

2024

THE LIMAN CENTER REPORTS 2024

Voting: Access, Rights, and Risks

Toxicity of Detention

Regulating Life After Prison

Liman in Collaboration



THE ARTHUR LIMAN CENTER FOR PUBLIC INTEREST LAW AT YALE LAW SCHOOL

About the Liman Center

The Arthur Liman Center for Public Interest Law at Yale Law School promotes access to justice and the fair treatment of individuals and communities. Through its research, teaching, fellowships, and colloquia, the Liman Center helps develop diverse initiatives to bring about more just legal systems.

Each year, Liman Center faculty teach seminars; this year's topics are *Imprisoned: Conception, Construction, Abolition, Alternatives* and *Accessing and Rationing Legal Remedies: Funding Claimants and Courts in the US and Europe*. Liman Center faculty and students do research to inform contemporary problems, and much of the work is in collaboration with other Centers and Programs at Yale Law School and across the University.

Given the importance of voting, the Center's first event for fall 2024 was a discussion with several current and former Liman Fellows about their work protecting voter rights. Current research projects include data collection about the conditions imposed on people released after federal prison sentences. The Center is also shaping a new project to lessen the harms of convictions that limit the opportunities of people who have served their sentences.

The Center continues to expand *Seeing Solitary*, seeingsolitary.limancenter.yale.edu, a website launched in 2023 to document the scope and impact of solitary confinement in the United States. Thousands of people have visited the website to read first-hand accounts and learn about the policies and statutes governing solitary. The demographic data displayed in tables and graphs provides an interactive method to learn about the numbers of people who state and federal prison systems reported were held in isolation as conveyed in a series of reports spanning 2012 to 2022.

From its inception, the Center has awarded Liman Fellowships to 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. This year we will add students from Morehouse College to the Summer Fellowship program. The Liman Center is also home to in-residence Fellows who join in teaching and research at the Law School. The Center hosts an annual colloquium to bring together scholars, students, lawyers, social scientists, Fellows, community members, individuals with direct experiences of law enforcement, and other experts to address issues in criminal and civil law reform and in legal education. The 2025 Colloquium will focus on how fears, insecurities, and concerns about safety frame social policy.

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New Executive Director Kate Braner’s Reflections on Joining Liman



Yale Law School is celebrating its 200th anniversary. The Liman Center is in its 28th year. I have been with Liman for six months. To learn more about Liman, I read Arthur Liman’s memoir *Lawyer: A Life of Counsel and Controversy*. I keep returning to this passage:

Public service, in my view, is a lawyer’s privilege, one of the rewards of the profession. It is not an act of duty or charity. For a lawyer, public service is as natural as breathing. It is what we do when we’re at our best.

Since joining Liman, I have been asked by those unfamiliar with the Center: What is Liman and what makes it special? Here’s my short answer: Liman seeks to make our legal system more just by supporting and connecting people across diverse public interest disciplines. We ask difficult questions about law and policy, look for solutions across different fields, and then take action to help improve the opportunities of individuals and communities. Let me explain.

One example comes from the Summer Liman Fellowship program. This year, thirty-eight students from eight colleges and universities joined the Liman Community. After attending the 27th Annual Colloquium, *Incarceration and Public Health*, they spent the summer working on projects in places all over the United States—from Providence to Honolulu. They were in an array of organizations whose focus ranged from immigration to Indigenous people’s rights, environmental policy, race and poverty, protections for children, criminal justice, and human trafficking.

During our Summer Virtual Meeting, these Fellows shared experiences of connecting with clients who have experienced trauma and of drawing inspiration from the resilience of clients in all sorts of settings. One Fellow had visited Angola, a maximum-security prison in Louisiana and was taken aback by the size of the facility and the numbers of people who were “lifers.” Another

student talked about trying to help lower barriers for access to charter schools.

These new entrants wisely asked about how to sustain public interest careers—for example, in public defense when the power imbalance is stark or in an immigration practice where people’s needs outstrip the organization’s capacity to help. I shared what I learned over almost thirty years as a public defender: You need to redefine what it means to “win.” If you define a “win” only as a not-guilty verdict, or civil judgment in your client’s favor, or an order granting a client asylum, you will burn out. Rather, “winning” means helping people by treating them as equals and advocating that legal systems and actors do the same.

Legal and administrative systems are often dehumanizing; they reduce individuals to case numbers; they call people by labels, such as “defendant,” rather than by name. Instead of listening to the unique circumstances of each client, arbitrary rules are applied as if everyone were “standard.” Thus, the public interest lawyer’s challenge is convincing an administrator, or mediator, or opponent, or a prosecutor, judge, jury, or other entity in the legal system to treat your client as the person they are, a human being worthy of attention and consideration, worthy of individual assessment, and ultimately worthy of justice. If you accomplish that, that is a win. (Having a jury return a “Not guilty” verdict is nice too.)

What else makes Liman special? Liman continues to do research to open up new ways to think about practices long in place. “Regulating Life after Prison,” discussed later, is one such example of Liman’s efforts to unravel information about the conditions judges impose on people released from federal prisons. Another endeavor is to collect the documents required by state legislation on the use of solitary confinement. Some laws limit who can be placed in isolation, for how long, and under what circumstances. Yet in the summer of 2024, the New York State Inspector General issued a report documenting widespread violations of New York’s Humane Alternatives to Long-Term Solitary Confinement (HALT) Act. Prisoners’ Legal Services of Massachusetts is suing the Massachusetts Department of Corrections (DOC) to enforce the state’s 2018 Criminal Justice Reform Act;

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the lawsuit alleges the DOC continues to isolate people in housing units that bear different names but in practice limit activities as does solitary confinement.

The 27th Annual Liman Colloquium, *Incarceration and Public Health* is illustrative of Liman's efforts to work collaboratively and look for solutions across disciplines. Co-sponsored by several organizations, we hosted people who have experienced solitary confinement, people providing health care to incarcerated individuals, people running correctional facilities, faculty, students, and more to discuss detention's harms in terms of physical, mental, social, environmental, and economic health.

Collaboration is also key to the Liman Seminar, *Imprisoned: Conception Construction, Abolition, and Alternatives*, in which law students join Fellows and faculty at Yale Medical School's Program on Forensic Psychiatry. This past spring, students considered the history and conception of incarceration that has produced "prison" as it is constituted in the United States and its impact on people held within it. We examined the racial and gender dynamics as well as growing concerns about the public health consequences and the costs—dignitary, social, political, and financial—of the system now in use. The psychiatrists enriched our understanding with their clinical work and experiences in appointments by judges or the Department of Justice to monitor prison conditions. We were regularly joined by a judge who sits in an English criminal court; she provided comparative insights such as requiring an assessment of the accused's mental health before sentencing.

And Liman is special because we take action. Arthur Liman wrote, "[t]he most corrosive threat to democracy is cynicism and resignation." Given the upcoming election and conflicts over voting, we are not resigned to the current landscape in which obstacles to voting are increasing. Last winter Liman joined with the Black Law Students Association and other organizations to host a discussion with the lead plaintiff and his appellate lawyer in *Allen v. Milligan*, the United States Supreme Court's 2023 ruling that Alabama citizens had demonstrated a reasonable likelihood of success on a claim that Alabama's congressional districting map violated the Voting Rights Act. This fall, we are part of a coalition helping eligible incarcerated voters in Connecticut obtain absentee ballots. In addition, with the Quinnipiac-Yale Dispute Resolution program, our first fall 2024 program gathered current and former Liman

Fellows with experience in voting rights and election integrity to help us all understand how we can make a difference during this election season.

In addition, building on our efforts around the ramifications of fines and fees in the criminal legal system, we are evaluating mechanisms to lessen the impact of convictions. From employment, licensing, housing, education, credit, voting, and more, people with convictions face barriers to full access, and those consequences endure long after they complete their sentences. Instead of enabling and supporting individuals transitioning into their communities and improving safety, these barriers undermine those connections. Some states have adopted remedies to lessen these impacts. "Conviction relief" is the shorthand, and it includes expungement, pardons, and vacating records. Yet, people need to know about these remedies to get relief. A concrete example: effective July 1, 2021, Connecticut enacted a law to help victims of human trafficking vacate their records when their criminalized behavior occurred as a result of being trafficked. Few petitions have been filed to do so. Our goals for the coming year include developing ways to contribute to relief efforts in Connecticut and elsewhere.

I build on the work of and continue to collaborate with Jennifer Taylor, Pardiss Kebriyai, and Elizabeth Clarke, all of whom have now shifted to other endeavors. Taylor returned to Alabama and is relishing time with family while exploring her next professional project. Taylor epitomizes Liman; she has innovative ideas drawn from her journalism, advocacy, and legal expertise, and she takes action to improve our legal system promoting equality and equity. Senior Liman Fellow in Residence Pardiss Kebriyai came for a year and helped us to shape programs on the harms to health from detention. Kebriyai returned to the Center for Constitutional Rights, where she works on challenging excessive sentences, prison conditions, and solitary confinement. She was awarded a Tulsa Arts Fellowship for 2024–26, which she will use to support change in incarceration practices in Oklahoma. Elizabeth Clarke finished her Curtis-Liman Fellowship and began a clerkship for a federal district court judge in Philadelphia.

We welcome back Michael Tan. Tan was a Liman Summer Fellow from Harvard, a Liman Student Director while at Yale Law School, and a Liman Fellow. He returned to the Law School to work on immigration,

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labor, and climate issues as the Executive Director of the Movement Project.

As you will read in the materials that follow, we have and will do a lot, and we are able to do so because of the many streams of support. In addition to the Liman Family, the Liman Center is sustained by Yale Law School and its special funds as well as by grants and gifts from the Vital Projects Fund; Arnold Ventures; Brad Karp

and Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison LLP; Alan Bersin and Lisa Foster; Nancy Marder and Jeremy Eden; the family and classmates of Amy Meselson; Josh Hill and Melissa Murray, and by many others.

It is plain to me in just six months that Liman fosters intergenerational work by people committed to serving our community. Arthur was right about lawyers in public service — “It is what we do when we’re at our best.”

Before joining the Liman Center, Katherine Braner was the Interim Public Defender of the San Diego County Office of the Public Defender where she promoted excellence in holistic indigent criminal defense and sought systemic criminal legal reform. For close to thirty years, she served in that office in many roles, including as a trial attorney, Recruitment Coordinator, Attorney Supervisor, Chief of Development and Training, and Chief of the Primary Public Defender Office.

Braner generated a new initiative for that office to respond to the harm a conviction record can have on a person’s quality of life. She created a comprehensive program to get individuals relief from the shadows of their criminal records, and her team’s work won national recognition. The Fresh Start Program was designed to educate and aid community members in removing the barriers to employment, housing, education, and voting, which are often the consequence of arrests and convictions. Lawyers working with the program have represented more than 10,000 individuals and achieved forms of relief for clients in 99 percent of the cases filed.

An advocate on behalf of victims of human trafficking, Braner represented the first person in California who succeeded in having her criminal record erased under a 2017 state vacatur law. The law recognizes the injustice of criminalizing victims of human trafficking for behavior manipulated and controlled by traffickers. It offers human trafficking victims a chance to vacate, or clear, their records upon showing a nexus between the conviction and their victimization.

Braner has also been an educator in the many areas in which she is an expert, including the vacatur process, access to justice, and legal protections for human trafficking victims. From 2020 to 2022, Braner and the San Diego Public Defender Office hosted a 2020 Liman Fellow, Kelley Schiffman, whose project focused

on implementing California’s law enabling eligible individuals to be removed from the sex offender registry.

Braner received her Bachelors’ degree from Bowling Green State University, graduating summa cum laude with honors in 1990. She graduated from Yale Law School in 1993.

Voting 2024

Protecting Rights and Responding to Risks



Judith Resnik (standing, at left) with panelists Elizabeth Pierson and Dan Freeman, a 2007 Liman Fellow at the NYCLU who has spent more than a decade at the Voting Section in the U.S. Department of Justice Civil Rights Division. Panelists Danny Haidar, Terin Patel-Wilson, Alice Clapman, and Larry Schwartztol joined via Zoom.

As the November 5 presidential election approached, organizations across the United States ramped up efforts to respond to obstacles to voting and certification. In September 2024, the Liman Center and the Quinnipiac-Yale Dispute Resolution Workshop launched its fall series with “Voting 2024: Access, Rights, and Risks.” Moderated by Professor Judith Resnik, Arthur Liman Professor of Law, current and former Liman Fellows addressed protecting the right to vote, combating misinformation, and responding to lawsuits about the electoral process.

The challenges facing local officials were the subject of comments by Danny Haidar, a 2024 Liman Fellow working in the Michigan Attorney General’s Office. His focus is on monitoring election-related legal disputes and defending election officials in court. “One of the things I learned in law school is that in America, there is not just one presidential election—there are over 50,” Haidar explained, with state-by-state decisions and important actors at the local level. Michigan has already seen litigation. “From August to September, there is ballot-related litigation. From September to November, litigation centers on ballot processing, and after the election, the focus shifts to certification of results.”

Terin Patel-Wilson, another 2024 Liman Fellow, is part of a team at the N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense Fund that is called “Black Voters on the Rise” and aims to protect voting rights for communities of color in Southern states. Patel-Wilson is working in South Carolina to try to limit efforts to lock out voters. “It is non-partisan work that helps expand Black political power,” Patel-Wilson said, emphasizing the need to view voting rights through a racial justice lens. Actions such as “poll site placements and whether they get consolidated, whether there has been adequate notice given to people about any changes, and changes to who examines or purges voter rolls and how often” can all result in voter suppression.

Alice Clapman, Senior Counsel for the Voting Rights Program at the Brennan Center for Justice and a 2006 Liman Fellow with the ACLU Immigrants’ Rights Project, discussed the rise of misinformation, disinformation, and malinformation (MDM). “MDM has been rampant since 2020.” False claims, such as conspiracy theories about non-citizens voting and defective voting machines, have proliferated. Official government sources can protect elections, Clapman said. “Multimedia presentations and live demonstrations have been

effective” in demonstrating voting machine integrity and ballot security.

Elizabeth Pierson, a Liman Fellow from 2018 at Legal Action of Wisconsin and currently a litigation associate at a law firm in Wisconsin, shared examples of how disinformation is influencing local election practices. “There is a movement trying to bring back hand counts,” she said. People suspicious of voting machines “think it would be safer to count by hand. However, studies show this is not true.” Pierson described how the town of Thornapple removed all voting machines, including those required by federal law for accessibility, due to conspiracy theories. The United States Department of Justice has sued the town to reinstall the equipment as required by the federal Americans with Disabilities Act. “When we are talking about attacks on voting rights, it is the most vulnerable who are impacted.”

In 2020, pressures were put on state officials unilaterally to appoint electors for the presidential election that was contrary to the outcome of the popular vote, explained Larry Schwartzol, a 2006 Liman Fellow at the Democracy Program at the Brennan Center for Justice and

now a Professor in Practice and Faculty Director of the Democracy and Rule of Law Clinic at Harvard Law School. Ambiguities in the 1887 Electoral Count Act also “gave rise to the notion that members of Congress could review the election outcomes in each state” during the electoral vote count in the joint session of Congress. Schwartzol described how the bipartisan 2022 Electoral Count Reform Act (ECRA) addressed these issues. “The law is now clear; the state must appoint electors based on what happened on election day. There is no longer a plausible hook to reject the choice of voters.” The ECRA also changed the threshold and clarified the grounds for objecting to a slate of electoral votes during the joint session of Congress. “That does not eliminate the possibility of frivolous objections, but it is a substantial safeguard.”

The panel concluded with recommendations for how individuals can help. Pierson encouraged volunteering on election day as a poll worker or watcher. Further, because of the right to language assistance at the polls, there is a need for speakers fluent in languages other than English.

The Impact of *Allen v. Milligan*: Race, Redistricting, and the Right to Vote



Evan Milligan, Deuel Ross (on screen), and Miriam Gohara

The Liman Center, the Black Law Students Association, and other organizations cohosted an event in January 2024 to discuss the 2023 United States Supreme Court voting rights case: *Allen v. Milligan*. The event featured Evan Milligan, the lead plaintiff in the case, Deuel Ross, the attorney who argued for the *Milligan* plaintiffs at the Supreme Court, and Yale Law School Professor Miriam Gohara, who moderated the discussion. The panelists explored the importance of the Supreme Court ruling for Black voters in Alabama. They also gave an overview of the history of voter suppression in Alabama, the planning behind filing the brief for this case, and the significance of the ruling in safeguarding voting rights.

In *Allen v. Milligan*, a group of Alabama voters challenged a new congressional redistricting map that included one majority-Black district, even though Black citizens comprised over 27% of the state’s population. They argued the map violated Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act because it packed large numbers of Black voters into one congressional district and spread out the remaining Black population in other districts so that Black voters had little chance of electing a second representative of their choice. A panel of three District Court judges agreed. Alabama asked the United States Supreme Court to review the case. The Supreme Court held the map violated the Voting Rights Act; the Court explained Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act turns on

the presence of discriminatory effects, not discriminatory intent.

“In a democracy, voting and elections are at the core of resolving disputes and negotiating power,” said Jennifer Taylor, then director of the Liman Center. “The United States’ long struggle to reconcile the reality of racism with the ideal of democratic decision-making is an ongoing story, and last summer’s *Milligan* decision is an important chapter that has impact far beyond Alabama.”

Milligan, the lead plaintiff in the case and Taylor’s spouse, was the executive director of Alabama Forward, a voting rights coalition, when the case was brought forward. He currently serves as co-director of the Western State Center’s Common Good program, “helping civic leaders in the United States understand the relationship between antisemitism, other forms of ethnic bigotry, and authoritarianism.”

Redistricting continues to test the American political process. Less than a year after the *Milligan* decision, the United States Supreme Court weighed in on redistricting maps for South Carolina. In *Alexander v. South Carolina State Conference of the NAACP*, the Court upheld that state’s maps over objections that they violated the Equal Protection Clause.

Detention's Toxicity

The 27th Annual Colloquium: Incarceration and Public Health

Incarceration raises health care problems for people when they are in prison and when they leave, and for the communities in which they live. Joined by the Solomon Center for Health Law and Policy at Yale Law School, the SEICHE Center for Health and Justice at Yale, the Fines and Fees Justice Center, the Policy Advocacy Clinic at UC Berkeley Law School, and the Brennan Center for Justice at NYU Law School, the Liman Center's 27th Annual Colloquium on April 4 and 5 addressed the harms to health of time spent in jails and prisons.

We welcomed more than 100 people for two days of intense exchanges about the toxicity of detention, with its noise, crowdedness, temperature, and poor air circulation. Participants explored the harms to incarcerated individuals, staff, and communities; the differential impacts by gender and race; the dollar costs on individuals required to make co-payments and on state budgets; methods to improve oversight; the role played by lawsuits and by regulation; and decarceration as a means to lessen the impacts.



Brie Williams, Emily Wang, Judith Resnik, and Andrea Armstrong

INVOLUNTARY LABOR CAUSING INJURIES AND DEATHS

The colloquium's opening session, "Detention's Toxicity," was moderated by Liman Professor Judith Resnik. Andrea Armstrong launched the discussion; a 2007 graduate of Yale Law School, she is the Dr. Norman C. Francis Distinguished Professor of Law at Loyola

University New Orleans College of Law and a 2023 MacArthur Fellow. Armstrong founded *Incarceration Transparency*, a research project that documents and memorializes deaths behind bars in Louisiana and supports similar work in South Carolina and Alabama.



Andrea Armstrong with Emily Wang

Armstrong asked participants to consider the experience of Joe Palmer, a 71-year-old Black man from Shreveport, Louisiana, incarcerated for 47 years in the state's prisons. In a video interview, Palmer described harvesting okra in intense heat, suffering cuts on his hands and arms from the sharp plants, being punished with solitary confinement if he didn't make his quota, and having no access to bathrooms.

"When I first went there, I was assigned to the field," Palmer said. "You work from 7:00 in the morning 'til about 3:00 in the afternoon, close to 4:00 when you come in. And it was hot. And I mean hot....They worked you out. When I say slavery, I don't think that's nothing but legalized slavery."

Armstrong stressed that incarcerated labor happens in prisons across the country, as well as in immigration

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detention and jails, where work is “involuntary, uncompensated, unprotected, and detrimental.” She explained that, in addition to causing injuries and compounding harms of inadequate health care systems, forced labor is also one source of carceral deaths which are “uncounted and uninvestigated.” Labor, health care, and deaths are emblematic of “carceral toxicity,” harming people and communities.

Armstrong’s project intervenes in part through creating new information about custodial deaths. From the work of her students obtaining public records, *Incarceration Transparency* has documented that deaths in Louisiana prisons and jails are spiking, and stark increases in deaths are due to suicide and drugs. “We should know how many people are dying in prisons and jails because those are our institutions,” Armstrong said. “We fund them. They belong to us.”

HEALTH PROBLEMS OF PEOPLE LIVING AND WORKING IN DETENTION FACILITIES



Brie Williams

Dr. Brie Williams, Professor of Medicine at the Center for Vulnerable Populations at the University of California, San Francisco, spoke about the impact of carceral facilities on the people who staff facilities. As she described, many come from the same communities as people who are incarcerated and share experiences of poor access to health care.

Williams founded and directs *Amend*, a training and leadership development program that draws on public health, medical ethics, occupational health, and correctional practices from around the world. The program seeks to inspire, educate, and empower prison staff to address conditions in U.S. prisons that perpetuate trauma, violence, and health inequities

among incarcerated people and prison staff. Williams also co-directs the Aging Research in Criminal Justice Health (ARCH) Network, which aims to expand research at the intersection of aging, serious illness, and criminal legal system involvement.

Williams described staff health care problems and their experiences of threats of violence. She recounted data that staff have elevated rates of severe depression, suicide, domestic violence, and substance-use disorder and that job stresses follow them home where they may withdraw or be in conflict with other family members. According to One Voice United, an advocacy organization representing correctional officers, on average, a correctional officer’s life expectancy is between 59 and 62 years—about 20 years shorter than the national figure.

EXAMPLES OF ALTERNATIVES

Williams described the approach to incarceration in Norway where officials “believe that life inside prisons should resemble life outside as much as possible, as the point is to return people to life outside,” she said. “For example, prisons have supermarkets inside to teach people how to manage budgets, how to cook food, and how to make food for their families.”

In contrast, Williams explained, in the United States, “nothing is normal in prison. People are, at times, held in cages where the focus—rather than on becoming a better neighbor—is on becoming a better prisoner.”

Williams described *Amend*’s success at linking U.S. corrections officials to those in Norway so that training approaches can be incorporated in U.S. prisons. The organization launched the first Norwegian-style resource team in Oregon in 2019. Guided by dignity-driven and public health-oriented correctional practices, “the goals were to maximize time out of cells, out of restraints for people who have been down for decades in restrictive housing units and who had not come out of their cell except in restraints, and to have done so with no increase in violence and no increase in the use of force,” Williams said. “In our three-year pre-post, we found a 56% reduction in disciplinary infractions and a 74% reduction in assaults across the units.” A window into that project can be found on the website amend.us.

HEALTH CARE PROMISED IN PRISON, BUT NOT QUALITY

Dr. Emily Wang, a 2022 MacArthur Fellow and Professor of Medicine and of Public Health at Yale, is the Director of the SEICHE Center for Health and Justice, a collaboration between Yale School of Medicine and Yale Law School. Wang and the SEICHE Center are committed to “providing clinical care to people involved in the criminal law enforcement system, to research and scholarship, to education of health students and professionals, and to informing and joining in legal advocacy to lessen and end massive incarceration.” An internist, Wang has cared for thousands of individuals with a history of incarceration and is co-founder of the Transitions Clinic Network, a consortium of 48 community health centers nationwide dedicated to caring for individuals recently released from carceral facilities and employing community health workers with histories of incarceration. Wang recently received a grant from the American Heart Association and the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation to co-lead a five-year research project exploring why incarcerated people and their families are at increased risk of heart disease.

Wang brought into focus the health challenges for people while in detention and after they return to their communities. “Because health care is constitutionally guaranteed behind bars, for this large, disproportionately racially minoritized population of young adults, oftentimes this is the place where they first experience health care,” Wang said.

Wang explained that about 40% of incarcerated individuals receive their first diagnosis of chronic health

conditions such as hypertension, hepatitis C, and substance use disorder while in custody. Even as prison is a place where people have a constitutional right to health care, access while incarcerated is both limited and comes with barriers such as having to make co-payments. “In Connecticut, there’s a \$3 co-payment,” Wang explained. “One might think, ‘Well, what’s three bucks? A person who is incarcerated may make 75 cents a day for work in prison. It’s four days’ worth of work to see a physician.’”

Wang described that seeing a doctor can be complex and difficult for incarcerated patients to navigate. The process usually begins with submitting a medical request form. “In lots of correctional systems, the first person who is looking at the form is a correctional officer,” Wang said. “After the correctional officer looks at it, then it is a nurse, and then after that, it goes to a physician. Access is filtered through the carceral system. Your need is interpreted by others who do not have health care training or necessarily health care interest first at heart. The quality of care that is delivered is variable and rarely assessed.”

People with specific conditions and medication needs are at particular risk. Wang offered the example of opioid-use disorder. Though the condition is common among incarcerated people, the vast majority of prison systems limit access to treatment medications and many jails offer no access at all “because the decisions about what medicines are available are decisions that correctional system leaders make. It is not a physician that is deciding what is on the formulary. It is not a decision that the governance system or the public health system



Emily Wang

DETENTION’S TOXICITY

is making,” Wang said. “These decisions are made by people who are not medically trained.”

Wang’s research has demonstrated the heightened risk of illness and death faced by individuals upon leaving incarceration. With co-authors, Wang found that individuals are 12 times more likely to die within the first two weeks of being released from custody. The deaths when people come home are from overdose, heart disease, cancer, and suicide, according to the study. Her

A series of panels followed to unpack the many issues raised by the opening session. The first, moderated by Marisol Orihuela, Clinical Professor of Law at Yale Law School and a 2008 Liman Fellow, addressed detention’s impact on health. A 2023 proposal made by some members of Congress sought to have the National Institute for Mental Health recognize and study a “post-traumatic prison disorder.” The panel discussed whether recognition of a post-incarceration syndrome as a distinct diagnosis would be useful or limiting for people leaving prison.

Ray Boyd, who is the Program Manager for New Visions for Public Safety and the Law and Racial Justice Center at Yale Law School and Shelby Henderson-Griffiths, the Policy Administrator for the Tow Youth Justice Institute at the University of New Haven, discussed the importance of naming the disruptive and harmful experience of prison. Having a specific diagnosis is sometimes needed to access treatment and services, explained Craig Haney, Distinguished Professor of Psychology at the University of California, Santa Cruz and Dr. Reena Kapoor, Associate Professor of Psychiatry at Yale School of Medicine. Barbara Fair of Stop Solitary CT underscored the need for therapy, treatment, and community when people return home.



From left: Marisol Orihuela, Ray Boyd, Shelby Henderson-Griffiths, Craig Haney, Reena Kapoor, and Barbara Fair

team has found similarly high risks using national data on Medicare beneficiaries.

“There is an urgency to the science now, especially for families and communities,” Wang said. “We focus so much on the individuals that have been directly impacted. For each person that’s behind bars, there are families and whole communities that have been impacted where the toxicities are also present.”

The session, “Gender and Incarceration’s Health Harms,” explored how using gender as a category of analysis brought more facets of the harms into view. Discussants included Marisol Garcia, who is a candidate for a law degree at Vermont Law School, a Yale Prison Education Initiative College-to-Career Fellow, and Co-Chair of the Connecticut Correctional Advisory Committee. She brought her experiences of detention into sharp focus. Likewise, Dr. Jaimie Meyer, Associate Professor of Medicine at Yale School of Medicine detailed some of the gaps in care, as did Yael Caplan, a current Liman Fellow at Pregnancy Justice. She discussed a client who gave birth alone in a jail cell. Alix McLearn, then Acting Director of the National Institute of Corrections, spoke about the challenges of delivering services. Judith Resnik led the discussion.



From left: Marisol Garcia, Jaimie Meyer, Yael Caplan, and Alix McLearn with Judith Resnik (standing)

“Paying for Health Care in and Beyond Detention: Costs and Funding” delved into the dollars and cents to understand who pays, what models of provisions are available, the role of private providers, and how state and federal financing can be more supportive. The panel was moderated by Abbe Gluck, who is the Alfred M. Rankin Professor of Law and Faculty Director

of the Solomon Center for Health Law and Policy. Megan Quattlebaum, who is the Director of the Council of State Governments Justice Center and was both a Liman Fellow in 2010 and an in-residence Fellow in 2013, discussed what are known as “Medicaid Section 1115 waivers” that allow states to provide Medicaid benefits to incarcerated people beginning 90 days before release. The goals are improved care in detention and in transition to release. The issues of the costs of providing care and the difficulties of doing so were addressed by Dr. Tyler Winkelman, Co-Director of the Health, Homelessness, and Criminal Justice Lab, Hennepin Health care Research Institute, and by Dr. Marc F. Stern, Affiliate Assistant Professor of Health Systems and Population Health at Washington School of Public Health. More on the financial burden to individuals and their families and the scope of the problems came from commentary by Annie Hudson-Price, Senior Counsel at the Department of Justice’s Office for Access to Justice, and from Joanna Weiss, Co-Director of the Fines and Fees Justice Center.



From left: Abbe Gluck, Tyler Winkelman, Marc F. Stern, Annie Hudson-Price, Joanna Weiss, and Megan Quattlebaum

In most systems in the United States, health care is under the jurisdiction of corrections departments. In the session on the “Public Health Care Delivery Model,” discussions centered around whether authority could shift to state and federal health departments; the impacts; efforts underway to restructure oversight; and other models on which to draw.

The session was led by Hope Metcalf, former Executive Director of the Orville H. Schell, Jr. Center for International Human Rights and former Director of the Liman Center. Dr. Homer Venters, who has firsthand experience of the difficulties in improving care at Rikers Island and has visited scores of prisons to evaluate the procedures used during the height of COVID, mapped

the many shortfalls. Venters was the Assistant Commissioner for the Correctional Health Service at the NYC Department of Health and Mental Hygiene. Jacob Hutt, Staff Attorney at the Prison Law Office, spoke about how, because of a lawsuit, a monitoring system was in place to improve services in a jail. Andrew Clark, Director of the Institute for Municipal and Regional Policy at the University of Connecticut, addressed the challenges of restructuring. Dr. Roger Mitchell, Professor of Pathology at the Howard University College of Medicine, spoke about his work identifying causes of injury and death in custody. Scott Semple, former Commissioner of the Connecticut Department of Correction and Senior Expert for Falcon, a nationwide consulting and management firm, brought into focus efforts to improve mental health services.



From left: Hope Metcalf, Jacob Hutt, Andrew Clark, Roger Mitchell, Homer Venters, Scott Semple

What role does law play? Colloquium participants discussed the constraints of contemporary doctrine, efforts to cut back on constitutional rights to health care, and the possibilities of legislative intervention in “Litigating, Legislating, Ameliorating, and Worrying: Deliberate Indifference to Known Medical Needs, Evolving Standards of Decency, or Barbarous, Circa 1791.” Prison law expert Margo Schlanger, who is the Wade H. and Dores M. McCree Collegiate Professor of Law at the University of Michigan Law School, moderated the discussion.

David Fathi, Director of the ACLU National Prison Project, addressed some judges’ views that “evolving standards of decency” was not the way to assess constitutionality, as well as the challenges of implementing court orders requiring care. Insights about the harms to people inside came from a discussion by Andrea Armstrong, who, as mentioned, runs *Incarceration Transparency* that documents deaths in custody often stemming from lack of health care. As COVID emerged, Sharon

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Dolovich, Professor of Law and Faculty Director, UCLA Prison Law & Policy Program created a remarkable data collection project (now the *UCLA Law Behind Bars Data Project*) which she directs along with her work as Faculty Co-Director of the Criminal Justice Program. Aaron Littman, Assistant Professor of Law, UCLA School of Law, and a Liman Summer Fellow in 2008, is expert on the state and administrative law that could be used to improve safety and health in detention. Paul Samuels, Director and President of the Legal Action Center, recounted successes in New York where the legislature passed a law that requires all jails and prisons to provide medically assisted treatment to treat opioid addiction.



From left: Margo Schlanger, Paul Samuels, Aaron Littman, David Fathi, Andrea Armstrong, and Sharon Dolovich

Detaining fewer people is one route to improving care. Pardiss Kebriyai, Senior Liman Fellow in Residence, led the session on “Diversion, Decarceration, Compassion.” She was joined by David Cloud, who is the Research Director of *Amend*, the program that Dr. Williams discussed and that focuses on reorienting interactions between staff and detainees. Angel Sanchez, then an LL.M. candidate and now a Ph.D. candidate at Yale Law School and a visiting Fellow with the Department of Justice’s Bureau of Justice Assistance, gave an insightful account of how his time in detention in Florida influenced his understanding of the needs to de-densify prisons. Gregg Gonsalves, who is an Associate Professor of Epidemiology at Yale School of Public Health, Co-Director of the Global Health Justice Partnership, and a 2018 MacArthur awardee, talked about public health imperatives to reorient away from detention. Lisa Daugaard focused on the roles to be played by communities and coalitions in shaping change. Daugaard was a Liman Fellow in 1998, a recipient of a MacArthur Fellowship in 2019, and is now the Co-Executive Director of Purpose Dignity Action, an organization that designs

new approaches to problems that have been met in the past with prosecution and punishment. L.B. Eisen, who is Senior Director of the Justice Program at the Brennan Center for Justice at NYU Law, explored the politicization of claims of safety and ways to reduced harms in detention and to increase efforts to decarcerate.



From left: Pardiss Kebriyai, David Cloud, Gregg Gonsalves, Angel Sanchez, Lisa Daugaard, and L.B. Eisen

To end, the Colloquium focused on “Moving Forward.” The session was led by Jeff Selbin, Chancellor’s Clinical Professor of Law and Faculty Director, Policy Advocacy Clinic at UC Berkeley School of Law. Christina White Smith, Deputy Director of Policy for the Department of Justice’s Office for Access to Justice, spoke about new initiatives to support medical legal partnerships in federal prisons. The urgent need for change was emphasized by Kristie Puckett, Senior Project Manager and Lobbyist of Forward Justice, a center dedicated to advancing racial, social, and economic justice. Three former Liman Fellows agreed. Elizabeth Guild Simpson is now Strategic Director and Attorney for Emancipate NC and was a 2010 Liman Fellow. Chesa Boudin, a Liman Fellow from 2012, is the Executive Director for the Criminal Law and Justice Center at UC Berkeley School of Law and the former District Attorney of San Francisco. Sophie Angelis is a Ph.D. candidate at the University of Oslo and 2022 Liman Fellow. They underscored that incarceration has lifelong consequences for individuals, their families, and their communities and a disparate impact on communities of color. Panelists and audience members discussed decreasing the number of armed police encounters with community members experiencing mental health crises, increasing social services, modifying the cash bail system, and limiting pre-trial detention policies.



From left: Jeff Selbin, Kristie Puckett, Elizabeth Guild Simpson, Chesa Boudin, Christina White Smith, and Sophie Angelis

The impact of co-pays in prison was the subject of an essay, published in the fall of 2024 in the *Journal of American Medical Association*, JAMA, which invited

commentary by Emily Wang, Ben Howell, also of Yale's SEICHE Center for Health and Justice and the Department of Internal Medicine at the Yale School of Medicine, and Judith Resnik. Co-payments in prison are often justified as means to control costs for what officials deem to be nonessential medical care. But a \$3 or \$5 co-pay is a major burden for people who cannot work or who may earn less than a dollar a day and need to pay for soap and toothpaste. As a result, people may not seek care and testing. The commentary reviewed a study that found higher co-payments could explain why health needs go unmet in prison. The authors called for the elimination of co-pays and oversight of health care inside correctional settings that parallels services outside of prison. The essay, *Harming Health by Imposing In-Prison Co-Payments*, was published online on August 5, 2024. doi:10.1001/jamainternmed.2024.3572.

The Structural Silos of Carceral Health Care: Patient-Prisoners' Rights and Wellbeing

The Liman Center also hosted a series of discussions that explored the systems providing health care to incarcerated individuals, the impact on quality and access, and the legal "right" to health care while in jail or prison. One session, "Structural Silos of Carceral Health care: Patient-Prisoners' Rights and Wellbeing," held on February 21, 2024, was co-sponsored by the Solomon Center for Health Law & Policy and the Law and Racial Justice Center.

Pardiss Kebriai, Senior Liman Fellow in Residence, moderated the discussion. Kebriai, who has represented clients held for decades at Guantánamo Bay, saw first-hand the impact of long-term detention on health.

"The point of this panel is to provide an understanding of the challenges of providing health care in prisons and to look at the structural issues," said Kebriai. "Prison health care is situated within departments of corrections, and we plan to explore what that means for access, for quality, and for communication between providers inside and systems outside."

"Often health care providers are unwittingly forced to make custodial decisions," Dr. Jamie Meyer said drawing on her experience of providing health care at a federal correctional institution. "I had to make decisions about whether a person should be given double portions of



From left, Pardiss Kebriai, Jamie Meyer, Angel Sanchez, Kathryn Thomas, and Elizabeth Clarke

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food. Should they be allowed to have the bottom bunk? Can they be transported in belly chains or leg shackles?”

Dr. Meyer explained that correctional systems often do not have unified electronic health care records. “It is difficult to access information, and many prisons and jails still use paper charts,” she said. When providing care for people who are released, “it is hard to get information about what happened to people while they were incarcerated. Those kinds of things exacerbate health care disparities.”

Angel Sanchez, a Ph.D. candidate at Yale Law School, joined the conversation. He is a formerly incarcerated leader and attorney and offers advice on corrections, reintegration, and restoration of education funding under a federal program known as Pell Grants. Sanchez served more than 12 years in state prison in Florida, where he educated himself. He was released on probation without a place to live. Encountering many re-entry barriers, he moved into a homeless shelter and later enrolled at Valencia Community College. Sanchez emphasized that health care needs to be responsive to the realities of prisons and jails. “We project a culture of people who are not incarcerated, who are not forced to live there, upon the people who do live there, and assume that it is very rational and reasonable,” he said.

Kathryn Thomas is a Clinical Lecturer in Law and Associate Research Scholar at Yale Law School and a Postdoctoral Fellow at Yale Law School’s The Justice Collaboratory and Yale School of Medicine’s SEICHE Center for Health and Justice. A clinical psychologist and lawyer, Thomas shared her experience working with the Federal Public Defender’s Office (FDO) for the District of Connecticut; she gave guidance on mental health and substance use treatment for their clients in detention and on supervised release.

“One of the biggest takeaways for me is how different mental health treatment looks for justice-involved clients at each stage of their experience compared to how we would normally define mental health treatment,” she said. “Within prisons, therapy involves just a brief check-in. It is not therapy in a meaningful way, but only focused on addressing the risk of suicide.”

Elizabeth Clarke, who was the 2023 Curtis-Liman Fellow and taught at Yale Law School and represented clients on supervision at FDO, pointed out that judges and probation officers have a lot of power to dictate

the parameters and details of someone’s treatment. “In some cases, probation learns about a positive drug screen before the client does,” she said. “It is important to think about those decision-making dynamics, particularly in the supervision context, where health care decisions are made differently and allocated differently compared to people who are not affected by the carceral system.”

Kebriai noted the conflicts of interest that can exist between corrections and medical providers; she asked the panel about their experiences. Dr. Meyer explained, “There is a very limited array of medications you can offer and there are other medications that they will not allow to be provided within a facility because of concerns about abuse. People are disenrolled from insurance while they are incarcerated so all of the care is being paid for by the system, which controls what happens.”

Thomas described that the legal system has significant power over clinical decisions and the level of care received. “When people are returning home from incarceration on a period of supervised release, each stage of their reentry process is dictated by the judge and the probation officer. They get to decide what level of care is appropriate and formally approve them being moved from one level of care to another. Probation officers and judges tend to prefer people being in a higher level of care longer, which is akin to someone being in a structured, sometimes even locked environment similar to incarceration. Clinicians’ decisions may be overridden by either the probation officer or the judge deciding on the level of care that person receives.”

Kebriai asked the panel what ought to change. “People need to have access to community-based providers while they are incarcerated,” said Dr. Meyer. “A person could, for example, be transported to a New Haven hospital for care. And, unified electronic health care records would fix a lot of things and hold people accountable.”

Sanchez called for changes in the overall culture. “It has to be something that does not just address the health care provider’s culture, but addresses the culture of other correctional staff from the top down,” he said. “Civilian oversights can be a check. Prisons thrive on ensuring that there is no transparency and on ensuring that the people in authority are the ones that control what message and what narrative gets out.”

More Reflections on Detention and Public Health from Pardiss Kebriai, Senior Liman Fellow in Residence



Pardiss Kebriai took a leave from her work as a Senior Attorney at the Center for Constitutional Rights (CCR) to be at the Liman Center. Kebriai had been at CCR since 2007, when she joined a project focused on providing legal representation for men detained without charges at

the Guantánamo Bay prison. Over the years, Kebriai represented other targets of the “war on terror,” including victims of “targeted killing,” a term for efforts at assassination by governments. With the American Civil Liberties Union, she brought the first case to challenge the U.S. drone program. For more than a decade, Kebriai has focused on prison conditions and sentences inside the United States, including solitary confinement and other inhumane conditions and life sentences.

At Liman, Kebriai helped plan seminars and the Annual Colloquium, expanded the Center’s solitary confinement website, and co-taught the spring 2024 Liman Workshop, *Imprisoned: Conception, Construction, Abolition, Alternatives*. Kebriai has now returned to CCR full-time. We asked her to reflect on her time at the Liman Center.

What prompted you to join the Center as a Senior Fellow in Residence?

I wanted to teach and mentor. After many years of working as a practitioner, I felt a responsibility to share my learning with students. Guantánamo is such a good case study of the use of law and litigation as a response to a specific ill in the world, in the sense that there is a relatively discrete but rich body of advocacy. Particularly for students interested in public interest law, there was a trajectory of over 20 years to step back and look at together.

At the same time, in part because I had been immersed for a long time in a particular field and approach, I wanted to learn—from students, faculty, and practitioners from other disciplines. I wanted to step outside the part I had played and look around. I wanted to look

at my long-held positions from more of a distance, from different vantage points, and grapple rather than take a side.

What were some of the highlights of the Fellowship?

Over the fall semester, we convened a series of roundtables on health and incarceration. We brought together students, faculty, and practitioners at Yale who were at the Law School, the Medical School, and the School of Public Health, as well as advocates, scholars, and prison administrators from outside Yale. The roundtables were sparked by a specific initiative in Congress around “post-traumatic prison disorder,” a term used by some to describe the particular experience of incarceration. What began as an idea to convene a small group at Yale to unpack that issue and see how we might contribute grew into a series of wide-ranging conversations with many. Those sessions helped us to shape the *Incarceration and Public Health Colloquium*. Coming to Liman, I wanted to do interdisciplinary work on these issues. What emerged from the seed of an idea was the happy product of the mixing of the different energies at Liman. In the fall of 2024, the Liman Center and the Women’s Faculty Forum at Yale are continuing to probe the gendered effects of incarceration. Thus, the work has a momentum of its own.

The connections and discussions from last year were enriching for me. I remember a few conversations early on with faculty at the School of Public Health and feeling such resonance; these were people who understood from wider-scale research and evidence the disabling effects of detention that I had observed in individual clients and families and had, until then, more limited language to describe. A discussion with a policy advocate and a former Liman Fellow in Residence who works with state governments to effect prison and jail reforms has stayed with me. She talked about the realities and challenges on the ground from the perspective of state officials and brought home for me the need to have more vantage points. Advocates need to understand the issues that administrators have to face when implementing changes.

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Central to my experience was collaborating with members of the Yale community who have been formerly incarcerated, including Fellows and alumni of the Yale Prison Education Initiative. The starting point of my work is always there, with people most proximate, as much as I want also to broaden out for different ways of seeing and approaching the issues.

I loved being part of the Liman Workshop in the spring. I could not have asked for a better teacher on pedagogy and on incarceration than Judith Resnik. I joined the Liman Director Jennifer Taylor and Judith in supervising research; we three taught in a way none of us could have done alone.

What did you learn?

When I speak about the harms of incarceration for the people inside, I am now intentional about including people who live and those who work in prisons. That is new for me. As a lawyer for people incarcerated, I focused on their experiences. During my time at Liman, I learned from practitioners and prison administrators about the harmful effects of the prison environment on staff, including high rates of depression and suicide and shorter life expectancy than the national average. I was introduced to groups like *Amend* at the University of California at San Francisco; it studies the impacts of prison environments on staff. Yet this area of research and advocacy is still relatively limited and not integrated enough with existing work on mass incarceration. The point is not to shift focus away from the experiences

of people incarcerated, but to add on. Prisons and jails around the country cannot hire and retain staff to fill positions and reasons include the physical and mental health toll of that work. For me, these are additional openings to talk about the effects of over-incarceration and the prison environment itself.

How will your experience at Liman inform your role at the Center for Constitutional Rights?

I met wonderful people at Liman and through its network with whom I am still in conversation or am certain I will return to in future work. I hope to be a resource at CCR for students interested in opportunities there or similar organizations. Through Liman, and perhaps now after a while of working, I think I have a rounder view of the issues—less either/or and more whole picture.

What is your advice for others considering an in-residence Liman Fellowship?

For being a small space within the law school, Liman has an impact through its network of Liman Fellows past and present, who work in both the non-governmental and governmental sectors, and as an interdisciplinary center with faculty and student relationships across Yale. This is a place to explore teaching, but it is equally a place to explore your ideas—for practitioners to go deeper than what the day-to-day often allows. It is wonderfully receptive to fresh energy and perspectives.

Seeing and Stopping Solitary: The People Living in Isolation, Community Activists, and Work Around the Country to End Isolation

Solitary confinement puts people into isolation in small spaces and, at times, for years and decades. Tens of thousands of people are held in solitary confinement in U.S. prisons, as documented by a series of surveys that the Liman Center did with the Correctional Leaders Association from 2013 to 2022. Based on the self-reports of prison administrators, these *Time-In-Cell* volumes documented the number of people in isolation, their demographics, and how long they were confined. Another resource, Unlock the Box's 2023 report, *Calculation Torture*, used other data sources to document more than 122,000 people in solitary confinement in U.S. jails or prisons.

More information is always needed. In September of 2023, the Liman Center, joined by the Law and Racial Justice Center and the Orville H. Schell, Jr. Center for International Human Rights, organized *Seeing and Stopping Solitary*, a roundtable at Yale Law School that was moderated by Liman Professor Judith Resnik. The discussion invited participants to examine what has and has not changed in efforts to abolish solitary confinement. Answers came from several panelists, including Barbara Fair, who has worked with colleagues at Stop Solitary CT since 2015 to end isolation in Connecticut's jails, prisons, and youth facilities. Fair witnessed

the harm first-hand through the experiences of her son, who was held in solitary confinement at Northern Correctional Institution while in the custody of the Connecticut Department of Corrections at age 17. As Fair told the group, "It brings up so much pain because at 40 years old, he still suffers from what happened to him," she said. "My son is among those people who were irreparably harmed."

Fair became a leader of a Connecticut coalition that was pivotal in drafting and securing passage of legislation known as the PROTECT Act which Governor Lamont signed in 2022. PROTECT limits solitary confinement to a maximum of 15 consecutive days, and 30 days within a 60-day period; creates an independent ombudsperson to investigate complaints against the Connecticut Department of Corrections; and establishes a nine-member advisory committee to help implement the law.

Fair aims to build on that work to bring isolation to an end. "What goes on behind bars in Connecticut and across this nation is shameful," Fair explained. "It should be criminal. If we were caging dogs and cats like we are caging human beings, there are laws to protect them. There are no laws to protect us. I say 'us' because most of the people in those cages suffering from the



From left, moderator Judith Resnik with panelists Barbara Fair, Hope Metcalf, Ian Manuel, Elena Sokoloski, and Emma Roberts

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isolation and the psychological harm are black and brown people.”

Hope Metcalf, Executive Director of the Schell Center, led students in YLS's Lowenstein Clinic to collaborate with Stop Solitary CT in supporting the PROTECT Act. The Liman Center submitted testimony in support at hearings held in 2021 and 2022. Metcalf credited Fair and her colleagues with enabling the group drafting the statute to respond to the priorities of incarcerated individuals “One of the big learnings that they gave us was that time out-of-cell does matter,” Metcalf said. “It is a material improvement in their lives. They said that we should know that our work would not have meaning unless there was accountability, transparency, and representation for the voices of people in the prison system.”

Noting the political obstacles facing efforts to reform prison conditions, commentator and Liman student director, Emma Roberts '25, asked how the campaign to pass the PROTECT Act responded to claims that limiting solitary confinement was a risk to prison safety and security. “Whose safety and security are we talking about?” Fair asked, noting that community safety and public health should be policy considerations. “Because after you put these people in these conditions, they are coming back to the communities that are already suffering in Connecticut. How safe are we after you have tortured someone, and they come back home?”

The roundtable featured Ian Manuel, an advocate, author, and poet, who was sentenced to life imprisonment without the possibility of parole following arrest at age 13. Eighteen of the 26 years he was held in the Florida prison system were spent in solitary confinement. Manuel wrote poetry during his incarceration and continued to write and create after the Alabama-based Equal Justice Initiative won his release in 2016. Manuel's memoir, *My Time Will Come: A Memoir of Crime, Punishment, Hope, and Redemption*, was published in 2021.

“I get asked all the time, ‘How did I survive in solitary and come out with my sanity, my humanity still intact?’” said Manuel. “I like to tell people I dived into the depths of my imagination. By being so young, I still had a child-like mind. I would get lost in my imagination.” During his remarks, Manuel recited “Genie in a Bottle,” the first poem he wrote in solitary confinement after reading Tupac Shakur's book, *The Rose That Grew from Concrete*.

Manuel described the inhumanity he experienced. “It is bad enough to put you in solitary confinement and just leave you there for such an extended period but they also torture, beat, and gas you,” he explained. “I have been gassed before with chemical agents for being caught talking. You are not allowed to talk in solitary. They want it to be very quiet in there.”

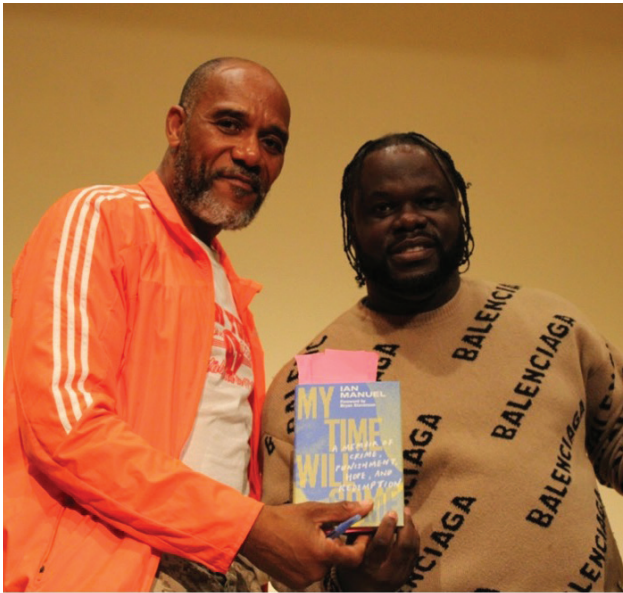
Since his release, Manuel has tried to lessen isolation's use in the Florida Department of Corrections. “They know they cannot just tell me anything because I was there and I know what is supposed to happen and what is not supposed to happen,” Manuel said. He travels throughout and beyond the United States, sharing his story to help end abusive prison conditions.

Senior Liman Fellow in Residence Pardiss Kebriaci asked the speakers' views on the *End Solitary Confinement Act*, introduced by Congresswoman Cori Bush in July 2023 which would prohibit federal facilities from confining individuals in-cell for more than four hours per day, establish minimum standards for incarceration, require more procedural protections for in-prison punishment, and incentivize states and municipalities to follow suit. “It is fantastic to see this issue on the national level,” Metcalf said of the bill. “Of course, it is only going to be a starting point. It is not going to be what we end up with. I would love to think more about the precedents for what leads to extreme practices. Why is it happening? That is where understanding solitary as a continuum of dehumanization is really important.”

Students asked how Manuel has dealt with the trauma of his experience since being released from prison. “It is little moments like when Barbara Fair was talking and I remember some of the sadistic things I went through,” said Manuel. “I am not going to say retraumatized, but it bubbles up now and then. My mom told me something that I still carry with me to this day. She said, ‘Ian, you are brilliant. No matter what, never let them take your mind.’ It was me remembering that my mind is my last line of defense against the insanity that surrounds me.”

“Listening to you is like listening to my son,” Fair said to Manuel at the session's close. “For example, this morning he sent me a text that said, ‘Mom, I love you. I am strong because of you.’ Ian, my heart goes out to you, and to so many others who have been through this experience because I know what it does. It breeds mental illness, addiction, and all kinds of problems. I no longer talk about reform. We have to transform it,

which means we must dismantle this whole system from the roots that started in slavery. People that come out of incarceration, they may survive, but we need to make sure that they heal.”



Following the lunchtime discussion at YLS, Manuel (right) discussed his life and his 2021 book, *My Time Will Come: A Memoir of Crime, Punishment, Hope, and Redemption*, in an evening conversation at Yale University with Clyde Meikle. He is a TRUE Leadership Associate with the Vera Institute and a Fellow with the YLS Access to Law School Program. The event was organized by The Law and Racial Justice Center and cosponsored by the Liman Center, the Yale Prison Education Initiative, and the Full Citizens Coalition.

Regulating Life After Prison

Curtis-Liman Fellow Elizabeth Clarke’s Research



In the federal system, most defendants who are sentenced to prison are required after release to be supervised by a probation officer. While on “supervised release,” the person has a list of rules (“conditions”) they must follow. For example, conditions may require that an individual

attend mental health and substance-use treatment, submit to a search based on reasonable suspicion (rather than probable cause), complete polygraph testing, refrain from associating with certain people, and much more. Judges decide what conditions a person must follow. By law, judges must impose certain conditions, and judges have discretion not to impose others. Judges may order supervised release for a specific number of years and, in some cases, for the remainder of the person’s life. If an individual violates a supervised release condition, the judge can modify the conditions, extend or terminate the supervised release term, or revoke supervised release and impose a prison sentence that can include another term of supervised release. The results can be cycles of imprisonment, release, and re-imprisonment. During the past year, Elizabeth Clarke, the 2023 Curtis-Liman Fellow, based at the Office of the Federal Public Defender (FDO) for the District of Connecticut and at Yale Law School, worked with clients on supervised release and did research on its use.

Why did you choose to be a Curtis-Liman Fellow at the Office of the Federal Public Defender for the District of Connecticut?

I worked with FDO as a law student in Yale Law School’s Criminal Justice Advocacy Clinic. My clinic team represented a client facing revocation—a return to prison—for allegedly violating his conditions of supervised release. This case sparked my interest in community supervision. I had a great experience working with the FDO team. When I learned about the Curtis-Liman Fellowship, it seemed like the perfect opportunity to

explore my growing interest in community supervision and gain hands-on experience as a lawyer representing individuals on supervised release.

Tell us about your focus.

My work fell into three areas: direct representation, research, and teaching. When working on behalf of clients, I dealt with legal issues related to supervised release that arise throughout the lifespan of a criminal case. Judges impose supervised release conditions at sentencing, so part of my work involved contesting overly burdensome or scientifically invalid conditions at the sentencing stage. I worked with clients on supervised release to help them navigate conditions-related obstacles. Supervised release conditions frequently require that people secure a job and approved housing. However, individuals returning from prison face various structural barriers that make this difficult. I provided additional support such as helping clients apply for jobs or identifying affordable housing options. An individual accused of violating a condition of supervised release must appear before the court at a violation hearing. Individuals facing violation proceedings lack many of the Fifth and Sixth Amendment rights that apply in traditional criminal prosecutions, including the rights to indictment, to a trial by jury, and to be found guilty beyond a reasonable doubt. They do, however, have a right to counsel. I represented clients in these proceedings.

In addition to direct representation, I led two research projects focused on supervised release. Hannah Duncan, who had been the Curtis-Liman Fellow before me, created a database of substance-use and mental health treatment providers in Connecticut that provide services to formerly incarcerated individuals on community supervision. I built upon Hannah’s work.

We did a statewide survey of treatment providers to better understand the types of services they provide, wait-times for services, their capacity to serve non-English-speaking individuals or individuals with disabilities, and more. These survey responses will help FDO better serve clients needing treatment. We used the survey to gather information about how Connecticut’s

Section 1115 Demonstration Waiver for Substance Use Treatment has affected local treatment providers. I need to explain. The Medicaid Institutions for Mental Diseases (IMD) Exclusion is a federal law that prohibits states from using federal Medicaid funds for services provided in mental health institutions with 16 or more beds to patients ages 21 through 64. However, Section 1115 of the Social Security Act allows states to apply for “waivers” of the IMD Exclusion to implement experimental or pilot projects that promote the objectives of the Medicaid program.

In 2022, Connecticut was approved for a Section 1115 waiver to provide expanded Medicaid-funded inpatient and residential services to individuals with substance use disorder. Though the waiver increased treatment options for a population in dire need of services, our survey results showed that it has caused some short-term negative effects. The waiver requires that treatment providers meet certain standards and milestones. In some cases, these new requirements have led to staffing shortages, longer wait times, and shortened treatment durations. This type of information can help the FDO and public navigate a period of transition in the Connecticut treatment landscape.

In another research project, I worked with law students to learn about the conditions imposed when people are sentenced to a term of supervised release. We collected and analyzed conditions imposed by federal judges in a subset of cases in the District of Connecticut in 2023. We have written a paper mapping the types of conditions imposed. This fall, we convene a roundtable to examine that report and think about how practices could be revised. Much of this work was inspired by District Judge Stefan Underhill, who has written about the rehabilitative purpose of supervised release and constitutional problems with the current process of revocation. This project aims to identify opportunities for change, lessen the challenges of compliance, and increase support for individuals subject to conditions.

Tell us more about the workshop you taught.

As part of my teaching responsibilities, I was a co-instructor for Liman’s spring workshop, *Imprisoned: Conception, Construction, Abolition, Alternatives*. As a class instructor, I led two class discussions on gender in prison and community supervision. Through this process, I learned how to plan a syllabus, lead fruitful discussions, and distill dense legal materials for

a broad audience. As a new attorney, it was valuable to hear perspectives on the carceral system from people who approach the work from different angles. The Liman workshop is interdisciplinary. A group of psychiatrists from Yale School of Medicine’s Forensic Psychiatry program participated each week. The class also included J.D. students, LL.M. students, and legal academics—some of whom grew up outside of the United States and provided an international perspective on the criminal legal system and prison reform. The interdisciplinary setting helped us have nuanced discussions about many challenging problems—such as the amount of deference that should be awarded to prison administrators, the appropriate scope of constitutional protections in prison, and the challenge of working to improve prison conditions while pursuing a decarceration agenda. Hopefully, these discussions pave the way for real solutions.

What were your goals for your Fellowship and how are you achieving them?

One of my goals was to forge partnerships with organizations that support formerly incarcerated individuals in Connecticut. The unique nature of my Fellowship allowed me to build connections between FDO and the Liman Center, which benefited both FDO clients and the Liman community. Natalie Smith, an Equal Justice Works Fellow at the New Haven Legal Assistance Association (NHLAA) and a Yale Law School classmate, contacted me early in my Fellowship about setting up a partnership between our offices. We developed a system for referring FDO clients with civil legal issues to NHLAA, which was very helpful to clients. I also attended New Haven Reentry Court, where defense attorneys, prosecutors, probation officers, treatment providers, and federal judges come together to support individuals reentering the community after incarceration.

Have you had any challenges you were not expecting?

Going into this Fellowship, I did not expect my work would involve state administrative proceedings. As part of my work with Yale’s Mental Health Justice Clinic, I represented an individual who was wrongfully denied services by the Connecticut Department of Developmental Services (DDS), which is the state agency that supports individuals with intellectual disabilities. In preparation for the proceedings, our team worked with

REGULATING LIFE AFTER PRISON

psychology experts to help us understand the science of intellectual assessment. During the hearing itself, I argued issues of evidence and did both direct and cross examination of witnesses. Nearly all my legal work had been in public defense offices, so it was challenging to get up to speed on the state administrative hearing process and relevant scientific and legal issues. This experience deepened my understanding of the obstacles that individuals with disabilities face when trying to access necessary services.

How has the Fellowship prepared you for your next job?

I am clerking for a federal district court judge in my hometown of Philadelphia. Throughout this year, I had the opportunity to work with amazing supervisors at both FDO and Yale who taught me countless lessons related to oral and written advocacy, effective legal research, building rapport with clients, supervising others, and so much more. Perhaps most importantly, they showed me what it looks like to remain hopeful and creative in the face of what can feel like insurmountable obstacles. I am excited to apply my learnings from this year to new challenges ahead.

Fellowship

Welcoming the 2024 Liman Fellows and Updates on the 2023 Fellows



2023 and 2024 Fellows at the 27th Annual Colloquium

The Liman Center welcomed 10 new Fellows for 2024–25. Now, more than 190 Yale Law School graduates have received Liman Fellowships. In addition, and with substantial support from their host organizations, the Liman Center extended the Fellowship term for five Fellows to continue for a second year.

The new group of Fellows joined organizations based in California, Connecticut, the District of Columbia, Illinois, Massachusetts, Michigan, and New York. Some are focused on the conditions imposed on individuals charged with crimes and released pending trials, while others are addressing problems faced by people who are incarcerated, the harms of police misconduct, the need to improve subsidized housing, and the vulnerabilities of youth who identify as LGBTQ and of children with disabilities. Yet others are seeking to expand access to health care, advance the rights of workers, and protect the right to vote.

Three of the incoming Fellows hold 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–Liman

Fellowship in memory of Amy Meselson, the class of 2002, who was a former Liman Fellow who worked tirelessly on behalf of immigrant children. This Fellowship continues through the generosity of her family, friends, and classmates. Since 2019, Alan Bersin and Lisa Foster have funded a Curtis–Liman Fellow to work with the Liman Center and Yale Law School’s clinical program on criminal law enforcement and immigration issues.

Ryanne Bamieh ’23, the Resnik–Curtis Fellow, joined the Public Defender’s Office in Santa Barbara County. She represents individuals accused of misdemeanors and helps them develop pretrial release plans. Of special concern are the challenges faced by people who do not have housing. Bamieh received her B.A. in history from Stanford University and served as a Peace Corps education volunteer in Comoros. At Yale, she was a Coker Fellow, a member of the Immigrant Rights and the Challenging Mass Incarceration Clinics, and participated on Yale’s Trial Advocacy Team. Bamieh clerked in the U.S. District Court for the Northern District of California prior to her Liman Fellowship.

Gregory Briker ’24 works at the Institute for Constitutional Advocacy and Protection in Washington, D.C., and focuses on appellate litigation related to misconduct of law enforcement officials. The goal of his project is

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to prevent reversals of lower court decisions granting remedies to victims of unlawful excessive force. Briker received an A.B. in history from Harvard University. At Yale Law School, he was a member of the Housing Clinic and an Editor of the *Yale Law Journal*. He has authored articles about social movement litigation and civil rights history.

Nathan Cummings '23 is at the Shriver Center on Poverty Law in Chicago, Illinois. His project focuses on supporting tenants leading efforts to improve living conditions in federally subsidized housing in Illinois. After earning an A.B. in history and literature from Harvard University, Cummings worked at a law firm that represented individuals with civil rights and wage and hour claims. While at Yale Law School, he spent five semesters as a member of the Community and Economic Development Clinic and served as a *Forum* Editor for the *Yale Law Journal*. Before his Liman Fellowship, he clerked in the U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Illinois.

Ibrahim Diallo, the 2024 Curtis-Liman Fellow, co-teaches the Liman Workshop, collaborates with the clinical program, and works at the Office of the Federal Public Defender for the District of Connecticut. See his profile on page 54.

Ellie Driscoll '23, the Meselson-Liman Fellow, joined the Washington Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights and Urban Affairs in Washington, D.C. She is representing youth with disabilities who are drawn into the criminal legal system and are in detention or under other forms of supervision. She helps them protect their rights to transition services and combats punitive legislation that expands youth involvement with the criminal legal system. Driscoll earned a B.A. in politics and American studies from Brandeis University. At Yale Law School, she was a member of the Legal Assistance: Immigrant Rights Clinic and the Challenging Mass Incarceration Clinic. Driscoll clerked in the District of Columbia Court of Appeals before her Liman Fellowship.

Jonathan Gibson '24 works at the Roderick and Solange MacArthur Justice Center's Supreme Court and Appellate Program in Washington, D.C. His project focuses on relying on state constitutions to limit the harms of solitary confinement. Gibson received a B.A. in American studies and computer science from Georgetown University. At Yale Law School, he was a member of the Challenging Mass Incarceration Clinic

and the Media Freedom and Information Access Clinic. He also worked as an Executive Articles Editor for the *Yale Law & Policy Review*, a board member for the Green Haven Prison Project, a student volunteer with the Federal Capital Habeas Project, and a research assistant.

Danny Haidar '24 joined the Michigan Attorney General's office to focus on issues related to the 2024 election. That work includes monitoring election-related legal disputes occurring throughout the state and assisting parties who seek to protect electoral processes. He also supports local attorneys who represent election officials throughout the state. Haidar earned his B.A. in philosophy, political science, and linguistics from Columbia University. At Yale Law School, he was Editor-in-Chief of the *Yale Law and Policy Review* and a Coker Fellow.

Charlie Jiang '24 is at the Asian American Legal Defense and Education Fund (AALDEF) in Boston, Massachusetts. His project is focused on enhancing respect for the dignity of working-class Asian Americans, improving community safety, and combating structural racism. Jiang represents people who have been attacked due to anti-Asian animus and contributes to legislative efforts to improve access to health care and other critical public services. Jiang received a B.S. in engineering physics from Stanford University. At Yale, he was a member of the Community and Economic Development Clinic and an Articles Editor for the *Yale Law and Policy Review*.

Zoe Kreitenberg '24 is at the ACLU of Massachusetts. Her project seeks to advance LGBTQ+ rights and free expression, especially for youth and students. She is conducting community outreach and aids litigation efforts to create safer, more inclusive communities and schools across Massachusetts. Kreitenberg earned a B.S. in philosophy from West Point and led ballistic missile defense operations as a captain in the United States Army. At Yale, she was a Features Editor for the *Yale Journal of International Law*, a speechwriter, a research assistant, and a Ludwig Fellow.

Terin Patel-Wilson '24 has joined the N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense Fund's Prepared to Vote and Voting Rights Defender team in New York. His project focuses on protecting voting rights for all and ensuring access to the vote for communities of color in the South. His work involves a combination of engaging community groups, local and legislative advocacy, and litigation. Patel-Wilson received a B.S. in computer science from Yale College. In Law School, he was a member of the

Housing Clinic and the Technology Accountability and Competition Project.

2023 FELLOWSHIP UPDATES

Liman Fellows spent the year working for organizations based in California, Connecticut, the District of Columbia, Illinois, Massachusetts, and New York. They addressed an array of legal problems from protecting workers' rights to enforcing firearms regulation. Some are extending their projects while others have completed their Fellowships.

FELLOWSHIP EXTENSIONS

Yael Caplan '23, Pregnancy Justice

Juan Fernando Luna León'23, UNITE HERE Local 11

Wynne Muscatine Graham '22, Roderick and Solange

MacArthur Justice Center

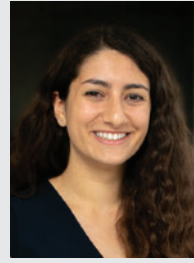
Kathryn Roop '23, The Legal Aid Society's Criminal

Appeals Bureau

Rachel Talamo '23, Prisoners' Legal Services

Yael Caplan '23

Decriminalizing Pregnancy



Yael Caplan '23 is spending a second year at Pregnancy Justice in New York where she works to limit efforts to criminalize decisions around pregnancy. Adding to her

previous work, Caplan is developing a litigation strategy using the patient protection provisions of the Affordable Care Act to challenge the hospital practice of drug testing of pregnant patients without their knowledge or consent.

It is hard to put into words how much it meant to be able to provide our client, who is a fierce and inspiring advocate in her own right, with closure after years of dealing with the horrific aftermath of a deeply traumatizing medical emergency.

Conversations about criminalization and reproductive rights, especially post *Dobbs* (the United States Supreme Court decision overturning *Roe v. Wade*), have focused on abortion. However, pregnancy outcomes other than abortion, birth and pregnancy loss are more likely to result in criminalization, most often under the guise of addressing pregnancy and substance use.

My work at Pregnancy Justice has spanned multiple states including Alabama, Maryland, New Mexico, California, and New York. In Alabama, individuals who use controlled substances during pregnancy can be charged with felony chemical endangerment of a child. I work directly on criminal cases arising under the state's chemical endangerment law, provide technical support to other lawyers defending clients facing pregnancy-related chemical endangerment charges, and work on a federal lawsuit on behalf of A.C. Ms. C. was incarcerated in the Etowah County Detention Center on charges of chemical endangerment while she was pregnant. The suit alleges the jail failed to provide her with adequate medical care throughout her pregnancy. Ms. C. gave birth alone in the jail shower. Etowah

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County prosecutes more chemical endangerment cases than any other county in Alabama and has a long history of failing to provide adequate medical care to pregnant people in its jail.

In other states, my work focuses on women facing homicide charges after experiencing pregnancy losses. For example, Maryland prosecuted M.A. for homicide after she experienced a stillbirth. Early in her pregnancy Ms. A. searched the internet for information about abortion. The prosecution argued her internet search was evidence she intended to kill. The Maryland Supreme Court granted review on the question of whether evidence of abortion contemplation (as well as lack of prenatal care), is ever relevant to show the woman's intent to kill the newborn at birth (or if marginally relevant, unfairly prejudicial). I wrote an amicus brief for the case arguing that such evidence is factually irrelevant and imbued with harmful sex stereotypes.

Juan Fernando Luna León '23

Worker Rights in Los Angeles



Juan Fernando Luna León '23 continues to support workers with UNITE HERE Local 11 in Los Angeles. His project helps individuals enforce a municipal ordinance, enacted

in June 2022, that provides protection for housekeepers facing sexual assault and harmed by unfair business practices. This coming year, Luna León will expand his outreach to workers at non-union hotels and advocate for the ordinance's enactment across California.

I have leveraged my legal skills to support the Union in its campaigns for new contracts across approximately 60 hotels in what has become the largest hotel strike in modern history.

The Los Angeles Hotel Worker Protection Ordinance ("Ordinance") addresses sexual violence in the hotel

industry, where an estimated 58% of housekeepers have experienced sexual assault or harassment by guests. The law requires hotel employers to provide panic buttons to housekeepers who must enter guest rooms. Union members and I have been speaking with workers to inform them about their rights under the Ordinance, working on class action suits to enforce the Ordinance, and advocating for the Ordinance's adoption in other towns and cities. We have done outreach at Skid Row, which contains the largest population of unhoused people in the United States, to inform newly arrived migrants about their labor rights. During these conversations, we learned of several wage and employment violations. California Labor Commissioner's Office announced it would investigate. We canvassed thousands of voters in Anaheim in support of a ballot measure that would raise the minimum wage for Anaheim hotel workers to \$25 an hour and implement protections against excessive workloads and sexual assault. Disney spent millions of dollars to defeat the legislation. The bill did not pass. Now, I am working with the Union on a new campaign to expand the Ordinance to Costa Mesa and enforce the law against delinquent non-union hotels.

My most important project this year involved a labor dispute with a high-end hotel in downtown Los Angeles. Since July 1, 2023, the Union has been negotiating new collective bargaining agreements across approximately 60 hotels. After a year of striking and picketing, workers at 67 hotels won contracts but one hotel held out. I joined the campaign after the hotel's food operator shuttered its doors because workers sought to organize a union. Two days after the food operator laid off nearly 100 employees, the "Fig 100," a new management company reopened the restaurant with different workers. In response, I helped file a class action complaint against the hotel and the operators alleging that they violated the Los Angeles Hotel Worker Retention Ordinance. This ordinance requires that new hotel owners or operators retain incumbent employees for a transitional period. The Union filed an unfair labor practice charge against the food operator with the National Labor Relations Board. In addition to this legal support, I worked with organizers, faith leaders, and community members to encourage the hotel to rehire the "Fig 100" and sign a new contract. Our pickets drew the ire of residents whose skyscraper apartments neighbored the luxury hotel. Throughout our campaign, our members were

harassed, followed in their vehicles, and shot with pellets. I filed restraining orders so that our organizers and members could exercise their First Amendment rights. After more than a year, our members won a new contract at the hotel that guarantees room attendants a \$10 raise by 2027, provides for one of the nation's highest pensions for service workers, and requires the hotel to rehire the "Fig 100."

Wynne Muscatine Graham '22 Challenging Solitary Confinement



Wynne Muscatine Graham '22 is spending a second Fellowship year at the Roderick and Solange MacArthur Justice Center's Supreme Court and Appellate

Program (MJC SCAP) in Washington, D.C. There, she has been litigating appeals in federal court challenging solitary confinement. In her second year, she will focus on state constitutional litigation challenging solitary confinement and support administrative reforms.

In solitary, my client was deprived of any out-of-cell recreation for four years and regularly denied showers. He suffered from severe depression and hallucinations.

One of my most important projects this year involved defending U.S. district court rulings denying summary judgment to prison officials who placed my client in solitary confinement in Florida for roughly seven years. My client sued the Florida Department of Corrections contending he was held in solitary confinement for years, during which he was denied basic human needs and in conditions that violated the Eighth Amendment's prohibition on cruel and unusual punishment, among other claims. Prison officials sought to have the case dismissed in a motion for summary judgment. The district court found that the prison officials were not entitled to summary judgment, and the defendants appealed. Recently, the Eleventh Circuit ruled on behalf

of my client which means my client may move forward with his suit against the prison officials for violating his rights.

Collaborating with the Prison Law Office and the Oregon Justice Resource Center, I have been developing a challenge to Oregon solitary confinement conditions under the state constitution that, we argue, provides greater protections than federal law. I have been assisting with briefing on other cases related to prison conditions. For example, I have been helping defend a district court ruling granting relief to the family of a woman who died after a jail medical contractor refused to provide her emergency care for severe abdominal pain. I am also currently working on a case of a man who went blind after prison staff in California refused to provide him with the treatment he needed for a series of dangerous eye conditions. Yet another case I have worked on challenges a Colorado jail's treatment of a transgender woman who has been repeatedly assaulted and harassed by guards.

Beyond litigation, I completed and submitted a law review article on the history of prison law. This article casts doubt on historical justifications for judicial deference toward prison administrators. This coming year, I will be co-teaching the UCLA Prisoners' Rights Clinic.

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Kathryn Roop '23

Working to Improve the Parole System



Kathryn Roop '23 has extended her Fellowship at The Legal Aid Society's Criminal Appeals Bureau in New York. She prepares individuals for parole release

hearings, represents incarcerated individuals in their parole appeals, and drafts guides to help attorneys and parole applicants navigate the process. Her work focuses on individuals serving shorter sentences, as parole advocacy in New York often centers on those with life sentences. She will expand upon prior work by researching the parole process for children with indeterminate sentences in the custody of the Office of Children and Family Services (OCFS).

Former clients were willing to attend the presentation and share their personal experiences of our advocacy. Hearing their perspectives was the most memorable and meaningful aspect of the training for many in the audience and reflected the client-centered core of all our advocacy efforts.

Individuals seeking parole in New York State often receive no guidance as they prepare to appear before the Parole Board. Navigating the parole system without outside support can be frustrating and overwhelming. My most important work is preparing clients for their parole appearances. We work with clients for 6–9 months building narratives, preparing documents, creating release transition plans, and practicing parole interviews. We have calls with clients every two weeks centered on learning the full picture of their lives and helping them become more comfortable sharing their stories with the Board. Working with outside organizations we help develop release transition strategies. We gather letters of support from friends and family.

Finally, we write a comprehensive advocacy letter for the Board. The aim is to help clients demonstrate their readiness for release and support them in an environment that is often dehumanizing.

Another of this year's most important projects was the parole advocacy training that I helped create and presented with other Parole Advocacy Team members. The training was for attorneys and other staff within Legal Aid's Criminal Appeals Bureau. As part of this training, we created a comprehensive parole advocacy manual that detailed every part of the parole advocacy process, including guidance for discussing difficult topics with clients in a trauma-informed way.

Rachel Talamo '23

Establishing Independent, Enforceable Oversight of Massachusetts Prisons and Jails



Rachel Talamo '23 is continuing her work at Prisoners' Legal Services (PLS) of Massachusetts where, through legislative advocacy and community organizing,

she aims to establish an independent source of oversight of state prisons and jails.

The class action lawsuit highlights how physical and psychological brutality, particularly against Black and brown people, are not the product of a few bad apples but rather endemic to carceral settings, where a continual lack of oversight and accountability facilitates perpetual state violence.

My project is to support establishing independent and enforceable oversight of Massachusetts prisons and jails through legislation, community engagement, and litigation. I spent the first half of my Fellowship working with the Racial Equity in Corrections Initiative (REICI) to pass "The Race Data & Oversight Bill," an Act creating

an independent correctional oversight office to facilitate the recommendations of the Special Legislative Commission on Structural Racism in Correctional Facilities of the Commonwealth. REICI Director LaToya White-side drafted this bill in partnership with incarcerated community members. I secured meetings with dozens of Massachusetts legislators, organized a 90-minute legislative briefing co-sponsored by the Criminal Justice Reform Caucus and the Massachusetts Black & Latino Legislative Caucus, and canvassed the State House. I crafted and disseminated publicity materials at community events and staffed events run by our formerly incarcerated Community Liaison to help build our coalition. Although the legislation died in Committee this session, I am hopeful that my work on this project generated interest at the State House and in the community to create meaningful oversight of Massachusetts prisons and jails.

I have served as co-counsel on two litigation matters with significant implications for prison oversight. The first seeks damages and injunctive relief against the Massachusetts Department of Correction and several of its officials for subjecting incarcerated people at Souza Baranowski Correctional Center to cruel and unusual conditions in winter 2020. We are awaiting a ruling on class certification.

With the Boston College Law School Civil Rights Clinic and the law firm Holland & Knight, my Litigation Director and I filed a class action on behalf of six named plaintiffs in Massachusetts Department of Corrections (DOC) confinement to expose the DOC's attempted end-run around limitations on solitary confinement. After the Criminal Justice Reform Act of 2018 (the "CJRA") established certain protections for incarcerated people in restrictive housing units in Massachusetts prisons and jails, the DOC rebranded its restrictive housing units and marginally altered their conditions. The DOC claims these units are not restrictive housing because the CJRA defines restrictive housing as 22 hours in-cell, whereas these newer units mandate 21 hours in-cell. Yet these units' three hours' "out-of-cell" time comprises 1.5 hours in an outdoor cage and 1.5 hours chained to a table indoors. Individuals in these renamed units are subject to strip searches, canteen and visitation sanctions, and other restrictions that cause mental decompensation.

OUTGOING FELLOWS

Russell Bogue, Office of the Solicitor General for the District of Columbia

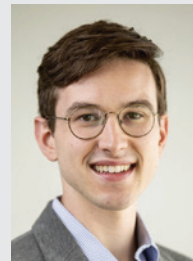
Elizabeth Clarke, Curtis-Liman Fellow, Office of the Federal Defender for the District of Connecticut and Yale Law School—For information about her work, please see page 22.

Erin Drake, Women's National Basketball Players Association

Zoe Li, Meselson Fellow, MacArthur Justice Center
Assem Mehta, Asian Americans Advancing Justice-Asian Law Caucus

Russell Bogue '23

Enforcing D.C. Firearm Regulations



Russell Bogue '23 was a Liman Fellow at the Office of the Solicitor General (OSG) for the District of Columbia in Washington, D.C., where he worked on enforcement of firearms regulations as part of that office's initiatives on public safety.

I came into the Fellowship considering two career paths: litigation or academia. During this Fellowship year, I got a taste of what litigation might look like, at least outside of standard law practice. I have discovered that I enjoy it, and it suits me, and I could see myself building a career in this area. My time at OSG has helped me to think about my career goals and provided me with the experience to make informed decisions when the time comes to pick a path.

I proposed to work at OSG primarily on the office's Second Amendment litigation and its coordination with progressive states on nationwide efforts to promote sensible firearm regulation. The timeline I envisioned

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seemed, at the time, workable but ambitious, with a goal of drafting 2–3 briefs on behalf of the District and participating in oral argument by the end of my twelve months, while taking the lead on our coordination efforts with peer states. By the end of the Fellowship, however, I had drafted and filed over 15 briefs on behalf of the District. That number includes one merits brief filed at the D.C. Circuit, three merits briefs filed at the D.C. Court of Appeals, multiple amicus briefs filed in circuit courts across the country, and two amicus briefs filed at the U.S. Supreme Court. I briefed Second Amendment-related issues (covering topics such as sensitive places, rules governing the carriage of firearms on private property, and waiting periods), and issues such as the regulation of technology companies, the SEC’s climate-disclosure rules, ongoing controversies over federal sentencing, and the scope of the attorney-client privilege. For instance, I drafted part of the District’s and Nevada’s amicus brief which concerns the constitutionality of a California law placing strict limits on online businesses’ collection of children’s data. My most important project thus far has been to draft, from start to finish, the District’s multi-state amicus brief in a case at the U.S. Supreme Court that put into question the power of the executive branch to prohibit by regulation the possession of bump-stock devices. That brief garnered the support of twenty-two other states. The Court held earlier this summer that the regulation exceeded statutory authority.

Though the bulk of my time has been spent writing briefs, other efforts have also kept me busy. I did an oral argument at the D.C. Circuit. It was a complicated case involving the mootness of class claims, municipal liability under Section 1983, implied federal rights, and the proper substitution of parties. The judges asked tough questions. One of the judges was skeptical of our argument that one of the appellants’ claims was moot. The D.C. Circuit’s decision was, overall, a victory for the District: the court affirmed the dismissal of all claims on either mootness grounds or for failure to state a claim, and it remanded to the district court to determine which dismissals should have been with prejudice.

Erin D. Drake ’20

Protecting the Rights of WNBPA Players



While at the Women’s National Basketball Players Association (WNBPA), Erin D. Drake ’20 focused on using legal and organizing tools to protect the interests and

rights of union members, many of whom are athletes from marginalized communities, and growing the union’s state-level engagement. She continues to work with the WNBPA as their Senior Advisor and Legal Counsel.

I think being a voice for the players in labor spaces of other unions has been invaluable. My work to ensure the players are informed about world events is important as well. When a player comes to the union with an idea for engagement, I play a key role in shaping the content and terms of the conversation.

In my initial project, I proposed to build influence for the WNBPA through a multi-faceted approach drawing on my legal and organizing experience. For my extension year, my goal was to prepare for potential collective bargaining agreement (CBA) negotiations. I wanted to build relationships within the labor movement, sports industry, and other social movements to promote player interests’ and their goal of self-determination on and off the court. These are long-term goals. Nevertheless, I see progress in my work already. Before November 1, 2024, WNBA Players and/or their employer must decide whether to terminate the current CBA ahead of its scheduled expiration, in 2027. The conversation of whether to opt out has shifted since I started in 2022. I expected that to happen. I did not expect that shift to be traceable to my work on benefits like housing, family planning, and caretakers. My gains or achievements are not always tangible, but the WNBPA is more prepared for this moment, and I know I have had something to do with that.

I continue to consult with workers' compensation attorneys across the country, collaborate with other professional sports unions, and work very closely with the AFL-CIO. With the Paris Olympics, a Presidential election, and a period of rising national and global tensions, players have been eager to understand issues and use their platforms to address the vulnerabilities they see and experience. Facilitating this work has not been easy, but it has been gratifying. I have great partners at Everytown for Gun Safety, Rock the Vote, and the Center for Reproductive Rights, and I see the value in coalition building.

Being a voice for the players in labor spaces of other unions has been invaluable. Most recently, a member of the Union has sued her employer alleging sex discrimination as a result of her pregnancy. The Union is not involved in that litigation, but it helps to have staff who can talk to players trying to make sense of their rights under the CBA concerning family planning and pregnancy protections. We also speak to college students interested in unionizing from time to time. College students are not our members, and we remain one of the only major professional sports leagues that requires college attendance (with some exceptions), making anything that happens in college directly relevant to the WNBPA.

Zoe Li '23

Challenging School Ticketing in Illinois



As the Meselson Fellow, Li spent her Fellowship year with the Roderick & Solange MacArthur Justice Center in Chicago working on a project to limit the policing of school children and the discriminatory use of tickets and punitive fines for infractions.

Though emotionally difficult, these cases have given me extraordinary insight into how to challenge the failings of the criminal legal system. Some of these lessons are in strategy; others are in spirit. No matter how grim the landscape, having hope is vital to restoring dignity to those wronged by the system.

My Fellowship at the Roderick & Solange MacArthur Justice Center (MJC) has been focused on challenging policing in public schools—specifically, the pervasive Illinois practice of referring students to police for school behavior issues to be fined for disciplinary infractions. It's called "ticketing." As a part of this project, I traveled around the state to learn about the impact of tickets. I have represented affected students, connected with advocacy groups on their incredible work, and filed a Title VI administrative complaint—an advocacy tool that urges the government to conduct an independent investigation into violation of federal law, providing relief through executive rather than judicial resources.

I worked on other MJC cases, such as police misconduct and wrongful conviction cases. One such lawsuit was on behalf of the orphaned son of a migrant farmworker in Florida: while desperately seeking help for a mental health crisis, the father was shot three times by an officer who rushed into the scene, and then violently mauled by a police dog before he died. Another lawsuit was on behalf of a man who lost twenty years of his life in prison for a crime he didn't commit, because, as a vulnerable teenager, he was detained,

FELLOWSHIP

isolated, manipulated, and threatened into giving a false confession.

Aseem Mehta '20

Improving Representation for Immigrants in Detention



Working with Asian Americans Advancing Justice-Asian Law Caucus in San Francisco, Aseem Mehta '20 provided holistic representation to individuals held in

immigration detention and supported detained organizers in their efforts to challenge the conditions of their confinement.

By equipping detained individuals to develop their own litigation, and then supporting them in negotiating with ICE—using the pending litigation to strengthen their hand—I was able to scale the speed and scope of my impact in assisting those individuals obtain their release from custody.

I completed my Liman Fellowship at the Immigrant Rights Program at the Asian Law Caucus and am continuing there as a Litigation Staff Attorney. My project proposed to address physical violence and psychological harm experienced by immigrants in ICE custody by supporting the affected-people-led movement to abolish detention. I proposed to do so in three ways: (1) Seek release for people in ICE custody in California through federal habeas litigation; (2) Investigate and contest conditions of confinement at California ICE detention facilities; and (3) Demand accountability for the misconduct of and harms inflicted by ICE.

My recent work includes supporting detained people engaged in labor and hunger strikes to protest their conditions of confinement and demand closure of the facilities. I am litigating a wrongful death action on behalf of an individual whose experience in solitary confinement

in detention ultimately led to his passing. In the second year of my Fellowship, one of my most important projects was publishing a pro se habeas guide for individuals subjected to indefinite detention after receiving a final order of removal. I am assisting four individuals in using the template to file their habeas cases and then supporting them in advocacy and negotiations with ICE to obtain their release from custody. I am currently supporting a fifth individual in litigating his petition.

Liman Fellows 1997–2024: Where They Are Now

Since its founding as the Arthur Liman Public Interest Program, the Liman Center has awarded more than 190 one-year fellowships to support Yale Law School graduates working in public interest law. Most remain in the public sector. In addition, since 2011, the Liman Center has had Senior Fellows in Residence.

Public Interest Organizations	52%
Government	15%
Academy (Full Time)	17%
Private Sector	16%

ACADEMIA

Sophie Angelis

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

Kristen Bell

Assistant Professor
University of Oregon
School of Law
Eugene, OR
Senior Liman Fellow in Residence
2016

Monica Bell

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

Brendan Bernicker

Visiting Assistant Professor
Penn State Law
University Park, PA
Resnik-Curtis Fellow 2022

Stephanie Biedermann

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

Benjamin Cover

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

Sam Davis

Clinical Instructor
Election Law Clinic
Harvard Law School
Cambridge, MA
Liman Fellow 2022

Fiona Doherty

Deputy Dean for Experiential
Education & Nathan Baker
Clinical Professor of Law
Yale Law School
New Haven, CT
Senior Liman Fellow in Residence
2011

Laura Fernandez

Clinical Lecturer in Law &
Research Scholar in Law
Yale Law School
New Haven, CT
Liman Fellow in Residence 2014

Natalia Friedlander

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The 2024 Liman Summer Fellows' Experiences

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. The Summer Fellowship program supports students from Barnard College, Brown University, Bryn Mawr College, Harvard University, Princeton University, Spelman College, Stanford University, and Yale University. Below we provide glimpses from a Fellow from each school.



The 2024 Summer Fellows at the Liman Center's 27th Annual Colloquium

BARNARD COLLEGE New York, New York

Emma Kaneira '25, New York Legal Assistance Group,
New York City, NY
Esther Park '25, McNulty Foundation,
New York City, NY
Ana Victoria Serna '25, Mobilization for Justice,
New York City, NY
Guadalupe Vasquez '25, Jubilee Immigration
Advocates, San Francisco, CA
Lanah Wyne '25, Brooklyn Defenders, Brooklyn, NY

Emma Kaneira

New York Legal Assistance Group Pro Se Clinic

“And how can the clinic help you today?”

I craned my ear closer to the speaker, dialing up the volume on my headset as I waited for a response. I had been interviewing a client on the particulars of a discrimination case that she was filing against her former university, a complicated one involving multiple individuals, numerous incidents, and a jurisdictional dispute. After being typed up in clinical, concise notes her statement took up several paragraphs. Reading over the sentences it was difficult to imagine the toll that having to live through the harassment for several years had taken on her. As I revised the cleaned-up version of my notes, I heard static on the other end of the

FELLOWSHIP

line. After a long pause, she responded. “I’m not sure exactly,” she said. “I just need help figuring out what I need to do next with my case.”

Out of all the cases I helped with during my time interning in the New York Legal Assistance Group’s Pro Se Clinic, this one sticks with me. Not necessarily because of the particulars of the case, but because she had been the third litigant that week to repeat that all too common refrain that I had come to feel encapsulated the constant predicament of Pro Se litigants; they were uncertain of how to proceed in a legal system that appeared byzantine in its complexity.

This summer, I interned with the New York Legal Assistance Group’s Pro Se Clinic. Located inside the Thurgood Marshall Courthouse behind an imposing oak door, the clinic existed for the sole purpose of assisting litigants representing themselves in court. I had to familiarize myself with a plethora of legal terminology. As the staff attorneys walked me through client dockets, teaching me how to interpret legalese and understand procedural posture, I began to understand how to tell what stage a case was in from reading a docket. However, the more dockets I read and clients I interacted with the more I came to realize the distinct hurdles that Pro Se litigants face. It gave me a distinct appreciation for the necessity of the clinic’s work.

My day-to-day tasks at the clinic varied, but I would always spend part of my shift working directly with litigants seeking assistance from the clinic. This consisted of interviewing existing clients for intakes, following up with new and old clients, and reading/summarizing client case dockets for attorneys. Out of these three tasks, I came to regard client interviews as one of the trickiest yet most gratifying parts of the job. While the work that I did was a small cog in the larger machine of the clinic, it was an incredible feeling to be able to hang up the phone with the client knowing that after their many attempts to get legal assistance, this time someone would be following up with them.

BROWN UNIVERSITY Providence, Rhode Island

Sophia Decherney ’25, Clean Earth 4 Kids Advocacy Coalition, San Diego, CA

Eric Gottlieb ’25, Rhode Island Public Expenditure Council, Providence, RI

Rohey Jasseh ’27, Student Clinic for Immigrant Justice, Providence, RI

Mitsuki Jiang ’27, Department of Homeland Security, Immigration and Customs Enforcement, Office of the Chief Counsel, Washington, D.C.

Eric Gottlieb

Rhode Island Public Expenditure Council

I interned at the Rhode Island Public Expenditure Council (RIPEC), the only nonpartisan think tank in Rhode Island. RIPEC publishes policy papers on state, municipal, and federal policy. RIPEC’s specialties are economic development, education finance, and taxation policy, but they recently took on affordable housing as one of their strategic priorities. I worked in RIPEC’s housing division this summer, where I played a role in producing the organization’s inaugural housing report. The goal of the report was to analyze how the state invested its American Rescue Plan Act (ARPA) money to produce affordable housing in the state. Working with my supervisor and another intern from Brown, I contributed to four sections of the ARPA report.

The most memorable moment from my summer at RIPEC was when I helped draft RIPEC’s Qualified Allocation Plan (QAP) comments. RIHousing is the agency responsible for drafting the annual QAP, and they hold a public comment period every year to field recommendations for how to change the next year’s QAP. My supervisors decided that it would be worthwhile to submit testimony to RIHousing based partly on the research I conducted in my QAP report. I drafted an initial list of seven recommendations for how to change the QAP, which my supervisors shaped into RIPEC’s final testimony. RIPEC had never submitted QAP comments to RIHousing before, and our testimony had the potential to impact how the state spends tens of millions of dollars every year for the provision of affordable housing. I felt empowered that my research had the potential to improve the state’s affordable housing policy. There is a high chance that the 2025 QAP

will include one of our recommendations—to prioritize funding for mixed-income developments.

My experience at RIPEC piqued my interest in fair housing policy. I will be working at another affordable housing research organization in Rhode Island, HousingWorks RI, during the fall. My work at RIPEC gave me a solid foundation of knowledge about affordable housing policy.

BRYN MAWR COLLEGE

Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania

Amy Gracia '26, Kids in Need of Defense (KIND),
Houston, TX

Hana Sandomirsky '26, Esperanza Immigrant Rights
Project, Los Angeles, CA

Hana Sandomirsky

Esperanza Immigrant Rights Project

One memorable moment during my Fellowship was a conversation among myself, a fellow intern, and a supervisor about halfway through the summer. Although the conversation was initially just a routine check-in about our progress and plans for various tasks, we began a deeper discussion of the nature of the work that Esperanza Immigrant Rights Project does, and how that work is impacted by the political climate, both nationally and locally. Immigration continues to be a highly contentious topic, which makes immigration law extremely complicated, controversial, and subject to changes in opinion and policy. As a resident of Los Angeles, it was fascinating to ponder our positionality within a border community in the U.S., and how that differs from the clients we serve as well as the politicians who make governance decisions.

Long after our conversation ended, I have continued to question the limits and possibilities of legal advocacy. What are the respective benefits of representation and education at the intersection of social justice and law? I was reflecting on my undergraduate education thus far as a political science major and philosophy minor, where I have participated in countless discussions of immigration-related topics from a largely removed, theoretical, and academic perspective. However, the way that these topics were discussed in the different setting of a public interest law organization made me wonder about the difficulties of translating real-world

experience into the current model of a private higher education setting.

When I think about my plans, even just for the upcoming fall semester at Bryn Mawr, this conversation, as well as my general experience interning this summer, has played an influential role in my decision-making. Through this experience, I learned that having variety, hands-on opportunities, and a collaborative team environment benefits my learning. Furthermore, I found that being able to contribute to work in my community of Los Angeles was powerful, and I hope to find an opportunity to achieve a sense of place-based community engagement as I return to school in Philadelphia.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Cambridge, Massachusetts

Lena Ashooh '25, Center on Race, Poverty, and the
Environment, Delano, CA

Kashish Bastola '26, Louisiana Capital Assistance
Center, New Orleans, LA

Min Ko Ko '25, National Association of Counsel for
Children, Boston, MA

Emory Paul '25, City of Atlanta Office of the Public
Defender, Atlanta, GA

Bolin Shen '26, Immigration Institute of the Bay Area,
San Francisco, CA

Emory Paul

City of Atlanta Office of the Public Defender

I met an outstanding group of public servants who have inspired me, and I worked on several projects that furthered the office's mission. These tasks included shadowing attorneys as they litigated cases in housing and traffic courts, creating a comprehensive homeless resource guide distributed to 800 social service agencies across Atlanta, and developing the office's organizational materials and conference applications centering on its holistic defense model. The office's work goes beyond the courtroom into the community, which allowed me to take part in numerous community engagement events, such as volunteering at a soup kitchen, providing critical home repairs to elderly residents' homes, and facilitating a legal clinic at a local homeless shelter. Through each of these formidable experiences, I gained an insight into the distinct strengths and vulnerabilities of the communities hit hardest by the pervasive reach of the criminal justice system.

FELLOWSHIP

While supporting the public defender's office with the above projects, I helped develop a grant proposal for a pilot program that couples shelter placement with legal defense for our chronically homeless clients, empowering them to show up for court appearances, resolve their pending legal cases, and access critical wraparound services. In this role, I contextualized the recent increases in chronic homelessness in Atlanta through secondary research. Then, I created a dataset of the Point-in-Time Counts (a count of sheltered and unsheltered people experiencing homelessness on a single night in January), including homeless subpopulations, from 2005 to 2024. Analyzing this dataset in Python, I investigated trends in the vulnerabilities of the chronically unhoused, the rates of homelessness per ten thousand people, and the correlations between increases in the size of different subpopulations. This project not only allowed me to learn the ins and outs of data analysis but also to dive into the criminalization of homelessness that is harming the office's unhoused clients.

The valuable lessons learned and treasured relationships formed made this internship a transformative experience that shifted my perception of the nature of public defense. With each conversation I had with clients who were unfairly arrested, denied signature bonds, and discriminated against based on their housing status, I have become more motivated in my efforts. I am more eager than ever to pursue a career in law or academia that will allow me to organize against institutional forces, push for evidence-based solutions to the housing and homelessness crises, and engage in direct service that eases the burden of those unjustly targeted.

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

Princeton, New Jersey

Brendan Garza '25, Blue Star Families, Encinitas, CA

Sophie Glaser '26, New Jersey Office of the Public

Defender - Passaic Region, Passaic, NJ

Sarah Hu '27, Massachusetts Attorney General—

Consumer Advocacy & Response Division,

Boston, MA

Koki Ogawa '26, Women's Prison Project at Tulane

University, New Orleans, LA

Sophie Glaser

New Jersey Office of the Public Defender

One of the elements of my job that I enjoyed was that no two days were the same. One day, I might go to court to watch a suppression hearing where the defender used evidence I had reviewed to help prepare for arguments, and the next I might be out in the field tracking down security camera footage and serving subpoenas to witnesses. Alternatively, I might be asked to go to the public records archives of Passaic County to locate land ownership documents in the morning and spend the afternoon conducting client interviews and writing memoranda for the investigative team on our findings. One of my favorite projects this summer was compiling research on crime rates in a particular city to assist in a client's mitigation defense for their upcoming sentencing hearing. I combed through years of press releases from the Passaic County Prosecutor's office, categorizing arrests and creating a research memorandum and spreadsheet with statistics to submit to the court.

One early interaction in my work at the New Jersey Office of the Public Defender stuck with me. It was when I sat down with an attorney and walked her through hours of security footage I had reviewed for an upcoming case. She asked me questions about the police-client interactions, and we started to develop a theory of the case that she ended up using in her oral arguments. It was interesting to go back and forth, answering questions and learning about what kind of information she was looking for to help her represent the client.

One of the most memorable moments for me was sitting in the office with the other interns and learning that a case we had worked on, in which we gathered evidence to support a suppression hearing, had been ruled

on in the client’s favor and that the charges had been dropped. I saw the entire office celebrate the hard work of the entire team, including the attorney, the investigators, my team of interns, and the client. It emphasized the team-focused nature of public defense work, as that win was the result of so many individuals’ dedication to our clients. Advocacy is not just a single moment of argument in front of a judge, but rather a collection of efforts from folks of all backgrounds and all roles over time. As someone who hopes to work in public interest law, this experience of working on a case with a real impact is one that I will look back on forever, especially as I begin my legal studies and explore criminal justice and advocacy.

SPELMAN COLLEGE **Atlanta, Georgia**

Sage Allen ’25, Charter School Growth Fund,
Denver, CO

Nia Primm ’24, Georgia House of Representatives
District 68, Tyrone, GA

Nyla Rahman ’24, Children’s Law Center,
Washington, D.C.

Sage Allen

Charter School Growth Fund

This summer I completed my Fellowship with the Charter School Growth Fund, a nonprofit organization dedicated to allocating funds toward public charter schools and assisting the school networks in the form of workshops, leadership retreats, and school visits. I worked on self-led research on the intersection of law and education. I focused on enrollment and how policies can impact charter schools and their funding. I worked with the policy, advocacy, and communications team to discover new things within the portfolio and explore things that interested me. This team analyzes different policies within each state that could affect the charter schools they support, in addition to assisting schools with their communication efforts with parents and the community. The prior knowledge that I brought to my role, having been a student of the charter school system for 13 years, allowed me to bring a new perspective and insight to the conversations I was having with my supervisors. Through my research, I was able to connect what was going on in the legislature and different laws to direct experiences that I had as a student.

I analyzed websites within the portfolio to determine how to increase enrollment amongst the schools. After completing my research, I compiled a list of methods that could be implemented within school networks to boost their platform’s visibility in their communities. I also analyzed legislation and education laws in Louisiana, Pennsylvania, Alabama, and New York to compare how each state government managed charters.

This Fellowship experience has allowed me to grow my knowledge in the pursuit of being a changemaker and a lawyer in my community through my future legal and legislative work. During this transformational summer, I have been able to develop a deeper level of understanding and appreciation for educators nationwide.

STANFORD UNIVERSITY **Palo Alto, California**

Makayla Abril Butters ’25, Third Circuit, Drug Court
Division, Kailua-Kona, HI

Anagali (Shace) Duncan ’26, Tribal Law and Policy
Institute, West Hollywood, CA

Gracie Sandman ’26, Bet Tzedek Legal Services,
Los Angeles, CA

Skylar Volman ’25, Lawyers for Civil Rights,
Boston, MA

Grace Sandman

Bet Tzedek Legal Services

I participated in Bet Tzedek’s Summer for Justice Clerkship program, designed to provide law students with practical experience in public interest law. This program developed our problem-solving skills, encouraged us to think critically about legal policy implications, and aimed to inspire us to contribute to society. A significant part of my daily work involved conducting legal intake and pre-screening for numerous potential clients, many of whom were in urgent situations. I listened to their stories, collected crucial information, and assessed their legal needs. This process was about gathering data and providing a reassuring presence to those in distress. I managed communications in both English and Mandarin, which is crucial for serving non-English-speaking clients effectively, especially in a diverse city like Los Angeles.

A memorable experience during my internship involved a case highlighting the human aspect of legal work. An attorney passed me a voicemail from a woman who

FELLOWSHIP

spoke only Mandarin, needing help with an eviction threat. The connection I established with her during our phone conversation was significant. She expressed immense relief at being able to communicate in her native language, which removed the initial barrier that had hindered her ability to seek and receive assistance. She was under stress due to the fear of losing her home, where she had resided for many years. As she explained her circumstances, it became apparent that her eviction issue arose through no fault of her own but rather from unforeseen circumstances. This interaction highlighted the crucial role of empathy and taking a trauma-informed approach in legal practice, particularly when addressing life-altering issues such as potential evictions.

This experience made me consider how my abilities could positively affect others' lives. It reinforced my decision to pursue a legal career aimed at helping those in vulnerable positions and ensuring that justice is universally accessible. This episode rekindled my passion for human rights law and gave me insights into the complexities of working with diverse groups. It was a defining moment for both my personal growth and professional development, shaping my future path in law.

YALE UNIVERSITY

New Haven, Connecticut

Joshua Ching '26, Native Hawaiian Legal Corporation,
Honolulu, HI

Matthew Jennings '25, Federal Public Defender—
District of Connecticut, New Haven, CT

Frances Keohane '25, Legal Action Center,
New York, NY

Michelle Lee '26, All Our Kin, New Haven, CT

Araya Miller '26, Legal Action Center, New York, NY

Seung Min Baik '26, Brooklyn Defenders,
Brooklyn, NY

Fefe Montalvo '27, All Our Kin, New Haven, CT

Kaycee Portillo-Sorto '25, Bronx Defenders, Bronx, NY

Julian Suh-Toma '25, CAST (Coalition to Abolish
Slavery and Trafficking), Los Angeles, CA

Teddy Tawil '25, EqualAI, Washington, D.C.

Anouk Yeh '26, Federal Public Defender—District of
Connecticut, New Haven, CT

Michelle Lee

All Our Kin

All Our Kin (AOK) supports family childcare educators in Connecticut and New York by offering direct services, technical assistance training, policy advocacy support, and more. After spending my summer with AOK's Policy and Field Building Team, I created and finished a policy brief, developed an educator storybanking project, and built meaningful connections with the AOK staff and educators that will last far beyond this summer.

In the policy brief I worked on over the summer, I discuss housing and zoning challenges, describe the multi-sector advocacy effort that led to the legislative victory, outline key dates for policy demands and bill drafts in a legislative timeline, and provide suggestions on policy and implementation for future housing and zoning solutions that can be leveraged by advocates and community members in Connecticut and beyond.

I also worked on developing a model for storybanking by interviewing family child educators about their experiences, transcribing the interviews for the AOK archive, writing two-pagers on the stories they shared, and creating templates and resources for staff members to conduct similar interviews in the future. Drawing on my experience conducting oral histories, I wanted to ensure that the family childcare educators had agency in these conversations and felt that their stories were accurate in the final product. I drew on their input throughout the process of creating my policy brief and their stories were incorporated throughout the brief to center their voices when describing the housing and zoning challenges in Connecticut. Out of this vision for storybanking, we had fruitful conversations with one another, and I was even invited into their family childcare homes to meet them in person. I would have to say that spending time in their programs and interacting with them and their children was one of the most rewarding experiences of my entire summer.

For more discussion of AOK, see page 52.

Morehouse College Joins the Liman Summer Fellowship Program

Liman is delighted to announce that through the generosity of Yale Law School alumni Joshua Hill and Melissa Murray, Morehouse College joins the Summer Liman Fellowship Program. Morehouse College, an all-male historically black college in Atlanta, Georgia, was founded in a church basement in 1867. It is part of the Atlanta University Center Consortium with Spelman College and Clark Atlanta University. The mission of Morehouse is “to develop students with disciplined minds who will lead lives of leadership and service.”



Hill earned a B.A. in Economics at Morehouse College, an M.A. in Economics at Johns Hopkins University, and a J.D. at Yale Law School, where he was a Senior Editor of the *Yale Law Journal*. A former federal prosecutor, he is now a partner in the Litigation Department for Paul, Weiss,

Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison LLP where his practice focuses on regulatory and internal investigations, white-collar defense, and complex commercial litigation.



Murray is the Frederick I. and Grace Stokes Professor of Law at the New York University School of Law and Faculty Director of the Birnbaum Women’s Leadership Center. Previously, Murray was the Alexander F. and May T. Morrison Professor of Law and the Faculty Director of the

Center on Reproductive Rights and Justice at the University of California, Berkeley, School of Law. Murray received her J.D. from Yale Law School, where she was the Notes Development Editor of the *Yale Law Journal*. She received her B.A. in history and American Studies with distinction from the University of Virginia. Murray is a member of the Liman Center Advisory Council.

FELLOWSHIP

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BARNARD COLLEGE

New York, New York

Stephanie Malak

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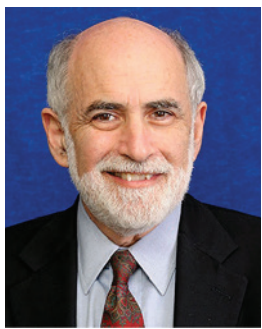
Anjelica Gonzalez

Associate Professor of Biomedical Engineering,
Faculty Director of Tsai CITY, and Head of Davenport
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Liman in Collaboration

This year the Liman Center has worked with many other groups at Yale, including the Law and Racial Justice Center, the Orville H. Schell, Jr. Center for International Human Rights, the SEICHE Center for Health & Justice at the Yale School of Medicine, and the Solomon Center for Health Law & Policy. The Center also cohosted the Quinnipiac-Yale Dispute Resolution Workshops featuring nationally recognized scholars and practitioners.

MANAGING CONFLICT MINDFULLY



Leonard L. Riskin, Visiting Professor of Law and Distinguished Senior Fellow, Center on Negotiation, Mediation, and Restorative Justice, Northwestern University Pritzker School of Law, led a discussion on February 15 by Zoom based on his book, *Managing Conflict Mindfully:*

Don't Believe Everything You Think, which explores how negotiation can be achieved in the face of obstacles like polarization and conflict. The talk was moderated by Jennifer Gerarda Brown, Dean and Professor of Law, Quinnipiac University School of Law.

LAWYERING ON BEHALF OF PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEMS



From left: Kayla Vinson, Zachary Liscow, Josh Civin, and Judith Resnik.

Josh Civin '03, a 2004 Liman Fellow and now Chief Legal Officer for Baltimore City Public Schools, joined the Liman Center to discuss “Lawyering on Behalf of Public School Systems: From Equitable Financing to School Discipline Reform.” The event took place on March 5 and was sponsored by the Liman Center, The

Center on Dispute Resolution at Quinnipiac University School of Law, and The Law and Racial Justice Center. Commentators were Zachary Liscow, Professor of Law, and Kayla Vinson, Executive Director of the Law and Racial Justice Center at Yale Law School.

Before joining Baltimore City Schools in 2020, Civin spent six years as General Counsel for Montgomery County Public Schools. Previously, he worked at the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., where he began as a Liman Fellow in 2004 and litigated educational equity and other civil rights matters in Maryland and across the nation.

“We have an obligation to represent the school system, but it is important that our end goal is promoting academic excellence and equity for our students,” he said. “That is one frame. The other is a legal problem-solving approach. Many general counsel’s offices often have a reputation, at least in public agencies, of being departments where good ideas go to die. I have tried to very consciously situate myself as someone who is thinking about how to deploy our legal skills to solve problems.”

Civin graduated from Yale College and Yale Law School, studied history at Oxford University as a Rhodes Scholar, clerked for Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg on the U.S. Supreme Court, and served as an elected member of the Board of Aldermen in New Haven.

LIMAN IN COLLABORATION

LIMAN'S SEEDLINGS: ALL OUR KIN IS 25!



What started as an idea to improve child care in New Haven, Connecticut, is now a nationwide organization that is turning 25—and it all began with Jessica Sager's 1999 Liman Fellowship. That organization is All Our Kin, a non-profit that trains, supports, and sustains family child care

educators, helping them succeed as business owners, helping working parents find high-quality care, and giving young children the foundation they need for future achievement.

Family child care programs, or home-based programs, offer flexible, neighborhood-based care that is often

As Co-Founder of All Our Kin, Sager was recognized in September 2024 for transforming family child care across the United States by the Heinz Family Foundation which each year gives unrestricted \$250,000 awards to outstanding individuals.

culturally and linguistically responsive. Many parents rely on it, particularly for their infants and toddlers.

The catalyst for Sager's focus on family child care was welfare reform in the late 1990s, which caused incredible hardship to parents struggling to find safe, nurturing, high-quality care for their young children.

"When I was a third-year Yale Law School student and All Our Kin was just an idea, I was awarded a Liman Fellowship that made it possible to start the organization in New Haven. The Fellowship gave us funding but also credibility for our plan. Everything else followed from that," said Sager, Co-Founder and CEO of All Our Kin.

Judith Resnik recalled Sager from those early days. She "was one of the most astute readers of new laws changing eligibility for federal benefits. The problem was having to leave a home to get work or education and not having people to take care of the children left

behind. Jessica saw what others did not; if parents could be trained as child care providers, they could comply with the regulations while being with their own children and gaining professional training. Jessica did not only have an insightful reading of the statutes; she also had the grit, dedication, and commitment to do the on-the-ground work of creating a new institution. At the get-go, this fledgling organization was fragile, tiny, and but for Jessica and her colleagues, it would not have survived and flourished."

Today, All Our Kin works directly with over 1,000 educators and 6,000 children across New York City and Connecticut. For example, its free 10-week Business Series, available in English and Spanish, trains educators on how to manage everything from marketing their programs to tax record keeping.

This work is not only transforming the supply and quality of care but also increasing educators' earnings and well-being. Within one year of completing All Our Kin's licensing or business programs, most educators increase earnings by at least \$5,000 and 81% say their quality of life has improved. Research also shows that for each dollar invested in All Our Kin's work, there is a return of \$15–\$20 in economic benefits to the region.

In addition to working with educators directly, the organization is currently training agencies in 31 states on its model, reaching 12,000 educators who care for over 90,000 children. This is all done while advocating for policy reforms and increased funding for child care at the state and federal levels.

The ultimate goal is to transform our nation's child care system. Sager added, "Over the past twenty-five years, All Our Kin has changed the national conversation about family child care. In the next five years, we plan to transform the child care system."

Each year the Liman Center sends Yale undergraduates to work with Jessica at All Our Kin, and each year the students report it changed their lives to be part of the project and to learn from Jessica. Judith Resnick explained, "Jessica's work is intergenerational in all its facets. We are all the beneficiaries."

Some of the best accolades to Sager comes from Summer Fellows at All Our Kin. In 2017, one of the undergraduates who spent a summer with All Our Kin told us:

I will never forget my first day at All Our Kin (AOK). The moment I walked in, I was greeted by a staff of all women, women of differing backgrounds—women with a die-hard passion for both people and advocacy work. The kindness of the staff at AOK exuded through the rooms and hallways; from them, I learned how significant it is to have a passion for people, while understanding the inner-workings of policy platforms and how they affect them. . . .

The most memorable moment that I had from the summer was at AOK’s Annual Conference, which was held at the University of Bridgeport this year. At the event, I was able to meet child-care providers and hear their stories. While the work that low-income women do as child-care workers is significant as it influences children in their most sensitive years, they fail to receive the proper pay and recognition. Often, people (including policymakers) write off their work as merely “babysitting,” but it is so much more than that.

This past summer, I witnessed AOK scramble for funding after Connecticut cut funding for Care4Kids, which is a child-care subsidy program for low-income residents. The present Connecticut budget proposal does not include full funding for Care4Kids, meaning that it will remain closed for the next two years, despite the fact that it is crucial for working-class families to have access to the program (thousands of families are currently on the waitlist). At the conference, I witnessed women singing “Lean On Me” and laughing, and hugging even in the midst of all of this. I will never forget this moment.

All Our Kin is shaping education and child care and it is influencing a new generation of advocates, caregivers, and educators.

For more about AOK, see Summer Fellow’s report, page 48.

The Liman Center

Liman in Motion

The Liman Center recently welcomed a new Executive Director, Kate Braner (see page 5), and Ibrahim Diallo, the Curtis-Liman Fellow. Liman Fellow Michael Tan returned to the Law School, while Jennifer Taylor, Pardiss Kebriaei, and Elizabeth Clarke left to do other work.

Ibrahim Diallo

Curtis-Liman Fellow



Ibrahim Diallo joined the Liman Center as the 2024 Curtis-Liman Fellow. Before clerking for judges on the Second Circuit Court of Appeals and on the Federal District Court for the District of Connecticut, Diallo worked for two years as a staff attorney practicing labor law with the New York Taxi Workers Alliance (NYTWA).

Diallo graduated from Trinity College in 2011 with a B.A. in International Relations and completed his J.D. at Columbia Law School in 2020, where he was named a Lowenstein Public Interest Fellow. While in law school, Diallo founded an externship program for law students to work with the NYTWA. Among other law school honors, he received the Constance Baker Motley Prize, the Samuel I. Rosenman Prize for Academic Excellence in Public Law, and the Emil Schlesinger Labor Law Prize.

While a law student, Ibrahim also spent a summer working at the Federal Defenders Office in New Haven. The Curtis-Liman Fellowship enables him to return to that office to build on the work of past Fellows Hannah Duncan and Elizabeth Clarke and to do research and teaching through the Liman Center.

Established in 2020 to honor Professor Dennis Curtis, a co-founder of Yale Law School's clinical program, the Curtis-Liman 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 students doing directed research.

Michael Tan



Michael Tan, a 2008 Liman Fellow, is back at Yale Law School (YLS). Last year, he was a Visiting Clinical Lecturer at YLS' Worker and Immigrant Rights Advocacy Clinic. This year, Tan has a new role as the Executive Director of the Law School's Movement Project. Under the

umbrella of the new Center for Just and Sustainable Futures at YLS, the Movement Project addresses the intersection between immigration laws, climate change, and labor laws in the U.S. The goals are to advance the interests of all working people and to honor humanitarian obligations to respond to people outside the country's borders. The Movement Project aims to bring together international, national, and community-based experts in labor, climate justice, immigration, and democracy to do useful research with Yale faculty and students to shape new policy agendas.

Tan first connected with the Liman Center while he was an undergraduate at Harvard and was a Liman Summer Fellow; he worked at the Asian American Research Workshop in Boston's Chinatown. Thereafter, Tan received his Master's Degree in Comparative Literature from New York University and then came to YLS, where he was a student director for the Liman Center. In 2008, he was a Liman Fellow at the Immigrants' Rights Project of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU IRP), which was founded by Lucas Guttentag, now a Liman Affiliated Faculty and Lecturer in Law and Senior Research Scholar at YLS. "I was inspired by the idea of becoming a civil rights litigator," said Tan. "The ACLU is one of the country's best civil rights law firms. The lawyers are incredible, and a lot of them have come

through Liman and YLS. It was one of the best places for me to get the training and opportunities I needed as a young lawyer.”

From 2008 to 2022, Tan held a range of roles with the ACLU IRP, most recently serving as its Deputy Director. His practice included litigation and advocacy relating to immigration detention, asylum, immigrants’ access to education, and the rights of undocumented young people. “I would not have found my way into this work without the Liman Fellowship,” he said. “To have Liman see me and invest in me and say, ‘This is a person who has important work to do, and we want to help him have his first job at the ACLU,’ was life-changing.”

Tan moved to become Senior Advisor to the Co-Presidents of Community Change, a nationwide organization that empowers low-income people, particularly of color, to lead movements for social change. All the while, he thought about coming “home” to YLS. “I have worked in immigrant rights and immigrant justice at law school and while I was doing Liman work,” said Tan. “Also, I was part of the founding group of this clinic that I co-teach now, the Worker and Immigrant Rights Advocacy Clinic.”

Tan believes that the students at Yale have a key role to play in meeting the new challenges the country faces on immigration and labor rights in the era of climate displacement. “My highest and best use right now is to work with students to help imagine a better future for our immigration system and bring that future into being,” Tan explained. “It is that sense of a calling that brought me back home.”

THE NEXT CHAPTER

Jennifer Taylor ’10 Looks Back on Time at Liman Center



When Jennifer Taylor, a 2010 Liman Fellow, became Director of the Liman Center in May 2022, one of her priorities was connecting and building relationships with the Liman network of alumni and Fellows that spans more than a quarter century.

Having succeeded in doing so, she said her first colloquium, the Liman Center’s 25th, “felt like a reunion.” Taylor, who had been commuting

from Alabama during her time as Director, decided to return to work near home.

“Jennifer’s leadership during the past two years has been exceptional; as she is unflappable and wise,” said Founding Director Judith Resnik, Arthur Liman Professor of Law. “Jennifer helped to launch a new website, Seeing Solitary. She shaped the Colloquia—2023’s *Budgeting for Justice: Fiscal Policy and Monetary Sanctions* and 2024’s *Incarceration and Public Health*. She co-taught classes, coordinated the Quinnipiac-Yale Dispute Resolution Workshops, and recruited new Liman Fellows.”

Taylor reflected on her time with the Liman Center.

I came into this role hoping to return to YLS as a person who understood the challenges faced by law students passionate about building a career in public interest law, and as a lawyer who has worked in that field and can share advice and insight drawn from that experience. Over the past two years, I have put that knowledge and understanding to work, while co-teaching the Liman workshop, advising students on research projects and papers, and planning programs and events like lunch-time panels and the annual Liman Colloquium. Connecting with Fellowship applicants and current and past Liman Fellows has also been an incredible opportunity to witness and support law students embarking on the path from graduate to entry-level lawyer to charting out a multi-year career path. It has been a privilege to be a part of this community again and a part of those journeys. I am thankful for all I have been able to learn during the process.

What were your fondest memories of the Center?

First, it was a real pleasure to work with the Liman Center team and the many support staff who help run the various systems and on whom we depended from day to day. I could not have accomplished a fraction of the work on my plate without their patience and guidance, and I was grateful to have been so generously supported. Special thanks to Judith Resnik, Serena Crawford, Elizabeth Keane, Marilyn Wilkes, and Nicole Gehring for being on the Liman team during my tenure.

I appreciated the opportunity to plan programs that related to my background and connections. It was a complete joy to be able to help bring people I know to

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YLS to speak about their work and experiences—from Bryan Stevenson’s appearance as opening speaker for the 2023 Liman Colloquium to Ian Manuel’s participation as a panelist and poet/author discussing his experiences in solitary confinement when imprisoned in Florida for more than 20 years. A special pleasure was the talk about the June 2023 voting rights decision in *Allen v. Milligan*. It featured lead plaintiff Evan Milligan (my husband) and Deuel Ross of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, one of his attorneys. In each of those events and others, I had the chance to collaborate with other YLS centers, student groups, faculty, and staff. The Law School is a dynamic environment for facilitating discussion on key issues, as well as a hub for organizing research and action to work with local groups and members of the Liman Fellow network both near and far. The goal is to have an impact on those issues in a way that reaches beyond the classroom. Helping to make those connections was always one of the most rewarding parts of this job.

What do you look forward to in your next chapter?

I have re-rooted my work in Alabama and am devoting time to a few independent projects I have struggled to prioritize over the past few years. Flexibility and freedom are the keywords right now, but longer-term plans will form in good time. I will always be a YLS alum, and I look forward to staying connected to the Liman Center’s projects.

What hopes do you have for the Liman Center’s future?

I am excited to see the Liman Center’s future under Kate Braner’s leadership. She brings such a wealth of experience and a passion for working with law students and Fellows. I know she will infuse many of the Center’s existing projects with energetic leadership, and over time, develop new projects drawn from her expertise. I am thrilled that she is continuing the Center’s projects on ballot access for incarcerated voters and the updating and re-issuing the *Connecticut Prisoners’ Rights Manual*. I encourage interested students to contact her for more information on how to get involved!

Pardiss Kebriai, Senior Liman Fellow in Residence, and **Elizabeth Clarke**, Curtis-Liman Fellow, completed their Fellowships at the Liman Center. Kebriai returned to the Center for Constitutional Rights to continue her role as a Senior Attorney. Highlights of her time at the Center can be found on page 17. Clarke began a one-year district court clerkship in Philadelphia in September. An interview about her Fellowship experience with the Office of the Federal Public Defender for the District of Connecticut and at Yale Law School is on page 22.

Other Center Faculty, In-House Fellows, Researchers, Affiliated Scholars, and Staff

Judith Resnik

Founding Director and
Arthur Liman Professor of Law



Judith Resnik, the Arthur Liman Professor of Law, continues to teach about courts, federalism, rationing access to legal remedies, imprisonment, equality, and citizenship. Her scholarship focuses on the relationship between democratic values and government services; the role of

collective redress and class actions; conflicts over privatization and institutionalization; the relationships of states to citizens and noncitizens; the interaction among federal, state, and tribal courts; practices of punishment; and equality and gender. In addition to being the founding director of the Liman Center, Resnik chaired the Law School's Global Constitutionalism Seminar for a decade and was a founding member of its Women Faculty Forum. In 2018, Resnik was awarded an honorary doctorate from University College of London. She has chaired the Association of American Law Schools' Sections on Federal Courts, on Procedure, and on Women in Legal Education, and she is a member of the American Philosophical Society and a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. Her books include *Representing Justice: Invention, Controversy, and Rights in City States and Democratic Courtrooms* (with Dennis E. Curtis, Yale University Press 2011, reissued as an ebook 2022) and the forthcoming *Impermissible Punishments: How Prison Became a Problem for Democracy* (U. Chicago Press, 2025). The essay, *Seeing "the Courts:" Managerial Judges, Empty Courtrooms, Chaotic Courthouses, and Judicial Legitimacy from the 1980s to the 2020s*, was published in 2024 as part of a symposium in the *Review of Litigation* that included articles reflecting on her 1982 Harvard Law Review article, *Managerial Judges*. Another recent essay, *Lawyerless Litigants, Filing Fees, Transaction Costs, and the Federal Courts: Learning from SCALES*, co-authored with several law students, explores data on whether self-represented litigants seek fee waivers to use the federal courts.

Marilyn Wilkes

Director of Communications



Wilkes leads the Liman Center's communications efforts. Before joining the Liman Center, she was the communications director 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 communications.

she currently teaches a course on the principles of communications.

Nicole 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 Fashion Institute of Technology, and a master's in journalism from New York University.

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IN-HOUSE FELLOWS, RESEARCHERS, AND AFFILIATED SCHOLARS

Reginald Dwayne Betts

Senior Liman Scholar
Clinical Lecturer in Law



Betts is a poet and lawyer. A 2021 MacArthur Fellow, he is the CEO of Freedom Reads, an organization that transforms prison cellblocks into Freedom Libraries. 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 Award-winning *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 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. Fernandez clerked in 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 Friedlander

Senior Research Affiliate



Friedlander was the first Resnik-Curtis Fellow and thereafter became a staff attorney with the Rhode Island Center for Justice. She founded the Center's criminal justice team and challenged unjust conditions of confinement, denial of health care, and other abuses in the criminal

legal system. She is 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. She has 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



Brian Highsmith began work with the Liman Center as a Fellow in Residence in early 2020 after a two-year Skadden Fellowship with the National Consumer Law Center. There he worked to challenge unaffordable financial obligations imposed on poor families as a result of their

contact with the criminal system. Highsmith currently is an Academic Fellow with Harvard Law School's new Program on Law and Political Economy. He started a Ph.D. in government and social policy at Harvard in the fall of 2020. His research is focused on the privatization of municipal services and local governments' reliance on regressive revenue sources such as fines and fees assessed through local policing and criminal systems. Highsmith has remained affiliated with the Liman

Center, joining in organizing a series of Liman-hosted webinar sessions about the intersections of public finance and criminal punishment, as well as planning the 2023 colloquium, *Budgeting for Justice: Fiscal Policy and Monetary Sanctions*. 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 Senator Cory Booker.

Jon Petkun

Senior Research Affiliate



Petkun 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, Petkun uses his training as an economist to 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 interested in how the norms and practices of judging affect litigants’ access. Recent work includes 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. He is also doing a study of the ways in which trial judges actively guide litigants through the course of litigation. Other work includes a study of the patterns and determinants of judicial retirement. In addition to graduating from Yale Law School Petkun holds a Ph.D. in economics from MIT. Prior to teaching, Petkun served as a Senior Liman Research Affiliate (and continues that affiliation) and clerked for federal judges in the District of Connecticut and the D.C. Circuit. Before his academic career, Petkun served as a Marine in both Iraq and Afghanistan.

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In Memoriam, Ady Barkan



Ady Barkan, center, with Liman Fellows Emily Washington and Benjamin Cover at 2011 Liman Colloquium.

Ady Barkan, lawyer, activist, and 2010 Liman Fellow, died at age 39 on Nov. 1, 2023, from complications of the terminal neurodegenerative disease ALS. He was a co-founder of Be a Hero and an organizer for the Center of Popular Democracy. Barkan used his challenges in getting health care to become a leader in the effort to preserve the Affordable Care Act.

Diagnosed in 2016 with amyotrophic lateral sclerosis (ALS), Barkan was “the most powerful activist in America,” as a 2019 headline from *Politico* put it. In 2020, he was included on *Time*’s list of the 100 most influential people in the world.

Be A Hero’s Co-Executive Director Jamila Headley shared, “After his diagnosis, Ady chose to use the time he had left fighting to create a country where health care is treated as a human right. He knew he was building something that would outlast him. His relentless campaigning made him one of the most prominent health care advocates in the nation.”

Senators Elizabeth Warren and Bernie Sanders posted tributes to Barkan and his work on X, the social media platform formerly known as Twitter. “Ady Barkan was

a hero who made this world a better place,” Warren wrote. Sanders wrote: “Ady Barkan was an inspiration to all of us. There are very few people in this country who have done more to make health care a human right. To honor his life, let us dedicate ourselves to completing his work.”

A Liman Fellow, Barkan worked at Make the Road New York, a community organization and workers’ center with offices in Brooklyn and Queens. With the organization’s members and allies, Barkan helped to enforce wage and hour laws on behalf of restaurant employees. He focused on legislative advocacy in New York City and Albany to reform labor laws to provide paid sick leave for food industry employees. Following his Fellowship, Barkan clerked in the Southern District of New York.

Barkan was a featured speaker in 2022 at the Arthur Liman Center for Public Interest Law’s 25th Colloquium. He joined the panel, “Confronting, Collaborating, Coordinating, and Disagreeing with Government.” “Ady was an exemplar of how to engage government and a role model for us all,” Arthur Liman Professor of Law Judith Resnik said. “I am lucky to have known him; we were all graced with his brilliance, kindness, and leadership.”

Barkan’s book, *Eyes to the Wind: A Memoir of Love and Death, Hope and Resistance*, was published in 2019 by Atria Books. In September 2023, the Roosevelt Institute honored Barkan with one of its Four Freedoms Awards, bestowing on him the Freedom from Want Award “for his unapologetic work fighting for freedom from economic want and for a more just health-care system in the United States.” Barkan lived in Santa Barbara, California, with his wife Rachael King, an English professor at the University of California at Santa Barbara, and their two children.

THIS REPORT IS PUBLISHED BY:

Yale Law School
P.O. Box 208215
New Haven, CT 06520-8215

Colloquium photography by Harold Shapiro
Layout and typesetting by Fritz Hansen

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Learn more about the Arthur Liman Center for Public Interest Law, and find additional information about our Fellowships, projects, and upcoming events

Public Interest Organizations and Fellowship Applicants

Organizations interested in hosting Fellows or Summer Fellows and individuals wishing to apply for Fellowships should contact Liman Executive Director Kate Braner.

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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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April 3-4, 2025

The Liman Center Reports is published annually
by the Arthur Liman Center for Public Interest Law
at Yale Law School.

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