

**JENNIFER GORDON**

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**EMPLOYMENT**

**FORDHAM LAW SCHOOL**, New York, NY 2003 – present  
Professor of Law. Scholarship focuses on the regulation of the low-wage workplace, workers' rights in the context of transnational labor migration, the intersection of trade and migration, and the relationship between law and social change. Courses include Immigration Law, Legislation & Regulation, and advanced seminars on labor/employment and immigration issues. Teacher of the Year 2008; Public Interest Professor of the Year 2011; Dean's Research Award 2017.

**INDEPENDENT SCHOLAR AND CONSULTANT**, New York, NY 1998-2003  
With support of Open Society Institute Fellowship and the MacArthur Prize, wrote *Suburban Sweatshops: The Fight for Immigrant Rights* (Belknap/Harvard University Press, 2005). Consultant to AFL-CIO, Ford Foundation, the Campaign for Human Development of the Catholic Church, and others. Frequent public speaker on labor, immigration and the relationship of law to social change.

**YALE LAW SCHOOL**, New Haven, CT 1998-2000  
J. Skelly Wright Fellow, 1998-1999; Visiting Faculty Lecturer, Spring 1999 and 2000.

**THE WORKPLACE PROJECT**, Hempstead, NY 1992-1998  
Founder and Executive Director of this nationally recognized non-profit immigrant workers center. Organization uses legal services, education, organizing, legislative strategies, and cooperative business development to combat abuse of Latino immigrants in the workplace.

**CENTRO PRESENTE**, Cambridge, MA 1985-1989  
Advocate and organizer at community agency serving Central American refugees.

**EDUCATION**

**HARVARD LAW SCHOOL**  
J.D. *magna cum laude*, 1992

**HARVARD/RADCLIFFE COLLEGE**  
B.A. *magna cum laude*, 1987

**HONORS**

National Law Journal "Outstanding Women Lawyers," 2015  
Open Society Fellow, 2013-2014  
MacArthur Prize Fellow, 1999-2004  
National Assoc. for Public Interest Law: Outstanding Public Interest Lawyer 1998  
National Law Journal "40 Under 40" (40 top lawyers in the U.S. under age forty), 1995

**LANGUAGES**

Bilingual Spanish/English. Studied French, Portuguese, Russian, Quechua, Gaelic, Braille.

## SELECTED PUBLICATIONS

### Book

SUBURBAN SWEATSHOPS: THE FIGHT FOR IMMIGRANT RIGHTS (Belknap/Harvard University Press, 2005)

### Law Reviews and Peer-Reviewed Journals

*In the Zone: Work at the Intersection of Trade and Migration*, THEORETICAL INQUIRIES IN LAW (forthcoming, 2022)

*The International Governance of Refugee Work*, GLOBAL PUBLIC POLICY AND GOVERNANCE (forthcoming, 2021)

*Immigration as Commerce: A New Look at the Federal Immigration Power and the Constitution*, 93 INDIANA LAW JOURNAL 653 (2018)

*Regulating the Human Supply Chain*, 102 IOWA LAW REVIEW 445 (2017)

*Tensions in Rhetoric and Reality at the Intersection of Work and Immigration*, Symposium on Persistent Puzzles in Immigration Law, 2 UC IRVINE LAW REVIEW 125 (2012)

*People Are Not Bananas: How Immigration Differs from Trade*, 104 NORTHWESTERN UNIV. LAW REVIEW 1109 (2010)

*Strengthening Labor Standards Enforcement through Partnerships with Workers' Organizations* (with Janice Fine), 38 POLITICS AND SOCIETY 552 (2010)

*Rethinking Work and Citizenship* (with R.A. Lenhardt), 55 UCLA LAW REVIEW 1161 (2008)

*The Lawyer Is Not the Protagonist: Community Campaigns, Law, and Social Change*, 95 CALIFORNIA LAW REVIEW 2133 (2007)

*Transnational Labor Citizenship*, 80 SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA LAW REVIEW 503 (2007); excerpts reprinted in LABOR LAW IN THE CONTEMPORARY WORKPLACE (Kenneth Dau-Schmidt, et. al., 2009); GLOBAL ISSUES, LOCAL ARGUMENTS (June Johnson, ed., 2009)

*Citizenship Talk: Bridging the Gap Between Immigration and Race Perspectives* (with R.A. Lenhardt), 75 FORDHAM LAW REVIEW 2493 (2007), excerpts reprinted in IMMIGRATION AND CITIZENSHIP: PROCESS AND POLICY (6th ed.) (Alexander Aleinikoff, David Martin, Hiroshi Motomura, and Maryellen Fullerton, 2008)

*Law, Lawyers, and Labor: The United Farm Workers' Legal Strategy in the 1960s and 1970s and the Role of Law in Union Organizing Today*, 8 U. PENNSYLVANIA JOURNAL OF LABOR & EMPLOYMENT LAW 1 (2005)

*We Make the Road by Walking: Immigrant Workers, the Workplace Project and the Struggle for Social Change*, 30 HARVARD CIVIL RIGHTS-CIVIL LIBERTIES LAW REVIEW 407 (1995); excerpts reprinted in SOCIAL JUSTICE: PROFESSIONALS, COMMUNITIES AND LAW (Martha Mahoney, John Calmore, and Stephanie Wildman eds. 2003)

## Book Chapters

*Roles for Workers and Unions in Labor Recruitment in Mexico*, in TEMPORARY LABOUR MIGRATION IN THE GLOBAL ERA: THE REGULATORY CHALLENGES (Johanna Howe and Rosemary Owens, ed.s, Hart Publishing, 2016)

*Straight Talk about the Dynamics of Labor Migration*, in GLOBAL MIGRATION: MYTHS AND REALITIES (Anja Weisbrock and Diego Acosta, eds., Praeger International, 2015)

*Holding the Line on Workplace Standards: What Works for Immigrant Workers (and What Doesn't)?*, in WHAT WORKS FOR WORKERS (Ruth Milkman and Joseph McCartin, eds., Russell Sage, 2014).

*The Impact of a New Law on a Movement: The Case of the UFW and the California Agricultural Labor Relations Act*, in CAUSE LAWYERS AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS (Austin Sarat and Stuart Scheingold, ed.s, Stanford University Press, 2006)

*Let Them Vote*, in A COMMUNITY OF EQUALS: THE CONSTITUTIONAL PROTECTION OF NEW AMERICANS (Owen Fiss, et. al., eds., Beacon Press, 1999)

## Policy Papers

*Refugees and decent work: Lessons learned from recent refugee jobs compacts* (International Labor Organization of the United Nations, December 2019)

*The Problem with Corporate Social Responsibility* (Worker-driven Social Responsibility Network, September 2017)

*Global Labor Recruitment in a Supply Chain Context* (International Labor Organization of the United Nations, June 2015)

*Roles for Workers and Unions in Regulating Recruitment in Mexico* (Solidarity Center, May 2015)

*Free Movement and Equal Rights for Low-Wage Workers? What the United States Can Learn From the New EU Migration to Britain* (University of California-Berkeley Law School, Chief Justice Earl Warren Institute on Law and Social Policy, May 2011)

*Towards Transnational Labor Citizenship: Restructuring Labor Migration to Reinforce Workers Rights* (University of California-Berkeley Law School, Chief Justice Earl Warren Institute on Race, Ethnicity, and Diversity, January 2009)

*Conflict and Solidarity between African American and Latino Immigrant Workers* (with R.A. Lenhardt) (University of California-Berkeley Law School, Chief Justice Earl Warren Institute on Race, Ethnicity, and Diversity, November 2007)

## Other Publications

- *Universal Basic Income and Immigrants: Lessons from the Pandemic*, Law and Political Economy Blog, Yale Law School (February 9, 2021)
- *El gran ausente de las discusiones laborales—la migración [Central American migration: The big hole in the Mexican labor debate]* NEXOS (April 22, 2019)
- *What Ethiopia Can Learn from the Jordan Compact* (Op-ed), NEWS DEEPLY (February 19, 2019)
- *Investing in Low-Wage Jobs Is the Wrong Way to Reduce Migration*, FOREIGN POLICY (January 28, 2019)

- *For the Refugee Compact to Talk Jobs, It Must Listen to the Migration Compact* (Op-ed), NEWS DEEPLY (March 5, 2018)
- *Subcontractor Servitude* (Op-ed), NEW YORK TIMES (September 2, 2013)
- *Sweatshop Diplomacy* (Op-ed), NEW YORK TIMES (August 25, 2011)
- *Citizens of the Global Economy*, NEW LABOR FORUM vol. 20 no. 1 (Winter 2011)
- *Workers Without Borders* (Op-ed), NEW YORK TIMES (March 9, 2009)
- *American Sweatshops*, BOSTON REVIEW (Summer 2005)

## SELECTED INVITED LECTURES, PAPERS, AND PRESENTATIONS (since 2010)

### 2021

"Central American Migration, Trade, and Decent Work," Congressional Briefing on Decent Work and Immigration, Washington, DC (remote), May 14, 2021.

"Refugees, Resistance, and Garment Work," Beyond The Future of Work conference, University of Texas, Austin, TX (remote), May 27, 2021.

"In the Zone: Work at the Intersection of Trade and Migration," Bilateral Labor Migration Agreements conference, U. Chicago School of Law and Tel Aviv University School of Law (remote), June 6, 2021.

### 2020

"Refugees, Racial Capitalism, and the Future of Workers," Beyond Inequality Workshop, organized by Harvard and University of Texas Law Schools, Austin, TX, February 15, 2020.

"Refugees and Decent Work: Lessons learned from recent refugee jobs compacts," International Law and the New Global Political Economy Colloquium, Georgetown Law School, Washington, DC, February 28, 2020.

"Covid, Immigration, and Labor," Webinar on Immigration, Human Rights, and Global Economic Renewal, Kalmanovitz Institute, Georgetown University, Washington, DC (remote), October 16, 2020.

### 2019

"Refugees, Migrants, and the Informal Economy," Convening on A Just Future of Work, Open Society Foundations, London, UK, January 17, 2019.

"Refugees and Garment Work," Sarah Lawrence College, Bronxville, New York, January 29, 2019.

"Employment for Central American Migrants: Lessons for Mexico from the Jordan and Ethiopia Refugee Jobs Compacts," Convening on Central Americans and Work in Mexico, Regional Initiative on Labor Mobility, Mexico City, Mexico, February 12, 2019.

"Humanitarian Investments? Workers' Rights for Refugees in Jordan and Ethiopia," Columbia Law School Human Rights Institute, New York City, April 11, 2019.

"Decent Work and Refugee Job Compacts," convening on Refugee Livelihoods and Decent Work, Solidarity Center, Washington, DC, April 29, 2019.

"Refugees, Trade, and Development," Inter-American Development Bank, Washington DC, April 29, 2019.

"Migration Research and the Activist Scholar," New School for Social Research, New York City, May 1, 2019.

“Refugee Cities,” Workshop on Immigration and the Future of Work, Zolberg Institute, New School for Social Research, May 2, 2019.

“Refugees, Trade, and Development,” International Organization for Migration of the United Nations, Geneva, May 16, 2019.

“Refugees and Decent Work,” UN High Commissioner on Refugees, Geneva, May 16, 2019.

“Farm Worker Organizing and the Legacy of Dolores Huerta,” Radcliffe Day, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, May 31, 2019.

“Labor Rights for Central Americans in Mexico,” Convening on Central American Migration in Mexico, Mexico City, June 6, 2019.

“Labor Integration for Central Americans in Mexico,” IOM/Mexican Migration Ministry, Mexico City, June 6, 2019.

“Informality in Global Value Chains: Directions for Future Research,” Beyond Inequality Workshop, organized by Harvard and University of Texas Law Schools, Cape Cod, MA, October 30-31, 2019.

“Refugees as Workers: The ILO and refugee jobs compacts in Jordan and Ethiopia,” Conference on Continuing the Struggle: The International Labor Organization Centenary and the Future of Global Worker Rights, Georgetown University, Washington, DC, November 22, 2019.

“Understanding Migrant Labor Recruitment as a Supply Chain,” Global Value Chains, Social Movements and Materiality Workshop, organized by Harvard Law School and Sciences-Po Law School, Paris, France, December 9, 2019.

“Refugees and Decent Work,” International Labor Organization, United Nations, Geneva, Switzerland, December 16, 2019.

“Refugees and decent work: Lessons learned from recent refugee jobs compacts,” Panel on “Sustainable Self-Reliance: Applying Lessons on Refugee Work Rights, Decent Work, and Labor Market Inclusion,” Public event in conjunction with the Global Refugee Forum, Geneva, Switzerland, December 16, 2019.

## **2018**

“Cities and Migration,” Fordham Urban Law Center, NYC, February 9 2018.

“New Work on Labor Migration,” New York Immigration Collaborative, New School for Social Research, NYC, February 15 2018.

“Regulating the Human Supply Chain,” UC Berkeley Institute on Labor Relations and Employment, Berkeley CA, March 13 2018.

“Migrant Workers’ Perspectives on Unfreedom” Symposium on “21<sup>st</sup> Century Coolies,” UC Davis School of Law, Davis CA, March 15 2018.

“Refugees as Workers,” Leitner Center Human Rights Workshop, Fordham Law School, NYC, April 10 2018.

“From Advocacy to Scholarship,” Clinical Workshop, Tel Aviv University School of Law, Tel Aviv, April 23 2018.

“Regulating the Human Supply Chain,” Tel Aviv University School of Law, Tel Aviv, April 24 2018.

“Regulating the Human Supply Chain,” Max Planck Institute, Gottingen, Germany, May 18 2018.

“The RADAR Program: Making joint liability of employers effective in Mexico-US foreign labor recruitment,” Solidarity Center, Washington DC, May 23 2018.

“Teaching in a Time of Crisis,” Immigration Law Professors’ Conference, Drexel Law School, Philadelphia, May 26 2018.

Participant, Convening on The Future of Labor Migration, Yale University, New Haven, June 12, 2018.

“Creating Spaces of Hope,” Museum of Memory and Tolerance, Mexico City, October 19, 2018.

“Trade, Migration, and Refugees,” Side event on Trade, Migration, and the Global Economy at the conference for the adoption of the Global Compact on Migration, Marrakech, Morocco, December 8, 2018.

## 2017

“The Constitution and the Trump Travel Ban,” Fordham Law School, New York, NY, February 8, 2017.

“The Immigration Power and the Commerce Clause,” Fordham Law School Faculty Workshop, New York, NY, March 9, 2017.

Convening on The Future of Temporary Migrant Worker Programs, Cornell Law School, April 21, 2017.

Author Meets Readers Session on Shannon Gleeson, *Precarious Claims*, Law & Society Conference, Mexico City, June 23, 2017.

Roundtable on Mobility and Work, Law & Society Conference, Mexico City, June 23, 2017.

Civil Rights Strategies for the Next Generation, Harvard Law School Bicentennial Conference, Cambridge, MA, October 27, 2017.

## 2016

Participant, Roundtable on “Worker-driven Social Responsibility at a Tipping Point,” NoVo Foundation, New York, NY, February 4, 2016.

“Protection of Migrant Rights through Monitoring,” World Bank/USAID Symposium on Human Rights at Work for Migrants, Washington, DC, February 9, 2016.

Participant, Roundtable on Research & Empirical Analysis of Labor Migration, Columbia University, New York, NY, February 25, 2016.

“Contemporary Migration: Migrant Workers’ Rights and New Forms of Organization,” Opening of Graduate Program, Law School of the Federal University of Parana, Curitiba, Brazil, March 7, 2016.

“Enforcing Workers’ Rights in Global Supply Chains,” Labor and Employment Bar Association, Curitiba, Brazil, March 8, 2016.

“Legal and Organizing Strategies for Guest Worker Rights,” NYU Review of Law and Social Change Symposium on Law and Alt Labor, New York, NY, March 25, 2016.

Commentator, Book Symposium: Construction of the National and the Foreigner in South America since the Early 19<sup>th</sup> Century, Jean Monnet Center at NYU Law School, New York, NY, May 5, 2016.

“Seeking Genuine Transnational Collaboration in North/South Partnerships for Social Change,” Georgetown Law School Conference on Law and Social Movements, Washington, DC, October 28 2016.

## 2015

Panelist, “Solving Wicked Problems,” Open Society Foundations Forum, New York, NY, January 14, 2015.

Speaker, “Supply Chain Approaches to Regulating Global Labor Recruitment,” International Law Colloquium, Temple University Beasley School of Law, Philadelphia, PA, March 2, 2015.

Participant, “Convening: Future of Work,” Columbia University School of Law, New York, NY, March 13, 2015.

Speaker, “Re-Governing Work in the Global Economy,” Faculty Workshop, Vanderbilt School of Law, Nashville, TN, March 25, 2015.

Panelist, “Strategies for Protecting the Labor Rights of Migrant Workers,” Labor and Employment Research Association Annual Meeting, Pittsburgh, PA, May 30, 2015.

Panelist, “*Birds of Passage* 35 Years Later,” Labor and Employment Research Association Annual Meeting, Pittsburgh, PA, May 30, 2015.

Commentator, “Worker Centers and Labor Law Protections,” NYU Law School 68th Annual Conference on Labor, New York City, June 5, 2015.

Panelist, “Roles for Workers and Unions in Regulating Labor Recruitment,” Conference on Temporary Labor Migration in a Globalized World, Oñati, Spain, June 11, 2015.

## 2014

Speaker, “Policy Innovation for Domestic Workers,” National Employment Law Project/National Domestic Workers Alliance convening at the Ford Foundation, New York, NY, February 19, 2014.

Speaker, “Supply Chain Approaches to Regulating Labor Recruitment,” International Labor Recruitment Working Group meeting, Washington, DC, April 11, 2014.

Plenary Panelist, “Decent Work and Global Labor Migration,” New York University Wagner School IPSA Conference, New York, NY, May 2, 2014.

Plenary Panelist, “Labor Citizenship,” CRIMT 2014 International Conference: New Frontiers for Citizenship at Work, University of Montreal, Montreal, Canada, May 12, 2014.

Speaker, “The Problem with Multi-Stakeholder Initiatives,” Open Society Foundations Forum, New York, NY, June 11, 2014.

Speaker, “Supply Chain Approaches to Regulating Recruitment,” Open Society Foundations Brown Bag Lunch, London, UK, June 16, 2014.

Panelist, “Regulating the recruitment business for a fair and safe migration,” Global Unions Forum on Migration, International Labor Organization, Geneva, Switzerland, June 17, 2014.

Speaker, "Supply Chain Approaches to Regulating Recruitment," Outten & Golden, New York, NY, July 16, 2014.

## 2013

Speaker, "Labor Recruitment and its Regulation in the US-Mexico-Central America Corridor," Open Society Foundations and MacArthur Foundation Convening on Labor Recruitment, New York, NY, April 29, 2013.

Panelist, "Author Meets Readers: Cummings and Chen, ed.s, Public Interest Lawyering, A Contemporary Perspective," Law and Society Annual Conference, Boston, MA, May 31, 2013.

Panelist, "Building and Protecting Economic and Physical Security for Women," Harvard Law School, Cambridge, MA, September 28, 2013.

Moderator, Briefing on Labor Protections in Guest Worker Programs, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, DC, October 10, 2013.

Speaker, "Improving Migrant Workers' Ability to Claim Rights," Tilburg University School of Law, Tilburg, The Netherlands, November 6, 2013.

Panelist, "The Transatlantic Free-Trade Agreement: Structure and Law," Conference on Labor and Industrial Relations in the Transatlantic Free-Trade Agreement, Scuola Europea Relazioni Industriali—Tor Vergata University Rome, New York, NY, November 22, 2013.

Participant, "Working Meeting on Labor Enforcement," Roosevelt Institute/Columbia University, New York, NY, December 16, 2013.

## 2012

Panelist, "Work and Migrations," Panel on Solidarity: The New Antidiscrimination Law?, Association of American Law Schools Annual Conference, Washington, DC, January 5, 2012.

Panelist, "Immigration Law in the Low-Wage Workplace (What we've learned over the past 25 years and where to go from here)," Conference on What Works for Workers? Public Policies and Innovative Strategies for Low-Wage Workers, Georgetown University, Washington, DC, February 24, 2012.

Speaker, "Immigrant Workers: A Legal and Organizational Update," Columbia Law School lunchtime speaker series, New York, NY, March 5, 2012.

Discussant, Conference on "Towards a New Labor Movement," Murphy Institute, CUNY, New York, NY, March 9, 2012.

Speaker, "Workplace Justice for Global Labor Migrants," Pemberton Lecture on Workplace Justice, University of San Francisco School of Law, San Francisco, CA, March 29, 2012.

Plenary Panelist, "Law's Toolbox for Social Change," Radcliffe Day panel: From Front Lines to High Courts—The Law and Social Change, Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study, Cambridge, MA, May 25, 2012.

Speaker, "The Public Interest Lawyer and Immigrant Workers Rights," Clason Lecture, Western New England Law School, Springfield, Massachusetts, October 22, 2012.

Speaker, "Enfrentando los retos de la representación del trabajador migrante," Center for Social, Economic, and Cultural Rights, Mexico City, Mexico, November 30, 2012.



## 2011

Panelist, "Tensions in Rhetoric and Reality at the Intersection of Work and Immigration," UC Irvine Symposium on Persistent Puzzles in Immigration Law, Irvine, CA, February 18.

Plenary Panelist, "Protecting Workers Rights in the Global Economy," Out of the Smoke and Into the Flame: A Conference on the Triangle Shirtwaist Fire and its Legacy, CUNY, New York, NY, March 24.

Speaker, "Removing Legal Obstacles to Enforcing Immigrant Workers Rights," Immigration Theory and Practice Workshop, Yale Law School, New Haven, CT, March 28.

Speaker, "Labor Migrants, Resident Workers, and the Future of Immigration Policy," Masters Tea, Ezra Stiles College, Yale University, New Haven, CT, March 28.

Presenter, "Labor Mobility and Workplace Regulation," Fordham Law School Faculty Workshop, New York, NY, March 30.

Panelist, "Domestic Workers in the United States: Past and Present," Roundtable Discussion with White House and Department of Labor personnel, Washington, DC, May 3.

Panelist, "Legal Strategies and International Law," Excluded Workers Congress, New York, NY, May 11.

Panelist, "The Interaction between Immigration Law and Worker Voice," Voices at Work Conference, Oxford University, UK, July 30, 2011.

Panelist, "Lessons for the United States and Mexico from the UK Experience with Intra-European Labor Migration Post-Enlargement," Transnational Strategies Conference, Mexico City, Mexico, September 16, 2011.

Panelist, Transnational Labor Citizenship: Labor Law Viewpoint and Applications, Conference on "Transnational Law: Method, Hermeneutic, and Translation," Rome, Italy, October 28, 2011.