

THE LIMAN CENTER REPORTS 2023

Budgeting for Justice
Seeing Solitary
Voting for Reform
The Challenges of
Supervised Release

About the Liman Center

Through the work of faculty, students, and Fellows, the Arthur Liman Center for Public Interest Law aims to improve the ability of individuals and groups to obtain fair treatment under the law. Since 1997, the Center has helped to launch hundreds of public sector legal careers, taught seminars to understand the impact of law on the country's diverse residents, undertaken innovative research to generate meaningful change, and supported communities in the hopes of contributing to a more just legal system.

The Liman Center hosts the Liman Workshop, a seminar taught in the spring of each year. Subjects have included Racial Justice and Immigrants' Rights; Rationing Access to Justice; Criminal Systems at a Crossroads; and Imprisoned: Construction, Abolition, Alternatives. In another seminar, Research for Reform, faculty collaborate with students on innovative research that informs contemporary challenges. Projects have focused on the use of solitary confinement in prisons across the United States, the impact of liens imposed on individuals who are incarcerated, the treatment of incarcerated women, and access to voting for people in detention. The Liman Center also hosts an annual colloquium to bring together scholars, students, lawyers, social scientists, community leaders, and other experts to address issues in criminal and civil law reform and in legal education.

Each year, the Center awards several Liman Fellowships that fund Yale Law School graduates to spend a year working in the public interest at host organizations around the United States. In addition, the Center supports Liman Summer Fellowships for students at Barnard College, Brown University, Bryn Mawr College, Harvard University, Princeton University, Spelman College, Stanford University, and Yale University. The Liman Center is also home to in-residence Fellows who join in teaching and research at Yale Law School.

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Seeing Solitary

In 2023, the Liman Center launched the online data dashboard *Seeing Solitary* to create a route to resources and data for understanding the role that solitary confinement plays in U.S. prisons.

The dashboard offers insight into the scope and impact of solitary confinement in the United States. Firsthand accounts, state and federal policies and legislation, and research illuminate solitary confinement's harms and efforts to limit or abolish its use. Demographic data, shown as tables and graphs, come from responses to surveys of state and federal prison systems. The website provides an interactive method for learning about the number of people reported to be held in isolation and some of the conditions of confinement, in the hopes of bringing about isolation's end. These materials can be accessed at seeingsolitary.limancenter.yale.edu.

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From the Directors

This Report details this year's activities. With new and former Fellows and students, we launched our first website dedicated to the topic of solitary confinement in prison. Seeing Solitary provides windows into the radical isolation imposed in state and federal prisons. Another project provided new materials for people who are incarcerated to know more about their rights. We also continued to learn about the impediments that eligible voters in Connecticut face when trying to vote while incarcerated. Likewise, we expanded collaborative efforts in this state and nationally to lessen abusive fines and fees, to be more supportive of individuals released from incarceration and under supervision, and to explore alternative responses to disputes.

We were moved and honored that the U.S. Department of Justice chose to announce its new effort to reduce abusive monetary sanctions at this year's 26th annual Liman Colloquium, Budgeting for Justice: Fiscal Policy and Monetary Sanctions. There, and with support from Arnold Ventures, the Liman Center joined with the Brennan Center at NYU, the Fines and Fees Justice Center, the Policy Advocacy Clinic at Berkeley Law, and the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities to host some 200 people who work at the intersection of fiscal policy and criminal law reform. Bryan Stevenson of the Equal Justice Initiative gave a powerful and painful account of the harms imposed when governments fine their residents. Participants learned more about what the federal government is doing about fines and fees from Vanita Gupta, Associate Attorney General of the United States, and from Rachel Rossi, Director of the U.S. Department of Justice's Office for Access to Justice. The impact of state task forces on race, gender, and economic injustice was the topic of commentary by Associate Justice Anita Earls of the Supreme Court of North Carolina and by Associate Justice Sheryl Gordon McCloud of the Washington Supreme Court. The sessions were generative, as the mix of public finance experts, community organizers, lawyers, policymakers, academics, and students made for intensive exchanges about current challenges at the local level and successful interventions.

As always, the Colloquium was an occasion to welcome the return of current and former Liman Fellows and to introduce the incoming group. Eight new Fellows have

now begun public interest projects in host organizations from one coast of the country to the other. The Center was delighted it could, with significant support from host organizations, enable two current fellows to continue. Erin Drake is focused on supporting the labor rights of players in the Women's National Basketball Association, and Aseem Mehta is providing holistic representation to individuals held in immigration detention.

Also participating in the Colloquium were 38 incoming Liman Summer Fellows, who are undergraduates at Barnard, Brown, Bryn Mawr, Harvard, Princeton, Spelman, Stanford, and Yale. Their work likewise traversed the country at diverse organizations including the Ella Baker Center for Human Rights in Oakland, California; the Minnesota Disability Law Center in Minneapolis, Minnesota; the Georgia Asylum and Immigration Network in Atlanta, Georgia; PAYouthVote in Philadelphia, Pennsylvannia; Operation Food Search in St. Louis, Missouri; and the Central American Resource Center in Houston, Texas.

This Report provides glimpses of our many programs and collaborative research projects. With support from Yale's Oscar M. Ruebhausen Fund, the Seeing Solitary website will continue to expand under the guidance of our new Senior Fellow in Residence, Pardiss Kebriaei, who spent many years at the Center for Constitutional Rights and represented clients at Guantánamo Bay. That work has also shaped her concern for the health harms of long-term detention. With the Solomon Center for Health Law & Policy at Yale Law School, led by Professor Abbe Gluck, and colleagues at Yale's School of Public Health and School of Medicine, we are building a project to explore modes of documenting those injuries and proposals to lessen the harms. That effort dovetails with a collaboration between the Liman Center, the YLS Clinical Program, the Legal Services Organization led by Miriam Gohara, and the Office of the Federal Public Defender for the District of Connecticut to help formerly incarcerated people under supervised release. The Center's Curtis-Liman Fellow serves as the bridge, and that work mixes direct representation with research on available health care treatment for people subject to conditional release.

FROM THE DIRECTORS

Looking for alternative paths to dispute resolution is the focus of The Quinnipiac-Yale Dispute Resolution Workshop. The Liman Center joins the Quinnipiac Center on Dispute Resolution in sessions related to initiatives that can mediate conflicts and improve the experiences of people navigating the legal system. This fall, Quinnipiac and Liman jointly hosted the Alternative Dispute Resolution Works-in-Progress Conference, sponsored by the Association of American Law Schools, and convened at Yale Law School.

The classroom and research projects are central to our work. As we did last year, this coming spring, the Liman Workshop will explore the origins of the U.S. prison system, the impact of today's practices of punishment, and efforts to end many forms of harm. We will co-teach with Yale School of Medicine faculty in Psychiatry and be joined by Forensic Psychiatry Fellows from the Law and Psychiatry program.

This year has been a time of motion and growth for the Liman Center. We welcomed D. Nicole Gehring as our new, full-time Center Coordinator. Marilyn Wilkes joined the Liman Center as Communications Director, following Serena Crawford's move to the Yale School of Medicine. The many facets of the Center's program rely on collaboration with colleagues and are enabled by generous support from Yale Law School and its special funds; from Vital Projects Fund; Arnold Ventures; Alan Bersin and Lisa Foster; Nancy Marder and Jeremy Eden; Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison LLP; the family and classmates of Amy Meselson; the Liman Family; and many others, whose friendship enriches us. Each year, with this Report, we welcome your thoughts and look forward to being in touch in the months to come.

Jennifer Taylor Director Judith Resnik
Founding Director

The 26th Annual Colloquium

Budgeting for Justice: Fiscal Policy and Monetary Sanctions

During the last few decades, state and local institutions—including courts, jails and prisons, and community supervision programs—have moved away from using broad-based revenue sources, such as general taxes, to fund services. Instead, governments are imposing fines and fees on individuals when charged with traffic or other legal violations, while defending cases in court, in detention before and after trial, and during post-conviction incarceration and supervision. As the Fines and Fees Justice Center explained, one consequence is "a two-tiered system of justice where poor people—and particularly communities of color—are disproportionately punished."

Joined by the Fines and Fees Justice Center, the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, the Policy Advocacy Clinic at the UC Berkeley School of Law, and the Brennan Center for Justice, and with the support of Arnold Ventures, the Liman Center hosted its 26th annual colloquium, Budgeting for Justice: Fiscal Policy and Monetary Sanctions on April 20-22, 2023. The Colloquium, which featured an announcement of new guidance from the U.S. Department of Justice, brought together policymakers, litigators, faculty, students, and others working at the intersections of criminal punishment, government services, and public finance. They traveled to YLS from 22 states and more than 80 organizations. Given the expertise and knowledge of the participants, the program prioritized discussion and collaborative engagement.

Welcomes and introductions came from Dean Heather Gerken. Judith Resnik provided a history of the Liman Center. They expressed thanks to Arnold Ventures, which generously funded the gathering, and to Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison LLP, Arthur Liman's former law firm, for its sustaining support.

After an introduction by Liman Center Director and former Equal Justice Initiative (EJI) attorney Jennifer Taylor '10, Bryan Stevenson launched the Colloquium with a moving address. The Director of EJI and a recent recipient of President Biden's National Humanities Medal, Stevenson spoke on *The Costs of Punishment*. He challenged attendees to see the connection between fines

and fees, public finance, and the ways those systems impact people enmeshed in the criminal legal system. Stevenson shared details of cases he had encountered.



Jennifer Taylor, Director, Liman Center; Bryan Stevenson, Director, Equal Justice Initiative; and Judith Resnik, Arthur Liman Professor of Law, Yale Law School

One involved an 82-year-old Black woman in Valley, Alabama, who hadn't paid a \$77 garbage bill. The police went to her home, arrested her, placed her in handcuffs, and took her to the police station where she was put in a cage. "There is a larger narrative behind the way in which we use fees and fines and fiscal policy to punish the incarcerated and condemn them with fees," Stevenson said. "And I don't think we're going to be effective at deconstructing these systems and providing meaningful remedies if we don't take on this larger narrative."

Referencing the massive increase in U.S. incarceration rates between the 1970s and today, Stevenson attributed that growth to a focus on punishment over treatment and warned that similar trends are now resurfacing. "We're once again seeing the emergence of the politics of fear and anger. And not only is it a threat to the progress that's been made in carceral studies, but it's also a threat to democracy. Our policies are not just things that legislators or policy makers make in the ether. They are a reaction to narratives that we are told."

"We're going to have to talk about changing a narrative that sustains and supports the challenges that these issues have created," Stevenson continued. "Narrative work requires a deep and rigorous understanding of

what's really happening and what's really at play. What are the forces moving and shaking policy making and how do we disrupt those? And it will require litigation, it will require research, and it will require advocacy."

The Role of the Federal Government and The View from the State Courts, moderated by Judith Resnik and Lisa Foster, Co-Director of the Fines and Fees Justice Center, brought together Justice Anita Earls '87 of the North Carolina Supreme Court and Justice Sheryl Gordon McCloud of the Washington Supreme Court. The session began with remarks by Associate U.S. Attorney General Vanita Gupta, who announced issuance of the "Dear Colleague" letter containing new Department of Justice guidance that takes a critical view of the use of fines and fees as punishment in the criminal legal system.



Sheryl Gordon McCloud, Associate Justice, Washington Supreme Court; Anita Earls, Associate Justice, North Carolina Supreme Court; Judith Resnik; Vanita Gupta, Associate Attorney General of the United States; and Lisa Foster, Co-director, Fines and Fees Justice Center and former Director, U.S. Department of Justice Office for Access to Justice.

The April 20 letter from the Civil Rights Division, the Office of Justice Projects, and the Office for Access to Justice, issued the day before the Associate Attorney General's remarks, affirmed the Department of Justice's principled commitment to equal justice under the law and to ensure that all people, no matter their economic resources, can use state and federal court systems.

"Fines and fees that are assessed without consideration of ability to pay can have a devastating impact on a person's life," Gupta said. "Individuals who are unable to pay can become trapped in escalating and inescapable cycles of debt, extended periods of probation and

parole, changes to immigration status, and repeated, unnecessary incarceration."

Gupta described the far-reaching effects fines and fees can have on people. "They can lose their employment, voting rights, driver's licenses, homes, or even custody of their children," she said. "These practices affect not just individuals but their families as well. And these detrimental effects fall disproportionately on low-income communities and people of color."

Justice Earls discussed the work of the Governor's Task Force on Racial Equity and Criminal Justice that she co-chairs and the steps taken in North Carolina to develop and help implement solutions that will eliminate disparate outcomes in the criminal justice system for communities of color. Justice McCloud, chair of the Washington State Task Force on Gender and Justice in the Courts, explained that individuals are subject to high fines for small infractions. The Justice Department guidance cited a decision of Washington's Supreme Court in which the test of "excessive fines" addressed both the proportionality of a fine to an offense and to a person's ability to pay.

Panelists and audience members welcomed the Justice Department's guidance-which renewed guidance last provided in 2016 - as an important contribution to work across the country. "The 2016 Department of Justice's Dear Colleague letter was what got me into this work when I started at Legal Aid," said Edward Wunch, who attended the Colloquium from Oklahoma, where he works.

Another panel, The "State" of State and Local Budgets, aimed to clarify state funding and fiscal challenges. Facilitators Mike Leachman of the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities and Kim Rueben of the Urban Institute described how states and cities raise and spend money, the impact of the Great Recession and of COVID, and the looming challenges facing states, cities, and their residents. "It's just really important to recognize that state and local tax and budget policies are crucially important," said Leachman. "They have been both a powerful tool for oppression, and they can be a powerful tool for liberation and freedom."

The session on Budget-Driven Policy Changes, moderated by Lisa Foster, explored the way that several jurisdictions have succeeded in limiting or ending fines and fees by using the budget process to drive changes in fiscal

policy. Speakers included Stephanie Campos-Bui from Berkeley Law, Will Hall from the City of Philadelphia's Office of Community Empowerment and Opportunity, Martin Hoshino from the Public Policy Institute of California, and Joanna Weiss, Co-Director of the Fines and Fees Justice Center. They discussed examples from California, Philadelphia, and New York.

Friday's agenda also included several breakout sessions. In How to Read a Local/State Budget, Jared Knowles from Civilytics began by remarking that "Budgets reflect the values of those with power. In a responsive democracy, those are our values. When the values are out of sync with the people, who has power is revealed in the budget." In the presentation that followed, Knowles covered questions such as what budgets are and why they matter. He also shared some key terms to enable people to understand city and county budgets, discussed budget limitations for advocacy, barriers faced by advocates, and paths forward.

Funding State Services Without Reliance on Fines and Fees was led by facilitators Aravind Boddupalli from the Urban Institute, Mike Leachman and Whitney Tucker from the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, and former Liman Fellow Megan Quattlebaum '10 from the Council of State Governments Justice Center. "There are a lot of different options for funding state services and a lot of those have traditionally not been seen as within the realm of criminal justice or criminal legal systems," said Leachman. "More progressive income taxation is one avenue for states and localities to get additional funds that could be used to decrease reliance on fines and fees. A part of the state-level strategy to raise funds should also include calling attention to all of the ways that localities are preempted and restricted from raising funding and that stop them from being able to provide the services and supports that people need."

In Municipal Budgets: Challenges and Opportunities, facilitators Brian Highsmith '17 of the Liman Center, Anne Stuhldreher of the San Francisco Financial Justice Project, and LiJia Gong of Local Progress led a discussion focused on tips and obstacles for adjusting municipal budgets to lessen reliance on fines and fees revenue. They discussed state laws preempting municipal reform efforts and limits on the authority of localities to impose taxes. Participants were encouraged to explore eliminating or creating discounts for fines and fees, piloting different solutions to see what works best, advocating for

statewide reform, and supporting other municipalities across the country.

L.B. Eisen of the Brennan Center, Neil Steinkamp of Stout Investment Banking, and Karin Martin of the University of Washington presented their research on measuring direct, ancillary, and indirect community costs. Their session, entitled What Counts in "Cost-Benefit" Analyses? shared findings on how fines and fees are an erratic revenue source for the government, and thus an unwise foundation for a budget. "It is difficult to actually assess so many of the costs that we know are happening when courts assess and try to collect and post fees and fines," said L.B. Eisen.

The Storytelling and Journalism session featured facilitators Leah Nelson and Callie Greer of Alabama Appleseed and Anavictoria Avila and Devan Shea of the Policy Advocacy Clinic at Berkeley Law. In a conversation that focused on mobilizing communities, speakers described how they incorporate storytelling into advocacy campaigns, the most effective ways to work with journalists to explain complex systems, and the importance of ensuring that impacted people control and present their narratives.

"My biggest piece of advice to anybody that's looking to develop relationships with journalists is that you really need to be available to them," said Nelson. "You need to have multiple tracks of information that you're giving them. And just bear in mind that they do need a ton of guidance and you will not get an outcome that you like if you're not very candid with them, very available, and make it as easy as possible. Their job is hard."

"What will it cost?" was the question explored in the Fiscal Note Analyses and Rebuttals session with facilitators Rourke O'Brien from Yale University, Lillian Patil from the Fines and Fees Justice Center, and Martin Hoshino from the Public Policy Institute of California. "How do we think about the full suite of costs and benefits and then how do we sell that to the all-important scorekeepers?" asked O'Brien. "For those of us who are actually working on these issues day to day, be proactive. The folks who work in these city and state budget offices are doing their best to try to figure out what would be the revenue impact of reducing some fines or eliminating some fines and fees. But they might not necessarily know all of the complexities around what it takes to try to collect that money. A big part of our job is to be upfront and educate by going to budget folks

and bringing our own analysis of what we think the real revenue impacts are going to be and become partners in that process."

The session Imposing, Fees, Fines, and Surcharges in Jails, Prisons, and for "Diversion" examined the financial costs imposed upon incarcerated people and their families - from "pay to stay" liens imposed after release to in-detention charges for phone calls, health care, and food and supplies, and in-prison fines imposed as additional punishment. The four facilitators were Hannah Duncan '21, the 2022-2023 Curtis-Liman Fellow at the Federal Defender Office for the District of Connecticut; former Liman Center Director Anna VanCleave, now a clinical professor at the University of Connecticut Law School; Ashley Spalding of the Kentucky Center for Economic Policy; and Ebony Ruhland of Rutgers University. In sharing their experiences trying to limit or end these costs, participants described these opaque fees as difficult to predict, measure, and challenge.

Friday's closing remarks came from Rachel Rossi, director of the U.S. Department of Justice Office for Access to Justice, whose topic was *Agenda Setting and Moving Forward*. Rossi described the Office for Access to Justice's mission "to engage in the bold and systemic work necessary to ensure that all communities have access to the promises and protections of our legal system." She highlighted some of the initiatives launched since the Office was reestablished at the end of 2021. That work included drafting and publication of a report by the Reentry Coordination Council, relaunching the Language Access Working Group, moving the federal government's pro bono program into the Office for Access to Justice and expanding its resources and staff



Rachel Rossi, director of the U.S. Department of Justice Office for Access to Justice, at the podium, and Lisa Foster, seated.

for the first time in over 20 years, stewarding the White House Legal Aid Interagency Roundtable, reinvigorating the voice of the United States on access to justice globally through participation in the Democracy Day Zero event, and partnering with the DOJ's Civil Rights Division and the Office for Justice Programs to issue the April 20 "Dear Colleague" letter addressing the imposition and enforcement of justice-related fines and fees.

"We are pursuing our mission to make the promise of justice real for all, regardless of economic status," said Rossi. She identified three central goals that guide the Office's work: increasing justice system access, safeguarding justice system integrity, and accelerating justice system innovation.

"Our commitment to breaking down barriers to accessing our legal systems is probably the most intuitive aspect of our work," said Rossi. "We know that there is a myriad of ways that justice system fines and fees implicate this principle. Equal access to justice requires us to root out longstanding systemic inequities to ensure the integrity of the legal systems themselves."

"The combined advocacy, research, and policy expertise of the individuals in this room is unmatched," Rossi told Colloquium participants, "and your tireless efforts have spurred reforms to fines and fees practices throughout the United States." Her office is committed "to lifting up these efforts and to creating additional opportunities for advocates and innovators like those in this room to share what has worked and what can work so that the reforms and the innovations spread."

Rossi closed by announcing that the Office for Access to Justice would be following up on the "Dear Colleague" letter by conducting an in-depth review of current fines and fees practices throughout the country and preparing a report about innovative and effective work by states, municipalities, and court officials. "This report, we hope, will serve as a guide and resource for other leaders who aspire to implement more just and effective fines and fees practices."

The Colloquium ended with Reflections and Operationalizing Next Steps: Resources, Research, and Collaboration, led by L.B. Eisen, Brian Highsmith, and Judith Resnik. Highsmith provided three questions to guide discussion: What's one thing you learned that you didn't know before? What is a need that you hope someone in this room might be able to help you fill? And what

is something that you can contribute to this group and its efforts?

A recap of the program of the 26th annual Colloquium is below.

A Brief History of the Liman Center

Dean Heather Gerken, Sol & Lillian Goldman
Professor of Law

Judith Resnik, Arthur Liman Professor of Law

The Costs of Punishment

Introduction by Jennifer Taylor, Director of the Liman Center

Bryan Stevenson, Director, Equal Justice Initiative

The "State" of State and Local Budgets

Mike Leachman, Center on Budget and Policy Priorities Kim Rueben, Urban Institute

Budget-Driven Policy Changes

Stephanie Campos-Bui, Berkeley Law

Will Hall, Philadelphia Office of Community

Empowerment and Opportunity

Martin Hoshino, Public Policy Institute of California

Joanna Weiss, Fines and Fees Justice Center

MODERATOR: Lisa Foster, Fines and Fees Justice Center

How to Read a Local/State Budget Jared Knowles, Civilytics

Funding State Services Without Reliance on Fines and Fees

Aravind Boddupalli, Urban Institute

Mike Leachman and Whitney Tucker, Center on Budget and Policy Priorities

Megan Quattlebaum, Council for State Governments
Justice Center

The Role of the Federal Government and the View from the State Courts

Vanita Gupta, Associate Attorney General of the United States

Anita Earls, Associate Justice, North Carolina Supreme Court Sheryl Gordon McCloud, Associate Justice,

Washington Supreme Court

MODERATORS: Lisa Foster, Fines and Fees Justice Center, and Judith Resnik, Yale Law School

Municipal Budgets: Challenges and Opportunities
Brian Highsmith, Liman Center
Anne Stuhldreher, SF Financial Justice Project
LiJia Gong, Local Progress

What Counts in "Cost-Benefit" Analyses?

L.B. Eisen, Brennan Center for Justice

Neil Steinkamp, Stout

Karin Martin, University of Washington

Storytelling and Journalism

Leah Nelson and Callie Greer, Alabama Appleseed

Anavictoria Avila and Devan Shea, Berkeley Law

Fiscal Note Analyses and Rebuttals

Rourke O'Brien, Yale University

Lillian Patil, Fines and Fees Justice Center

Martin Hoshino, Public Policy Institute of California

Imposing, Fees, Fines, and Surcharges in Jails, Prisons, and for "Diversion"

Andrea Armstrong, Loyola-New Orleans

Hannah Duncan, Curtis-Liman Fellow, Federal Defender

Office, District of Connecticut

Ebony Ruhland, Rutgers University

Ashley Spalding, Kentucky Center for Economic Policy

Anna VanCleave, UConn Law

Agenda Setting and Moving Forward

Rachel Rossi, Director, U.S. Department of Justice

Office for Access to Justice

Reflections and Operationalizing Next Steps: Resources, Research, and Collaboration

L.B. Eisen, Brennan Center for Justice

Brian Highsmith, Liman Center Judith Resnik, Yale Law School

SCENES FROM THE COLLOQUIUM

SCENES FROM THE COLLOQUIUM



Colloquium participants outside of Yale Law School



Stephen B. Bright, Harvey L. Karp Visiting Lecturer in Law at Yale Law School; Abby Liman, granddaughter of Arthur Liman; Jennifer Taylor '10; Bryan Stevenson; Judith Resnik; and Heather Gerken, Sol & Lillian Goldman Professor of Law and Dean of Yale Law School.



Aravind Bodduppalli, Research Associate, Urban Institute; Megan Quattlebaum, Director, Council for State Governments Justice Center; Whitney Tucker, Director of State Fiscal Policy Research, Center on Budget and Policy Priorities; and Michael Leachman, Senior Vice President for State Fiscal Policy, Center on Budget and Policy Priorities



Co-conveners of the 2023 Liman Colloquium, from left to right, included Liman Center Director Jennifer Taylor; Lisa Foster, Fines and Fees Justice Center; Jeff Selbin, Policy Advocacy Clinic at Berkeley Law; Judith Resnik, Arthur Liman Professor of Law at Yale Law School; Michael Leachman, Center on Budget and Policy Priorities; Joanna Weiss, Fines and Fees Justice Center; Brian Highsmith, Liman Center; Devan Shea, Policy Advocacy Clinic at Berkeley Law; L.B. Eisen, Brennan Center for Justice; and Cybele Kotonias, Arnold Ventures.



Brian Highsmith, Affiliated Researcher, Liman Center; Anne Stuhldreher, Director, San Francisco Financial Justice Project; and LiJia Gong, Policy and Legal Director, Local Progress



Judith Resnik; Vanita Gupta; Cristina Rodriguez, Leighton Homer Surbeck Professor of Law, Yale Law School; and Abbe R. Gluck, Alfred M. Rankin Professor of Law and Faculty Director of the Solomon Center for Health Law and Policy, Yale Law School



Michael Morse, Bigelow Fellow, University of Chicago Law School; Liman Fellows Erin Drake, Aseem Mehta, and Samuel Davis; and Beth Colgan, Professor of Law, UCLA School of Law



Colloquium participants at the New Haven Lawn Club.

SCENES FROM THE COLLOQUIUM



Joanna Weiss, Co-director, Fines and Fees Justice Center; Will Hall, Director of Financial Inclusion, Philadelphia Office of Community Empowerment and Opportunity; Martin Hoshino, Chief Operating Officer, Public Policy Institute of California; Stephanie Campos-Bui, Assistant Clinical Professor of Law and Co-director of the Policy Advocacy Clinic, Berkeley Law; and Lisa Foster



Ebony Ruhland, Associate Professor of Criminal Justice, Rutgers University; Hannah Duncan, Curtis-Liman Fellow, Federal Defender Office for the District of Connecticut; Anna VanCleave, Associate Professor of Law and Director of the Criminal Defense Clinic, University of Connecticut School of Law; and Ashley Spalding, Research Director, Kentucky Center for Economic Policy



Breakout session participants discuss fines, fees, and other costs imposed during incarceration and supervised release.



Rourke O'Brien, Assistant Professor of Sociology, Yale University; Martin Hoshino; and Lillian Patil, Senior Analyst, Fines and Fees Justice Center



Lisa Foster, Jennifer Taylor, Bryan Stevenson, Judith Resnik, and Brad Karp, Chair of Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison, LLP



Neil Steinkamp, Stout Investment Banking; L.B. Eisen, Senior Director, Justice Program, Brennan Center for Justice; Karin Martin, Associate Professor of Public Policy and Governance, University of Washington; and Beth Colgan

SCENES FROM THE COLLOQUIUM



Kim Rueben, Sol Price Fellow and Director of the State and Local Finance Initiative at the Urban Institute, and Michael Leachman of the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities lead a session on state and local budgets.



Judith Resnik (center) with former Liman Directors Anna VanCleave (left) and Jenny Carroll, the Wiggins, Childs, Quinn, and Pantazis Professor of Law at the University of Alabama School of Law (right)



Abbe Gluck; Dr. Richard Schottenfeld, former head of Davenport College and current Department Chair and Professor of Psychiatry, Howard University; and Rachel Rossi



Anavictoria Avila, Clinicial Supervising Attorney, the Policy Advocacy Clinic at Berkeley Law; Leah Nelson, Research Director, Alabama Appleseed; Callie Greer, Community Navigator, Alabama Appleseed; and Devan Shea, Deputy Director, the Policy Advocacy Clinic at Berkeley Law



Participants discuss ways to reduce municipal reliance on fines and fees revenue.



Bryan Stevenson with Yale Law students and Liman Summer Fellows.

Voting for Reform

The integrity and durability of the country's democratic process are paramount and, alarmingly, at issue today. Many Liman Fellows are involved in politics, some seeking office and others trying to protect elections. Below we sketch the work of a few.



Jorge L. Baron, 2005-06 Liman Fellow, is currently running for a seat on the King County (WA) Council.

Jorge Barón, who held a Liman Fellowship in 2005, recently stepped down after 15 years as executive director of the Northwest Immigrant Rights Project and decided to run for office to become a member of the King County Council in Washington. With three people vying for the nomination, Barón secured 50.66 percent of the vote in the August 1 primary to be on the November 7 ballot running to represent District 4. His candidacy centers on racial justice and progressive funding of public services so as to enhance the wellbeing of all members of the community.

In Barón's view, King County needs to improve its electoral policies. "While we've made some progress on voting issues," he said, "we're still seeing the need to make further changes here locally. I know from a number of people that individuals are frustrated and giving up on voting, as if 'it doesn't matter; nobody's going to do anything.' I think increasing voter turnout is important." On the upside, Barón described Washington as having "a very smart system of voting with mail-in voting. It is so convenient. We can see our good fortune here when we watch the news of the lines at other places, where people had to take that time off from work to vote. I am grateful that this important reform has been put into practice."

Barón hopes his candidacy can be one route to increasing voter participation among underrepresented communities. "If elected, I will be the first person of color serving in the King County Council for my district," he said. "And, while Latinos are about 14 percent of the population, if elected, I will be the first Latino serving on the King County Council. There's been only one other person of color on the Council in the last 25 years."

Forrest Dunbar recalls that his 2012 Liman Fellowship at the Alaska Office of Public Advocacy helped him to launch his first run for office the following year: a campaign for a seat in the U.S. House of Representatives. Earning 41 percent of the vote, he narrowly lost that race in 2014. Dunbar was then elected to the Anchorage Assembly in 2016 and, in 2022, successfully ran for a seat in the Alaska State Senate. Throughout his career, Dunbar has pursued changes to expand voting rights. "In Alaska, we've had a number of innovations like automatic voter registration, ranked-choice voting, and vote by mail, at least in Anchorage, our biggest city. All those reforms happened since 2016."

Dunbar noted the risks of setbacks, including efforts to repeal the "automatic" voter registration he helped to enact in 2016. "Right now, we're in a stage of trying to get things to work and preventing bad-faith actors from breaking up the innovations," he said. "My experience and that of others involved in getting the automatic registration law passed is that not all key actors have



Forrest Dunbar, 2012-13 Liman Fellow, on his first day in the Alaska State Senate in January 2023.

been supportive and that the actual implementation of it has been flawed."

Moving to the South, the problems for Black voters are acute. In April 2023, Mississippi Governor Tate Reeves signed into law a novel provision, S.B. 2343, which brings the entire city of Jackson under the jurisdiction of the state-run Capitol Police. Reeves also enacted H.B. 1020, which created a new court to hear and determine all preliminary matters and criminal matters within the district including Jackson. This bill empowers the state supreme court to appoint an unelected judge to preside over that new court and authorizes the appointment of new, unelected Circuit Judges to the Seventh Circuit Court District in Hinds County.

"I've been working with a great litigation team to challenge the legislation that Mississippi passed seeking to strip Hinds County and Jackson residents of their right to choose many of the people who judge them and who operate the criminal legal system," explained Joe Schottenfeld, who joined the NAACP as an Assistant General Counsel after working with the organization as a Liman Fellow from 2020 to 2022.

"The population in both Hinds County and the city of Jackson is disproportionately Black," Schottenfeld explained. "Jackson is more than 80 percent Black. There's little doubt that the legislation was enacted to take away local control from Jackson's residents and from the elected Black leaders and vest it in other state actors, namely the chief justice of the Mississippi Supreme Court. The NAACP, joined by citizens of Jackson, have filed a lawsuit alleging violations of the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, so as to protect the rights of the County's residents to choose who judges them."

Efforts to undercut democratic participation are aimed not only at citizens but also at community groups. "There's been a wave of voter suppression that targets voters and organizations that try to help people vote, like the NAACP," Schottenfeld said. "When people are struggling to vote or they're facing long lines or hostile people, it is critical to have assistance from community-based groups to stand with them and help them exercise their political power. The struggle now is twofold: to secure voting rights and to make them real on the ground."

Working with Schottenfeld, Evan Walker-Wells was an Atlanta-based Liman Fellow at the NAACP Office of General Counsel during the 2022 midterm election, assisting with voter protection work around the country. "The general election and the runoff were my first focus, as access to voting is central to the NAACP's concerns that intersect with its commitments to economic security, racial justice, and eviction prevention," said Walker-Wells.

"Georgia is one of these states that, after the 2020 election, passed laws to make it easier for individuals to challenge other people's registration. Those laws permit registered voters to challenge other voters' eligibility, which could result in cutting eligible individuals from the voting rolls. For example, some individuals challenged more than 10,000 people's voting. Our office was working with partners to limit these harms."

Walker-Wells remains hopeful that Congress will enact legislation to strengthen federal protections for voters nationwide. One example is the proposed John R. Lewis Voting Rights Advancement Act, honoring the work of late Congressman Lewis by making, as he said, "good trouble." The point of the statute is to correct the Supreme Court's misinterpretation of the 1965 Voting Rights Act which weakened its protections. The Act, which in 2021 passed the U.S. House and failed in the Senate, was re-introduced by Congresswoman Terri Sewell (D-AL) on September 19, 2023. Walker-Wells said, "The John Lewis Act would make it easier for many people, including Black voters, tribal nation members who live on reservations, and others to vote in federal and state elections. There's just so much that could be improved through federal action that advocates need to continue to try to push for it."

The difference between legal rights and implementation has been a central research concern of the Liman Center this year. Liman Director Jennifer Taylor led a team of students to document the experiences of eligible voters held in Connecticut jails and prisons after the 2022 election. That work built upon a project the Liman Center first launched prior to the 2020 election, led by former Senior Liman Fellow in Residence Zal Shroff and former Liman Director Anna VanCleave, to identify eligible incarcerated voters and provide information on how to register and request an absentee ballot to people throughout Connecticut jails in prisons. Under current Connecticut law, people in detention before trial or with

low-level charges are eligible to vote and can do so by casting an absentee ballot. In practice, as VanCleave wrote in a May 2021 New Haven Register op-ed, incarcerated voters "face administrative complexities, delays, and information gaps that stand in the way of getting their ballots cast."

"This year, our research found that more than 3,000 people incarcerated in Connecticut at the time of the November 2022 election were eligible to vote, usually because they were held pre-trial and had not been convicted," Taylor explained. The research was drawn from data obtained through the use of a computer program developed with the help of 2021 Liman Fellow Eli Feasley and Aaron Karp, a Brown University data analyst who volunteered time for the project. "In addition, more than 1,200 of those 3,000 people were registered to vote on election day. By building upon this research, we plan to support a coalition effort to continue to press Connecticut lawmakers and officials to prioritize closing the gap between incarcerated people's right to vote and their actual ability to do so."

Following the 2022 general election, the Liman Center joined with the Full Citizens Coalition, a Connecticutbased organization of formerly incarcerated people advocating to end felony disenfranchisement, to solicit information about the experience of voting behind bars. "We knew, anecdotally, that many people who could legally vote by absentee ballot were encountering significant obstacles trying to exercise those rights in practice," said Taylor. "With the help of community organizations with direct ties to incarcerated organizing networks, we received information from more than 130 eligible incarcerated voters in Connecticut."

Nearly two-thirds of the 130 who shared their experiences believed they were registered to vote in November 2022, but only four-approximately 3 percent of that group - actually voted. The feedback underscores the problem of a lack of access. Sixty percent of the 130 responding indicated that they felt discouraged from voting while incarcerated and 87 percent reported that they would have voted if they had not been behind bars on election day. Ninety-seven percent of this group said they did not see publicly posted information about how to vote in the jail or prison facility before the election. A third reported they requested that information, but fewer than 3 percent said they received it.

"I actually registered to vote shortly before I was incarcerated and would have liked to vote if I had the chance," one respondent told the Liman Center. "The Department of Corrections does a horrible job of informing inmates of their rights and options pertaining to voting and our rights as citizens of this state."

"The 130 people we heard from represent about a tenth of registered incarcerated voters. That's nowhere near exhaustive, but the aggregate experiences and narrative descriptions we gathered help to put a face and voice to a form of voter suppression that is usually hidden from view," Taylor said. "With other community organizations and legal advocates like the state's Unlock the Vote coalition, the Liman Center will continue to pursue reforms to remove the barriers to voting for incarcerated people."

Absentee ballot access has also been a focus for Elizabeth Pierson, a 2018 Liman Fellow now working on democracy issues in Wisconsin. One recent county circuit court ruling, she explained, limits municipal election clerks by providing confusing instructions regarding whether they can accept absentee ballots with incomplete but discernible address information. "We've seen that some clerks in the state have had inconsistent responses, and there's a real concern that some absentee ballots are not being counted, for bad reasons, frankly," said Pierson. "It's a function of a lack of clarity in what they should be doing."

After completing her Fellowship project to expand housing rights for low-income residents, Pierson clerked on a federal district court before joining Law Forward in 2022. "Everything we do has to do with reducing barriers to voting and making sure that everybody's vote counts equally, and that government functions the way that it should and in an accountable way," she explained. Law Forward also represents 19 Wisconsin voters in a lawsuit challenging the state's legislative maps as an unconstitutional partisan gerrymander.

To Pierson, casting a ballot is harder than it should be for far too many Americans. "Voting is the most basic constitutional freedom, everything else comes from that. The fact that we're in this situation where there are people who want to set up barriers to voting and often rely on arguments about voter fraud that we know are not fact-based is really a problem. The amount of voter fraud that occurs is minuscule compared to the people

who are actually disenfranchised by unnecessary restrictions on the right to vote."

"In the summer of 2022, the Wisconsin Supreme Court issued a decision that got rid of ballot drop boxes and also said that it was not legal to have somebody drop off your absentee ballot for you," she said. "The court did not include any acknowledgment that voters with disabilities needed such assistance to cast their ballots. We represented several voters who were disenfranchised by the Court's ruling. We asked the federal court to declare that under the Americans with Disabilities Act disabled voters do have the right to get assistance with their absentee ballots. We won that case." The court's August 2022 decision in Carey v. Wisconsin Elections Commission held that state law cannot bar disabled voters from receiving assistance to return their absentee ballots in person or by mail.

At the Brennan Center for Justice, former Liman Fellows Alicia Bannon and Alice Clapman work toward the organizational mission "to uphold the values of democracy." As Senior Counsel for Democracy, Clapman focuses on election security and election integrity, and as part of the Brennan Center's Voting Rights team, "I'm focused on how we protect our electoral systems from the type of subversion we saw in 2020," she said. "There is unfortunately no shortage of examples of election subversion that one can take from 2020 and even 2022, both in Georgia and elsewhere."

A 2006 Liman Fellow, Clapman just published a paper, How States Can Prevent Election Subversion in 2024 and Beyond, that identifies the types of state policies that best protect election systems from subversion and "surveys the pressure points for election subversion." She explained that "many of the examples come from battleground states like Georgia-in fact, most of them do because that's where people have focused their efforts."

"Gerrymandering is at the heart of so many other problems that we're seeing when it comes to voting rights," Clapman explained when asked to consider the greatest current challenges to American democracy. "There are gerrymandered legislatures that are far removed from popular opinion on a lot of issues and push toward extremism, and then they pass extreme restrictions on voting rights, like voter ID laws that disenfranchise large numbers of people," she continued. "I think, without redistricting reform, you have this problem of extreme state legislatures that are more prone

to restricting voting rights and also prone to trying to interfere in election administration, such as in Georgia."

Alicia Bannon has worked on a number of issues surrounding voting reform since joining the Brennan Center as a 2009 Liman Fellow. "For several years I managed the Center's redistricting team where we focused on fairness in the redistricting process, where electoral lines get drawn. This includes addressing racial discrimination in the process as well as partisan gerrymandering. We brought a lawsuit in Ohio challenging the gerrymandered state legislative map there, as well as supporting policy reforms to promote fair maps."

Now, as Director of Brennan's Judiciary Program, Bannon focuses on the courts as institutions critical to voting and the political system. "We have a new initiative focused on state courts and state constitutionalism and ensuring that state courts are robust venues to protect rights, and that includes voting rights. State courts can be, and in some cases have been, bulwarks to protect voting rights. Nearly every state constitution has an explicit constitutional protection for the right to vote. Many state constitutions also have other provisions around fair elections that we argue should be given robust interpretation to protect voters' rights. Our work is on the courts, an often overlooked but very important institution for protecting our democracy."

Bannon noted that decisions from the U.S. Supreme Court over the last decade have repeatedly weakened critical legal protections such as the 1965 Voting Rights Act. Like Evan Walker-Wells, she holds out hope for congressional intervention. "I'd highlight two bills that would lift up voters' rights - the Freedom to Vote Act and the John Lewis Voting Rights Advancement Act," she explained. "Those are clear steps that Congress could take and should take that would make a tremendous difference for our democracy."

Seeing Solitary

Liman Center Launches Website to Document **Solitary Confinement's Impact**

The Liman Center created an online data dashboard Seeing Solitary to provide a route to resources and data for understanding the role that solitary confinement plays in U.S. prisons. The site, which went live on April 4, 2023, was developed in coordination with Hyperobjekt, a digital design agency focused on innovative work for social good, and made possible through support from Yale Law School's Oscar M. Ruebhausen Fund.

The website permits insights into the scope and impact of solitary confinement in the United States. Firsthand accounts, policies, legislation, and research illuminate solitary confinement's impact on human beings. Demographic data, shown as tables and graphs, come from surveys of state and federal prison systems. The website provides an interactive method for learning about the number of people reported to be held in isolation and some of the conditions of confinement. This information is drawn from the series Time in Cell, published from 2014 to 2022 and available on the Liman Center website.

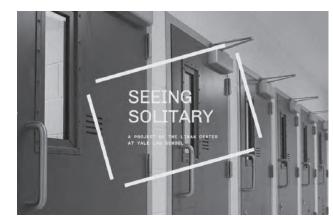
"No one who hasn't lived in solitary confinement can 'see' solitary," said Liman Professor Judith Resnik. "Instead, this site offers opportunities for everyone – inside and out-to glimpse the parameters of the radical restrictions on normal activities and movement that should be ruled out as a form of punishment."

Seeing Solitary supports ongoing efforts by individuals and organizations throughout the country to reduce and end these "profound constraints on ordinary human movement and interaction," according to the Liman Center. On April 2, 2023, the site was noted in a segment on the HBO current events show, Last Week Tonight with John Oliver. That Oliver segment review of solitary confinement has since generated more than 3.8 million views on Youtube.

Liman Center faculty and students continue to build Seeing Solitary through research projects to document legislative developments and opportunities for intersectional collaboration with experts in mental and physical health. This work aims to complement existing resources, such as Calculating Torture, a 2023 report by

Unlock the Box and Solitary Watch, and other work produced on this issue. The Center's ongoing work in this area brings collaboration with skilled and dedicated students; the Solomon Center for Health Law & Policy at Yale Law School, led by Professor Abbe Gluck; and Pardiss Kebriaei, who has joined the Liman Center as a Senior Fellow in Residence.

Visit the site at seeingsolitary.limancenter.yale.edu



A page from Seeing Solitary

Connecticut Prisoners' Rights Manual

Liman Center Leads Effort to Help Incarcerated People Know Their Rights

In 2008, when Jennifer Taylor '10 was a student in Yale Law School's Prison Legal Services clinic and working with Professor Brett Dignam, she helped answer letters from people incarcerated in Connecticut. In these replies, she would often copy and include pages from a manual that explained the legal rights of people held in the state's prisons. Fourteen years later, Taylor returned to YLS as the Director of the Liman Center and launched an effort to update the manual as a joint project with the Lillian Goldman Law Library and the Law and Racial Justice Center.

The first manual, Connecticut Prisoners' Rights, was written by Peter Stern '97 and published in 1997. It included information about administrative rules, policies, and legal requirements that governed sending and receiving mail, personal privacy, and prison conditions. The manual described how incarcerated individuals could enforce their rights, and the options available to those who believed their rights hade been violated.

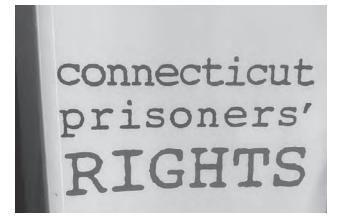
In 2022, Taylor learned that the manual continued to serve as a resource for incarcerated individuals and for clinic students trying to help them. However, it had not been revised since she was a student. "That was concerning," she said, "because the manual is out of date in a lot of ways."

As part of the 2022-2023 Liman class, Research for Reform, a team of law students, law school faculty and affiliates, joined by several formerly incarcerated staff and consultants, reviewed Connecticut Prisoners' Rights and developed a system for processing and responding to the letters incarcerated people send to the Liman Center, the Lillian Goldman Law Library, and others at Yale Law School. The questions posed in those letters also helped to guide the information included in the revision of the manual. Much of the team continued that work through the summer and fall of 2023. Both Taylor and Kayla Vinson, the inaugural Executive Director of the Law and Racial Justice Center at Yale Law School, see the project as an opportunity to respond to some of the many needs of incarcerated individuals.

"One of the most striking and devastating lessons from my career as a lawyer has been the massive gulf between the legal needs of incarcerated people and the capacity of public interest advocates and organizations to provide that help," Taylor said.

One goal, according to Taylor, is to publish the new manual in print and online and make the resource available to currently and formerly incarcerated people in Connecticut. Another goal is to have an impact on law students, just as working with the Prison Legal Services clinic influenced Taylor's own career and work.

Vinson shares the hope that these efforts will help incarcerated people and protect their rights. "The manual is a tool they can use to make legal arguments that help to reshape the law," she said. "For the many people serving time under excessive sentences or wrongful convictions, I hope this project helps to rectify those wrongs."



The first Connecticut Prisoners' Rights manual from 1997

The Challenges of Supervised Release

The Curtis-Liman Fellowship at the New Haven Federal Defender Office

As the 2022–23 Curtis-Liman Clinical Fellow, Hannah Duncan '21 spent a year working with the Federal Defender's Office (FDO) for the District of Connecticut in New Haven. Through the representation of several clients serving terms of supervised release and probation, she sought to understand their experiences and what changes in law and practice could limit their risk of returning to incarceration.

In Connecticut, more than 75 percent of federal defendants receive a sentence of supervised release following incarceration, and that term of supervision can last anywhere from a year to a lifetime. Conditions of supervised release generally require court-ordered treatment for the purpose of "rehabilitation." The United States Probation Office (USPO) contracts with mental health and substance use agencies to provide court-ordered treatment. These contracts permit the USPO to direct the terms of treatment, including drug testing, monthly reports, and notice for missed sessions. The FDO works with mental health professionals who have raised concerns that contracting for treatment undermines the therapeutic alliance that is important for clients and providers.

Duncan's pursuit of this work as a Curtis-Liman Clinical Fellow was grounded in the experiences she had as a Yale Law student. "I participated in the Challenging Mass Incarceration clinic, which is supervised by Miriam Gohara, Clinical Professor of Law at Yale Law School, and the Federal Defender's Office," she said. "It was so focused on post-conviction mitigation and how to tell our clients' stories in the most meaningful way possible. I was also working as a student director of the Liman Center. I was involved in preparing the colloquium and the seminar focused on incarceration. Those two experiences-the direct representation of an individual client through the clinic, coupled with the broader vantage point of looking at the history of incarceration and the protections or lack thereof for prisoners - made this fellowship the perfect fit for my interests and the kind of impact I wanted to have."

Established in 2020 to honor Professor Dennis Curtis, a co-founder of Yale Law School's clinical program, the Curtis-Liman Clinical Fellowship focuses on alternatives to incarceration and the impact of fines, fees, and other costs associated with criminal law enforcement. The Fellowship is co-hosted by the Federal Defender Office of Connecticut, the Jerome N. Frank Legal Services Organization (LSO), and the Liman Center. The Fellow helps supervise cases in collaboration with the LSO, co-teaches the Liman Workshop seminar, and works with a team of students enrolled in the Liman Center's directed research class.

At the FDO, the Fellow is assigned a special caseload of individuals subjected to supervision after conviction. This assignment aims to support clients returning from incarceration, identify the costs associated with post-release supervision, and challenge, when needed, any conditions of release that impose obstacles to living and working in the community. During her fellowship, Duncan developed an inventory of programs that provide substance use and mental health treatment for FDO clients. She interviewed directors of some of the agencies that have contracts with the USPO about the scope of treatment, the referral process, funding for services, client demographics, and client outcomes.

"The idea that as a federal defender office you can be on the front lines of collecting this information on behalf of the larger universe of program design, but also on behalf of individual clients, was novel and one of the features of the fellowship that was interesting to me," said Duncan. "So rarely is research generated by a public defender office. Usually, it's a university or the state who have different interests in mind. The immediate questions are: If we have a client who's been referred to agency X, but we know agency X doesn't have needed forms of treatment, what other alternatives might exist for that client and how can we connect them to services? The larger questions came about as we learned more about what was actually happening."

"The issues in this fellowship have exposed this very close intersection between improving the social safety net and advocacy on behalf of clients facing criminal punishment," Duncan said. "I see myself doing something that this fellowship integrates—the social science research, the policy advocacy, and the direct representation."

In August, Elizabeth Clarke '23 started as the 2023–24 Curtis-Liman Clinical Fellow and will continue the project Duncan started. "During law school, my clinic team partnered with the FDO on a case that opened my eyes to the harms caused by post-release supervision," said Clarke. "When I learned about the Curtis-Liman Fellowship, I was excited by the idea of working with the FDO and the Liman Center to support individual clients experiencing supervision and systematically challenge some of its social, economic, and psychological costs. As a Fellow, I have the opportunity to represent clients in adversarial settings, participate in research projects, and help supervise students. I can't think of a better way to start my legal career."

Clarke will build on Duncan's research by continuing to collect data from agencies that do not contract with the USPO but accept clients referred for treatment through self-referral, public defenders, and state courts. She will also work to expand knowledge about "who pays" for court-ordered treatment, in terms of dollars and cents, and probe the social and psychological "costs" of coercive punishment.

As she explained, "I hope to follow Hannah's example by relentlessly and creatively pursuing the best possible outcomes for clients on post-release supervision. My goal is to expand Hannah's treatment provider research project and develop a database of supervision conditions in the District of Connecticut. This data will inform individual cases and larger policy advocacy efforts. I also plan to develop educational materials focused on the ways in which community supervision can create particular challenges for people with substance use and/or mental health conditions."



Hannah Duncan '21 is the outgoing Curtis-Liman Fellow.
Duncan holds a B.A. in classics from Brown University. At Yale Law School, she was a student director of the Liman Center

and a co-chair of the Asylum Seeker Advocacy Project. After her fellowship, Duncan began a clerkship at the United States District Court for the Southern District of New York.

Fellowships

Welcoming the 2023-24 Liman Fellows and Updates on the 2022-23 Fellows



Five of the eight incoming Liman Fellows, pictured at the Liman Center's 2023 Colloquium in April. From left to right: Elizabeth Clarke, Katie Roop, Russell Bogue, Yael Caplan, and Zoe Li, all class of 2023.

The Liman Center welcomed eight new fellows for 2023-24, and with substantial support from their host organizations, extended the fellowships of two 2022-23 fellows. Since 1997, more than 180 Yale Law School graduates have received Liman Fellowships enabling them to work for a year in the public interest. The Liman Center runs the longest-standing fellowship program of its kind at Yale Law School.

This year's fellows have joined organizations based in California, Connecticut, the District of Columbia, Illinois, Massachusetts, and New York, where they are addressing an array of legal problems including access to courts, punishment of school children, protection of household workers, the regulation of guns, health care and reproductive rights, developing alternatives to imprisonment, oversight of conditions in jails and prisons, the use of solitary confinement, and fair consideration for parole.

Three of the incoming fellows hold specially designated fellowships. In 2017, in celebration of the Liman Center's 20th year, former fellows helped to fund a Resnik-Curtis Fellowship to honor Judith Resnik, the Center's Founding Director, and Dennis Curtis, Clinical Professor Emeritus and a pioneer in Yale Law School's clinical program. In 2018, the Liman Center created the Meselson Fellowship in memory of Amy Meselson '02, a former Liman Fellow who worked tirelessly on behalf of immigrant children, and that fellowship continues

through the generosity of her family, friends, and classmates. In 2019, Alan Bersin and Lisa Foster provided funds for a Curtis-Liman Fellow to work in conjunction with Yale Law School's Clinical Program on issues of criminal law enforcement and immigration.

Russell Bogue '23 has joined the Office of the Solicitor General for the District of Columbia in Washington, D.C., to work on litigation related to gun regulation and the meaning of the Second Amendment. His project aims to ensure enforcement of D.C. firearms regulations and, in conjunction with ongoing efforts of states, to preserve public safety. Bogue received his B.A. in Government and Foreign Affairs from the University of Virginia and his doctorate in political theory from the University of Oxford as a Rhodes Scholar. He was an Articles Editor for the Yale Law Journal, a member of the Supreme Court Advocacy Clinic, and a Coker Fellow.

Yael Caplan '23 is working with Pregnancy Justice in New York to limit efforts to criminalize decisions around pregnancy. She provides direct representation to individuals and participates in lawsuits seeking structural protections against prosecutions. Caplan earned a B.A. in public policy and comparative human development from the University of Chicago and, at Yale Law School, she was a member of the Veterans Legal Services Clinic and served as an Articles Editor for the Journal of Law and Feminism.

Elizabeth Clarke '23, the Curtis-Liman Fellow, is based at the Office of the Federal Defender for the District of Connecticut and Yale Law School. Clarke's work focuses on reducing the harms associated with federal supervised release for individuals with substance use and mental health challenges. Clarke received a B.A. in psychology from Cornell University and during law school worked as a research assistant at The Justice Collaboratory and as a member of the Criminal Justice Advocacy Clinic.

Zoe Li '23, this year's Meselson Fellow, is spending her fellowship year with the MacArthur Justice Center in Chicago on a project to limit policing of school children

and the discriminatory use of punitive fines and tickets for infractions. After receiving her B.A. from the University of Michigan, Li worked as an educator and a programming consultant with Boston Public Schools and served as a Peace Corps education volunteer in Samoa. During law school, she was a part of the Students' Civil Rights Project at Public Justice, the Virginia Innocence Project, the Liman Projects on criminal and civil system reform, and the Access to Law School Program.

Juan Fernando Luna León '23 is working to support workers with UNITE HERE Local 11 in Los Angeles. His project helps individuals to enforce a municipal ordinance, enacted in June 2022, that provides protection for housekeepers facing sexual assault and harmed by unfair business practices. Luna León earned a B.A. in history from Texas A&M University. At Yale Law School, he was a member of the Workers and Immigrant Rights Advocacy Clinic, where he helped represent local unions in labor and legislative matters and families separated by the U.S. government.

Wynne Muscatine Graham '22, this year's Resnik-Curtis Fellow, has joined the Roderick and Solange MacArthur Justice Center's Supreme Court and Appellate Program in Washington, D.C. Her work focuses on solitary confinement and efforts to limit solitary confinement's use through state and federal appellate litigation and administrative reforms. Graham received a B.A. in philosophy from Harvard University. At Yale Law School, she was a member of the Rule of Law Clinic and worked with the Liman Center on its 2021 report Time-In-Cell on solitary confinement. She clerked for David J. Barron of the First Circuit Court of Appeals.

Katie Roop '23 is spending her fellowship year at The Legal Aid Society's Criminal Appeals Bureau in New York. She represents incarcerated individuals in their parole appeals, works on legislation to reform parole, and drafts materials to enable attorneys and parole applicants to navigate the process. Roop earned a B.A. in political science and history from Washington University in St. Louis. At Yale Law School, she was a student director of the Strategic Advocacy Clinic and served on the Clinical Student Board and the board of the Civil Rights Project.

Rachel Talamo '23 is working with Prisoners' Legal Services of Massachusetts, and focusing on ongoing litigation that uses legislative advocacy and community organizing to establish an independent source of

oversight of state prisons and jails. Talamo earned a B.A. in history and literature from Harvard University. While at Yale Law School, she worked with Lecturer in Law and former Liman Director Hope Metcalf to pass the PROTECT Act in partnership with Stop Solitary Connecticut. Talamo was also a member of the Challenging Mass Incarceration Clinic, a peer advocate, a National Lawyers Guild legal observer, and an editor of the Proceedings of the Rebellious Lawyering Conference.

AFFILIATED FELLOWSHIP

As a Peter and Patricia Gruber Fellow in Global Justice, Rachael Stryer '22 works with Unemployed Workers United (UWU) to support a worker-led campaign to improve conditions for temporary workers, particularly those in the hospitality, warehouse, and construction sectors in Houston, Texas, and Nashville, Tennessee. Stryer's project aims to increase worker capacity by (1) providing otherwise unavailable legal support to ensure the quality and enforceability of UWU's policy victories; and (2) bringing strategic administrative complaints (and, potentially, litigation) to build public attention and anchor organizing efforts. While funded by the Gruber Fellowship program, Stryer is also an affiliated Liman Fellow.

FELLOWSHIP EXTENSIONS

Erin D. Drake '20 has extended her fellowship at the Women's National Basketball Players Association. For more information, see page 32.

Aseem Mehta '20 is continuing with Asian Americans Advancing Justice-Asian Law Caucus in San Francisco. For more information, see page 33.

FELLOWSHIPS FELLOWSHIPS

Liman Fellows spent the 2022-2023 year working in Connecticut, Georgia, Massachusetts, Montana, New York, and North Carolina on a variety of issues including environmental conservation, economic and housing insecurity, tribal governance, and immigration and criminal law enforcement. With help from their host organizations, two Fellows continue their fellowships for a second year.

OUTGOING FELLOWS

Sophie Angelis, Rights Behind Bars Brendan Bernicker, Resnik-Curtis Fellow, Roderick and Solange MacArthur Justice Center Helia Bidad, Land Loss Prevention Project Samuel Davis, ACLU of North Carolina Legal Foundation

Allison Durkin, Legal Aid Society of New York Grace Judge, Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes, Flathead Reservation

Sophie Laing, Pine Tree Legal Assistance Kshithij Shrinath, Bronx Defenders Medha Swaminathan, ACLU of Massachusetts Evan Walker-Wells, NAACP General Counsel's Office in Atlanta, Georgia, and Columbia, South Carolina

Sophie Angelis '21 Challenging the Conditions of Confinement for Prisoners



Angelis was a Liman Fellow at Rights Behind Bars in Washington, D.C., where she worked to improve conditions for incarcerated people and enabled some to be released.

At Yale Law School, Angelis was a student director of the Green Haven Prison Project and a student member of the Lowenstein Clinic, where she supported litigation and legislation to change conditions in Connecticut prisons. Before law school, she studied prisons in Norway on a Fulbright fellowship and interned at Prisoners' Legal Services of Massachusetts. Angelis has begun a Ph.D. in Law at the University of Oslo.

Rights Behind Bars (RBB) is an organization that litigates on behalf of prisoners who are challenging their conditions of confinement. In my second year, I worked on RBB's trial docket, and my cases involved guard brutality and immigration detention conditions. I also continued representing older people in prison in federal disability appeals, including one case-Pamplin v. Lucas-that I argued in the Ninth Circuit. The case required me to identify our strongest arguments in

Judges (I've found) expect and accept that bad things will happen to prisoners, and presume that prison officials do their best and act in good faith. Prisoners' rights advocates have to contend with this perspective in order to persuade the court that the bad thing that happened to their client shouldn't have and that a prison official was responsible.

the clearest and most simple terms and to find ways of addressing the weak points in the case law and factual record. I had to challenge myself to look at the case from the perspective of a judge, rather than an advocate. Judges (I've found) expect and accept that bad things will happen to prisoners, and presume that prison officials do their best and act in good faith. Prisoners' rights advocates have to contend with this perspective in order to persuade the court that the bad thing that happened to their client shouldn't have and that a prison official was responsible. This persuasion, I think, happens in the register of legal issues, but sometimes has more to do with correcting prejudices and challenging judges' intuitions about how prisons work.

Brendan Bernicker '22 Developing Al-powered Software to Screen **District Court Opinions**



As a Resnik-Curtis Fellow, Bernicker joined the Roderick and Solange MacArthur Justice Center in Washington, D.C., to build a software program that aimed to

identify U.S. District Court rulings in which selfrepresented litigants might have valid grounds for appeal. He received a B.A. in philosophy of justice, law, and values and an M.A. in political science from the Pennsylvania State University and, in law school, participated in the Criminal Justice Advocacy Clinic, the Challenging Mass Incarceration Clinic, and the Re-entry Clinic. Brendan next plans to start a business to sell his software developments to law firms, and to re-establish a solo legal practice with a significant pro bono caseload.

My project proposal at the MacArthur Justice Center (MJC) was to build an AI-powered tool to screen District Court opinions in federal habeas cases and identify those that would likely be reversed on appeal. The plan was that the tool would flag certain cases that merited

further review, pulling the proverbial needle from the haystack.

Instead, I have built a tool that makes the haystack smaller. It can recognize that a given case is not worth manually reviewing and can answer basic factual questions about the case, but it still struggles to determine the legal issues in any case, let alone compare one court's treatment of any issue to another court's treatment of

There is definitely a growing recognition that understanding how legal services organizations will interact with AI is essential to understanding how those organizations will operate and achieve their missions in the not-to-distant future.

that same issue (which was part of my original design). I am still working to build the more capable version of the tool I proposed, but I did not achieve the full functionality I wanted the tool to have before the end of my fellowship.

The main obstacles I encountered in my work were technical, relating to the significant limitations on the capabilities of even cutting-edge language models. But the next most significant obstacles have related to the way the federal courts publish decisions in habeas and Prison Litigation Reform Act cases. Many courts do not consistently designate them as "opinions," such that they are free to access on PACER and are automatically added to online services such as Westlaw or Courtlistener. Most district courts also do not share these opinions with the Government Printing Office. We had conversations, internally and with partners, about how to get courts to fix this, and a range of options are under consideration.

Shortly after I started my fellowship, OpenAI made its ChatGPT models publicly accessible. This brought much greater public attention to the way that AI will affect legal services (and the world more broadly). Because I had already been working with tools that were more advanced than ChatGPT, the release of ChatGPT did not affect my project on a technical level. It did, however, elevate interest in my project and helped MJC and our partner organizations see the importance of my work. There is definitely a growing recognition that

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understanding how legal services organizations will interact with AI is essential to understanding how those organizations will operate and achieve their missions in the not-to-distant future.

In addition to my software development, I argued a case in the Sixth Circuit that resulted in a published opinion that permits more time for people to file habeas petitions. I have also worked on briefing in the Supreme Court, the U.S. Courts of Appeals for the Second, Third, Sixth, Eighth, Ninth, Eleventh, and D.C. Circuits, and the highest courts of Delaware, Illinois, Indiana, Louisiana, and Michigan.

Considering my fellowship year as a whole, there is not much I would have changed about my experience at MJC. My Liman fellowship put me in a position where I had the stability, flexibility, and resources to work on bringing AI into the law at a critical time when legal services organizations and actors in the legal system are actually open to the possibilities and aware of the risks of AI. It was a roller coaster of a year but I am still optimistic about the impact AI will have on legal services and, more importantly, advancing the cause of justice. I am also grateful to have been able to continue to hone my skills as an appellate litigator and civil rights lawyer.

Helia Bidad '22 Advocating for Farmers and Landowners



Bidad worked on environmental and racial justice initiatives in partnership with the Land Loss Prevention Project in Durham, North Carolina.

Through direct services and broader-based advocacy, she aimed to lessen the loss of land held by historically disadvantaged communities and by farmers and landowners with limited resources. Bidad earned a B.S. in society and environment from the University of California, Berkeley. She is now clerking on the U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of California.

My project proposal was to work with the Land Loss Prevention Project in Durham, North Carolina, to help low-income and Black, Indigenous, and people-ofcolor farmers and landowners retain their land in the face of systemic challenges and discrimination. My plans changed over the course of my fellowship, specifically due to the debt relief created through passage

Food and agriculture have always been the environmental issues closest to my heart, and it was an immense privilege to be able to help small minority and low-resourced farmers maintain and grow their operations.

of the Inflation Reduction Act and the 2023 Farm Bill process. I spent a solid portion of my time working on implementation, outreach, and assistance to farmers and landowners in relation to these two programs. I was the point person for our organization at many coalition meetings and conferences seeking to build regional support and strategies. I also helped the attorneys at the organization with legal and policy research in support of our clients.

After focusing on impact litigation at YLS, I had the opportunity to work with a group of incredible attorneys at a community-based nonprofit that served the community I lived in. One of my favorite parts of my fellowship was meeting farmers and landowners in my personal life, learning about their land ownership issues, and referring them to our intake line so we could help provide them with pro bono legal advice and relief.

I came to law school wanting to be an environmental justice attorney who would be grounded in the communities I wanted to serve. This year was a very important milestone in realizing that dream. Food and agriculture have always been the issues closest to my heart, and it was an immense privilege to be able to help small minority and low-resourced farmers maintain and grow their operations.

Samuel Davis '20 Protecting the Constitutional Rights of Students



Working with the ACLU of North Carolina Legal Foundation in Raleigh, Davis investigated the scope and consequences of state statutes used to sanction

school children. He graduated from Duke
University with degrees in international studies
and political science. At Yale Law School, he was
co-director of the Rebellious Lawyering
Conference and a member of the Veterans Legal
Services Clinic. Davis clerked for Associate
Justice Anita Earls of the Supreme Court of
North Carolina and has now joined the Boston
law firm of Lichten & Liss-Riordan as an
associate.

As a Liman Fellow at the ACLU of North Carolina, my focus was on protecting the constitutional rights of students in North Carolina's public schools. I led an investigation into the application of a vaguely worded statute making it a crime to disrupt or disturb a school environment. While that investigation is ongoing, I was able to detail the racially disparate application of the law across the state, develop legal theories for challenging the law, and contribute to the broad coalition of parents and advocates in North Carolina who disagree with the school-to-prison pipeline and the criminalization of childhood. In addition, I helped represent students at a public charter school in eastern North Carolina who were required to adhere to a discriminatory dress code that required girls, but not boys, to wear skirts. We won when the U.S. Supreme Court rejected the charter school's petition and kept in place the Fourth Circuit's decision affirming that the dress code violated the girls' rights under the Equal Protection Clause.

I have also had opportunities to contribute to the broader range of civil rights advocacy that the ACLU of North Carolina undertakes. This spring, after the legislature enacted a law imposing harsh punishments for "rioting" in response to Black Lives Matter protests, I led our team's challenge in federal court. After we filed for a preliminary injunction, the legislature amended its statute to remove one of the provisions we argued was facially unconstitutional. We proceded on another provision of the law—its vague and overbroad definition of a riot—which sweeps up the entirely peaceful conduct of protestors. I also filed amicus briefs and contributed to litigation on issues including immigrant rights, reproductive freedom, and criminal justice.

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I am deeply grateful for this opportunity to begin my career as a public interest lawyer. This was a rich year in terms of career development, as I learned a ton about what it means to be a civil rights lawyer in this kind of setting and developed a range of substantive skills. I want to thank the entire ACLU of North Carolina team for their patience, mentorship, and commitment to advancing justice. I am excited to continue my career as a public interest lawyer as an associate for the workers' rights and union firm in Boston this fall.

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Allison Durkin '21

Preventing Wrongful Convictions by Challenging Racially Biased Forensic Practices



As a Liman Fellow with the Legal Aid Society of New York, Durkin spent two years working in the DNA Unit of the Criminal Defense Practice on a project to improve the

transparency of forensic technologies in the criminal legal system. At Yale Law School, she was a Coker Fellow and a member of the Criminal Justice Advocacy Clinic, the Pediatric Care Medical-Legal Partnership, and the Clinical Student Board. Prior to law school, Durkin worked at the Seaver Autism Center for Research and Treatment at Mount Sinai in New York. She is now clerking on the Second Circuit Court of Appeals and thereafter on the Southern District of New York.

I was a Liman Fellow from 2021-23 with the DNA Unit of The Legal Aid Society's Criminal Defense Practice in New York City. The DNA Unit seeks to prevent wrongful convictions by challenging unreliable, opaque, and racially biased forensic practices in the criminal

Since I began my Fellowship in September 2021, I have written a paper documenting the use of forensic DNA phenotyping, an unreliable investigative technique to predict appearance from DNA; worked in coalition to draft bills for forensic reform in New York State; and contributed to a legal challenge to the practice of surreptitiously collecting DNA from innocent people, including children.

system - which directly contribute to the mass incarceration of the poor and people of color.

My phenotyping and genetic genealogy research proved valuable. I did freedom of information requests and spoke with advocates throughout the world in academia, policy, journalism, and criminal defense. Through this process, I made connections that assisted our litigation. I also contributed to the reintroduction of a bill regarding phenotyping in the New York State legislature.

One notable development was the Unit's success in litigating New York State's use of a controversial genetic tool known as familial DNA searching. Having lost in the trial court, the Unit's clients won on appeal. The case is pending in New York's Court of Appeals. I helped to identify amici and assist in the briefing.

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Grace Judge '22 Strengthening Confederated Salish & Kootenai Tribes' Environmental Sovereignty



Judge spent her fellowship year with the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes (CSKT) on the Flathead Reservation in western Montana. She worked as an

in-house attorney focused on environmental justice and resource scarcity. Judge earned a B.A. in politics, philosophy, and economics from the University of Michigan and, during law school, served as a Coker Fellow and an Articles and Essays editor for the Yale Law Journal. Judge is clerking on the U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of New York and thereafter on the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit.

I worked on a range of environmental issues related to the Columbia River. The waters on CSKT's Reservation-including Flathead Lake-are part of the larger Columbia River system that stretches from British Columbia to Washington, Oregon, Idaho, and Montana. Mining operations in British Columbia are

Mining operations in British Columbia are polluting the upper Columbia River system, causing significant damage to aquatic ecosystems on the Reservation and Indigenous lands throughout Montana, Idaho, and British Columbia.

polluting the upper Columbia River system, causing significant damage to aquatic ecosystems on the Reservation and Indigenous lands throughout Montana, Idaho, and British Columbia.

As a Liman Fellow, I assisted CSKT staff and leadership with international diplomacy related to this transboundary mining pollution in the Columbia River. In particular, I helped to draft CSKT's negotiation proposal to the U.S. and Canadian governments for how to address the pollution through Indigenous leadership and international cooperation. I also did public relations work, which included drafting press releases, opinion pieces, and public letters to U.S. and Canadian officials and other Tribal governments regarding the pollution. I had the opportunity to participate in federal mediation sessions related to ongoing litigation over endangered species in another area of the Columbia River.

In addition, I worked on a range of other environmental projects for the Tribes. I helped to draft a new Solid and Hazardous Waste Ordinance, collaborating with staff from the CSKT Natural Resources Department and U.S. EPA to workshop and edit the ordinance provisions. I also devoted a significant amount of time to researching the regulation of mining on reservations and to improving management of the irrigation system on the Flathead Reservation.

Sophie Laing '21 Tackling the Student Debt Crisis



Laing joined Pine Tree Legal Assistance in Portland, Maine, to help provide remedies for low-income borrowers struggling with student loan debt. At Yale Law School, Laing

co-directed the HAVEN Medical-Legal Partnership and the Yale Health Law and Policy Society and participated in the Housing Clinic. She remains at Pine Tree Legal Assistance as a staff attorney.

At Pine Tree Legal Assistance, I worked on a range of student loan cases. I defended private student loan borrowers in debt collection cases, represented students with institutional debt, assisted borrowers in filing applications for administrative discharges of their federal student loans, and more. I also did a number of student loan presentations for the public and service

I am the only legal aid attorney in the state that focuses on student loan cases.

providers across the state and provided education on the basics of student loans. During my fellowship, I was able to get more than \$160,000 in student loan debt discharged for my clients. Since my fellowship concluded and I began working as a full-time staff attorney at Pine Tree, I've obtained an additional \$140,000 in student loan discharges.

Student loan law has been rapidly changing since I started my fellowship. I'm so grateful that I got a little over a year to work exclusively on student loan issues, and that I can continue to do this work in my current position. I am the only legal aid attorney in the state that focuses on student loan cases.

In addition to my position at Pine Tree, I also co-teach a remote student loan clinic at the University of California, Irvine School of Law. I'm very excited about sharing my passion for student loan work and economic justice with my students.

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Kshithij Shrinath '21 Advocating for Immigrants



Shrinath extended his fellowship at the Bronx Defenders, where he helped to investigate and litigate systemic civil rights violations affecting individuals in the

Bronx. At Yale Law School, he was a member of the Worker and Immigrant Rights Advocacy Clinic and co-chair of the Asian Pacific American Law Students Association. Shrinath holds a B.A. from Georgetown University. He is clerking on the Southern District of New York.

I recently returned to read my original project proposal in its various forms. My project proposal sought to challenge immigration judges for unconstitutional procedures at bond hearings, namely placing the burden on the noncitizen seeking release, failing to consider alternatives to detention, and failing to note the noncitizen's ability to pay. I hoped to do so through a class-action lawsuit binding the immigration judges' future conduct since individual habeas litigation had not yet yielded a definitive result.

What struck me about this proposal is that it is difficult to know what is most needed without, as Bryan Stevenson would say, "proximity." It was unclear whether the class action was helpful, given an impending Supreme Court case that was likely to (and indeed did) obviate class-wide injunctive relief in the immigration context.

Moreover, and relatedly, advocacy evolves, and any project proposal should reflect on deeper themes to allow flexibility. My proposal had focused on the often outcome-determinative state of detention. Noncitizens who were not in detention simply had more time—time with their families and communities, to explore different avenues of immigration relief, to build their defense to deportation and speak with their legal counsel, to avoid degrading and negligent detention conditions.

The nature of detention had remained fundamentally the same, and my goal was still to challenge them in some way. Two developments stood out to me. First, the government relied on the construct of "good/bad" immigrants that is used on criminal matters to target people for enforcement. Second, after the closure of detention facilities in the New York City area, the administration relied on transfers to continue detaining people in significant numbers—transfers that were leaving people thousands of miles from their homes in remote detention facilities in Louisiana and Mississippi.

I undertook four different ways of tackling this evolving detention landscape. First, I worked on individual habeas litigation that continued to challenge the placement of burden in bond proceedings. Second, I continued the monitoring of our Velesaca settlement that we reached in March 2022, which required anyone arrested by ICE's New York Field Office to get an individualized determination of whether they could be released. Third, because of the limits on immigration class-action litigation, I explored individual civil rights claims, as I had learned to do from my clinic experience at Yale. The immigration-detention infrastructure to sue for damages-whether the federal government or even the state and local entities that they partner with - is nowhere near as robust as the strong plaintiffs' bar in Section 1983 police cases. The result is serious underenforcement of constitutional and statutory

In sum, although the specific way that I wanted to constrain detention was quashed by the Supreme Court and was not the best use of resources, the broader goals of my project helped provide fruitful ways to pivot and fight back against the harshness of detention.

rights in the immigration context. Fourth, building from this individual civil rights work, I helped to build a multi-plaintiff First Amendment retaliation lawsuit, challenging solitary confinement and mass transfers imposed on people detained at Orange County Jail in Hudson Valley after they went on hunger strike and spoke out about the awful conditions there. I helped to conceive of this retrospective lawsuit as a

more straightforward way to achieve the goals of the organizers, namely getting discovery and exposing the continued immigration detention at the facility. It was exciting to see it take shape in a collaborative fashion; the lawsuit expanded to include a creative challenge to transfers that could hopefully survive the government's claims of broad discretionary authority.

In sum, although the specific way that I wanted to constrain detention was quashed by the Supreme Court and was not the best use of resources, the broader goals of my project helped provide fruitful ways to pivot and fight back against the harshness of detention.

Medha Swaminathan '22 Challenging the Use of Police to Respond to Mental Health Crises



Swaminathan worked with the ACLU of Massachusetts in Boston on a project to lessen the role of police in responding to mental health crises and to increase public

health oversight in jails. She graduated from Wesleyan University with a B.A. in psychology and French studies. Swaminathan worked as a Coker Fellow and a student co-director of the Worker and Immigrant Rights Advocacy Clinic. She is clerking on the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia and thereafter for the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit.

My primary fellowship goals were to analyze the Americans with Disabilities Act, to explore potential litigation in the Commonwealth challenging the use of police to respond to mental health crises, and to compile information in support of advocacy for greater public health oversight of jails and prisons. I did legal and factual research while working at the ACLU of Massachusetts, fleshed out our legal theories, drafted dozens of public records requests, reviewed hundreds of pages of records from defendant jurisdictions, and connected with many community partners and allied organizations.

I contributed to several other projects on over-policing, mental health, and disability. Most prominent was my participation in a civil lawsuit under 42 U.S.C. § 1983 and state law. The case challenged a Boston police officer's unlawful arrest of the plaintiff, a Black man, in his own home. I was fortunate to be involved from

Being able to participate in a § 1983 jury trial challenging police misconduct was a fantastic experience that is extremely rare for someone in their first six months as an attorney.

discovery onwards. I helped prepare for depositions and drafted jury instructions, motions in limine, and pretrial memoranda, participated in voir dire, drafted and presented the opening statement, and cross-examined an officer-witness. Being able to participate in a § 1983 jury trial challenging police misconduct was a fantastic experience that is extremely rare for someone in their first six months as an attorney. The favorable verdict resulted in an award of both compensatory and punitive damages for the plaintiff. The case also led to the defendant officer's placement on the Suffolk County District Attorney's Office's "Brady list," automatically notifying criminal defendants of the verdict against the office.

I also worked on an amicus brief to the First Circuit, using a disability lens to argue that stigma against people with substance use disorders (SUDs) can result in witnesses with SUDs being perceived as not credible. As a result, rules that bar witnesses with SUDs from introducing rehabilitative evidence are particularly harmful. This was my first amicus brief, and it felt particularly useful to write about an issue that the plaintiff-appellant would not have had the time or expertise to discuss in her briefing. The amicus brief was accepted over objection from the defense.

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Evan Walker-Wells '22 Expanding the NAACP's "Housing Navigator" Program



Walker-Wells joined the NAACP General Counsel's Office in Atlanta, Georgia, and Columbia, South Carolina, to work on a project to slow evictions among some of the

most disadvantaged Southerners and to protect voting rights. He was supervised by Joe Schottenfeld '19, a former Liman Fellow at the NAACP. In 2015, Walker-Wells founded Scalawag, a journalism nonprofit focused on Southern movement politics. He graduated in 2022 with a joint J.D.-M.B.A. degree from YLS. He was a student director of the Housing Clinic at YLS, and at the Yale School of Management, he co-founded Business Students for Racial Equity. Walker-Wells is now clerking on the New York Court of Appeals.

I've wrapped up an eventful year at the NAACP. The through line for most of the year has been one case: NAACP v. Reeves. Mississippi had enacted a law that took away the power of Jackson residents to elect their

I enjoyed using some of my project management skills to help our team plan and develop an exciting new phase for our eviction prevention, "housing navigator" program in South Carolina.

judges and primary law enforcement officers. Led by the Mississippi NAACP, our office challenged this racially motivated attempt at taking over the Blackest city in the Blackest state in the U.S. in federal court. The case is procedurally complicated and almost unendingly full of interesting issues around self-determination, the Equal Protection Clause, judicial immunity, and federalism.

I've loved working on a range of amicus curiae briefs for the NAACP. I wrote one in a case before the Fifth Circuit on Section 1981 and employment law; a brief before the Colorado Supreme Court focused on the history of race and juries; and I worked with a law school friend to defend the importance of student debt forgiveness before the U.S. Supreme Court.

I enjoyed using some of my project management skills to help our team plan and develop an exciting new phase for our eviction prevention, "housing navigator" program in South Carolina.

CONTINUING FELLOWS

Erin Drake '20 Protecting the Rights of WNBA Players



Drake focuses on protecting the interests of union members at the Women's National Basketball Players Association (WNBPA). She earned a B.A. in history and

literature from Harvard University. While at Yale Law School, Drake was a Coker Fellow, worked at the Jerome N. Frank Legal Services Organization, and served as a peer advocate and as a board member of Yale Law Women. After law school. Drake clerked for Judge Robert L. Wilkins of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit and Chief Judge Diane P. Wood of the United States Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit.

At the beginning of my fellowship at the Women's National Basketball Players Association, a lot of my work focused on assessing how certain rights and entitlements secured in the 2020 collective bargaining agreement have played out in practice. Those assessments required me to develop strategies for the upcoming season. This involved talking to players, agents, and

league representatives, developing charts and tracking documents, and writing reports or memos for the union staff about potential actions or reactions.

The 2023 season started in May. Over the past four months, I have witnessed and tried to address issues spurred by increased contact between players and management and tension between pre-season expectations and in-season realities. Players are focused on basketball, meaning they do not always want to engage, but

In light of the widespread strike actions and work stoppages across the country, I have grappled with how to be a good partner to organized labor.

I have a responsibility and duty to understand their reproductive health rights, workers' compensation issues, contractual obligations, and information about other labor developments that impact their lives, and to share that information in ways they can and will receive it.

I continue to consult with a number of workers' compensation attorneys across the country, collaborate with other professional sports unions, and have begun working very closely with the AFL-CIO. The relationship building with the AFL-CIO has been incredible for the WNBPA and for me personally, at this stage of my

Much of my external work has stayed the same. In light of the widespread strike actions and work stoppages across the country, I have grappled with how to be a good partner to organized labor when other stakeholders within the sports industry care little about crossing a hotel picket line or ignoring the potential ramifications that widespread entertainment strikes could have on WNBA players.

The question of how to build consistent and galvanizing narratives to achieve long-term strategic goals amid various audiences and address the prospect of leaks remains the same, but now that question is asked within the context of widespread labor strikes and work stoppages, an upcoming national election, potential CBA negotiations, and the political attacks on the USWNT

players - who secured equal pay after their 2019 World Cup victory – after being eliminated in the round of sixteen in the 2023 World Cup.

Aseem Mehta '20 Working to Abolish Immigration Detention



Mehta joined the Asian Americans Advancing Justice-Asian Law Caucus, in San Francisco, California. He works to provide holistic representation to individuals

held in immigration detention centers and supported organizers who have led efforts inside detention to help others seek freedom from confinement. Mehta earned a B.A. in ethics, politics, and economics from Yale College and was a Liman Summer Fellow. At Yale Law School, he was a member of the Worker and Immigrant Rights Advocacy Clinic.

I am a current Liman Fellow in the Immigrant Rights Program at Advancing Justice - Asian Law Caucus in San Francisco, where I focus on strategies to support the affected-people-led movement to abolish immigration detention. One of my projects this year has been

One of my projects this year has been co-counseling a class-action lawsuit to respond to retaliation that a group of 80+ hunger strikers detained at two ICE detention facilities, Mesa Verde and Golden State Annex, encountered for their participation in peaceful protest.

co-counseling a class-action lawsuit to respond to retaliation that a group of 80+ hunger strikers detained at two ICE detention facilities, Mesa Verde (MV) and

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Golden State Annex (GSA), encountered for their participation in peaceful protest.

The GEO Group (GEO) operates residential centers on behalf of U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE). The detained leaders of the strike wanted to take legal action to challenge ICE and GEO Group's retaliation in order to elevate the profile of the hunger strike in support of their advocacy goals with the media, Congressional offices, and the Department of Homeland Security. Additionally, the leaders of the strike sought to stop retaliation by ICE and GEO and to draw judicial scrutiny to ICE and GEO's practices of mistreatment of individuals in custody. The lawsuit asked for an immediate halt to GEO and ICE's retaliatory actions, including threats and incidents of violence, threats of force-feeding, retaliatory transfers, and sexually abusive pat downs to intimidate detained people to abandon their protest. The case was in the Northern District of California. It was built on a nearly one-year-long and ongoing labor strike by individuals detained at MV and GSA, and represented an escalation in their tactics to demand respect and fairness from ICE and GEO.

I am grateful to have supervisors who have embraced my autonomy and have provided me with the flexibility and open-mindedness to adapt my work based on the needs of the community and my own professional developmental interests.

The 2023 Liman Undergraduate Summer Fellows

Liman Summer Fellowships give students the opportunity to work for 8–10 weeks at public interest organizations related to law. Public interest law includes direct services—such as helping people who cannot afford attorneys—advocacy, and policy work. Undergraduates come from Barnard College, Brown University, Bryn Mawr College, Harvard University, Princeton University, Spelman College, Stanford University, and Yale University.

BARNARD COLLEGE New York, New York

Adeline Larsen '24, Legal Aid Society of Metropolitan Family Services, New York, NY
Anusha Merchant '25, Government Accountability Project, New York, NY
Dana Molina '24, Brave House, New York, NY
Lauren Zhou '24, CPC (Chinese Planning Council), New York, NY

BROWN UNIVERSITY Providence, Rhode Island

Yenee Berta '26, Legal Hand, Crown Heights, NY Olivia Booth '24, Integrity Initiatives International, Boston, MA Caelle Joseph '26, City of Somerville, Massachusetts, SomerViva Office of Immigrant Affairs, Somerville, MA Ruhma Khawaja '24, Student Clinic for Immigrant Justice, Boston, MA

BRYN MAWR COLLEGE Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania

Alexa (Lexi) Barstow '25, OUT Maine, Rockland, ME
Lillian Ernst '24, Youth Art & Selfempowerment Project,
Philadelphia, PA
Stephanie Gomez '25, CARECEN |
Central American Resource Center,
Houston, TX
Afiya Khan '25, Georgia Asylum and
Immigration Network, Atlanta, GA
Diana Salmeron '24, PAYouthVote,
Philadelphia, PA

HARVARD UNIVERSITY Cambridge, Massachusetts

Shania Hurtado '25, U.S. District
Judge Lee H. Rosenthal for the
Southern District of Texas,
Houston, TX
Allison Park '25, New York Lawyers
for the Public Interest,
New York, NY
Sraavya Sambara '24, Schmidt
Futures, New York, NY
Tejas Vadali '25, Harvard Law School
Legal Services Center, People's Law
School Project, Cambridge, MA

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY Princeton, New Jersey

Rachel Brooks '25, Operation Food Search, St. Louis, MO Desmond Lam '25, United States Attorney's Office for the District of Columbia, Washington, DC Alice McGuinness '24, Legal Aid, Immigration Law Unit, New York, NY Anna Salvatore '25, U.S. Attorney's Office for the Southern District of New York, New York, NY

SPELMAN COLLEGE Atlanta, Georgia

Morgan Forbes '24, Douglas
County District Attorney's Office,
Douglasville, GA
Christina Prince-Wilson '24,
RestoreHER US.America,
Atlanta, GA
Lesley Yates '24, Legal Action Center,
New York, NY

STANFORD UNIVERSITY Palo Alto, California

Luke Lamberti '24, Santa Clara
County Public Defender's Office,
San Jose, CA
Jessica Lee '24, Access 2 Justice
(San Mateo County Superior Court),
Redwood City, CA
Rufaro Muchaka '26, Los Angeles
County Public Defender's Office,
Los Angeles, CA
Shahil Pal '24, Center on Juvenile and
Criminal Justice, San Francisco, CA

YALE UNIVERSITY New Haven, Connecticut

Naina Agrawal-Hardin '25, Center for Human Rights & Global Justice, NYU School of Law, New York NY Yakeleen Almazan '25, San Diego County Office of the Public Defender, San Diego, CA Katelyn DeKeersgieter '25, All Our Kin, New Haven, CT Claire Dow '24, Public Defender Service for the District of Columbia, Washington, DC Nasser Eid '25, Ella Baker Center for Human Rights, Oakland, CA Zachary Groz '24, Mobilization for Justice, New York, NY Robby Hill '24, Legal Services NYC, Brooklyn, NY Sophie Kane '24, Legal Action Center, New York, NY Kaj Litch '26, New Jersey Institute for Social Justice, Newark, NJ Alexis Sye '25, Minnesota Disability Law Center, Minneapolis, MN

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The 2023 Summer Fellows Reflect

Through Liman Summer Fellowships in the summer of 2023, 38 undergraduate students spent 8-10 weeks in California, Connecticut, Georgia, Massachusetts, Maine, Minnesota, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Texas, and Washington, D.C., at public interest organizations working on immigration and asylum access, disability rights, the criminal legal system, climate justice, racial justice, and more. Below we share a few excerpts from some fellows describing their experiences.

Barnard College

New York, NY

Adeline Larsen Legal Aid Society of Metropolitan Family Services New York, NY

One afternoon after the screening office had closed for the day, I was preparing to leave when I received a call from my supervisor that a potential client, whose case one of our attorneys had overheard in court, was on her way downstairs. The woman, a young mother around my age who had only arrived in the U.S. a few weeks earlier and was living in one of the city's migrant shelters, arrived a few minutes later with her two young children. She came with a court advocate who explained that the woman urgently needed to include her children on an order of protection against their father. Without hesitation, our paralegal, who had been halfway out the door to go home, turned around and took her to the office. For the next hour, she spoke patiently and compassionately with the woman, drafting the paperwork for court while I sat on the floor of the office, coloring with the daughters. At one point, the girl asked me if she could come back tomorrow to keep playing. When the paralegal left to print and file the paperwork, I stayed and chatted with the woman, who thanked me – her daughter had been through a lot, she said, but today she had fun and wasn't scared. The advocate accompanied the family back to the courtroom, where one of our attorneys came onto the case and successfully entered the order of protection. We were also able to refer the client to LAS's immigration team and provide her with a list of other resources for stability.

This particular experience was impactful for two reasons. First, it exemplified the coordination between people – our attorneys in the courtroom, the paralegals down in screening, the courtroom advocates - required for every single case we handled. Our team demonstrated that real, meaningful public interest work does not have individual "heroes" but rather is built from small cumulative actions taken by groups of people every day. Second, this encounter highlighted one of my clearest takeaways from this summer: that public interest work, when at its most impactful, goes far beyond knowing the law. Instead, it involves meeting clients where they are and caring for them as people, not just legal problems. As I look toward my future career, I'll continue to seek out roles and organizations that recognize the importance of person-to-person care as equal to that of excellent legal advocacy.

Brown University

Providence, RI

Ruhma Khawaja Student Clinic for Immigrant Justice (SCIJ) Boston, MA

My experience has allowed me to realize my passion for direct assistance. The mission of SCIJ aligns with my future goals. Effective organizing includes quick aid through services such as legal representation and case management in addition to long-term change through advocacy. I hope to enter law school with a social work perspective and incorporate organizing into my legal career. I thoroughly enjoyed helping the Providence refugee community.

This fulfilling experience made me feel pride for my English as Second Language students' progress and togetherness. I was grateful for the opportunity to do this work when a teen from Syria thanked me with the brightest smile for helping her with her job search, and I was inspired to continue this work when I was asked if there was a public pool in Providence that served only women. Several Muslim girls wanted to learn to swim in privacy, and I took the initiative to reach out to the Executive Director of a Providence YMCA to propose the idea of having hours reserved for these women. He was open to the idea and began to look at windows of time that could work. I aim to follow through with this issue and have women-only pool hours established in the fall.

Bryn Mawr College

Bryn Mawr, PA

Alexa Barstow **OUT** Maine Rockland, ME

On June 15th, the staff at OUT Maine, EqualityMaine, and other local LGBTQIA+ advocacy groups were invited to hear the reading of the "Pride Proclamation" before the Maine legislature. This proclamation officially recognized June 2023 as LGBTQIA+ Pride Month and as a month of celebrating and uplifting queer identities and communities. Hearing this proclamation was a memorable moment particularly because of the dual emotions it brought up in me. On the one hand, it brought me great joy and pride to see elected officials giving the time and consideration to formally recognize the importance of queer communities and Pride Month, as well as to hear them discuss Maine's relatively strong legal protection and advocacy for LGBTQIA+ people.

At the same time, the proclamation also felt performative in many ways, and it frustrated me to see elected officials simply "recognizing" Pride Month rather than recognizing it and actively taking steps in the lawmaking process to affirm and protect queer communities. Experiencing both appreciation of official recognition within the state house and frustration at the lack of elected officials' active legal protection of queer communities motivated me to keep demanding more from those in power and to continue to try to empower those frequently forgotten by lawmakers.

Harvard University

Cambridge, MA

Allison Park New York Lawyers for the Public Interest New York, NY

One indelible moment from my internship was a visit to a depot full of school buses nestled in the heart of Queens. Upon closer inspection, it became apparent that this bus depot wasn't the sole facility in the community. Instead, there appeared to be thousands of additional school buses parked in various depots, all beneath the bustling backdrop of an overhead freeway. At first glance, the stark truth became evidentthis neighborhood bore a disproportionate burden of

emissions stemming from the multitude of buses and vehicles traversing it daily.

Upon our arrival, we were greeted warmly and enthusiastically by the dedicated bus drivers and staff. Engaging in conversations with them was an eye-opening experience, as they shared their stories with unwavering passion. Their narratives painted a vivid and poignant picture of the daily challenges they confronted. They were not only operators of these buses; they were also members of the community grappling with the dire consequences of the emissions they were surrounded by.

The moment was memorable, not only for the raw and authentic stories we heard but also because it underscored the essence of our mission. We were there to advocate for change, to push for policies that would transition the entire school bus fleet in New York City to all-electric, zero-emission school buses, and to address the environmental and health disparities faced by communities like the one in Queens.

Listening to the bus drivers' stories reinforced the significance of our research and the depth of the problems we sought to address. It was a stark reminder that our work transcended statistics and data points; it was about real people and real lives affected by the policies we were advocating to change. This experience solidified my commitment to a legal career centered on public policy and advocacy. It became abundantly clear that the advocacy work we were undertaking had the potential to make a tangible, life-altering difference for communities disproportionately impacted by environmental injustices and transportation policies that had been allowed to persist for far too long.

Princeton University

Princeton, NJ

Alice McGuinness Legal Aid Society's Immigration Law Unit New York, NY

My most meaningful experiences came in the form of direct client interaction, especially with youth clients during intake screenings. I developed an especially close relationship with two sisters from Jamaica, who shared with me traumatic incidents they had experienced in their home country, relevant to their eligibility for asylum. I wrote a detailed brief on their case, compiling news articles that detailed the sisters' experiences. Over

FELLOWSHIPS

the course of my internship, I remained in touch with the sisters, making sure that they knew of our continued advocacy.

My experience at Legal Aid has inspired me to pursue a career in immigration law. More broadly, it helped me realize the importance of working in such an encouraging, supportive environment. I felt that my supervisor, the paralegal staff, and the attorneys on the team—even those in different practice areas—were all committed to helping me grow throughout the course of the summer. They were incredibly generous with their time in explaining the nitty-gritty of immigration law and making sure I was in the best possible place to support our clients.

Spelman College

Atlanta, GA

Morgan Forbes Douglas County District Attorney's Office Douglasville, GA

One of the highlights during my fellowship was observing a jury trial from start to finish. This exposure sparked my interest in gaining a deeper understanding of the jury's role. It also highlighted the importance of educating lay individuals on the criminal justice system to ensure a fair jury trial. The courtroom exposed me to the immense power held by the prosecution in shaping the outcome of cases, including sentencing and assignment to accountability courts. I interviewed recent graduates of our accountability courts and learned that the most helpful aspect of the program was the expungement of their criminal record.

One outcome of this research was hosting the DA's Office first annual Record Restriction and Community Resource Fair. The primary objective was the removal of arrests from employment level searches for over 100 formerly incarcerated community members. To boost employment opportunities, the fair included resources such as résumé review and the inclusion of on-site second-chance employers. These employers are dedicated to providing valuable opportunities for individuals to demonstrate their skills, dedication, and potential in the workforce and understand that past mistakes should not define one's entire future.

It was an honor to work under the first Black woman District Attorney in Douglas County, GA, Dalia Racine.

She invited the cohort of eight interns to attend the Georgia Association of Black Women Attorneys Foundation Gala and Auction. My network of Black women in Law grew significantly, and I was introduced to numerous sectors of Public Interest Law. Aspiring to join the 3.17% of Black women in the United States that are attorneys, I felt it was imperative for me to develop this mentoring network before embarking on my journey to law school.

Stanford University

Palo Alto, CA

Jessica Faith Lee Access 2 Justice, San Mateo County Superior Court Redwood City, CA

My first day helping the Spanish-speaking litigants at the San Mateo Superior Court's Legal Self-Help clinic was undeniably one filled with nerves, and perhaps the most memorable and formative moments throughout my time at the Family Law Facilitator's Office. I remember the day before, when I had frantically reviewed all the procedural intricacies of filing a Restraining Order that I myself had just learned, filling my head with all the complicated Spanish conjugations and legal jargon I thought I might need. The stakes for perfection in my Spanish, I kept reminding myself, were higher than ever. My first day of serving these litigants, however, was enough to burst this illusion and reorient my attitude for the rest of my time working at the self-help center.

I still remember the confused expression on the face of the first litigant I had helped after I referred to him as the "petitioner." This reaction was enough for me to realize that the plan for preparedness that I had the day before failed to take into account the reality of the situation. Most of the litigants I had helped on that day did not receive past an elementary school education, and many were illiterate. I had come into this job with a set of expectations based on what I knew—namely, the academic Spanish I had practiced in the classroom.

It became clear to me that effectively relaying the necessary information to litigants, whose experiences and exposure to the language differed vastly from my own, depended not on my expertise, but rather on critically listening and adapting my Spanish to best serve their needs. This realization allowed me to practice a level of mindfulness with which I carried out my service.

In doing so, I was pushed to practice my flexibility in adapting my Spanish to best serve the litigants and their needs.

Yale University

New Haven, CT

Naina Agrawal-Hardin Center for Human Rights & Global Justice, NYU School of Law New York, NY

My favorite moment of the summer involved a listening session that New York University's Climate Litigation Accelerator (CLX) hosted with an expert from Hawaii who was familiar with a recent case defending the state's Public Utility Commission in its decision to reject the development of a new, high-emitting power plant. The case was decided in favor of the Commission, interpreting the state of Hawaii's constitution to include an evolving "right to a self-sustaining climate system." CLX allowed me to invite some other youth to the listening session, so I asked a friend of mine who was a youth climate strike organizer in Hawaii when she was a teenager. During the session, she revealed that she had actually testified against the power plant when it was first proposed several years prior. Connecting her with experts on the case that eventually shut the power plant down for good was amazing: her organizing and their legal advocacy mutually supported each other at every step of the way.

The listening session also reminded me of the ways that the legal system can impact people's lives: because of this court decision, approximately 8,000,000 metric tons of carbon dioxide gas will be kept out of the atmosphere in the next 30 years. Furthermore, the verdict set an important precedent: as the expert put it, the court has defended the regulatory state's right to do its job. This will have implications for future energy projects in Hawaii and perhaps around the country. The listening session solidified two reasons I appreciate the law: its synergy with activist communities and its ability to effect change not only in the present but also for future generations.

Liman in Collaboration

This year the Liman Center has worked with other groups at Yale, including the Whitney Humanities Center, Yale Divinity School, and the Law and Racial Justice Center. The Center also collaborated with Quinnipiac University on the Quinnipiac-Yale Dispute Resolution Workshops.

Echoes of Attica Brings 1971 Prison Uprising to Life

In September of 2022, the Liman Center served as a co-host for Echoes of Attica. The event showcased a powerful performance of original music, poetry, and dramatic readings. The content was based on court transcripts that were recently released by the FBI and included interviews with eyewitnesses of one of the deadliest prison massacres in the history of the United States. The performance in YLS's Levinson Auditorium was co-sponsored with the Law and Racial Justice Center and coincided with the anniversary of the event.

From September 9 to 13, 1971, men imprisoned at New York's Attica State Prison rose up to protest mistreatment and dehumanizing conditions. New York State responded by sending in troops, and the result was the brutal suppression of the incarcerated men's calls for reform. Arthur Liman '57 was chief counsel of the Attica Commission formed to investigate the events. The Commission's report described the violent raid that killed dozens as "the bloodiest one-day encounter between Americans since the Civil War."

In welcoming, Liman Center Director Jennifer Taylor '10 and Kayla Vinson, Executive Director of the Law and Racial Justice Center, read the names of the individuals killed at Attica fifty-two years before and emphasized the importance of including incarceration as a central topic of legal education. Carlos Roche, 80, a survivor of the Attica assault, provided an introduction to the performance and recalled the respect he gained for Arthur Liman during the investigation. "He was a gentleman," Roche recalled, "and he was a good guy."

Performed first in 2021 for the uprising's 50th anniversary, Echoes of Attica featured several actors and musicians who were formerly incarcerated, including Philadelphia rap poet and activist BL Shirelle and the gospel singer Simply Naomi. Original music inspired by the Attica events was interspersed, with cast members

reading from a script composed of survivor testimony, national news coverage published in 1971, and the now-declassified words of officials including FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, New York Governor Nelson D. Rockefeller, and President Richard Nixon.

The full cast participated in a post-performance panel, in which they described their connections to the legal and prison systems and the ways that theater and music have enabled them to heal and help others. Roche shared that the passage of time has not erased memories of the brutal violence, the friends whose deaths he witnessed, and the investigators he met afterward.

The performance and discussion resonated with Liman Center student director Berto Sicard '24, one of the more than 100 faculty, students, and community members in attendance. "Echoes of Attica's reliance on both historical sources and survivors' experiences brought the Attica Prison rebellion to life more than 50 years later at Yale Law School in a powerful, emotional, and meaningful way," he said.

Co-sponsors also included the Yale Repertory Theatre, Yale Institute of Sacred Music, Yale Divinity School, Afro-American Cultural Center at Yale, Yale College program in Theater and Performance Studies, and the Wesleyan University Allbritton Center for the Study of Public Life.

Incarceration and Imagination

How does writing from inside and outside prison walls help us understand life behind bars and its impact? The October 2022 symposium Incarceration and Imagination brought together scholars, activists, artists, writers, students, and the public to explore the realities of incarceration, its narratives, and the literature and social movements that surround it. The daylong event was co-sponsored by the Whitney Humanities Center, the Liman Center, and Freedom Reads, a prison literacy project of former Liman Fellow Reginald Dwayne Betts '16.

The symposium opened with remarks from Peter Brooks, Sterling Professor Emeritus of Comparative Literature at Yale University and author of the 2022 book Seduced by Story. Brooks spoke of his experience teaching at East Jersey State Prison and the promise of

turning prisons into universities. "A grand aspiration towards the transformation of the carceral space this country has created into a place of learning and creativity. That is the hope that brings us together today," he

The Literary History of the Incarcerated Mind was moderated by Emily Bazelon 'oo. The panel included Rachel Kushner, Lecturer in Law, Senior Research Scholar in Law, Truman Capote Fellow at Yale Law School, and writer; Caleb Smith, Yale University Professor of English and American Studies; and Joy James, Williams College Ebenezer Fitch Professor of Humanities. They discussed the role of fiction as a "parallel universe" that offers insights into the one in which we live. They explored how story can serve as a conversion narrative to recognize the catastrophe of mass incarceration, and what emerges when writers and scholars consider incarcerated people as peers rather than subjects.

Judith Resnik launched The Image of Prison in the Public Mind. She discussed the history and showed depictions of prisons, whips, treadwheels, and overcrowding as well as of uprisings and documents from lawsuits by incarcerated individuals. Throughout the past and into the present, Resnik explained, the public can learn a good deal about the practices of prison if willing to look and read.

Panelist Elizabeth Hinton, Associate Professor of History and African American Studies at Yale and Professor of Law at Yale Law School, drew on her book America on Fire: The Untold History of Police Violence and Black Rebellion Since the 1960s. She discussed the numerous uprisings over many decades prompted by policing that aimed to control communities of color. Ekow Yankah, Thomas M. Cooley Professor of Law at the University of Michigan Law School, offered the concept of "deputization" to describe the actions of white individuals who took it upon themselves to pursue Black men they deemed predatory. Zachary Lazar, author of The Apartment on Calle Uruguay, read excerpts from his novel about the relationship between incarcerated and non-incarcerated individuals. Tracey Meares, Walton Hale Hamilton Professor and a Founding Director of the Justice Collaboratory at Yale Law School, commented on the distinctions between visibility and knowledge.

A third panel, Incarceration, Decarceration, and Education, chaired by Peter Brooks, examined the role of universities in working to provide educational opportunities

inside prisons. Bernard Harcourt, the Isidor and Seville Sulzbacher Professor of Law at Columbia Law School, discussed his experiences teaching the work of George Jackson and others at Rikers. Antonne Henshaw, Director of the Transformative Justice Initiative at Rutgers University, recounted taking courses with Brooks while incarcerated in New Jersey. He described his current work to assist individuals leaving prison. Zelda Roland, Founding Director of the Yale Prison Education Initiative, shared lessons learned from creating a college-inprison program that enables incarcerated students to earn credits and enroll in degree-granting programs at the University of New Haven upon release. Ben Berger, Associate Professor of Political Science and Executive Director of the Lang Center for Civic and Social Responsibility at Swarthmore College, spoke about the liberating effect prison education can have for both the people inside and those coming from the outside as teachers and students joining the classes.

The final segment of the symposium enabled the audience to listen to readings by poet Randall Horton, whose memoir, Dead Weight, chronicles his journey to becoming the only tenured professor in the United States with seven felony convictions. Horton was joined by Richard Rivera, Associate Director of Cornell's Prison Education Program. Horton's readings featured references to Ralph Ellison's 1952 novel, Invisible Man, while Rivera closed by reading the poem "Confession," by Freedom Reads founder Reginald Dwayne Betts '16.

This symposium is one of several events co-sponsored by the Liman Center to enable dialogues about modes of punishment in the United States. "These discussions probed what is known, what is seen, what ought to be known, what ought to be seen about incarceration, and what ought to be changed," said Resnik.

Facing Life Explores Life Imprisonment and Racial Injustice in Two States

The creators and subjects of a project that captures the human toll of mass incarceration in Louisiana brought their work and experiences to Yale this spring, in a twoday symposium that gave voice to individuals working against wrongful imprisonment in Connecticut.

The March 30-31 symposium, Facing Life, featured panels and discussions on life without parole, mass incarceration, and legal advocacy for incarcerated people. The Law and Racial Justice Center at Yale Law

School organized the event with co-sponsorship by the Liman Center, Freedom Reads, and the Yale University Afro-American Cultural Center. Screenings and panel discussions took place on the Yale campus and at the NXTHVN community art space in New Haven.

The symposium opened with a panel introducing the Visiting Room Project, a digital experience that invites the public to sit face-to-face with people serving life terms at Louisiana's Angola Prison and hear their stories told in their own words. The project's creators are Loyola-New Orleans Sociology Professor Marcus Kondkar and Calvin Duncan, an exonerated man who spent more than 28 years imprisoned in Louisiana. The project has on video more than 100 interviews with individuals serving life in Louisiana State Penitentiary, also known as Angola. For the duration of the symposium, members of the Yale and New Haven communities could watch the interview videos on kiosk displays set up in the Courtyard of Sterling Law Building and outside the Afro-American Cultural Center.

On the symposium's second day, Liman Center Director Jennifer Taylor '10 moderated the panel, Mass Incarceration, Racial Injustice, and Opportunities for Relief. The discussion probed the ways that race impacts punishment in the U.S., and explored ongoing work to lessen the harms of incarceration in Connecticut and Louisiana. Panelists included Bidish Sarma '08, Assistant District Attorney in Orleans Parish District Attorney's Office;



Panelists (from left) Bidish Sarma, Gaylord Salters, Miriam Gohara, and Alex Taubes in discussion on the panel "Mass Incarceration, Racial Injustice, and Opportunities for Relief." Jennifer Taylor, at podium, moderated

Alex Taubes '15, New Haven-based civil rights lawyer; Gaylord Salters, author and wrongfully convicted New Haven resident; and Miriam Gohara, Clinical Professor and Director of the Jerome N. Frank Legal Services Organization at Yale Law School.

Salters and his brother were wrongfully convicted in 2002 and 2001. While his brother was exonerated in 2013 after spending 16 years in prison, Salter served 20 years before he was freed in June 2022. On the panel, Salters described the difficulty of waking in prison each day despite knowing he was innocent - and eventually deciding to share his story through video.

"While I was wrongfully convicted and trying to get out, it just came to a point where I'm trying to get people's attention, but when coronavirus hit, it really allowed me an opportunity to get people's attention," Salters said. "It was a blessing because prior to the coronavirus, I wasn't going to eat. I was going to starve. Either I'm going to get the nation's attention or it's going to be death. So that's the type of things that you deal with."

Sarma spent most of his legal career as a defense lawyer before joining the civil rights division of the New Orleans District Attorney's Office as part of a team revisiting old cases to ask, "Is this sentence appropriate?" or "Did we get the wrong person?" Sarma recognized that his role is unusual but needed on the prosecutorial side, where many are used to seeing lawyers pursue and defend convictions at any cost.

"If we got the wrong person, certainly we want to address that wrong and make sure innocent people aren't incarcerated," he said. "That seems like a no-brainer, but that's a pretty new thing."

Sarma explained that, historically, amidst huge caseloads, poor training, and sometimes ill will, prosecutors did not disclose exculpatory evidence or did not do so in a timely fashion – even though the U.S. Supreme Court said in 1963 there was a due process duty to do so.

"These are things we know were happening, and we just need to be willing to confront that reality," Sarma said. "We need to pull the files. We need to read the files, and we just need to be willing to do that."

Dozens of people interviewed at Angola as part of the Visiting Room Project have since been released from prison, in some cases due to the work of Sarma's office or of other organizations advocating for case reviews

and second chances. Some of those released individuals now work with the project as ambassadors, speaking about their experiences and working to support release of others.

In Connecticut, Attorney Alex Taubes has had some success advocating for sentence modifications and commutations. On the panel, he described the state's "trial tax," which imposes longer sentences on defendants convicted after choosing to go to trial rather than accepting a plea deal. He argued doing so amounted to being punished for exercising the right to a trial. Taubes explained that, upon request, a judge could eliminate this "tax" and modify a sentence to the mandatory minimum.

"We've had a lot of success with judges who see the person who received 100 years or 80 years or 60 years, 25 to 30 years ago," he said.

Professor Gohara spoke about her advocacy in individual cases and on larger policy efforts. For many years, she explained, the Connecticut Board of Pardons and Paroles was not processing applications for commutations. In 2021, after Gohara and other advocates across the state increased pressure on the Board to consider those applications-particularly in the midst of the COVID-19 pandemic and the risks facing people in prison-the Board announced a new policy enabling incarcerated individuals to seek sentence review.

"That has been the most successful way for us to get people out of prison," said Taubes. "Since December 2021, my firm has helped 43 people to get commutations that have taken off 750 years of people's sentences."

When political developments threatened the commutation process's existence in 2023, Gohara and her clinic mobilized to defend it. "We need political will if we care about second chances, because when politicians or agencies or Department of Correction officials or prosecutors take courageous steps-which we think are the right thing to do-they need support," said Gohara. "They need support from us or they won't be able to continue to do the work or many of them will cave in. So, I encourage you strongly to reach out to your legislators and support commutation."

Sarma also stressed the importance of public support. "In addition to political will, I think getting support from the community matters a lot," he said. "Having people come forward and say, 'This is what we want our

prosecutors to be doing,' makes a big difference. And I think DAs are willing to listen to that."

In response to a question about the value of sharing incarcerated people's stories, Sarma emphasized that judges and prosecutors are audiences, too. "People who are in the position of reviewing these cases use Google," he said. "So, if you Google Anthony Hingle's name, you're going to find this interview and you'll have an opportunity to see who this is. And I think that does make a difference in ways that we can't necessarily see."

Taubes also stressed that stories can change minds. "We need to just keep elevating people forward who can change minds and bring new stories forward that people didn't previously know," he said. "Just like people in prison can change, people outside of prison change all the time. Their views, their points of view, their attitudes, what they believe in. And it's the stories that do it."

Salters, who believes a documentary-style video he made and released while incarcerated helped to get him out of prison, also said he knows that wrongful convictions continue to happen in New Haven. "They're not the product of innocuous mistakes," Salters said. Now free, he has vowed to help others who have been wrongfully incarcerated.

"This crisis that we have here in New Haven means people are living through continuing wrongful convictions," he said. "So, for me to step outside and just continue on with my life, I think it would have been kind of selfish," he said. "That's why I do the work that I do and I will continue to do that work."

Panel Highlights Community Safety as a Public Health Issue

On October 2022, the Quinnipiac-Yale Dispute Resolution Workshop brought three experts to Yale Law School for a discussion entitled Decentering Police in Public Safety: Violence Intervention in New Haven and Beyond. Panelists were Dr. Jeffrey A. Butts, Director of the Research and Evaluation Center at John Jay College of Criminal Justice; Alivia Langley, Program Manager of the Connecticut Violence Intervention Program (CTVIP); and Kayla Vinson, Executive Director of the Law and Racial Justice Center at Yale Law School.

Langley, who was born and raised in the New Haven area, began her remarks by comparing violence to an

LIMAN IN COLLABORATION

LIMAN IN COLLABORATION

epidemic. She explained that CTVIP seeks to cure violence by detecting and interrupting potential conflicts, identifying and treating the youth who are at the highest risk, and changing community and social norms. Many of the program's clients are struggling with basic needs, such as untreated trauma, she said.

Butts reinforced the importance of intervening at the community level and resetting social norms. "Who believes sincerely that community violence arises because of the unique characteristics of a set of individuals?" he asked, pointing to economic inequities, public health, quality of education, and other stressors that contribute to community violence.

Vinson emphasized the need to move away from policing and punishment to address the root causes of violence. "Our prevailing approach to the violence we do criminalize is responding to harm in ways that are creating more harm," she said, adding that conditions of incarceration threaten the physical and mental health of those who are incarcerated and their families.

Throughout the discussion, the panelists debunked the myth that violence is caused by individual evil. Rather, they showed that violence is rooted in structural conditions, such as employment and housing. Taking a public health approach, they agreed, would help to address the basic issues prompting violent responses. "It's about having a wide range of tools and resources at our disposal that can be deployed to interrupt and prevent harm, not just to respond after it happens," Vinson said.

Panel Brings Manhattan Felony Alternative-to-Incarceration Court to Yale Law School

In a panel in February 2022, an audience gathered at Yale Law School and via Zoom to learn about an innovative alternative sentencing program, the Manhattan Alternative-to-Incarceration (ATI) Court. The discussion featured two people central to the court's operations: Administrative Judge Ellen N. Biben, who presides over the court, and Joe Barrett, Project Director of Manhattan Justice Opportunities, an initiative of the Center for Justice Innovation. Liman 2023 Fellow-in-Residence Grace Li, whose research examines the ATI Court, served as moderator and panel organizer.

Launched in 2019, the ATI Court expands on models in which people with addiction and mental health challenges were provided opportunities to avoid incarceration. ATI is distinctive in that it is not limited to



Liman Fellow-in-Residence Grace Li (at left under screen) and two panelists from the Manhattan Alternative-to-Incarceration (ATI) Court, Judge Ellen N. Biben and Joe Barrett, discuss the alternative sentencing program at an event co-sponsored by the Arthur Liman Center for Public Interest Law.

individuals with specific needs. Instead, it offers alternatives to incarceration for all types of felony cases, including people accused of violent offenses. The court uses individualized treatment plans to respond to each participant's needs and links them to services that include employment, housing, education, mental healthcare, substance use treatment, and assistance in navigating the criminal legal system. The program aims to prevent recidivism through a comprehensive, collaborative approach that integrates programming with court supervision and monitoring.

"Our goal was to create a court where no charge was disqualifying, where the approach to the disposition was not formulaic, and where the dispositions would be negotiated after a full assessment by a clinically trained, independent third party," Biben said. To that end, "we're bringing together social workers and doctors and all different kinds of clinicians with the courts, with the defense providers, with DAs, and it really does take that team to make these dispositions work." Biben added that monitoring each case is important. "It's critical to our success that we have this independent third-party agency that does the assessments and that they stay along to case manage," she said.

To provide clinical assessments and ongoing case management, the ATI Court partners with a team of social workers and case managers from the Center for Justice Innovation. Originally called the Center for Court Innovation, this independent nonprofit grew out of

the Midtown Community Court, a pioneer in what is now commonly called "problem-solving courts." The center addresses urgent issues related to safety, justice, and community well-being by piloting programs to test new ideas, performing original research to determine what works and what doesn't, and providing expert assistance to justice reformers around the world. Barrett described the ATI Court as the first in the country to adopt this approach.

"No one is excluded. We do a case-by-case determination on each case, and that means we're able to serve people with very serious charges, including violent offenses," he said. "The majority of cases we serve are violent charges and people with serious social service needs who typically would've been excluded from other programs." Both the defense attorney and prosecutor must agree for a case to be sent to the ATI Court. Next, the program staff begins the process.

"We have an amazing team of court resource coordinators and clerks who manage the referral processes behind the scenes and prepare the case for my team, which comes in at the clinical assessment stage," Barrett said. "The social workers on my team ... do holistic needs assessments and try to figure out what's going on in people's lives related to mental health, substance use, trauma history, employment, education, housing, familial network, and social support. We truly make an effort to understand the whole person." Since 2019, there have been some 500 case assessments and almost 100 people have completed the program. Barrett said the completion rate is "a little above 70%."

Audience questions probed the ATI Court's costs, demographics, and the challenges of finding service providers to match defendants' language and treatment needs. Biben also responded to a question about the role victims play in her decision-making.

"Not all of the cases are victim cases but we certainly have violent cases that involve victims," she explained. "It is important to us to make sure the victim is heard in this process. I do require, in cases where there is a victim, that the victim be given a voice if they want one. The victim's view has to be addressed. In New York, by law, the victim has a right to make a victim impact statement before an individual is sentenced." Biben also explained that the ATI Court is developing restorative justice programs to provide additional avenues for victim involvement and support.

The Liman Center

Liman in Motion

The Arthur Liman Center for Public Interest Law recently welcomed four new staff members: Nicole Gehring, Program Coordinator; Marilyn Wilkes, Director of Communications; Elizabeth Clarke, Curtis-Liman Fellow; and Pardiss Kebriaei, Senior Fellow in Residence.

Nicole Clarke Gehring Center Coordinator



Gehring is the center coordinator for the Liman Center. Prior to joining the Center, she worked at New York University and the New York Academy of Medicine as an event specialist. In addition, she assisted in finding venture capitalists for Artificial Intelligence Innovations for

startup company Global Decision Sciences. Gehring holds a B.A. in International Business from the Fashion Institute of Technology, and a master's in journalism from New York University.

Marilyn Wilkes Director of Communications



Wilkes leads the Liman Center's communications. Prior to joining the Liman Center, she worked as the director of communications for Yale's MacMillan Center for International and Area Studies. Wilkes graduated from the University of California at

Berkeley with a degree in mass communication and earned an MBA from the University of New Haven, where she currently teaches a course on the principles of communication.

Elizabeth Clarke Curtis-Liman Fellow



Clarke works at the Office of the Federal Defender for the District of Connecticut and at Yale Law School. As part of her partnership with the Liman Center, Clarke supervises students working on research and policy advocacy projects related to

community supervision. Clarke received a B.A. in psychology from Cornell University. While at Yale Law School, she was a research assistant at The Justice Collaboratory and a member of the Criminal Justice Advocacy Clinic.

Pardiss Kebriaei Senior Fellow in Residence



Kebriaei has worked on issues of civil and human rights for more than 20 years. A Senior Attorney at the Center for Constitutional Rights (CCR), she joined that organization in 2007 as part of a project dedicated to providing legal representation to men

detained without charge at the Guantánamo Bay prison. As the "war on terror" after 9/11 evolved, Kebriaei represented other victims, including in the "targeted killing" context; with attorneys at the American Civil Liberties Union, she brought the first case to challenge the U.S. drone program. For the past 10 years, her work has turned increasingly toward domestic prisons, including to end solitary confinement and other inhumane conditions and sentences, such as life sentences.

Kebriaei's commentary and scholarship on human rights and incarceration have appeared in magazines

and journals including Harper's Magazine, The Nation, Rolling Stone, The Guardian, and the Yale Law & Policy Review, and in edited volumes including Drones and the Future of Armed Conflict: Ethical, Legal, and Strategic Implications (University of Chicago Press, 2015). At the Liman Center, her research includes interdisciplinary work on the public health impacts of mass incarceration in the U.S. She also contributes to Liman Center research and public education projects on solitary confinement, and co-teaches the Spring 2024 Liman Workshop. While a Liman Senior Fellow in Residence, Kebriaei continues as a part-time attorney at CCR. She is a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania Law School and Northwestern University, and was a 2021-22 Practitioner-in-Residence Fellow at the Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study. She is also the recipient of a Tulsa Arts Fellowship for 2024-26, which she will use to develop work on issues of incarceration in Oklahoma.

OTHER CENTER FACULTY, IN-HOUSE FELLOWS, RESEARCHERS, AFFILIATED **SCHOLARS, AND STAFF**

Judith Resnik

Founding Director and Arthur Liman Professor of Law



Resnik is the Arthur Liman Professor of Law at Yale Law School, where her teaching and scholarship focuses on the impact of democratic, egalitarian principles on a range of government services such as courts, prisons, and post offices;

on the relationships of states to citizens and noncitizens; on the forms and norms of federalism; and on equality and gender. Resnik co-authored with Dennis Curtis Representing Justice: Invention, Controversy, and Rights in City-States and Democratic Courtrooms (2011), reissued in 2022 as an e-book free of charge as well as in hard copy. Her recent book chapters and articles include "Constituting a Civil Legal System Called 'Just': Law, Money, Power, and Publicity," in New Pathways to Civil Justice in Europe (Xandra Kramer, Alexandre Biard, Jos Hoevenaars, and Erlis Themeli, eds., Springer, 2021); "Representing What? Gender, Race, Class, and the Struggle for the Identity and the Legitimacy of Courts," 15 Law and Ethics of Human

Rights 1 (2021), and "Punishment in Prison: Constituting the "Normal" and the "Atypical" in Solitary and Other Forms of Confinement" (co-authored) 115 Northwestern Law Review 45 (2020). From 2012-2022, Resnik chaired Yale Law School's Global Constitutional Law Seminar. Resnik is the founding director of Yale's Arthur Liman Center for Public Interest Law. Resnik was a recipient of an Andrew Carnegie Fellowship to support her work to write a book, "Impermissible Punishments" (forthcoming), and she is a member of the American Philosophical Society, a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and a Managerial Trustee of the International Association of Women Judges. In 2018, she received an Honorary Doctorate in laws from University College London.

Jennifer Taylor Liman Center Director



Taylor '10 joined the Liman Center as director in May 2022. She was a member of the Prison Legal Services and New Haven Legal Assistance clinics while a law student, as well as a student co-convener of the Liman Workshop. After graduating, she joined the Equal Justice Initiative

(EJI) in Montgomery, Alabama, as an attorney, where she represented incarcerated clients challenging their convictions, sentences, and inhumane conditions of confinement. Taylor also researched, wrote, and spoke as part of EJI's public education project linking mass incarceration and American racial history, and contributed content and design to exhibits for The Legacy Museum: From Enslavement to Mass Incarceration and The National Memorial for Peace and Justice. Taylor holds a B.A. in comparative studies in race and ethnicity from Stanford University and a master's in journalism from Columbia University. In addition to serving as primary editor, researcher, and contributing author of multiple EJI reports on racial history, she has published many law review articles and media pieces on race and law and spent three months researching comparative criminal law in South Africa.

THE LIMAN CENTER THE LIMAN CENTER

Reginald Dwayne Betts

Clinical Lecturer in Law Senior Liman Scholar Founder & Director, Freedom Reads



Betts '16 is a poet and lawyer. A 2021 MacArthur Fellow, he is the CEO of the Freedom Reads, an organization that transforms prison cellblocks into Freedom Libraries. A Senior Liman Scholar for more than 20 years, he has used his poetry and essays to explore the world of

prison and the effects of violence and incarceration on American society. The author of a memoir and three collections of poetry, he has transformed his latest collection of poetry, the American Book Awardwinning Felon, into a solo theater show that explores the post-incarceration experience and lingering consequences of a criminal record through poetry, stories, and engaging with the timeless and transcendental art of papermaking. In 2019, Betts won the National Magazine Award in the Essays and Criticism category for his NY Times Magazine essay that chronicles his journey from prison to becoming a licensed attorney. He has been awarded a Radcliffe Fellowship from Harvard's Radcliffe Institute of Advanced Study, a Guggenheim Fellowship, an Emerson Fellow at New America, and most recently a Civil Society Fellow at Aspen. Betts holds a J.D. from Yale Law School, was a Liman Fellow in 2016, and has been an affiliated Liman Research Scholar since 2020.

Laura Fernandez Senior Liman Fellow



Fernandez '02 is a Clinical Lecturer in Law and Research Scholar in Law at Yale Law School, in addition to being a Senior Liman Fellow in Residence. Her research focuses on questions of prosecutorial power, ethics, and accountability.

Before joining Yale Law School, she was Senior Counsel at Holland & Knight, LLP, where she worked as a full-time member of the Community Services Team. Laura clerked for the Honorable Jack B. Weinstein of the Eastern District of New York and was an E. Barrett Prettyman Fellow at Georgetown Law Center, where she obtained her LL.M. She holds an A.B. in Literature from Harvard College and a J.D. from Yale Law School.

Natalia N. Friedlander

Senior Research Affiliate



Friedlander '18 was the first Resnik-Curtis Fellow and then a staff attorney with the Rhode Island Center for Justice. There, she founded the Center's criminal justice team and challenged unjust conditions of confinement, denial of healthcare, and other abuses in

the criminal justice system. Now a Visiting Clinical Lecturer in Law, Associate Research Scholar in Law, and Robert M. Cover Clinical Teaching Fellow at Yale Law School, her prior work includes Prisoners' Legal Services of Massachusetts, the New Haven Legal Assistance Association, and the Jerome N. Frank Legal Services Organization at Yale Law School. Friedlander holds a J.D. from Yale Law School, which recognized her with the Stephen J. Massey Prize for client advocacy and community service, and a B.A. from Brown University. Before law school, Natalia worked for several years in the field of domestic and international public health.

Brian Highsmith

Senior Research Affiliate



Highsmith '17 began work with the Liman Center as a Fellow in Residence in early 2020 at the end of a two-year Skadden Fellowship with the National Consumer Law Center that worked to challenge unaffordable financial

obligations imposed on poor families as a result of their contact with the criminal system. In the fall he started a Ph.D. in government and social policy at Harvard. His focus is on the fiscal pressures governments impose upon communities, and how those practices are often driven by local budgets that rely on regressive revenue sources such as fines and fees assessed through local policing and criminal

systems. Highsmith remains affiliated with the Liman Center. He has joined in organizing a series of Limanhosted webinar sessions about the intersections of public finance and criminal punishment, as well as planning the 2023 colloquium, Budgeting for Justice. For these projects, Highsmith has drawn on his experience working (both before and after law school) on domestic economic policy in Washington, D.C.including as an advisor at President Barack Obama's National Economic Council, the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, and the office of Sen. Cory Booker '97. This fall, Highsmith began as an Academic Fellow with Harvard Law School's new Program on Law and Political Economy. He is writing his dissertation while preparing to go on the law teaching market.

Jon Petkun Senior Research Affiliate



Petkun '19 is an Associate Professor of Law at Duke Law School, where he teaches civil procedure as well as a seminar on access to justice. In his research, Jon uses his training as an economist to empirically study the legal and economic organization of large public

institutions, especially federal and state courts and the U.S. military. With respect to courts, Petkun is especially interested in how court rules and norms affect litigants' access. His current projects include a study of federal judicial administration - with an emphasis on the diversity of judges' administrative roles and the enormous "off-the-bench" influence they wield in policy matters unrelated to any adjudication – as well as a study of the uses and limits of empirical research on civil litigation and procedure. Petkun is a graduate of Yale Law School and holds a Ph.D. in economics from MIT. Prior to his start at teaching, Petkun served as a Senior Liman Research Affiliate (and continues that affiliation) and clerked for federal judges on the District of Connecticut and the D.C. Circuit. Before his academic career, Petkun served as a Marine in both Iraq and Afghanistan.

MOVING ON

Grace Li

Departing Fellow in Residence



In her two years with the Liman Center as a Fellow in Residence, Li co-taught the Liman Workshop and Liman Seminar classes. She worked with students who helped make a Freedom of Information Act request on behalf of individuals released on confinement due to COVID-19. Li also

helped advance the Center's work on solitary confinement by contributing to Time-in-Cell 2021, the Center's latest report on the practice's use in prisons around the country, documenting legislatively mandated reporting about the use of solitary confinement, and helping to launch the Seeing Solitary website. Li's research agenda includes "Associations in Prison," an article forthcoming in the U.C. Irvine Law Review; a book review of Tommie Shelby's The Idea of Prison Abolition, forthcoming in the Michigan Law Review; and a work-inprogress about the Felony Alternative-to-Incarceration Court in Manhattan. This fall, Li starts in a tenure-track position at the Moritz School of Law at the Ohio State University in Columbus, Ohio, as a member of the inaugural cohort of OSU's Race, Inclusion, and Social Equity (RAISE) Initiative. Beginning as a fellow focused on research, she will become an assistant professor after two years, likely teaching criminal law and a seminar of her own design that will take inspiration from the Liman Workshop, "Imprisoned: Construction, Abolition, Alternatives."

Alex Agosta Former Coordinator



Agosta began with the Liman Center in October 2022 as a temporary, part-time Center Coordinator and completed her term in late April. She contributed greatly to the success of this year's Colloquium and helped handle many tasks necessary to keep the Liman Center going.

THE LIMAN CENTER THE LIMAN CENTER

Affiliated Faculty

Peter Brooks

Sterling Professor of Comparative Literature Emeritus Yale University

Trattie Davies

Senior Critic

Yale School of Architecture

Gregg Gonsalves, PhD

Associate Professor of Epidemiology (Microbial Diseases); Co-Director, Global Health Justice Partnership; Co-Director, Collaboration for Research Integrity and Transparency Yale School of Public Health

Associate (Adjunct) Professor of Law

Yale Law School

Elizabeth K. Hinton

Associate Professor of History & African American Studies and Professor of Law Yale Law School

Reena Kapoor

Associate Professor of Psychiatry; Program Director, Forensic Psychiatry Fellowship Yale School of Medicine

Louisa Lombard

Associate Professor of Anthropology Yale University

Courtney Skipton Long

Associate Director for Membership Programs Yale University Art Gallery

Jaimie P. Meyer, MD, MS

Associate Professor of Medicine and Epidemiology Yale School of Medicine

Lisa Puglisi

Assistant Professor of Medicine Yale School of Medicine

S. Zelda Roland

Director, University of New Haven Prison Education

Founding Director, Yale Prison Education Initiative at Dwight Hall at Yale

Emily Wang

Professor of Medicine and of Public Health Director, SEICHE Center for Health and Justice Yale School of Medicine

Howard Zonana, MD

Emeritus Professor of Psychiatry Yale School of Medicine

Co-Faculty

Fiona Doherty

Clinical Professor of Law Deputy Dean for Experiential Education Yale Law School

Miriam Gohara

Clinical Professor of Law Director, Jerome N. Frank Legal Services Organization Yale Law School

Lucas Guttentag

Martin R. Flug Lecturer in Law, and Senior Research Scholar in Law Yale Law School

Advisory Council

Emily Bazelon

Staff Writer, The New York Times Magazine Lecturer in Law, Senior Research Scholar in Law, and Truman Capote Fellow Yale Law School

The Hon. Nancy Gertner

Judge, U.S. D. Mass. (Ret.) Senior Lecturer on Law Harvard Law School

Vicki C. Jackson

Laurence H. Tribe Professor of Constitutional Law Harvard Law School

Doug Liman

Film Director and Producer New York, NY

Melissa Murray

Frederick I. and Grace Stokes Professor of Law, and Faculty Director, Birnbaum Women's Leadership Network New York University School of Law

Sia Sanneh

Senior Attorney Equal Justice Initiative

McGregor Smyth

Executive Director

New York Lawyers for the Public Interest

Summer Fellow Program Coordinators

BARNARD COLLEGE New York, New York

Greg Triandis

Director, Partnerships and Employer Relations Beyond Barnard gtriandis@barnard.edu

Lindsay Granger-Weaver

Senior Associate Director Beyond Barnard *lgranger@barnard.edu*

BROWN UNIVERSITY Providence, Rhode Island

Mary Jo Callan

Stark Family Executive Director Swearer Center mjcallan@brown.edu

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Assistant Director, Co-Curricular Learning Swearer Center joshua_rodriguez@brown.edu

BRYN MAWR COLLEGE Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania

Katie Krimmel

Associate Dean Career & Civic Engagement Center kkrimmel@brynmawr.edu

HARVARD UNIVERSITY Cambridge, Massachusetts

Alysha Johnson Williams

Director Pathways to Practice alyshajohnson@fas.harvard.edu

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

Princeton, New Jersey

Elizabeth Choe

Director

Undergraduate Program and Career Services ec2818@princeton.edu

SPELMAN COLLEGE Atlanta, Georgia

Stacy Washington

Special Academic Programs Manager Office of Undergraduate Studies swashi37@spelman.edu

STANFORD UNIVERSITY Palo Alto, California

Valerie Chow

Program Director, Undergraduate Fellowships Haas Center for Public Service vychow@stanford.edu

YALE UNIVERSITY New Haven, Connecticut

Jennifer Taylor

Director, Liman Center Yale Law School jennifer.taylor@yale.edu

Anjelica Gonzalez

Associate Professor of Biomedical Engineering, Faculty Director of Tsai CITY, and Head of Davenport College anjelica.gonzalez@yale.edu

Liman Fellows 1997–2023: Where They Are Now

Since its founding as the Arthur Liman Public Interest Program, the Liman Center has awarded more than 180 one-year fellowships to support Yale Law School graduates working in public interest law. Most remain in the public sector. Their areas of work, as of September 2023, are outlined below.

Public Interest Organizations	55%
Government	18%
Academy (Full Time)	13%
Private Sector	14%

ACADEMIA

Sophia Angelis

Ph.D candidate in Law University of Oslo Oslo, Norway Liman Fellow 2021

Monica Bell

Professor of Law and Associate Professor of Sociology Yale Law School New Haven, CT Liman Fellow 2010

Stephanie Biedermann

Senior Lecturer, Faculty of Law The University of Hong Kong Hong Kong Liman Fellow 2007

Chesa Boudin

Executive Director Criminal Law & Justice Center, Berkeley Law School Berkeley, CA Liman Fellow 2012

Natalia Friedlander

Visiting Clinical Lecturer in Law Yale Law School New Haven, CT Liman Fellow 2018

John Giammatteo

Clinical Teaching Fellow Georgetown University Law Center Washington, DC Liman Fellow 2019

Tianna Gibbs

Associate Professor of Law and Co-Director of the General Practice Clinic David A. Clarke School of Law of the University of the District of Columbia Washington, DC Liman Fellow 2008

Jean Han

Practitioner-in-Residence, Women and the Law Clinic American University Washington College of Law Washington, DC Liman Fellow 2009

Zahra Hayat

PhD Candidate, Anthropology University of California, Berkeley Berkeley, CA Liman Fellow 2008

Susan Hazeldean

Professor of Law and Founder and Director of the LGBT Advocacy Clinic Brooklyn Law School Brooklyn, NY Liman Fellow 2001

Michael Kavey

Adjunct Professor of Clinical Law New York University School of Law New York, NY Liman Fellow 2007

Charisa Kiyô Smith

Associate Professor and Co-Director of the Family Law Practice Clinic CUNY School of Law New York, NY Liman Fellow 2006

Andrea Marsh

Clinical Lecturer and Director, Richard and Ginni Mithoff Pro Bono Program University of Texas School of Law Austin, TX Liman Fellow 2002

Allegra McLeod

Professor of Law Georgetown University Law Center Washington, DC Liman Fellow 2008

Grace Meng

Director, Judge Rand Schrader Pro Bono Program UCLA Law School Los Angeles, CA Liman Fellow 2003

Jamelia Morgan

Professor of Law and Director of the Center for Racial and Disability Justice Northwestern Pritzker School of Law Chicago, IL Liman Fellow 2015

Lindsay Nash

Associate Professor of Law Co-Director, Kathryn O. Greenberg Immigration Justice Clinic Benjamin Cardozo School of Law New York, NY Liman Fellow 2010

Marisol Orihuela

Clinical Associate Professor of Law Yale Law School New Haven, CT Liman Fellow 2008

Benjamin Plener Cover

Associate Professor of Law University of Idaho College of Law Moscow, ID Liman Fellow 2009

Ryan Sakoda

Associate Professor of Law University of Iowa College of Law Iowa City, IA Liman Fellow 2015

Larry Schwartztol

Professor of Practice and Faculty Director, Democracy and the Rule of Law Clinic Harvard Law School Cambridge, MA Liman Fellow 2006

Ivy Wang

Masters Candidate of Landscape Architecture University of California, Berkeley Berkeley, CA Liman Fellow 2013

Sofia Yakren

Professor of Law **CUNY School of Law** New York, NY Liman Fellow 2005

CHILDREN, EDUCATION, AND **FAMILIES**

Joshua Civin

Chief Legal Officer **Baltimore City Public Schools** Baltimore, MD Liman Fellow 2004

Cyd Fremmer Oppenheimer

Senior Policy Fellow Connecticut Voices for Children New Haven, CT Liman Fellow 2004

Kim Pattillo Brownson

Director of Strategy and Policy Ballmer Group Los Angeles, CA Liman Fellow 2005

Zoe Li

Meselson Fellow 2023-2024 MacArthur Justice Center Chicago, IL

Freya Pitts

Senior Attorney National Center for Youth Law Oakland, CA Liman Fellow 2015

Iessica Sager

Chief Executive Officer All Our Kin New Haven, CT Liman Fellow 1999

CIVIL LEGAL SERVICES AND ECONOMIC JUSTICE

Celina Aldape

Senior Staff Attorney Rising for Justice Georgetown University Law Center Washington, DC Liman Fellow 2017

Sameera Fazili

Deputy Director National Economic Council Washington, DC Liman Fellow 2006

Romy Ganschow

Staff Attorney Legal Aid Foundation of Los Angeles Los Angeles, CA Liman Fellow 2012

Corev Guilmette

Managing Director of Legal Services and Operations Civil Survival Project Orchard, WA Liman Fellow 2016

Sophie Laing

Staff Attorney Pine Tree Legal Assistance Portland, ME Liman Fellow 2021

Eliza Leighton

CEO The Family Room Silver Spring, MD Liman Fellow 2005

Dana Montalto

Lecturer on Law and Senior Clinical Instructor Veterans Legal Clinic Harvard Law School Cambridge, MA Liman Fellow 2014

Adam Rice

Staff Attorney Colorado Poverty Law Project Denver, CO Liman Fellow 2019

Seth Wayne

Senior Counsel Institute for Constitutional Advocacy and Protection Georgetown University Law Center Washington, DC Liman Fellow 2011

Adrien Weibgen

Grassroots Relationships Manager Liberation in a Generation Brooklyn, NY Liman Fellow 2014

CIVIL RIGHTS/CIVIL **LIBERTIES**

Tiffany Bailey

Munger, Tolles & Olson Staff Attorney ACLU of Southern California Los Angeles, CA Liman Fellow 2019

Alicia Bannon

Director, Judiciary Program Brennan Center for Justice New York, NY Liman Fellow 2009

Katie Chamblee-Ryan

Trial Attorney Civil Rights Division Litigation Section U.S. Department of Justice Washington, DC Liman Fellow 2013

Alice Clapman

Senior Counsel Voting Rights Program Brennan Center for Justice New York, NY Liman Fellow 2006

Lisa Daugaard

Co-Executive Director Purpose Dignity Action Seattle, WA Liman Fellow 1998

Daniel Freeman

Trial Attorney, Voting Section Civil Rights Division U.S. Department of Justice Washington, DC Liman Fellow 2007

Kristen Jackson

Interim Directing Attorney Women and Girls' Rights Public Counsel Los Angeles, CA Liman Fellow 2003

Sonia Kumar

Senior Staff Attorney ACLU of Maryland Baltimore, MD Liman Fellow 2009

Elizabeth Pierson

Legal Fellow Law Forward Madison, WI Liman Fellow 2018

Yenisev Rodriguez

Trial Attorney US Dept of Justice Civil Rights Division, Housing and Civil **Enforcement Section** Washington, DC Meselson Fellow 2018

Joseph Schottenfeld

Assistant General Counsel NAACP Madison, WI Liman Fellow 2020

Diala Shamas

Senior Staff Attorney Center for Constitutional Rights New York, NY Liman Fellow 2011

McGregor Smyth

Executive Director New York Lawyers for the Public Interest New York, NY Liman Fellow 2003

Jessica Vosburgh

Staff Attorney Center for Constitutional Rights New York, NY Liman Fellow 2014

Adrienna Wong

Senior Staff Attorney ACLU of Southern California Los Angeles, CA Liman Fellow 2010

Jenny Zhao

Senior Staff Attorney Asian Law Caucus San Francisco, CA Liman Fellow 2012

CRIMINAL DEFENSE

Anna Arkin-Gallagher

Supervising Attorney & Policy Counsel, Education Practice Brooklyn Defender Services Brooklyn, NY Liman Fellow 2014

Alyssa Briody

Senior Attorney, Criminal Defense Brooklyn Defender Services Brooklyn, NY Liman Fellow 2013

Isabel Bussarakum

Deputy Federal Public Defender Office of the Federal Public Defender for the Central District of CA Los Angeles, CA Liman Fellow 2011

Burke Butler

Executive Director Texas Defender Service Austin, TX Liman Fellow 2013

Elizabeth Clarke

Curtis-Liman Fellow 2023-2024 Office of the Federal Defender for the District of Connecticut and Yale Law School New Haven, CT

Hannah Duncan

Office of the Federal Public Defender for the District of CT and Liman Center New Haven, CT Curtis-Liman Fellow 2022

Eli Feasley

Data Scientist Neighborhood Defender Service of Detroit Detroit, MI Liman Fellow 2021

Elise Grifka Wander

Assistant Public Defender Death Penalty Department of the Office of the Ohio Public Defender Columbus, OH

Jeremy Kaplan-Lyman

Liman Fellow 2020

Legal Director, Travis County Public Defender's Office Austin, TX Liman Fellow 2013

Carly Levenson

Assistant Federal Defender Office of the Federal Defender for the District of CT New Haven, CT Liman Fellow 2017

Joseph W. Luby

Assistant Federal Defender Federal Community Defender Office for the Eastern District of PA Philadelphia, PA Liman Fellow 2001

Edward McCarthy

Senior Attorney Brooklyn Defender Services Brooklyn, NY Liman Fellow 2012

Maya Menlo

Assistant Defender Michigan State Appellate Defender Office Detroit, MI Liman Fellow 2018

Devon Porter

Deputy Federal Public Defender Capital Habeas Unit, Office of the Federal Public Defender for the Central District of CA Los Angeles, CA Liman Fellow 2016

Isadora Ruyter-Harcourt

Trial Attorney New York County Defender Services New York, NY Liman Fellow 2021

Sia Sanneh

Senior Attorney Equal Justice Initiative Montgomery, AL Liman Fellow 2007

Mary Ella Simmons

Staff Attorney Orleans Public Defenders New Orleans, LA Liman Fellow 2020

Ruth Swift

Deputy Public Defender Colorado State Public Defender Grand Junction, PA Liman Fellow 2015

Theo Torres

Trial Attorney Federal Defenders of San Diego San Diego, CA Liman Fellow 2018

Alyssa Work

Staff Attorney **Bronx Defenders** Bronx, NY Liman Fellow 2013

CRIMINAL LAW REFORM/ **PRISONERS' RIGHTS**

Dwavne Betts

Founder and Director Freedom Reads New Haven, CT Liman Fellow 2016

Olevia Bovkin

Senior Manager, Policy-Legal Campaign Zero Liman Fellow 2018

Yael Caplan

Liman Fellow 2023-2024 Pregnancy Justice New York, NY

Elizabeth Compa

Former Associate for Policy Pew Charitable Trusts Toronto, Canada Liman Fellow 2011

Rebecca Engel

Director of Criminal Justice The National Urban League New York, NY Liman Fellow 2009

Wynne Muscatine Graham

Resnik-Curtis Fellow 2023-2024 Roderick and Solange MacArthur Justice Center's Supreme Court and Appellate Program Washington, D.C.

Elizabeth Guild Simpson

Strategic Director and Attorney Emancipate NC Durham, NC Liman Fellow 2010

Margot Mendelson

Executive Director Prison Law Office Berkeley, CA Liman Fellow 2009

David Menschel

Director Vital Projects Fund New York, NY Liman Fellow 2002

Megan Quattlebaum

Director Council of State Governments **Justice Center** New York, NY Liman Fellow 2010

Megha Ram

Appellate Attorney Roderick & Solange MacArthur Justice Center Washington, DC Liman Fellow 2019

Katie Roop

Liman Fellow 2023-2024 The Legal Aid Society's Criminal Appeals Bureau New York, NY

Rachel Talamo

Liman Fellow 2023-2024 Prisoners' Legal Services of Massachusetts Boston, MA

Emily Washington

Deputy Director MacArthur Justice Center New Orleans, LA Liman Fellow 2011

ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE

Joshua Berman

Senior Attorney Environmental Law Program Sierra Club Washington, DC Liman Fellow 2009

Tania Galloni

Managing Attorney Earthjustice, Florida Office Tallahassee, FL Liman Fellow 2002

GOVERNMENT

Ioshua Bendor

Solicitor General Office of the Arizona Attorney General Phoenix, AZ Liman Fellow 2014

Russell Bogue

Liman Fellow 2023-2024 Office of the Solicitor General for the District of Columbia Washington, D.C

Ryan Cooper

Attorney Consumer Financial Protection Bureau Office of Litigation and Oversight Washington, DC Liman Fellow 2017

Forrest Dunbar

State Senator Alaska State Senate Anchorange, AK Liman Fellow 2012

Lynsey Gaudioso

Attorney Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes Pablo, MT Liman Fellow 2017

Paige Herwig

Senior Counsel Office of the White House Counsel Washington, DC Liman Fellow 2006

Serena Hoy

Assistant Secretary for **International Affairs** U.S. Department of Homeland Security Washington, DC Liman Fellow 2001

Kathy Hunt Muse

Deputy Chief, Public Interest Division Office of the Illinois Attorney General Chicago, IL Liman Fellow 2009

Hava Mirell

Assistant U.S. Attorney U.S. Attorney's Office for the Central District of CA Los Angeles, CA Liman Fellow 2017

Allison Morte

Staff Attorney Los Angeles City Attorney's Office Los Angeles, CA Liman Fellow 2019

Nathan Nash

Attorney Federal Trade Commission Washington, DC Liman Fellow 2017

Marc Silverman

Chief of the Criminal Division U.S. Attorney's Office for the District of CT New Haven, CT Liman Fellow 2006

Henry Weaver

Assistant Attorney General Workplace Rights Bureau Office of the Illinois Attorney General Chicago, IL Liman Fellow 2018

HEALTH & WELL-BEING

Ady Barkan

Founder and Co-Executive Director Be A Hero Santa Barbara, CA Liman Fellow 2010

Rebecca Bernhardt

Executive Director Texas Physicians for Social Responsibility Austin, TX Liman Fellow 2000

Alison Hirschel

Director Michigan Elder Justice Initiative Lansing, MI Liman Fellow 1997

Anna Rich

Deputy Attorney General Healthcare Rights and Access Section, CA Dept of Justice Oakland, CA Liman Fellow 2006

Olivia Sinaiko

Therapist Southeast Alaska Regional Health Consortium Iuneau, AK Liman Fellow 2012

IMMIGRATION

Spencer Amdur

Staff Attorney ACLU Immigrants' Rights Project San Francisco, CA Liman Fellow 2013

Jorge Baron

Former Executive Director Northwest Immigrant Rights Project Seattle, WA Liman Fellow 2005

Caitlin Bellis

Policy and Community Advocacy Attorney National Immigration Project of the National Lawyers Guild Long Beach, CA Liman Fellow 2015

LIMAN FELLOWS 1997-2023: WHERE THEY ARE NOW

Catherine Chen

Staff Attorney Ayuda Washington, DC Liman Fellow 2019

Diane de Gramont

Attorney National Center for Youth Law Immigration and Legal Advocacy Teams Oakland, CA Meselson Fellow 2019

Raquiba Huq

Senior Vice President and Assistant General Counsel Legal Services of New Jersey Edison, NJ Liman Fellow 2007

Tom Jawetz

Senior Fellow for Immigration Policy Center for American Progress Washington, DC Liman Fellow 2004

Stacie Ionas

Immigration Group Coordinator Texas RioGrande Legal Aid Austin, TX Liman Fellow 2008

Joanne Lee

Community Resources Attorney Asylum Seeker Advocacy Project New York, NY Liman Fellow 2018

Aseem Mehta

Liman Fellow 2022-2024 Meselson Fellow 2022–2023 Asian Americans Advancing Justice Asian Law Caucus San Francisco, CA

Amy Meselson (1971–2018) Managing Attorney

Immigrant Justice Corps New York, NY Liman Fellow 2002

My Khanh Ngo

Staff Attorney ACLU Immigrants' Rights Project San Francisco, CA Liman Fellow 2017

Abigail Rich

Staff Attorney and Clinical Supervisor, Immigration East Bay Community Law Center Oakland, CA Liman Fellow 2016

Rebecca Scholtz

Senior Staff Attorney/Faculty Fellow National Immigration Project of the National Lawyers Guild/ University of St. Thomas School of Law Minneapolis, MN

Sirine Shebaya

Liman Fellow 2012

Executive Director National Immigration Project of the National Lawyers Guild Washington, DC Liman Fellow 2012

Michael K.T. Tan

Senior Advisor to the Co-Presidents Community Change Honolulu, HI Liman Fellow 2008

Matthew Vogel

Supervising Attorney National Immigration Project of the National Lawvers Guild Washington, DC Liman Fellow 2014

Alexander Wang

Deputy Director for Immigration White House Domestic Policy Council Washington, D.C.

Mary Yanik

Associate Clinical Professor of Law and Director, Immigrants Rights Clinic **Tulane University** New Orleans, LA Liman Fellow 2015

THE JUDICIARY, JUDGES

Marjorie Allard

Chief Judge, Alaska Court of Appeals Anchorange, AK Liman Fellow 2000

Juliet McKenna

Associate Judge, District of Columbia Superior Court Washington, DC Liman Fellow 1999

Holly Thomas

Judge, U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit Pasadena, CA Liman Fellow 2005

THE JUDICIARY, LAW CLERKS

Hannah Abelow

Law Clerk The Honorable Nicholas G. Garaufis U.S. District Court Eastern District of New York Brooklyn, NY Liman Fellow 2021

Josh Blecher-Cohen

Law Clerk The Honorable Myron Thompson U.S. District Court Middle District of Alabama Montgomery, AL Liman Fellow 2020

Helia Bidad

Law Clerk The Honorable Kimberly Mueller U.S. District Court Eastern District of California Sacramento, CA Liman Fellow 2022

Jonathan Cohen

Law Clerk The Honorable O. Rogeriee Thompson, U.S. Court of Appeals for the First Circuit Somerville, MA Resnik-Curtis Fellow 2021

Allison Durkin

Law Clerk The Hon. Pierre N. Leval U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit New York, NY Liman Fellow 2021

Sam Frizell

Law Clerk The Honorable Ronnie Abrams U.S. District Court Southern District of New York New York, NY Liman Fellow 2020

Bassam Gergi

Law Clerk The Honorable Georgette Castner U.S. District Court District of New Jersey Trenton, NJ Liman Fellow 2019

Duncan Hosie

Law Clerk The Honorable Paul Watford U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit Pasadena, CA Liman Fellow 2021

Grace Judge

Law Clerk The Hon. Allyne Ross U.S. District Court Eastern District of New York New York, NY Liman Fellow 2022

Nathan Leys

Law Clerk The Honorable Florence Y. Pan U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit Washington, DC Liman Fellow 2020

Kelley Schiffman

Law Clerk Justice Sonia Sotomayor Associate Justice U.S. Supreme Court Washington, DC Liman Fellow 2020

Kshithij Shrinath

Law Clerk The Hon. Analisa Torres U.S. District Court Southern District of New York New York, NY Liman Fellow 2021

Rachel Shur

Law Clerk The Honorable Angel Harris, Orleans Parish Criminal District Court New Orleans, LA Liman Fellow 2017

Medha Swaminathan

Law Clerk The Hon. Amit Mehta U.S. District Court District of Columbia Washington, D.C. Liman Fellow 2022

Evan Walker-Wells

Law Clerk The Hon. Rowan Wilson New York Court of Appeals New York, NY Liman Fellow 2022

Megan Yan

Law Clerk Justice Goodwin H. Liu Associate Justice, Supreme Court of California San Francisco, CA Resnik-Curtis Fellow 2020

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Brendan Bernicker

Solo Practitioner and Software developer Washington, DC Liman Fellow 2022

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Managing Partner Hancock Park Properties LLC Decatur, GA Liman Fellow 1999

LIMAN FELLOWS 1997-2023: WHERE THEY ARE NOW

Emily Gerrick

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Liman Fellow 2009

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Partner Edelson PC San Francisco, CA Liman Fellow 2012

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Vasudha Talla

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WORKERS' RIGHTS, LABOR AND EMPLOYMENT

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Liman Fellow 2022–2023 Women's National Basketball Players Association Washington, DC

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Lead Organizer One LA-IAF Union Los Angeles, CA Liman Fellow 2004

Juan Fernando Luna León

Liman Fellow 2023–2024 UNITE HERE Local 11 Los Angeles, CA

Alyssa Peterson

Staff Attorney UNITE HERE Local 11 Los Angeles, CA Liman Fellow 2019

Lisa Powell

General Counsel CA Labor & Workforce Development Agency Sacramento, CA Liman Fellow 2004

Douglas Stevick

General Counsel for Labor and Employment Texas RioGrande Legal Aid St. Louis, MO Liman Fellow 1998

Margaret Weston Williamson

Senior Fellow Center for American Progress Washington, DC Liman Fellow 2014

Helping to Expand the Liman Center's Reach

The Liman Center is honored to have received generous grants and gifts to support our many activities. Special thanks go to Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison LLP; Alan Bersin '74 and Lisa Foster; Vital Projects Fund; Nancy Marder '87 and Jeremy Eden; the Meselson family and friends; and Arnold Ventures.

In 2022, the Liman Center received a foundational, five-year sustaining gift from Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison LLP. That is the firm at which Arthur Liman, who graduated from Yale Law School in 1957, began his career and to which he was devoted. Throughout his distinguished career, Arthur Liman personified the ideal of commitment to public interest and demonstrated how dedicated lawyers in both private practice and the public sector can serve the needs of people and causes that might otherwise go unrepresented. Arthur Liman also served in a wide range of public service positions. "To me," Liman once said, "having a successful career in private practice was more than a matter of earning a good living. It gave me the independence when I took public assignments to do what I believed was right."

Liman mentored many young lawyers, including Brad Karp, a 1984 graduate of Harvard Law School and, since 2008, the chairman of the Paul, Weiss firm. Recognized as one of today's leading litigators and corporate advisers, Karp has successfully represented many Fortune 100 companies and financial institutions in large-scale, large-stakes conflicts, and he has received dozens of industry awards and recognitions. The *New York Law Journal* selected Karp as the "Attorney of the Year," as has *Lawdragon*. The *American Lawyer* named him "Litigator of the Year," as did Benchmark Litigation/Euromoney. The *Financial Times* described him as one of the most innovative lawyers in the United States.

Like Liman, Karp is devoted to public service. He serves in leadership positions on the boards of dozens of educational, cultural, and charitable institutions. He is the chair of the board of the Legal Action Center, which Liman helped to found 50 years ago. Karp is a founding member of the PwC Leaders Council considering regulatory reform of the financial services industry, a member of The New York City Bar Association Task Force on New Lawyers in a Changing Profession, and chair of the New York State Bar Association's Task Force on Advancing Diversity. At the 25th Liman Colloquium,

Karp spoke about the intersection between public service and private practice and the importance of understanding the needs of the constituents on whose boards he sat. In April of 2023, Karp traveled to New Haven to join the 2023 Colloquium, which opened with comments from his law school classmate, EJI Director Bryan Stevenson. There, Judith Resnik explained the importance of this support. "The Liman Center is delighted and honored to have new resources to continue to build on Arthur Liman's legacy," she said.

More sustaining support comes by way of a gift from Alan Bersin '74 and Lisa Foster who, in 2019, established the Curtis-Liman Fellowship to honor Denny Curtis '66, a co-founder of Yale Law School's clinical program and now an emeritus professor. Bersin was a student of Curtis, who joined Stephen Wizner and Daniel Freed '51 in founding the Jerome N. Frank Legal Services Office (LSO), one of the first clinical programs devoted to putting students at the forefront of providing direct legal services to incarcerated individuals. The 2019 Curtis-Liman fellowship was designed to fund a law school graduate to do innovative work related to criminal law and immigration in collaboration with the Liman Center and the YLS clinical program. This new donation enables the Curtis-Liman Fellow to continue a collaboration among the Liman Center, LSO, and the Federal Defenders Office (FDO) in New Haven, where the Curtis-Liman Fellow is assigned a specialized caseload representing individuals subjected to supervision after conviction. The work mixes that advocacy with research on the content and adequacy of treatment programs and on the costs associated with post-release supervision. The Curtis-Liman Fellow also co-teaches at Yale Law School.

Donors Alan Bersin and Lisa Foster have devoted their careers to public service. Alan Bersin earned his undergraduate degree at Harvard University and held a Rhodes Scholarship before coming to Yale Law School. After graduating in 1974, Bersin served as the U.S. Attorney for the Southern District of California, the head of San Diego's School District, the California Secretary of Education, Commissioner of U.S. Customs and Border Protection (CBP), and as Assistant Secretary in the Office of Policy at the U.S. Department of Homeland Security. From 2012 to 2015, Bersin was Vice

President of INTERPOL for the Americas Region and a lead Member of the INTERPOL Executive Committee. He is now a Senior Advisor at Covington & Burling.

Lisa Foster, a graduate of Stanford University, completed her JD at Harvard Law School in 1984 and began her legal career as a staff attorney at the Center for Law in the Public Interest in Los Angeles. Thereafter, she became a staff attorney at the Legal Aid Foundation of Los Angeles, the Executive Director of California Common Cause, and was Of Counsel to the law firm of Phillips & Cohen, representing whistleblowers under the federal and California False Claims Acts. Foster spent a decade as a state court judge in San Diego before President Obama appointed her Director of the Office for Access to Justice in the U.S. Department of Justice in 2014. Foster led the Department's efforts to enhance access to counsel and legal assistance in civil and tribal courts and to limit the unfairness of economic sanctions imposed by courts. Foster's innovations included a "Dear Colleague" Letter, sent in 2016 to all the state chief justices and court administrators as guidance on how to revise their efforts to collect fines and fees so as to comply with the federal Constitution and federal statutes. Thereafter, she co-founded and remains a co-director of the Fines and Fees Justice Center, which aims to end the harsh and discriminatory impact of fines and fees imposed in the legal system.

The Vital Projects Fund (VPF) has been a pillar of the Liman Center for more than a decade. In 2023, Vital Projects provided a new grant that will enable the Liman Center's Prosecutorial Accountability Project to continue for two more years. Since 2014, Senior Liman Fellow in Residence Laura Fernandez '02 has been an innovative researcher and advocate focused on prosecutorial power, ethics, and accountability in the criminal legal system. Her work has helped to broaden awareness of prosecutorial misconduct and wrongful convictions and has contributed to structural reforms. VPF's goals include "ending mass incarceration, curtailing cruel and excessive sentences, holding police and prosecutors accountable, ameliorating barbaric prison conditions, and reaffirming the humanity of incarcerated people." VPF's president, David Menschel '02, a former Liman Fellow, has represented clients seeking exoneration and served as executive producer on award-winning documentary films related to mass incarceration and civil liberties. VPF has also supported Liman Fellow extensions, the Center's work on solitary confinement, and the changing contours of Eighth Amendment law.

Key support also has come for many years from Nancy Marder '87 and Jeremy Eden, whose gifts have been central to expanding the number of fellows as well as supporting other aspects of the Center's work. Marder teaches law at Chicago-Kent College of Law, where she directs the Justice John Paul Stevens Jury Center, co-directs the Institute for Law and the Humanities, and has written a series of books on the role of juries and of lay jurists in and outside of the United States. Marder, who clerked for two years for Justice John Paul Stevens, has been central to the Stevens Public Interest Fellowship Program that has funded summer work for students at Yale Law School and at more than 30 other law schools throughout the country. Jeremy Eden graduated from Yale College and worked on the delivery of social services through government positions in the executive and legislative branches. After earning an MBA at the Yale School of Management, he spent five years at McKinsey & Co. before becoming an author and the co-founder and co-CEO of Harvest Earnings Group.

The Liman Center has also been the recipient of support from Arnold Ventures for work related to the use of money as punishment. This past year, the 26th Annual Colloquium was funded by Arnold Ventures, which was founded in 2010 by Laura Arnold 'oo and John Arnold. Through pioneering philanthropy in the justice field, Arnold Ventures supports "research to better understand the root causes of broken systems and advocates for policy reforms at all levels of government to build durable, bipartisan coalitions that drive lasting change and impact." To date, Arnold Ventures has awarded more than \$60 million in grants to research, advocacy campaigns, strategic litigation, and other projects to reduce or eliminate the use of fines and fees and public reliance on those sources of revenue.

The Center received the Arnold support in 2020 to build on projects around the country to which Arnold Ventures had contributed. The plan was, with other organizations, to host a conference that year that would bring together experts on public finance and on fines, fees, and sanctions imposed by judges to collaborate on shaping new reforms. COVID interrupted, but in 2023, that planned in-person colloquium was held. See pages 5–9 for details.

Arnold Ventures's Vice President of Criminal Justice, Julie James, and Director of Criminal Justice, Cybele Kotonias, provided critical guidance that helped make the colloquium a success. James, a graduate of Harvard College and New York University School of Law, worked as a senior policy advisor for the Bureau of Justice Statistics before joining Arnold Ventures, where she leads the corrections teams and manages its work on community supervision, prisons, reintegration, and fees and fines. Kotonias, who holds a Masters in public policy from UC Berkeley, leads Arnold Ventures's fines and fees portfolio. She previously worked as a researcher and policy advisor with the Urban Institute and at the ACLU of Northern California.

Consistent support has also come from the family and classmates of Amy Meselson '02, who was a Liman Fellow in 2002. Meselson was a distinguished lawyer. She worked for many years in the immigration unit of the Legal Aid Society in New York and her advocacy resulted in helping many young immigrants. Thereafter, she was a managing attorney with Immigrant Justice Corps and did volunteer work in Greece assisting refugees from the war in Syria. The Meselson-Liman Fellowship, established in 2018 to honor her memory, continues with contributions from the many who knew her and have enabled a series of young lawyers to work on behalf of immigrants and children.

No reflection on the Liman Center's supporters can close without appreciation for the contributions of the Liman Family. Special thanks are due to Doug Liman, who is a filmmaker, serves on the Center's Advisory Board, and has been a wonderful champion of our work, and to Ellen Liman, who regularly provides insightful guidance.

The Liman Center

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Please visit our website at www.law.yale.edu/liman

Organizations interested in hosting Liman Fellows and individuals wishing to apply for a Liman Fellowship should contact Liman Director Jennifer Taylor. For information about hosting a Liman Summer Fellow or applying for a Liman Summer Fellowship, please contact Jennifer Taylor or one of the Liman Faculty Advisors at the coordinating schools listed on page 52.

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The work of the Liman Center is made possible with support from many contributors. For information on ways to give, please see the enclosed envelope or contact Jennifer Taylor.

About Arthur Liman



A distinguished attorney in private practice at Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton and Garrison, Arthur Liman personified the ideal of commitment to the public interest. In 1971, the McKay Commission, a special commission investigating the uprising at the New York State prison at Attica, appointed Liman as its General Counsel. Under his leadership, the Commission issued a path-breaking report that continues to inform discussions about reducing racism in criminal legal systems and reforming punishments imposed by those

systems. In 1985, New York City Mayor Ed Koch asked Liman to investigate allegations of wrongdoing by the city's Medical Examiner's Office in its findings on the causes of death of individuals in custody. In 1987, Senator Daniel K. Inouye, Chair of the United States Senate Select Committee on Secret Military Assistance to Iran and the Nicaraguan Opposition, sought out Liman to serve as Chief Counsel for the Senate's investigation of the Iran-Contra affair. The Committee was chartered to understand the Reagan Administration's role in an alleged arms-for-hostages exchange with Iran.

In addition to such appointments and his private practice, Liman played pivotal roles in supporting many nonprofit organizations. From 1973 until he died, Liman chaired the Legal Action Center, which seeks to end discrimination against people who have been incarcerated and to reform drug laws that disproportionately harm marginalized communities. Liman also served as the President of the Legal Aid Society of New York and of the Neighborhood Defender Service of Harlem, as a Trustee of the Vera Institute of Justice, and as the Chair of the New York State Capital Defender Office.

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