theory, international relations, and East Asian affairs. Ogata initially pursued a career in academia because she thought it would be almost impossible to enlist in the foreign service and keep up with the demands of being a mother. But with her strong scholarship in international relations and her fluency in English, she was appointed to a Japanese delegation to the United Nations General Assembly in 1968. Ogata subsequently took on roles as a minister in Japan's mission to the United Nations and as chairwoman of the executive board of the United Nations Children's Fund. In 1978, she was awarded the Elise and Walter A. Haas International Award, which honors a Berkeley alumnus/a who is a native, citizen, and resident of another country and who has a distinguished record of service. In 1995, Ogata was awarded the Philadelphia Liberty Medal, an annual award given by the National Constitution Centre of the US, which recognizes "leadership in the pursuit of freedom".

On her time at Berkeley

In a 1992 interview with Institute of International Studies, Ogata spoke fondly of her time at Berkeley. “Berkeley was beautiful, sunny, a very exciting place. Whenever your intellectual curiosity grew into all sorts of directions, there were always very outstanding professors to deal with it. Intellectually, Berkeley was a very expanding experience. Berkeley was also a very liberal institution. I don't know how it is today, but this was just before the Free Speech Movement, and people were questioning a lot of values. It took me quite a few years before I finally finished the dissertation. At one point I was not sure that I should finish the degree, but I think it was my advisor Professor Ernie Haas who said "It's a union card; you'd better get it done before you become involved." I am very glad that I finished the degree because it facilitated getting jobs and so forth later on.”

On defying gender stereotypes

At UNHCR, Ogata oversaw large-scale emergency operations in northern Iraq, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, and the Great Lakes region of Africa. “Women were not expected to serve in such high-ranking positions in international agencies,” said Kuniko Inoguchi, a member of Japan’s upper house of Parliament and a friend of Ms. Ogata’s.

On her sources of inspiration

"I have often been asked from where I draw my energy," she said in an op-ed for UN Chronicle. "I often think of all the refugees whom I met in camps, in villages, in reception centers, in shantytowns. I believe that what has kept me going is the conviction that our collective efforts can turn the terror and pain of exile into the safety and unity of family and friends."
In her book "The Turbulent Decade - Confronting the Refugee Crises of the 1990s", she described her stint at the UN as a period of constant humanitarian crises. "My concern was always centered on providing security to the refugees and giving them opportunities to lead happier lives," she said.

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Ruth Berins Collier

Ruth Berins Collier is Heller Professor of the Graduate School in the Department of Political Science, University of California, Berkeley, and a leading scholar of Comparative Politics.

Ruth Berins Collier is Heller Professor of the Graduate School in the Department of Political Science, University of California, Berkeley. She received her Ph.D. from the University of Chicago in 1974, and she joined the Political Science faculty in 1990. Her research has focused on democracy and authoritarianism, popular participation, interest representation, and state-labor relations and has included comparative analyses of Latin America, Africa, and Europe. She is regarded as one of the leading scholars of comparative politics of her generation, and as a mentor of many of the most respected researchers of Latin American politics teaching in the United States. Her main publications include the following books: Regimes in Tropical Africa: Changing Forms of Supremacy, 1945-1975; Shaping the Political Arena: Critical Junctures, the Labor Movement, and Regime Dynamics; The Contradictory Alliance: State-Labor Relations and Regime Change in Mexico; Paths Toward Democracy: The Working Class and Elites in Western Europe and South America; and Reorganizing Popular Politics: Participation and the New Interest Regime in Latin America.

How has being at Berkeley influenced your work?

“Perhaps most importantly, it has supported the kind of work I value, in that it has embraced an unusual dedication to a combination of analytical rigor, applied to large normative, substantive issues, and bold comparisons, combined with close empirical case knowledge.”

How has being a woman affected your research and teaching?

“I was raised with the expectation, typical of my generation, of having a family--but also of being able to do anything. When I considered majoring in math, my father suggested (at a very early time!) that I should think about a career in computer science. I was a graduate student at early stages in thinking about issues of life balance. My primary interest was in research, so I combined motherhood with part-time research, publishing primarily

What advice would you like to give to the next generation of young women political scientists, those who might be in or considering grad school? Is there something you wish you had known when you were starting out?

“I never had the opportunity to form close relationships with other women when in graduate school. As a teacher, I’ve observed the incredible value of the very strong bonds among students. These are multifaceted bonds that have been important in a host of ways—friendship, emotional and intellectual support, writing and accountability groups, joint projects and collaborations. Students have found these crucial both in school and in their subsequent professional lives. I would urge students, and especially women, to be sure to form these groups. I have seen this as a central part of Berkeley graduate student culture in the department, one that I regard as crucial to continually reproduce.”

Judy Emily Gruber

Judith Emily Gruber (1950 – 2005) was a political scientist known for her research on bureaucracy and regional governance, as well as for her pioneering leadership on work/life policies at the University of California, Berkeley.

(Photo Credit: Peg Skorpinski)

Judith Emily Gruber (1950 – 2005) was a political scientist known for her research on bureaucracy and regional governance, as well as for her pioneering leadership on work/life policies at the University of California, Berkeley. She was also the first woman chair of the Political Science Department.

Born in New York City, Gruber graduated magna cum laude from Cornell University with a bachelor's degree in government and received a doctorate in political science, with distinction, from Yale University in 1981. A year later, her doctoral dissertation won her the American Political Science Association's Leonard D. White Award for the best dissertation in the general field of public administration.

Judy Gruber's intellectual life was devoted to answering questions central to the governance of modern democracies, and her academic specialties included public policy, urban politics, intergovernmental relations, bureaucracy, American politics, and public administration. In her 1987 book, Controlling Bureaucracies: Dilemmas in Democratic Governance, she explored the conditions under which the public can exert democratic control over government officials.
In 2003, in recognition of her extraordinary service to Berkeley, she was awarded the inaugural Faculty Distinguished Service Award and the Berkeley Citation for outstanding service to the University.

Leadership in her time at Berkeley
For nearly 25 years, Gruber played a leadership role in the internal governance of the University of California. She was at the forefront in developing new policies on work and family issues, including child-care for faculty and staff, adult dependent care, pregnancy and parenting, and gender issues.
Gruber was a leader in drafting the campus's childcare policy and served as chair of the systemwide Committee on Faculty Welfare. She also served as chair of the Department of Political Science from 2001 to 2003.

Advocating for Wellness and Work-Life Balance
Gruber was instrumental in creating the Chancellor's Advisory Committee on Dependent Care, which she co-chaired from 1989 to 1995, continuing thereafter as an active member of the committee. She was responsible for the campus publication “A Guide for Balancing Work and Family.” In addition, Gruber served on the division’s Committee on University Welfare for more than a decade.

Supporting and Mentoring Students and Faculty
“She was universally adored by her students for her dedication and commitment,” said Pradeep Chhibber, Professor of Political Science at Berkeley and Gruber’s colleague, “widely admired as an administrator by her colleagues because of her deep sense of fairness, and the policies she initiated made life better for all on campus.” The Judith E. Gruber Faculty Fellowship in Political Science has been established in memory of Judy to encourage and support junior faculty working at the University, in the Department, and in the academic fields to which she was so devoted.

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Wendy Brown

Wendy Brown is a distinguished American political theorist and Professor Emerita of Political Science at the University of California, Berkeley.

Professor Wendy Brown is Professor Emerita in the Department of Political Science at the University of California, Berkeley. Professor Brown received her PhD in Political Philosophy from Princeton University in 1983. Prior to coming to Berkeley in 1999, she taught at the University of California, Santa Cruz and at Williams College. Brown's fields of interest include the history of political theory, feminist theory, contemporary critical theories of law, nineteenth and twentieth century Continental theory, and contemporary American political culture. She is best known for intertwining the insights of Marx, Nietzsche, Weber, Freud, Frankfurt School theorists, Foucault, and contemporary Continental philosophers to critically interrogate formations of power, political identity, citizenship, and political subjectivity in contemporary liberal democracies. In recent years, her scholarship has focused on neoliberalism and the political formations to which it gives rise. Some of her most prominent books include States of Injury: Power and Freedom in Late Modernity (Princeton, 1995), Regulating Aversion: Tolerance in the Age of Identity and Empire (Princeton 2006), Walled States, Waning Sovereignty (Zone, 2010) Undoing the Demos: Neoliberalism's Stealth Revolution (Zone 2015) and In the Ruins of Neoliberalism: The Rise of Anti-Democratic Politics in the West (Columbia University Press 2019). Her work has been translated into more than twenty languages. She lectures around the world and has held a number of distinguished fellowships and visiting professorships, most recently at Columbia University, Cornell University, University of London at Birkbeck, and the London School of Economics. In 2017-18 she was a Simon Guggenheim Fellow and UC Presidents Humanities Research Fellow. In 2021-22, she will be Visiting Distinguished Professor in the School of Social Sciences at the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton. In 2021, she was awarded Berkeley's highest honor--the Berkeley Citation, awarded to "distinguished individuals or organizations, academic or nonacademic, whose contributions to UC Berkeley go beyond the call of duty and whose achievements exceed the standards of excellence in their fields."

How has being at Berkeley influenced your work?

“The graduate students I have worked with have all enriched my own thinking with their own. They’ve brought me into fields of knowledge and perspectives I would have known no other way. Berkeley undergraduates, by virtue of their backgrounds and interests, have challenged me to teach political theory in ways that depart or at least reflect critically on the categories and concerns of the colonial white male modern European thought comprising most of my undergraduate courses. I have also had the great good fortune to think and co-teach with terrific faculty colleagues in Geography, Sociology, English, History, Rhetoric, and others in the Program in Critical Theory. This transdisciplinary collaboration has been enormously important in shaping my research and writing.”

How has being a woman affected your research and teaching?

“I was interested in feminism as an undergraduate but not until my graduate studies at Princeton did I feel the full force of a pervasively sexist academic environment: mansplaining by my peers, differential treatment by some faculty, sexual harassment, and the white male preppy culture of the campus as a whole. The Director of Graduate Studies told me bluntly that women waste their PhDs on marriage and motherhood, and that I was therefore not eligible for a living stipend regardless of my record. So I took out student loans. All this surely shaped my dissertation, which was on the masculinism of concepts of the political but which even my very supportive dissertation adviser consistently referred to as being on “the woman question.” It also led me to help found a women’s studies program at Princeton and teach a first-ever “feminist political theory” course there.

After graduate school I took a job at Williams College in a Political Science Dept consisting of seventeen men and me. I was unquestionably an affirmative action hire, now politely renamed a “diversity hire.” I learned quickly that one could either internalize that abject status or relentlessly rebuff the inferiority it implied and the subjection it could perform. The latter required finding allies and creating intellectual and political spaces where I could find and feel my strengths. Concretely, this meant connecting with the young and left-leaning faculty in the Department, linking with other relatively tokenized faculty on campus, and also, again, helping to build a women’s studies program.

What advice would you like to give to the next generation of young women political scientists, those who might be in or considering grad school? Is there something you wish you had known when you were starting out?

“Four things. First, figure out what you really care about politically or intellectually and do not permit your “training” to corrupt or negate these cares. Of course, your graduate training will shape and refine how you approach your work, but don’t let trends in the discipline dictate what you work on or how. Stay with your passions and don’t be talked out of them; otherwise in five years you won’t even know why you’re in this profession. Second, avoid isolation, especially when dealing with sexism or racism but also when dealing with the generic vulnerability and insecurity that is part of being a graduate student. Find sources of support inside and outside your department. Build communities that sustain you. Third, and related, get away from toxicity. Unfortunately, the academy has a lot of it, at all levels. Sometimes it should be called out as a Title IX violation but sometimes you just need to steer away from it. Learn the difference and don’t dwell in the toxic places. Finally, don’t be afraid to work on the thing you are identified with – Latinx, female, trans, Middle Eastern, whatever—but don’t let yourself be cornered into that work, or totalized by that identity either. Walk that line and insist that others walk it with you.”

Pearl Alice Marsh

With an eminent career in Public Health and Foreign Policy, Pearl Alice Marsh was the first African-American woman to be awarded a PhD in Berkeley's Political Science Department in 1984.

With a Master's Degree in Public Health and a PhD in Political Science, Pearl Alice Marsh was the first African-American woman to achieve a PhD in Berkeley's Political Science Department 1984. She has since retired after a decades-long service in the United States Congress in Washington D.C., focused on global health and African foreign policy. She was also the Associate Director for the Berkeley-Stanford Joint Center for African Studies between 1985-93. As a Democratic Congressional staff member, she wrote legislation to preserve and make available electronically to the public the post-Civil War Freedmen's Bureau Records, and wrote an original $15 billion bill to fund the U.S. global HIV/AIDS initiative, targeting 15 African countries, responsible for saving millions of lives globally. Her life of political activism in the San Francisco Bay Area spans decades of social movements and public service. Since retiring, she continues to live as a political activist and pursue her retirement research interest in the migration of African Americans to rural Oregon. Her related publications include articles in the Oregon Historical Quarterly and a collection of memoirs, "But Not Jim Crow: Family Memories of African American Loggers of Maxville, Oregon."

How did Berkeley shape your academic and life experiences?

"Berkeley afforded me the best academic training anyone could want. I studied personally with renowned faculty who were revered in universities around the word. The academic rigor at Berkeley prepared me as a critical thinker and strategist in foreign policy, politics, and social activism."

How has being a woman affected your career and activism?

"I had the fortune to come of age as an African American woman during the social and political movements of the 1960s and 1970s. Being both black and female allowed me to bring feminist thought to my Civil Rights activism and racial awareness to my feminist activism. Being black and female in terms of career was a mixed bag and, at times, difficult to determine whether my race or gender was at issue."

What advice would you like to give to the next generation?

Marsh has advice for young people who might be discouraged by lack of progress on social and economic issues: "I would tell young people their anxiety is warranted. But I would also say, turn that sense of discouragement and despondency into positive impatience and action. Know that, wherever you find yourself, there always is a purpose to fulfill." Frederick Douglass said, "power conceded nothing without a fight, it never did and it never will." Sometimes change comes in leaps and bounds and other times it's scratched out inch by inch. To paraphrase Nelson Mandela, "Change is always impossible until it happens."

Kathleen Thelen

Kathleen Thelen received a PhD in Politics from University of California, Berkeley in 1987, with a thesis on labor relations in Germany.

(Photo credit: Astrid Dünkelmann, MPIfG)

Kathleen Thelen is Ford Professor of Political Science at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, a permanent external member of the Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies, and a faculty associate at the Center for European Studies at Harvard University. Thelen is well known for research that examines the origins and evolution of political and economic institutions in high-income democracies. Her current work focuses on the political economy of new technologies and the American political economy in comparative perspective.

After undergraduate education at the University of Kansas, Thelen received a PhD in Politics from University of California, Berkeley in 1987, with a thesis on labor relations in Germany.

Thelen is the author, among others, of Varieties of Liberalization and the New Politics of Social Solidarity (2014) and How Institutions Evolve (2004), and co-editor of The American Political Economy: Politics, Markets, and Power (with Jacob Hacker, Paul Pierson, and Alexander Hertel-Fernandez), Advances in Comparative Historical Analysis (with James Mahoney, 2015), and Beyond Continuity (with Wolfgang Streeck, 2005).
Her research has won several national and international accolades, including the Aaron Wildavsky Enduring Contribution Prize (2019); the Michael Endres Research Prize (2019), the Barrington Moore Book Prize (2015), the Woodrow Wilson Foundation Award of the APSR (2005), the Mattei Dogan Award for Comparative Research (2006), and the Max Planck Research Award (2003). She was elected to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in 2015 and to the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences in 2009, and was awarded honorary degrees at the Free University of Amsterdam (2013), the London School of Economics (2017), the European University Institute in Florence (2018), and the University of Copenhagen (2018).

Thelen has served as President of the American Political Science Association (APSA), Chair of the Council for European Studies and as President of the Society for the Advancement of Socio-Economics. She is General Editor, of the Cambridge University Press Series in Comparative Politics.

Thelen is a strong advocate for equal participation and mentorship of women in Political Science. In 2017, Thelen (along with Dawn Teele) documented a significant gap in publication rates for men and women in ten prominent political science journals. In 2021, she appointed an APSA Presidential Task Force on Women's Advancement in the Profession.

How has being at Berkeley influenced your work?

I attended Berkeley at a time when the department was admitting huge cohorts of about 35-40 students, many – like me—with no funding. I doubt I would have been admitted had the process been more selective, since my background and preparation for graduate work was modest (to say the least!) compared to many of my peers. In fact, I came pretty close to crashing out in my first year. My fellow graduate students kept me going. Despite, or maybe because of, these large cohorts, graduate students had an extraordinarily close community (both in and out of the classroom) and I learned as much from them (in our many study group dinners) as I did in classes. Only a few of the original cohort actually completed the

program, but of those, several are still friends and colleagues. What was also important to me was that there was a fluidity to the Berkeley program that encouraged broad exploration. In my case this was crucial, among other reasons because it allowed me to switch subfields pretty easily in my second year to land in a field that was a far better fit for my interests.

How has being a woman impacted your research and teaching?

I entered the profession after a first wave of women pioneers had already blazed a trail. Most of them had no children; some had one child. There seemed to be some kind of unwritten rule that more than that and you would not be considered serious about the career. By the time I had my (two) children, it seemed that the rule had shifted such that you could have kids so long as you acted like you did not have any at all. I was back in the classroom three days after my first child was born, and this was one of the experiences that inspired me to work with other women to advocate for better parental leave policies. Happily, we have come some considerable distance since then! I am lucky to have a husband who is both a fellow academic and a full partner, which among other things, allowed me (both of us) to continue to pursue field work, which is really critical to my research. So I suppose the main impact of my gender on my research and teaching was that I learned to work a lot more efficiently.

What advice would you give to the next generation of women political scientists?

Look out for yourselves and do all you can to encourage, elevate, and empower the next generation of women political scientists. As an historical institutionalist I learned that change often happens incrementally and over long periods of time, and movement in one direction is by no means guaranteed. So it is as well with the advancement of women in the profession. I think we have made great progress over the years I have been in this career, but it is an ongoing process.