REBECCA ERNST ZIETLOW 7 Woodridge Drive Burlington, VT 05408 419-350-6291 Rebecca.zietlow@utoledo.edu

EDUCATION

YALE LAW SCHOOL

J.D. 1990

<u>Yale Journal of Law and Liberation</u>. Founding member and articles editor. Steering committee, 1989-1990.

FULBRIGHT SCHOLAR

1986-1987

Salvador, Bahia, Brazil. Researched the cultural impact of political reforms.

BARNARD COLLEGE OF COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY B.A. 1985

<u>Summa Cum Laude</u> <u>Phi Beta Kappa</u> Early Election, November 1984 <u>Major</u> Political Science

<u>LEGAL</u> <u>EMPLOYMENT</u>

VERMONT LAW SCHOOL	2017-
Visiting Professor of Law	2018

THE UNIVERSITY OF TOLEDO COLLEGE OF LAWAug. 1995Toledo, Ohio- Present

Charles W. Fornoff Professor of Law and Values, 2003-present Professor of Law since 2002 University of Toledo Scholarly Achievement Award, 2018 Eastman and Smith Faculty Achievement Award, 2013 University of Toledo Outstanding Faculty Research Award, 2012 University of Toledo Law Alumni Outstanding Faculty Award, 2012

THE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA COLLEGE OF LAW	Spring
Visiting Professor of Law	2011
LEGAL ASSISTANCE FOUNDATION OF CHICAGO	Sept. 1991
Chicago, Illinois	- July 1995
Neighborhood legal services attorney. Represented indiv	
worked on impact litigation in state and federal court, an	d before

administrative agencies.

THE HONORABLE JOHN F. GRADY United States District Court Northern District of Illinois Chicago, Illinois Judicial clerk.

BOOKS AND BOOK CHAPTERS

The Other Citizenship Clause, in "The greatest and the grandest act:" The CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1866 FROM RECONSTRUCTION TO TODAY, Christian Samito, Ed. (Southern Illinois University Press) (2018)

THE FORGOTTEN EMANCIPATOR: JAMES MITCHELL ASHLEY AND THE IDEOLOGICAL ORIGINS OF RECONSTRUCTION (Cambridge University Press 2017)

The Constitutional Right to Organize, in VULNERABILITY AND THE LEGAL ORGANIZATION OF WORK, Martha Albertson Fineman & Jonathan Fineman, Eds. (Routledge Press 2017)

Rights of Belonging for Women, 1 INDIANA JOURNAL OF LAW & SOCIAL EQUALITY 64 (2013), *reprinted in* TRACY A. THOMAS, ED., WOMEN AND THE LAW (West 2014)

The Auto-Lite Strike and the Fight Against "Wage Slavery" (with James Gray Pope), 38 U. Tol. L. Rev. 839 (2007), *reprinted in American Labor Struggles* AND LAW HISTORIES, Kenneth M. Casebeer, ed. (Carolina Academic Press 2011)

The Promise of Congressional Enforcement, in, <u>THE PROMISES OF LIBERTY:</u> <u>THIRTEENTH AMENDMENT ABOLITIONISM AND CONTEMPORARY CONTEXT</u>, Alexander Tsesis, Ed. (Columbia University Press 2010)

ENFORCING EQUALITY: CONGRESS, THE CONSTITUTION, AND THE PROTECTION OF INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS (New York University Press 2006)

State Sovereignty and States' Rights, in THE OXFORD COMPANION TO THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES (2d Ed., 2005)

ARTICLES

Slavery, Liberty and the Right to Contract, ____ Nevada L. J. ____ (Forthcoming 2018)

Teaching Congressional Enforcement of the Fourteenth Amendment, 62 St. Louis U. L. Rev. 655 (2018)

James Ashley, the Great Strategist of the Thirteenth Amendment, 15 GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY JOURNAL OF LAW AND POLICY *265* (2016) A Positive Right to Free Labor, 39 SEATTLE UNIVERSITY LAW REVIEW 859 (2016)

James Ashley's Thirteenth Amendment, 112 COLUMBIA LAW REVIEW 1697 (2012)

The Ideological Origins of the Thirteenth Amendment, 49 HOUSTON LAW REVIEW 393 (2012)

Popular Originalism? The Tea Party and Constitutional Theory, 63 FLORIDA LAW REVIEW 483 (2012)

The Political Thirteenth Amendment, 71 MARYLAND LAW REVIEW 283 (2011)

Democratic Constitutionalism and the Affordable Care Act, 72 OHIO STATE LAW JOURNAL1367 (2011)

Free at Last! Anti-Subordination and the Thirteenth Amendment, **90** BOSTON UNIVERSITY LAW REVIEW **255** (2010)

The Rights of Citizenship: Two Framers, Two Amendments, 11 UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA JOURNAL OF CONSTITUTIONAL LAW 1269 (2009)

The Judicial Restraint of the Warren Court (and Why it Matters), 69 Ohio State Law Journal 255 (2008)

Congressional Enforcement of the Rights of Citizenship, 56 DRAKE LAW REVIEW 1015 (2008)

The New Parity Debate: Congress and Rights of Belonging, 73 UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI LAW REVIEW 1347 (2005) (with Denise C. Morgan)

To Secure These Rights: Congress, Courts and the 1964 Civil Rights Act, 57 RUTGERS LAW REVIEW 945 (2005)

Juriscentrism and the Original Meaning of Section Five, 13 TEMPLE POLITICAL AND CIVIL RIGHTS LAW REVIEW 485 (2004)

Congressional Enforcement of Civil Rights and Bingham's Theory of Citizenship, 36 AKRON LAW REVIEW 717 (2003)

Federalism's Paradox: The Spending Power and Waiver of Sovereign Immunity, 37 WAKE FOREST LAW REVIEW 141 (2002)

Belonging, Protection and Equality: The Neglected Citizenship Clause and the Limits of Federalism, 62 UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH LAW REVIEW 281 (2000)

Beyond the Pronoun: Toward an Anti-Subordinating Method Of Process, 10 TEXAS JOURNAL OF WOMEN AND THE LAW 1 (2000) *Exploring a Substantive Approach to Equal Justice Under Law*, 28 NEW MEXICO LAW REVIEW 411 (1998)

Writing Scholarship While You Practice Law, 3 MICHIGAN JOURNAL OF RACE AND THE LAW 589 (1998); reprinted in 5 MICHIGAN JOURNAL OF RACE AND THE LAW 767 (2000) and 7 MICHIGAN JOURNAL OF RACE AND THE LAW 511 (2002)

Giving Substance to Process: Countering the Due Process Counterrevolution, 75 DENVER UNIVERSITY LAW REVIEW 9 (1997)

Two Wrongs Don't Add Up To Rights: The Importance of Preserving Due Process In Light Of Recent Welfare Reform Measures 45 AMERICAN UNIVERSITY LAW REVIEW 1111 (1996)

BOOK REVIEWS

Review of Laura Weinrib, The Taming of Free Speech, America's Civil Liberties Compromise, The American Historical Review 123: 604 (2018)

Review of Amanda Hollis-Brusky, Ideas with Consequences: the Federalist Society and the Conservative Counterrevolution, Law & Society Review 524 (May 2016)

Review of Justin Buckley Dyer, Slavery, Abortion, and the Politics of Constitutional Meaning, Journal of American History (2014)

Review of Gerard Magliocca, American Founding Son: John Bingham and the Invention of the Fourteenth Amendment, Law and History Review 754 (August 2015)

Review of Justin Wert, Habeas Corpus in America: The Politics of Individual Rights, American Historical Review (2011)

Patterns of Inequality – Paradigms for Equality (Review of GENDER EQUALITY: DIMENSIONS OF WOMEN'S EQUAL CITIZENSHIP, Edited by Linda McClain and Joanna Grossman; Ayelet Schachar, THE BIRTHRIGHT LOTTERY: CITIZENSHIP AND GLOBAL INEQUALITY and Deborah Hellman, WHEN IS DISCRIMINATION WRONG?), 45 TULSA LAW REVIEW 863 (2010)

Belonging and Empowerment: A New "Civil Rights" Paradigm Based on Lessons of the Past (Review of THE LOST PROMISE OF CIVIL RIGHTS by Risa Goluboff), 25 CONSTITUTIONAL COMMENTARY 353 (2009)

PRESENTATIONS

Invited to present *Antislavery Constitutionalism* as the *Roger S. Aaron Class of* '64 Named Lecture, Dartmouth College (October 2018)

Invited speaker, *The Fourteenth Amendment at 150*, Antonin Scalia Law Schpool at George Mason University (September 2018)

Presented *Free Labor and the Reconstruction Era*, U.S. Capitol Historical Society Conference, May 2018

Presented *The Forgotten Emancipator*, University of New Hampshire School of Law, April 2018

Presented *The Forgotten Toledoan: James Ashley and the Ohio Antislavery Movement*, University of Toledo College of Law, March 2018

Presented *The Long Transition from Slavery to Liberty* at *The Thirteenth Amendment and Economic Justice Symposium*, UNLV School of Law, March 2018

Presented *Free Labor and the Thirteenth Amendment*, McGill University Faculty of Law, February 2018

Presented *Enforcing Equality* as the speaker at the Vermont Law School Celebration of Martin Luther King, Jr., January 2018

Presented *The Long Transition from Slavery to Liberty at* A Workshop on Legal Transitions and the Vulnerable Subject: Fostering Resilience through Law's Dynamism, Emory Law, December 2017

Presented *The Forgotten Emancipator* at Rutgers-Camden School of Law faculty colloquium, November 2017

Presented *The Forgotten Emancipator*, American Society for Legal History Annual Meeting, November 2017

Presented *Fugitive Slaves, Undocumented Workers, and Progressive Federalism,* at the Annual Colloquium on Labor and Employment Law, September 2017 and the Loyola Constitutional Law Colloquium, October 2017

Participant, Author Meets Reader: Ahmed White, *The Last Great Strike*, Law & Society Annual Meeting, June, 2017

Moderator and Organizer, Cultivating Empathy, Plenary Panel of the Section on

Women in Legal Education, American Association of Law Schools Annual Meeting, January 2017

Panelist, *Author Meets Reader: Risa Goluboff's <u>Vagrant Nation</u>, Plenary Panel of the Section on Legal History, American Association of Law Schools Annual Meeting 2017*

Panelist, American Constitution Society Workshop @AALS, Commentator on Junior Scholars Public Law Workshop, January 2017

Moderator, *The Long Shadow of Brown*, American Society for Legal History Annual Meeting, Toronto, October 2016

Presented *Reconstruction and Workers' Rights* at the Annual Meeting of Law and Society Association, June 2016, and the Colloquium on Labor and Employment Law, Seattle, September 2016

Presented *James Ashley: The Great Strategist of the Thirteenth Amendment* at the Second Annual Salmon P. Chase Lecture and Colloquium, Georgetown Law School, December 2015

Invited Participant, *Slavery v. Liberty: The History and Relevance of the Thirteenth Amendment*, American Bar Association Leon Jaworski Public Program, December 2015

Presented *A Positive Right to Free Labor* at the Loyola University Constitutional Law Colloquium, November 2015

Presented *A Positive Right to Free Labor* at the Annual Meeting of the Labor and Employment Law Colloquium, September 2015

Moderator and Organizer, Plenary Panel on the Social Safety Net, *AALS Mid-Year Workshop on Next Generation Issues on Sex, Gender and the Law*, Orlando, June 2015

Presented *A Positive Right to Free Labor* at The Thirteenth Amendment Through the Lens of Class and Labor Conference, Seattle, May 2015

Presented *Sovereignty and Liberty in Rightwing Constitutionalist Movements* at the Annual Meeting of the American Society for Legal History, November 2014, and the Annual Meeting of Law and Society Association, May 2015

Presented *Congress and Rights of Belonging* at *The People, the Congress' The Constitution*, Institute for the American Constitutional Heritage, November 2014

Presented *A Positive Right to Free* Labor at the Law and Society Annual Meeting, May 2014

Presented *A Positive Right to Free Labor* at the Work and Vulnerabilities Conference at Emory University School of Law, April 2014

Presented *James Ashley's Thirteenth Amendment* at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 2014

Presented *Congress and Rights of* Belonging on the Constitutional Law panel at the AALS Annual Meeting, January 2014

Presented *Is There a Constitutional Right to Organiz?* At the Loyola University Constitutional Law Colloquium, November 2013

Participant, Call to Action Film Series, Panel on *Slavery by Another Name*, IU McKinney School of Law, October 2013

Presented *Is There a Constitutional Right to Organize?* at the Labor and Employment Law Colloquium, September 2013

Presented *Is There a Constitutional Right to Organize?* at the Work and Vulnerabilities Conference at Emory University School of Law, April 2013

Presented James Ashley, the Thirteenth Amendment, and Anti-Slavery Constitutionalism at the Loyola University Constitutional Law Colloquium, November 2012

Presented *Is There a Constitutional Right to Organize?* at the Class Crits V Workshop, Madison, Wisconsin, November 2012

Presented *Theorizing Economic Rights for Women* at the Third Annual Center for Race, Gender and Social Justice Conference, University of Cincinnati College of Law, October 2012

Presented *Rights of Belonging: An Alternative to Identity Based Equality Rights* at "Vulnerabilities and Identities: An Uncomfortable Conversation," Emory University School of Law, September 2012

Presented *Democratic Constitutionalism and the Affordable Care Act* and *Popular Originalism? The Tea Party and Constitutional Theory* at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 2012

Presented *Theorizing Economic Rights for Women*, at *"Whither Social Equality?,"* a conference celebrating the inauguration of the INDIANA JOURNAL OF LAW AND SOCIAL EQUALITY, March 2012

Presented *Democratic Constitutionalism and the Affordable Care Act*, at *Whose Constitution? Popular Constitutionalism and the 2012 Election*, Roger Williams University School of Law, February 2012

Presented *James Ashley's Thirteenth Amendment*, at the COLUMBIA LAW REVIEW Symposium on the Thirteenth Amendment, January 2012

Presented Originalism and Popular Constitutionalism: What the Tea Party Can Teach Us About Constitutional Theory at the Loyola Constitutional Law Colloquium, October 2011

Presented *Theorizing Economic Rights for Women* at the AALS Workshop on Women Rethinking Equality, June 2011

Presented Contexualizing the Thirteenth Amendment: James Ashley and Antislavery Constitutionalism at the University of Iowa faculty workshop, April, 2011

Presented Progressive Popular Constitutionalism and the 2010 Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act at the Ohio State University College of Law Symposium on Reflections on Progressive Constitutionalism: Theory, Practice and Critique, April 2011

Presented *Congress, the Constitution and the Protection of Individual Rights,* Drake University Law School Distinguished Constitutional Law Series, April 2011

Presented *Contextualizing the Thirteenth Amendment: James Ashley and Antislavery Constitutionalism* at the Constitutional Law Colloquium, University of Maryland College of Law, February 2011

Presented *Democracy, the Constitution and the Court* at the Loyola Constitutional Law Colloquium, November 2010

Presented *Free at Last! Anti-Subordination and the Thirteenth Amendment* at the Annual Labor and Employment Colloquim, September 2010

Presented *Thoughts on Originalism and Popular Constitutionalism* at the Annual Law and Society Annual Meeting, May 2010

Presented *Congressional Enforcement of the Privileges and Immunities of Citizenship* at the Annual Meeting of the Law and Society Association, May 2009

Presented *James Ashley and the Thirteenth Amendment* at the Annual Meeting of the Law and Society Association, May 2009

Presented *The Promise of Congressional Enforcement* at *Slavery, Abolition, and Human Rights: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on the Thirteenth Amendment*, at the University of Chicago, April 2009

Moderator, *The Privileges and Immunities of Citizenship* at the American Constitution Society Second Founding Conference, University of Pennsylvania Law School, November 2008

Presented *The Roberts Court: Present and Future* at the Annual Convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, July 2008

Presented *The Promise of Congressional Enforcement of Section Two of the Thirteenth Amendment* at the Annual Meeting of the Law and Society Association, May 2008

Presented *The Disaggregation of Race and Class in United States Civil Rights Law* at the Annual Meeting of the Law and Society Association, May 2008

Presented Congressional Enforcement of the Privileges or Immunities of Citizenship, Drake Constitutional Law Center Symposium, "The Forgotten Constitutional Amendments," April 2008

Invited participant, University of Maryland Constitutional Law Symposium, March 2008

Co-Organizer and Plenary Panelist, *Gender and Class, Voices from the Collective*, AALS 2008 Annual Meeting Program (Co-Sponsored by the AALS Sections on Women in Legal Education, Aging and the Law, Family and Juvenile Law, Law and Economics, Minority Groups, Poverty Law and Socio-Economics)

Presented *The Judicial Restraint of the Warren Court* at the Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting, April 2007 (paper nominated for the Pi Sigma Alpha and Lucius Barker awards)

Presented *Denise Morgan and Rights of Belonging*, AALS Annual Meeting, January 2007

Presented *Belonging and Social Citizenship: The New Deal and the Wagner Act* at the First Annual Labor and Employment Colloquium, October 2006

Presented *The Auto-Lite Strikers and the Wagner Act* at *A New Birth of Freedom: The Thirteenth Amendment – Past, Present and Future,* University of Toledo College of Law, October 2006

Presented *Belonging and Social Citizenship: The New Deal and the Wagner Act*, at the Annual Meeting of the Law and Society Association, May 2006

Presented *Enforcing Equality: Letting Politics Make Law*, at the Annual Meeting of the Law and Society Association, May 2006

Presented *Enforcing Equality: Congress, the Constitution and the Protection of Individual Rights* at the University of Cincinnati College of Law, March 2006

Presented *To Secure These Rights: Congress, Courts and the 1964 Civil Rights Act*, at the Ohio Legal Scholarship Workshop, Ohio State University, April 2005 Presented *To Secure These Rights: Congress, Courts and the 1964 Civil Rights Act* at the Faculty Scholarship Workshop at the Rutgers-Camden School of Law, January 2005

Presented *The Legacy of Griswold*, Toledo Women's Bar Association, January 2005

Presented *To Secure These Rights: Congress, Courts and the 1964 Civil Rights Act* at the Salmon P. Chase School of Law Faculty Scholarship Workshop, September 2004

Presented *To Secure These Rights: Congress, Courts and the 1964 Civil Rights Act* at the Annual Meeting of the Law and Society Association, May 2004

Presented *Juriscentrism and the Original Meaning of Congress' Rightsgenerating Power* at the January 2004 meeting of the Ohio Legal Scholarship Workshop

Presented Juriscentrism and the Original Meaning of Congress' Rightsgenerating Power at Symposium, Vision and Revision: the Fourteenth Amendment, Temple University Law School, November 2003

Moderator and panelist, "Celebrating the 50th Anniversary: The Meaning and Legacy of *Brown v. Board of Education*," University of Toledo College of Law, October 2003

Presented *The Courts and Workers: The Most Dangerous Branch?* at the Annual Meeting of the Law and Society Association, May 2003

Presented *Cities and Rights of Belonging* at the LatCrit VIII Conference, April 2003

Presented *Civil Rights and John Bingham's Theory of Citizenship* at the *Symposium on John Bingham and the Meaning of the Fourteenth Amendment*, University of Akron School of Law, October 2002

Presented *The New Parity Debate: Congress and Rights of Belonging* at the Annual Meeting of the Law and Society Association, May 2002

Presented *Beyond the Pronoun: Toward an Anti-Subordinating Method Of Process* at the Annual Meeting of the Law and Society Association, May 2000

Moderator, *Rebuilding Sisterhood: An Examination of Today's Reality, Tomorrow's Promise*, Joint Program of Sections on Minority Groups and Women in Legal Education, AALS Annual Meeting, January, 1999

Presented *Telling Women's Stories Through a Feminist Method of Process* at the Feminism and Legal Theory Workshop - Discrimination and Inequality, at Columbia University Law School, Fall 1998

INSTRUCTION

Constitutional Law I, Constitutional Law II, Civil Procedure, Women and the Law, Federal Courts, Constitutional Litigation, Sex Discrimination, Clinical (1995-1998)

AMICUS BRIEFS

Co-Author, Amicus Brief of Legal Historians, *Hernandez v. Mesa*, United States Supreme Court (2017)

- Co-author, Brief of Amicus Curiae Thirteenth Amendment Scholars in Support of Plaintiffs-Appellees and Affirmance, *United States v. Hatch*, Tenth Circuit Court of Appeals, August, 2012
- Co-author, Brief of Committee of Law Professor and Constitutional Historians as Amicus Curiae in Support of Plaintiffs-Appellants, *Coalition to Defend Affirmative Action v. Board of Regents*, Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals, October 2011
- Assisted counsel in preparing Supreme Court briefs for *Cutter v. Wilkinson*, 543 U.S. 1185 (2005)

SYMPOSIA AND CONFERENCES ORGANIZED

Planning Committee, The Thirteenth Amendment and Economic Justice Symposium, UNLV School of Law, March 2018

Planning Committee for AALS Workshop on Next Generation Issues on Sex, Gender and the Law, 2014-2015

Planning Committee, *The Thirteenth Amendment Through the Lens of Class and Labor Conference*, Seattle, May 2015

Chair, Mid-Year Meeting Program Committee, AALS Section on Women in Legal Education, 2012-2013 (proposal accepted as AALS Workshop, above)

Organized *Ex parte Young: The Font of Federal Civil Rights Enforcement*, University of Toledo Law Review Symposium, March 2009

Organized *A New Birth of Freedom: The Thirteenth Amendment – Past, Present and Future*, University of Toledo Law Review Symposium, October 2006

Organized panels for Symposium on the 50th Anniversary of *Brown v. Board of Education*, University of Toledo College of Law, October 2003

OTHER PROFESSIONAL SERVICE

Co-Chair, Law & Society CRN8, 2017 - present Chair, AALS Section on Constitutional Law, 2017-2018 Chair, AALS Section on Women in Legal Education, 2016-2017 Appointed by Senator Sherrod Brown to the Judicial Nominations Commission for the Southern District of Ohio, Summer, 2016 Steering Committee, Thirteenth Amendment Project **Reviewer**, Routledge Press Reviewer, New York University Press, Ohio University Press Reviewer, Journal of American History Reviewer, Journal of Law and Social Inquiry Trainer, Committee on Regional Training, Federal Litigation Training, Toledo, Ohio, June 2006, October 2002 Assisted Office of Senator Edward Kennedy on the nomination of Jeffrey Sutton to the Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals, Winter 2003 Co-Chair, Legal Assistance and Education Centers Committee, Ohio Women Education and Legal Assistance Coalition, 1999-2001

OTHER COLLEGE AND UNIVERSITY SERVICE

Service to the University Toledo College of Law

Chair, Promotion, Renewal and Tenure Committee, 2018-2019 Chair, Diversity Committee, 2016-2017 Chair, Strategic Planning Committee, 2013 - 2015 Faculty Committee on Retention, Promotion and Renewal, 2011- 2013 Chair, Curriculum Committee, 2008-2010 Advisor, Toledo Law Review, 2006 – 2011, Fall 2013 Advisor, Constitutional Law Moot Court Team, 2008-2009, 2010-present Appointments Committee, 2001-2005, 2006-2007 (Chair, 2002-03, 2003-04, 2004-05) ABA-AALS Self-Study Committee, 1998-2000 Admissions Committee, 1996-97, 1998-99, 1999-2000, 2000-01, 2008-09 Minority and Gender Affairs Committee, 1999- 2013 Academic Appeals Committee 1997-98, 1998-99, 2002-03 Dean Search Committee, 1998-99, 2005-2006 Faculty Advisor, American Constitution Society, 2002-present

Service to the University of Toledo

Cartwright Award Committee, 2013- 2016 Outstanding Faculty Research Award Selection Committee, 2013- 2015 Co-Chair, Sexual Harassment Task Force, 2009 - 2012 Committee on Gender Equity in Athletics, 2002 - 2010 Member, Women Studies Advisory Board, January 1997 – 1999 Participant in Law and Social Thought Working Group, 2000 – 2008