

# Theresa Keeley

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## ACADEMIC EMPLOYMENT

Associate Professor, University of Louisville, Department of History, July 2021 – present

Assistant Professor, University of Louisville, Department of History, 2015 – 2021

Visiting Assistant Professor, Georgetown University, Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service and Department of History, 2013-2015

## EDUCATION

Ph.D. Northwestern University, Department of History, 2013  
Dissertation: “Reagan’s Gun-Toting Nuns: Catholicism and U.S.-Central America Relations”

M.A. History, Northwestern University, 2008

J.D. University of Pennsylvania Law School, 2004

B.A. History (high honors), Colgate University, *magna cum laude*, *Phi Beta Kappa*, 1998

## RESEARCH AND TEACHING INTERESTS

U.S. foreign relations, religious and political identity, transnational social movements, human rights, law

## HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

*Reagan’s Gun-Toting Nuns: The Catholic Conflict over Cold War Human Rights Policy in Central America* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, September 2020)

\*\*Winner of the 2020 Juan E. Méndez Book Award for Human Rights in Latin America, non-fiction book written in the prior two years in English concerning human rights and contemporary Latin America

“Thirty Years Later: Remembering the U.S. Churchwomen in El Salvador and the United States,” *U.S. Catholic Historian*, Special Issue on U.S. Catholics and Latin America:

Commemorating the U.S. Churchwomen 38, no. 4 (2020): 119-144,  
<https://10.1353/cht.2020.0025>

“Transnational Activism and U.S.-Central America Relations,” in *A Companion to U.S. Foreign Policy, 1776-Present*, ed. Christopher R.W. Dietrich (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley Publishing, 2020), 1048-1067

“Clothes Make the Nun? Feminism, Fashion, & Representations of Catholic Sisters in the 1980s,” *Gender & History* 31, no. 2 (2019): 480-499, <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-0424.12431>

“Not Above the Fray: Religious and Political Divides’ Impact on U.S. Missionary Sisters in Nicaragua,” *U.S. Catholic Historian*, Special Issue on War & Peace 37, no. 1 (2019): 147-166, <https://10.1353/cht.2019.0006>

“Reagan’s Real Catholics vs. Tip O’Neill’s Maryknoll Nuns: Gender, Intra-Catholic Conflict, and the Contras,” *Diplomatic History* 40, no. 3 (2016): 530-558,  
<https://doi.org/10.1093/dh/dhv033>

“Medellín is ‘Fantastic’: Drafts of the 1969 Rockefeller Report on the Catholic Church”  
*The Catholic Historical Review* 101, no. 4 (2015): 809-834,  
<https://10.1353/cat.2015.0216>

## BOOK REVIEWS

Review of *The Ideals of Global Sport: From Peace to Human Rights*, edited by Barbara J. Keys, *Human Rights Quarterly* 43, no. 1 (2021): 234-237, <https://10.1353/hrq.2021.0014>

Review of *Reagan, Congress, & Human Rights: Contesting Morality in U.S. Foreign Policy*, by Rasmus Sinding Søndergaard, H-DIPLO Roundtable, XX-15, December 7, 2020,  
<https://hdiplo.org/to/RT22-15>

Review of *Sovereign Emergencies: Latin America and the Making of Global Human Rights Politics*, by Patrick William Kelly, *English Historical Review* 135, no. 572 (2020): 255-257, <https://doi/10.1093/ehr/cez427>

Review of *Martyrs of Hope: Seven U.S. Missioners in Central America*, by Donna Whitson Brett and Edward T. Brett, *American Catholic Studies* 130, no. 2 (2019): 81-83,  
<https://doi.org/10.1353/acs.2019.0029>

Review of *Reagan’s War on Terrorism in Nicaragua: The Outlaw State*, by Philip W. Travis, *Journal of Contemporary History Book Reviews* 53, no. 4 (2018): 927-930,  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0022009418786695w>

Review of *The Salvador Option: The United States in El Salvador, 1977-1992*, by Russell Crandall, H-DIPLO Roundtable, XIX, no. 35, May 14, 2018,

<http://www.tiny.cc/Roundtable-XIX-35>

“Ronald Reagan: The Man, the Politician, and the Conservative Movement,” Review of *The Reagan Era: A History of the 1980s* by Doug Rossinow, and *Reagan: The Life*, by H. W. Brands, *History: Reviews of New Books* 44, no 5 (2016): 129-132, <https://doi.org/10.1080/03612759.2016.1185679>

## WORKS IN PRESS

Review of *American Catholic: The Politics of Faith During the Cold War* by D.G. Hart, *Diplomatic History*

Review of *From Selma to Moscow: How Human Rights Activists Transformed U.S. Foreign Policy* by Sarah B. Snyder, *Federal History*

## WORKS IN PROGRESS

Review of *Follow Your Conscience: The Catholic Church and the Spirit of the Sixties* by Peter Cajka, *Journal of American History*

*Suffer Little Children: Health, Harm, & U.S. Foreign Policy*

## LEGAL PUBLICATIONS

“Landlord Sexual Assault and Rape of Tenants: Survey Findings and Advocacy Approaches,” 40 *Clearinghouse Review* 441 (Nov/Dec 2006)

“An Implied Warranty of Freedom from Sexual Harassment: The Solution for Harassed Tenants Where the Fair Housing Act Has Failed,” 38 *University of Michigan Journal of Law Reform* 397 (2005)

Comment, “Good Moral Character: Already an Unconstitutionally Vague Concept and Now Putting Bar Applicants in a Post 9/11 World on an Elevated Threat Level,” 6 *University of Pennsylvania Journal of Constitutional Law* 844 (2004)

## POPULAR PRESS ARTICLES, INTERVIEWS & COVERAGE

2021 Zac Johnson, “Interview with Juan E. Mendéz Award Winner Theresa Keeley,” Duke Human Rights Center, March, <https://humanrights.fhi.duke.edu/interview-with-juan-e-mendez-award-winner-theresa-keeley/>

2021 “How Well Do You Know Your American History,” Interview on WAVE Country with Dawne Gee, Louisville NBC Affiliate, January 19

- 2020 “Joe Biden’s Harshest Critics are Likely to Be Some of His Fellow Catholics,” *Washington Post*, November 30, [www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/2020/11/30/joe-bidens-harshest-critics-are-likely-to-be-some-of-his-fellow-catholics/](http://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/2020/11/30/joe-bidens-harshest-critics-are-likely-to-be-some-of-his-fellow-catholics/)
- 2017 Interview about Athletes, Protests, and President Trump, “UofL Today with Mark Hebert,” October 8, University of Louisville Radio, <https://soundcloud.com/uofl/10-02-17-uofl-today-keeley-hawkins-james-koob>
- 2016 Lauren Turek, “5 Questions with Theresa Keeley,” Religion in American History, September 27 <http://usreligion.blogspot.com/2016/09/5-questions-with-theresa-keeley.html>
- 2015 “Thirty-Five Years After Deaths of Cleveland Churchwomen in El Salvador, US. Policy Still Devalues Human Rights,” *Cleveland Plain-Dealer*, November 29, [http://www.cleveland.com/opinion/index.ssf/2015/11/thirty-five\\_years\\_after\\_deaths.html](http://www.cleveland.com/opinion/index.ssf/2015/11/thirty-five_years_after_deaths.html)
- 2016 Dawn Araujo-Hawkins, “Historians, Educators, Archivists Gather at Conference on the History of Women Religious,” Global Sisters Report, June 30, <http://globalsistersreport.org/news/trends/historians-educators-archivists-gather-conference-history-women-religious-40636> (photo coverage of paper delivered at Santa Clara University)
- 2015 Dan Stockman, “Sisters Story Includes Repeated Renewal and Reinvention,” *National Catholic Reporter*, May 7 (coverage of paper delivered in London)
- 2015 Chaz Muth, “Catholics’ Clash Over U.S.-Salvadoran Policy In Romero’s Time Recalled,” May 4, *Catholic San Francisco*, *The Message* (Southern Indiana) and in Spanish in *Catholic New York*, *The Record* (Louisville), *The Register* (Salina, KS)

## FELLOWSHIPS, GRANTS, AND HONORS

- 2021-2022 Sabbatical Grant for Researchers, *Suffer Little Children: Health, Harm, & U.S. Foreign Policy*, Louisville Institute
- 2020 Juan E. Méndez Book Award for Human Rights in Latin America – for a non-fiction book written in English concerning human rights and contemporary Latin America
- 2019-2020 Faculty Fellow, ‘Belonging/Exile/Place,’ Commonwealth Center for the Humanities and Society, University of Louisville
- 2019-2020 Faculty Favorite, University of Louisville (Nominated by Students)
- 2018 Research Travel Grant, Cushwa Center for the Study of American Catholicism, University of Notre Dame
- 2016 “Gender and Memory in U.S.-Nicaragua Relations,” Richard and Constance Lewis Fellowship in Latin American & Iberian Studies, University of Louisville
- 2015-2016 Faculty Favorite, University of Louisville (Nominated by Students)
- 2014 School of Foreign Service Faculty Research Grant, Georgetown University
- 2014 Conference Travel Grant, School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University
- 2013 Travel Grant, Center for the United States and the Cold War, New York

University  
 2012-2013 Charlotte W. Newcombe Doctoral Dissertation Fellow  
 2012 Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations Dissertation Completion Fellowship (declined)  
 2011 Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations Myrna F. Bernath Fellow  
 2011 Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations Summer Institute, “Freedom and Free Markets: Histories of Globalization and Human Rights”  
 2011 Research Travel Grant, Cushwa Center for the Study of American Catholicism, University of Notre Dame  
 2011 Grant-in-Aid, Rockefeller Archive Center

**Northwestern University**

2011-2012 University Fellowship  
 2010-2011 Nicholas D. Chabraja Center for Historical Studies Fellow  
 2010, 2011 Graduate Conference Travel Grant  
 2010 Graduate Research Grant  
 2008 Summer Language Training Grant, San Salvador, El Salvador

**University of Pennsylvania Law School**

2006 Presidential Fellow, Salzburg Seminar, “Women, Political Power, and Next Generation Leadership,” Salzburg, Austria  
 2002-2004 Editor, *Journal of Constitutional Law*  
 2003 Edward V. Sparer Fellow – Center for Lesbian & Gay Civil Rights (now Equality Advocates Pennsylvania)  
 2002 Edward V. Sparer Fellow - Community Legal Services  
 2001-2003 Robert Levine Scholarship

**Other Fellowships**

2005-2006 Georgetown University Women’s Law & Public Policy Fellow  
 1998-1999 Thomas J. Watson Fellow, Poland, Ireland, and Northern Ireland  
 “The Catholic Church, the State, and Human Rights”

**CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS**

2021 “Voices in the Wilderness: Using International Law to Challenge Sanctions in Iraq,” Society of Historians of American Foreign Relations, Virtual, June  
 2021 “Suffer Little Children: Health, Harm, & U.S. Foreign Policy,” University of Louisville Commonwealth Center for the Humanities and Society Symposium, Louisville, February  
 2021 “Competing Transnational Networks: Nicaragua’s Somoza versus U.S. Missionaries in the Fight over U.S. Foreign Policy and Catholicism,” American Historical Society, Seattle, January (cancelled due to COVID)  
 2020 “How to be a Foreign Relations Historian: Lessons from Mike Sherry,”

Roundtable: Doing it All: Reflections on Mike Sherry's Work and Career, Society of Historians of American Foreign Relations, New Orleans, June (cancelled due to COVID-19)

- 2019 “‘Unpatriotic in Order to be Religious’: Challenging the CIA as Citizens and Members of a Global Faith Community,” Global History and Catholicism: An International Conference, University of Notre Dame, April
- 2018 “Missionaries’ Challenge to the Cold War Binary,” Roundtable on “New Approaches to the United States and the Third World,” Society of Historians of American Foreign Relations, Philadelphia, June
- 2017 “Not Above the Fray: Religious and Political Divides’ Impact on U.S. Missionary Sisters in Nicaragua.” International Symposium: “Too Small a World: Catholic Sisters as Global Missionaries,” Cushwa Center for the Study of American Catholicism & the Conference on the History of Women Religious, University of Notre Dame, April
- 2016 “‘This is Not a Hearing about Theology:’ The First Amendment, National Security, and *Marxism and Christianity in Revolutionary Central America*.” Society of Historians of American Foreign Relations, San Diego, June
- 2016 “Nuns, an Ex-Nun, and Ronald Reagan: Debating U.S.-Central America Policy in Ireland.” Tenth Triennial Conference on the History of Women Religious, Santa Clara University, June
- 2015 “Blowing The Company’s Cover: Catholic Missionaries and an Ex-CIA Man Out Agents in Latin America.” Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations, Annual Meeting, Arlington, June
- 2015 “‘Radicalized Women Religious’ or Women Accompanying the Poor?: Nuns’ Challenge to Ronald Reagan’s Central America Policy.” University of Notre Dame, London Centre, “The Nun in the World: A Transnational Study of Catholic Sisters and the Second Vatican Council,” London, May
- 2013 “From Maryknoll Nun to Contra Supporter: Sister Macias’s Work to Discredit Catholic Opposition to U.S.-Central America Policy.” American Catholic Historical Association, Annual Meeting, New Orleans, January
- 2011 “‘The Pope is With Us’: The Reagan Administration and Its Catholic Allies Use Religion to Sell the Contras.” Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations, Annual Meeting, Alexandria, June
- 2011 Invited Participant, Catholic Women’s History Roundtable, University of Notre Dame, November

- 2011 “Fomenting Religious Conflict or Protecting the Persecuted? The U.S. Role in 1980s Nicaragua.” Center for Historical Studies, Religious Identity and Political Conflict Conference, Northwestern University, April
- 2010 “Reagan’s Gun-Toting Nuns: The Maryknoll Sisters and Their Influence on U.S. Intervention in Central America.” Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations, Annual Meeting, Madison, June
- 2010 “Reagan’s Catholic Empire: The U.S. in Central America.” Center for Historical Studies/Trinity College Dublin, Violence and Empire Conference, Northwestern University, May
- 2009 “From Senator McCarthy’s Darlings to Reagan’s Gun-Toting Nuns: The Maryknoll Sisters’ Changing Political Perspective.” Center for Historical Studies/The Amerika Institute, Ludwig-Maximilians University, Contested Narratives in the Transatlantic Context Conference, Munich, Germany, May
- 2009 “From Senator McCarthy’s Darlings to Reagan’s Gun-Toting Nuns: The Political Implications of the Maryknoll Sisters’ Changing Religious Identity.” Department of Religion Graduate Student Religion and Identity Conference, Northwestern University, April
- 2006 “Preventing Homelessness for Domestic Violence Survivors.” Florida Statewide Conference on Homelessness, Tampa, August
- 2006 “Helping Homeless Families and Youth Affected by Domestic Violence Access Housing and Education.” American Bar Association Equal Justice Conference, Philadelphia, March

#### **CONFERENCE ORGANIZATION**

- 2011 Panel Organizer, “Unlikely Allies: U.S. Mercenaries, Conservative Catholics, and American Indian Movement Dissidents Wage the Contra War,” Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations Annual Conference
- 2011 Conference Convener, “Religious Identity and Political Conflict,” Center for Historical Studies, Northwestern University

#### **TALKS**

- 2021 “Juan E. Méndez Book Award Acceptance Talk for *Reagan’s Gun-Toting Nuns*,” Duke University Human Rights Center, Virtual, March 16
- 2021 “A Catholic in the White House: The Biden Presidency in Historical Context,” Zoom Discussion, Hosted by the Cushwa Center for American Catholicism, University of Notre Dame, February 2

- 2019 “U.S. Foreign Policy, Refugees, & Immigrants,” Borders + Movement, Speed Art Museum, Louisville, KY, September 8
- 2018 Guest Speaker via Skype, “Liberation Theology and the United States,” Graduate Theology Course, “U.S. Catholicism and Social Movements in the 20th and 21st Centuries,” Loyola Marymount University, June 7
- 2017 “Leveling the Playing Field: Teaching Majors & Non-Majors Together,” Inaugural Showcase and Open House, Teaching Innovation Learning Lab, University of Louisville, April 26
- 2017 “Sports, Protest, & President Trump,” Sports & Social Change Lecture, Social Change Program, University of Louisville, March 23
- 2016 “*Friday Night Lights* Helped Me to Articulate How I See My Role as a Professor,” Showcase and Reception, 2015-2016 Seminar on Teaching for New Faculty, University of Louisville, April 20
- 2012 “Reagan’s Gun-Toting Nuns: Catholicism and U.S.-Central America Relations,” Northwestern University Catholic Undergrads, May 24

## **TEACHING EXPERIENCE**

### **University of Louisville - Courses Designed & Taught**

#### Lecture Courses

American History II (Spring 2016, Spring & Fall 2017, Spring & Fall 2018, Spring & Fall 2019, Spring & Fall 2020, Spring 2021)  
 U.S. Foreign Relations I (Fall 2017, 2019)  
 U.S. Foreign Relations II (Spring 2018, 2020)  
 American Foreign Relations (Fall 2015)  
 Reagan’s America (Fall 2020)  
 Children, War, & Health (Spring 2021)

#### Undergraduate/Graduate Seminars

U.S.-Central America Relations (Fall 2018)  
 Sports, Human Rights, & U.S. Foreign Relations (Fall 2016 & Spring 2019)  
 Religion & U.S. Foreign Relations (Fall 2016)  
 Refugee Law & U.S. Foreign Policy Since 1945 (Spring 2016)

### **Georgetown University – Courses Designed & Taught**

#### Lecture Courses

American Diplomatic History I (Fall 2013 & 2014)  
 American Diplomatic History II (Spring 2014 & 2015)

#### Seminars

Refugee Law & U.S. Foreign Policy Since 1945 (Fall 2013)



1980s Human Rights Activism: U.S.-Central America Relations & Oral History (Spring 2014)  
Sports, Human Rights, & U.S. Foreign Relations (First-year seminar, Fall 2014)  
Transnational Catholic Activism (Spring 2015)

### **Northwestern University**

Instructor

Refugee Law and U.S. Foreign Policy Since 1945 (Winter 2010)

Teaching Assistant

The Century of Modern Warfare: 1900-2010 (Spring 2012)

The Vietnam Wars (Spring 2010)

U.S. Gay and Lesbian History (Spring 2009)

History of the United States: Pre-Colonial to the Civil War (Fall 2008)

### **University of Pennsylvania Law School**

Legal Writing and Research for International Lawyers (Fall 2003)

### **Oławskie Stowarzyszenie Edukacji Twórczej, Międzygórze, Poland**

English Language (Summer 1997)

## **PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT**

### **University of Louisville**

2020

Trainings for Hybrid Teaching

“Group Work in an Online Setting,” July 10

“Active Learning Techniques for the Online Setting,” July 9

“Using Panopto for Lecture Capture,” July 8

“Technology Tools to Support Asynchronous Interaction,” July 7

“Designing Your Hybrid Course,” July 6

2018

Course Design Institute for Active and Adaptive Learning with L. Dee Fink, May 15-17.

2016-2017

Selected Participant, Faculty Learning Community on Innovation and Creativity in the Classroom

2015-2016

Selected Participant, Seminar on Teaching for New Faculty  
Cross-disciplinary community focused on exploring and applying learning theory.

### **Georgetown University**

Spring 2015

Engelhard Faculty Fellow

Selected participant in university initiative to focus on teaching to the whole student by bringing health and wellness issues into the classroom.

2014-2015

Doyle Diversity Faculty Fellow

Selected participant in university initiative to introduce themes of diversity and difference into the classroom.

**Northwestern University**

2011-2012 Graduate Teaching Certificate Program

**SERVICE TO THE PROFESSION**

2018-2021 Member, Myrna F. Bernath Fellowship & Book Prize Selection Committee,  
Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations  
Committee Chair, Fall 2020

2018-2019 Member, Program Committee, Society for Historians of American Foreign  
Relations Annual Conference

**SERVICE TO THE UNIVERSITY****University of Louisville**

2020-2021 Curriculum Committee, History Department

2019 Member, Search Committee, Part-Time Instructor for the History Department

2018 Member, Search Committee, Part-Time Instructor for the Peace, Justice &  
Conflict Transformation Program

2018 Member, Search Committee, Part-Time Instructor for the History Department

2017-2019 Administrative Committee, History Department

2016-2019 Steering Committee, Peace, Justice & Conflict Transformation Program

2016-2019 Member, Americas Research Group, College of Arts & Sciences

2017-2021 *Phi Beta Kappa* Lecture Committee, College of Arts & Sciences

2018 Ad hoc committee on Cumulative Undergraduate Experience Courses, History  
Department

2017 Panelist, "Your Philosophy of Teaching: Finding Your Teaching Voice," Seminar  
on Teaching for New Faculty, February

2016-2017 Alternate, Administrative Committee, History Department

**Georgetown University**

2014 Invited Participant, "Teaching at Georgetown," New Faculty Orientation Video

2013-2014 Informal Honors Thesis Advisor

## GRADUATE STUDENTS

### Advisor

Sara Bornemann	“ <i>Clan na Gael</i> and the Irish Independence Movement”	2018
Jill Dungan	Catholic Sisters & 20 <sup>th</sup> Century Social Movements Century	2021

### Committee Member

Carol Bolton Easterly	“Radical Renewal: The Sisters of Loretto, Nouvelle Théologie, and the Second Vatican Council”	2020
Kalie Gipson	“‘Model and Patriarch’ of Southern Settlements: Neighborhood House in Louisville, KY, 1896-1939”	2019
Irene Yates	“How Muslims Help: An Ethnography of Muslim Voluntary Assistance for Syrian Refugees in Louisville, KY”	2017

## MANUSCRIPTS REVIEWED

*American Catholic Studies*  
*Religions*  
*Diplomatic History*  
Cognella Press

## NON-ACADEMIC EMPLOYMENT

- 2006-2007 **Margaret Fund Legal Fellow, National Women’s Law Center.** Promoted educational equity, including Title IX enforcement. Drafted state legislation and created advocacy strategies addressing sex segregation in career and technical education.
- 2005-2006 **Domestic Violence Program, Staff Attorney, National Law Center on Homelessness & Poverty.** Developed policy strategies and educational materials highlighting how violence against women leads to homelessness and discrimination in obtaining housing. Provided technical assistance to advocates and attorneys. Conducted community education. Assisted with nationwide class action lawsuit against FEMA for its failures after Hurricane Katrina.
- 2004-2005 **Law Clerk, Chief Justice Deborah T. Poritz, New Jersey Supreme Court.** Evaluated merits of petitions for certification, wrote bench memoranda analyzing parties’ arguments in light of legal and policy concerns, and drafted opinions.
- 2000-2001 **American Friends Service Committee.**  
**Freeman Peace Fellow, Iraq Program.** Helped coordinate national education and civil disobedience “Campaign of Conscience” which focused on the humanitarian impact of the UN Security Council sanctions against Iraq.

Developed constituent database, responded to inquiries from the public and the press. Developed resources for activists. Lobbied government officials.

**Jim Bristol Youth & Militarism Fellow, Youth & Militarism Program.**

Responded to enlistment inquiries from the public. Designed workshops to encourage critical thinking about the effects of war. Researched, edited, and wrote articles for monthly newsletter, including the problem of military personnel sexual assaulting girls in Okinawa.

1999

**Human rights worker, Pat Finucane (Human Rights) Centre, Derry, Northern Ireland.** Drafted witness statements, attended court hearings, and lobbied government ministers for families whose loved ones were killed by the British security forces. Researched, wrote, and edited publications; managed domestic and international press on issues of policing, monitoring parades/marches, and state violence.

**LANGUAGES**

Spanish (advanced reading and speaking)

**PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIP**

Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations  
American Catholic Historical Association  
American Historical Association  
Organization of American Historians

**Bar Associations**

Pennsylvania  
District of Columbia