



NINTH ANNUAL CRITICAL RACE STUDIES SYMPOSIUM

FROM  
**COLOR**BLINDNESS  
TO WHITE NATIONALISM

Emerging Racial Formations in the Trump Era

Friday, March 3, 2017  
at California Nanosystems Institute,  
UCLA Campus



Think. Teach. Transform.  
Critical Race Studies » UCLA School of Law



Critical Race Studies Ninth Annual Symposium

## From Colorblindness to White Nationalism?: Emerging Racial Formations in the Trump Era

Friday March 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2017 / California Nanosystems Institute, UCLA Campus

Donald Trump's political rise has been marked, and fueled, by a resurgent and explicit white nationalism. This would have been significant even had he merely been nominated and come close to the presidency, rather than actually winning it. His victory, however, accelerates and deepens shifts in racial politics. Trump's ascent seems new insofar as open assertions of white identity—and supremacy—conflict with the nominal commitments to colorblind ideology previously asserted from the center-left to the right. Moreover, the pivot toward an intersectionally white, masculinist nationalism seems to have disrupted neoliberal orthodoxy with regard to government spending and market regulation, from infrastructure to trade. And yet, this new racial politics also has been cast as a reaction to “political correctness” and reflects continuity with the mobilization of white racial resentment against affirmative action and all forms of race conscious remediation, both staples of colorblind ideology. And critics long have argued that neoliberal politics already were deeply bound to racialized state violence.

Our first Critical Race Studies Symposium of the Trump era provides an opportunity to articulate and interrogate these seeming contradictions. To what extent are we witnessing the emergence of a new racial formation in the United States, the extension of deeply entrenched trajectories, or both? What relationships can we discern amongst Trump's most overtly racialized appeals – against Latinos in the name of immigration enforcement and sexual paternalism, against African Americans in the name of “law and order” and stop-and-frisk policing, against Muslims in the name of anti-terrorism and Christian national identity, and against Native Americans and Native sovereignty in the name of resource development? And how do these bear on his (white masculinist?) “economic” policies with respect to trade, infrastructure, and manufacturing, his approach to elections and “good government,” to foreign policy, and to the juxtaposition of LGBTQ rights retrenchment and emerging homonationalism?

### AGENDA

8:30 – 9:30 am Registration / light breakfast

9:00 – 9:15 am Welcome Remarks

**Cheryl I. Harris** / Rosalinde and Arthur Gilbert Professor in Civil Rights and Civil Liberties and Critical Race Studies Program Faculty Co-Director, UCLA School of Law

**Noah Zatz** / Professor and Critical Race Studies Program Faculty Co-Director, UCLA School of Law

9:15 – 10:30 am **Panel 1: Restoring the White Nation: The Racialization of Immigrants**

Through the manipulation of borders, physical and conceptual, current expressions of white nationalism are deeply invested in configuring the immigrant as a racial subject whose presence, whether officially sanctioned by law or not, whether formal citizen or not, poses a threat to national identity and the political order. Thus, while domestic populations with non-European immigrant origins and transnational communities are embedded in the national fabric, they remain foreign in a racial sense to the white nation state. This panel will explore the various dimensions of this issue by considering how the expansion of markets and political instability create conditions for displacement and dislocation, how immigration law and policy intersects with gender, and further how the racial construction of domestic immigrant communities distorts and obscures realities.

**Leisy Abrego** / Associate Professor, César E. Chávez Department of Chicana/o Studies, UCLA

**Tendayi Achiume** / Assistant Professor, UCLA School of Law

**Gary Segura** / Dean, UCLA Luskin School of Public Affairs

MODERATOR:

**Joseph Berra** / Clinical and Experiential Project Director, UCLA School of Law

10:30 – 10:45 am Break

10:45 – 12:00 pm **Panel 2: Racialized State Violence**

Securing the nation as a racially vulnerable white subject requires the identification and monitoring of enemies who are defined in racial terms as threats to national security at home, agents of disorder globally, and disruptions of normative gender and sexuality. This panel will explore the continuities and distinctions between emergent and earlier forms of racialized state violence and surveillance, as legitimized and structured by law. While the historical origins of racialized state violence run deep and long, to what extent has the Trump era intensified and created new forms and logics to justify both overt and less direct technologies of state violence and social control? How do these systems interrelate and reinforce each other?

**Aslı Bâli** / Professor, UCLA School of Law and Director, UCLA Center for Near Eastern Studies

**Priscilla Ocen** / Associate Professor, Loyola Law School, UCLA School of Law '06

**Ananya Roy** / Professor of Urban Planning and Social Welfare and Director of the Institute on Inequality and Democracy, UCLA Luskin School of Public Affairs

MODERATOR:

**Sherod Thaxton** / Assistant Professor, UCLA School of Law

12:00 – 1:00 pm Lunch

1:00 – 2:15 pm **Panel 3: Racial Neoliberalism and White Supremacy**

Nationalism routinely is figured in opposition to globalization, and in particular to the transnational practices of neoliberal economic policies. And yet a specifically white racial character has facilitated transnational identification and collaboration among nationalisms in the US, the UK, and Russia, to name a few. Meanwhile, nationalisms long have provided a basis for the economic projects of racial capitalism, as institutionalized in part through law, and whether pursued through transnational imperialism, settler colonialism, or racial caste. This panel will explore the ongoing reconfiguration of these relations among race, nation, and political economy.

**Cheryl I. Harris** / Rosalinde and Arthur Gilbert Professor in Civil Rights and Civil Liberties and Critical Race Studies Program Faculty Co-Director, UCLA School of Law

**Sherene Razack** / Distinguished Professor and Penny Kanner Endowed Chair in Women's Studies, UCLA Department of Gender Studies

**Shannon Speed** / Associate Professor, UCLA Department of Anthropology, and Director, UCLA Native American and Indigenous Studies

MODERATOR:

**Noah Zatz** / Professor and Critical Race Studies Program Faculty Co-Director, UCLA School of Law

2:15 – 2:30 pm Break

2:30 – 4:00 pm **Panel 4: Race and Resistance: Social Movements in the Post-Trump Era**

Alongside the (re)emergence of a vocal white, masculinist nationalism, we are also witnessing the rise of widespread resistance to this articulation of the nation-state. Social movements that emerged in the wake of the 2016 election and those that have existed prior are reassessing strategies towards, and their conception of, racial and social justice. In this panel, we will explore the formation of new political configurations and the response of existing social movements. Is it necessary for social movements to reimagine themselves in light of emergent threats, or does this moment simply continue long-standing power structures, racial and otherwise? How do we conceptualize effective and inclusive resistance, with the simultaneous move towards a prioritization of intersectional analysis and the centering of the most vulnerable and marginalized populations as well as a backlash against "identity politics" and its perceived potential for divisiveness? What is the role of lawyers and the legal community in creating social change in this environment? What legal strategies need to be deployed considering the administration's posturing vis-à-vis the judiciary? And given the multiple fronts on which resistance efforts are being fought, how can social movements remain sustainable and impactful over the long-term?

**Ignacia Rodriguez** / Immigration Policy Advocate, National Immigration Law Center, UCLA School of Law '13

**Ameena Mirza Qazi** / Executive Director, National Lawyers Guild Los Angeles

**Zack Mohamed** / Los Angeles Organizer, Black Alliance for Just Immigration

**Melanie Yazzie** / Acting Assistant Professor, Gender & Sexuality Studies, UC Riverside

MODERATOR:

**Jasleen Kohli** / Director, Critical Race Studies Program, UCLA School of Law

4:00 – 4:15 pm Closing Remarks

**Jasleen Kohli** / Director, Critical Race Studies Program, UCLA School of Law

4:15 - 6:00 pm Reception



## SPEAKER BIOGRAPHIES



### Leisy Abrego

Leisy J. Abrego is Associate Professor in Chicana/o Studies at UCLA. Born in San Salvador, El Salvador, Leisy Abrego is a member of the first large wave of Salvadoran immigrants who arrived in Los Angeles in the early 1980s. Trained in sociology, she studies Latinx families, Central American migration, and the production of “illegality” through U.S. immigration laws. Her award-winning book, *Sacrificing Families: Navigating Laws, Labor, and Love Across Borders* (Stanford University Press, 2014), examines the well-being of Salvadoran immigrants and their families—both in the United States and in El Salvador—as these are shaped by immigration policies and gendered expectations. Her early research examines how immigration and educational policies shape the educational trajectories of undocumented students. More recently, she writes about how different subsectors of Latino immigrants internalize immigration policies differently and how this shapes their willingness to make claims in the United States. Her current research project examines the day-to-day lives of mixed status families after DACA. Her scholarship analyzing legal consciousness, illegality, and legal violence

has garnered numerous national awards. She also dedicates much of her time to supporting and advocating for refugees and immigrants by writing editorials and pro-bono expert declarations in asylum cases.



### Tendayi Achiume

Tendayi Achiume is Assistant Professor of Law at UCLA School of Law where she is a core faculty member of the Critical Race Studies Program and the Epstein Program in Public Interest Law and Policy. Her research and teaching interests lie in international human rights law, international refugee law, migration, international criminal justice, and property. In 2016 she was appointed to co-chair the 2016 Annual Meeting of the American Society of International Law. She earned her B.A. from Yale University and her J.D. from Yale Law School. After law school she clerked for Deputy Chief Justice Dikgang Moseneke and Justice Yvonne Mokgoro on the Constitutional Court of South Africa. Thereafter she represented refugees and migrants at Lawyers for Human Rights in Johannesburg, while teaching on the faculty of the International Human Rights Exchange Programme based at the University of the Witwatersrand. Prior to her current appointment at UCLA, she was a litigation associate at the New York office of Sullivan & Cromwell LLP. Her current research agenda explores the relationship between international law and the problem of xenophobia and her publications include

“The Fact of Xenophobia and the Fiction of State Sovereignty: A Reply to Blocher and Gulati,” forthcoming in *Columbia Human Rights Law Review Online* (2017) and “Beyond Prejudice: Structural Xenophobic Discrimination Against Refugees,” in 45(2) *Georgetown Journal of International Law* 323 (2014).



### Aslı Bâli

Aslı Bâli is Professor of Law at the UCLA School of Law and Director of the UCLA Center for Near Eastern Studies. She currently teaches Public International Law, International Human Rights, a seminar on the Laws of War and a Perspectives seminar on Third World Approaches to International Law. Professor Bâli is a graduate of Williams College, the University of Cambridge where she was a Herschel Smith Scholar, Yale Law School and Princeton University, where she earned her Ph.D. in Politics. During law school, she served as an editor of the *Yale Law Journal* and the *Yale Journal of International Law*, and as an articles editor of the *Yale Journal of Human Rights & Development*. After law school, she worked for the United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights and as an associate at Cleary Gottlieb Steen & Hamilton LLP, where she specialized in international transactions and sovereign representation. Professor Bâli currently serves as co-chair of the Advisory Board for the Middle East Division of Human Rights Watch and as an advisor to the national board of the Middle East Studies Association. Immediately prior to her appointment at UCLA, Professor Bâli served

as the Irving S. Ribicoff Fellow in Law at the Yale Law School. Professor Bâli’s principal scholarly interests lie in two areas: public international law—including human rights law and the law of the international security order—and comparative constitutional law, with a focus on the Middle East. Her current research examines questions of constitutional design in religiously-divided societies, which she explores in the recently-published volume that she co-edited *Constitution Writing Religion and Democracy* (Cambridge University Press, 2017). She has previously written on the nuclear non-proliferation regime, international legal arguments concerning humanitarian intervention, and the role of judicial independence in constitutional transitions. Professor Bâli’s recent scholarship has appeared or is forthcoming in the *American Journal of International Law Unbound*, *International Journal of Constitutional Law*, *UCLA Law Review*, *Yale Journal of International Law*, *Cornell Journal of International Law*, *Virginia Journal of International Law*, *Geopolitics*, *Studies in Law, Politics and Society* and edited volumes published by Cambridge University Press and Oxford University Press.



### Joseph Berra

Joseph Berra is Clinical and Experiential Project Director at UCLA School of Law. Since 2009, Professor Berra has served as an attorney for the Texas Civil Rights Project (TCRP) in Austin, where he was coordinator of the Disability Rights Program and the Austin Independent School District Equity Project. In this capacity he litigated cases in federal and state courts throughout Texas and supervised law students clerking with TCRP. Previously, Professor Berra had an independent law practice working in the areas of immigration law, civil rights, employment rights and international human rights from 2006-2009. As Executive Director of the Caribbean Central American Research Council (CCARC), Professor Berra led this non-profit organization from 2004-2006 carrying out research, education and advocacy involving issues of race, rights and resources in Central America. He continues to serve on the Board of Directors for CCARC. Professor Berra was a staff attorney at the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF) in San Antonio

from 2000-2004 where he coordinated the Immigrant Rights program of MALDEF’s San Antonio Regional Office. Professor Berra is a successful advocate and litigator whose many accomplishments include winning a major settlement in a racial profiling case against the city of Rogers, Arkansas, and winning political asylum cases for individuals fleeing persecution from all over the world. He represented on a pro bono basis Honduran Garifuna communities and the Organización Fraternal Negra Hondureña (Fraternal Black Organization of Honduras – OFRANEH) in land rights claims before the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights. Prior to his legal career he spent many years working in communities in Central America in a variety of roles including acting as the assistant director of a trade school for disenfranchised youth in Honduras, and as the Director of Social Ministries and Associate Pastor of the parish of San Antonio Abad, Archdiocese of San Salvador, El Salvador. As a member of the Board of Directors of CCARC, Professor Berra co-authored two studies in 2002 and 2007 to support the territorial claims of Afro-descendant and indigenous communities in Honduras. Professor Berra holds a J.D. from St. Mary’s University School of Law; an M.A. in Social Anthropology from the University of Texas at Austin; an M.Div. from the Universidad Centroamericana in San Salvador, El Salvador; and a B.A. in Philosophy from St. Louis University.



### **Cheryl Harris**

Cheryl I. Harris is the Rosalinde and Arthur Gilbert Foundation Chair in Civil Rights and Civil Liberties at UCLA School of Law where she teaches Constitutional Law, Civil Rights, Employment Discrimination, Critical Race Theory and Race Conscious Remedies. A graduate of Wellesley College and Northwestern School of Law, Professor Harris began her teaching career in 1990 at Chicago- Kent College of Law after working for one of Chicago's leading criminal defense firms and later serving as a senior legal advisor in the City Attorney's office as part of the reform administration of Mayor Harold Washington of Chicago. The interconnections between racial theory, civil rights practice, politics, and human rights have been important to her work. She was a key organizer of several major conferences that helped establish a dialogue between U.S. legal scholars and South African lawyers during the development of South Africa's first democratic constitution. This work played a significant role in the production of her acclaimed and influential article, "Whiteness as Property" (Harvard Law Review). Since joining the UCLA Law faculty in 1998, Professor Harris has continued to produce ground-

breaking scholarship in the field of Critical Race Theory, particularly engaging the issue of how racial frames shape our understanding and interpretation of significant events like Hurricane Katrina—"Whitewashing Race", in California Law Review), admissions policies ("The New Racial Preferences" in California Law Review)(with Carbado) and anti-discrimination law ("Reading Ricci: Whitening Discrimination, Race-ing Test Fairness" in UCLA Law Review) (with West-Faulcon). She has also lectured widely on issues of race and equality at leading institutions here and abroad, including in Europe, South Africa, and Australia, and has been a frequent contributor to various media outlets on current events and cases involving race and equality. Professor Harris has served as a consultant to the MacArthur Foundation and has been on the board of leading academic societies, including the American Studies Association. She has served as faculty director for the Critical Race Studies Program at UCLA Law School and has been widely recognized as a groundbreaking teacher in the area of civil rights education, receiving the ACLU Foundation of Southern California's Distinguished Professor Award for Civil Rights Education.



### **Jasleen Kohli**

Jasleen Kohli is the Director of the Critical Race Studies Program at UCLA School of Law. The Director of the Critical Race Studies Program is the primary administrator of the CRS specialization, and is also responsible for the development and management of CRS Program activities aimed at the broader law school community. Professor Kohli has practiced in the areas of civil rights, labor law, and policy development, and her work revolves around integrating Critical Race Theory principles into practice. Prior to joining UCLA Law, Professor Kohli served as policy analyst for the Los Angeles Alliance for a New Economy (LAANE), a leading advocacy organization dedicated to promoting sustainable economic development. At LAANE, Professor Kohli developed and advocated for innovative policies designed to address social inequality in the city's lowest wage sectors and authored the reports A Tale of Two Cities: How Long Beach's Investment in Downtown Tourism has Contributed to Poverty Next Door (2009) and Transforming the Gateway to L.A.: The Economic Benefits of a Sustainable Tourism Model (2009). Prior to her position at LAANE, Professor Kohli was the first in-house

counsel at UNITE HERE Local 11, the union representing hotel and food service workers. At UNITE HERE Local 11, she represented the union in arbitrations and proceedings before the National Labor Relations Board and developed and implemented legal strategies to advance union organizing campaigns. Professor Kohli received her J.D. from Harvard Law School and her B.A. from UC Berkeley with Highest Honors in English Literature, with an emphasis in postcolonial theory. While at Harvard Law, she served as a student attorney at the Harvard Legal Aid Bureau, representing low-income clients in family law matters, and co-directed and produced a highly regarded documentary on issues of race and legal pedagogy entitled Legally Black and Brown and Yellow and Red.



### **Zack Mohamed**

Zakaria (Zack) Mohamed is BAJI's Los Angeles Organizer and a Somali-born, Portland-bred, organizer, trainer, and movement strategist. At age five, Mr. Mohamed and his family fled their home country due to civil war, and arrived in the U.S. as refugees. Mr. Mohamed's commitment to social justice traces back to his family ties around organizing, advocacy and politics in Somalia. His maternal grandmother was part of a group of women who sought to free Somalia from colonialism by Italy/Great Britain while working with the uprising movement. Prior to BAJI, Mr. Mohamed served as the Leadership Development Coordinator at Unite Oregon. In this role Mr. Mohamed developed emerging immigrant and refugee leaders locally and statewide to learn the tools and ways of organizing, build solidarity under the umbrella term "immigrant," and navigate the intersections of race, gender, class and sexual orientation. Mr. Mohamed's organizing experience began as a student at Portland State University where, with the support of Western States Center, he and a Unite Oregon staff member developed an award-winning organizing, leadership development and advocacy initiative that

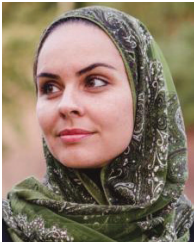
engaged queer and trans immigrants and refugees in the Pacific Northwest. Mr. Mohamed received his Bachelor of Arts in Economics from Portland State University (PSU) in 2013. Mr. Mohamed's hobbies include photography, music and reading manga. In his spare time, he refines his photography skills and works to build and diversify his music collection.



### **Priscilla Ocen**

Priscilla Ocen is an Associate Professor of Law at Loyola Law School, where she teaches criminal law, family law and a seminar on race, gender and the law. Her work examines the relationship between race and gender identities and punishment. In particular, Professor Ocen's scholarship has explored conditions of confinement within women's prisons and the race and gender implications of the use of practices such as shackling during labor and childbirth. She has also explored the ways in which race, gender and class interact to render women of color vulnerable to various forms of violence and criminalization. Her work has appeared in academic journals such as the California Law Review, the UCLA Law Review and the Du Bois Review as well as popular media outlets such as the Los Angeles Daily Journal, Ebony and Al Jazeera. Prior to joining the faculty at Loyola Law School, Professor Ocen was a Critical Race Studies fellow at UCLA School of Law, where she taught a course on Critical Race Theory and a seminar on Race, Gender and Incarceration. Additionally, Professor Ocen served as a law clerk to the Honorable Eric L. Clay of the U.S Court of Appeals for the Sixth

Circuit. Following her clerkship, she was the Thurgood Marshall Fellow at the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights of the San Francisco Bay Area, where she worked on various racial justice issues including voting rights, police misconduct, and conditions of confinement in women's prisons. Additionally, Professor Ocen spearheaded the creation of a Black Women's Reentry Project. Professor Ocen is also active in the community as she serves as a member of the board of directors for the Equal Justice Society, an organization dedicated to transforming the nation's consciousness on race through law, social science and the arts. Professor Ocen received her J.D. from the UCLA School of Law.



### **Ameena Mirza Qazi**

Ameena Mirza Qazi is the Executive Director of the Los Angeles chapter of the National Lawyers Guild. A civil rights attorney and activist, Ms. Qazi has worked on free speech, social and economic justice, discrimination, First Amendment, equal protection, and procedural due process issues. Formerly the Deputy Executive Director and Staff Attorney for the Council on American-Islamic Relations—Greater Los Angeles Area Chapter (CAIR-LA), the largest American Muslim civil rights and advocacy group, cases she's worked on include co-counseling a wrongful death action and §1983 claim against LAPD that resulted in a \$1.7million verdict, and co-counseling a class action lawsuit with the ACLU of Southern California and Hadsell, Stormer and Renick, LLP against the FBI for unlawful surveillance of the Southern California Muslim community. Ms. Qazi has spoken both nationally and internationally on civil rights issues affecting American Muslims, and has given dozens of community workshops and presentations. Prior to working at CAIR, Ms. Qazi clerked with the United Auto Workers legal department, as well as clerked for the Wayne State University Disability Rights Clinic and

the Civil Rights Litigation Clinic. She also worked on various research projects, including the Institute for Social Policy and Understanding's "Detroit Mosque Study" as well as PEW Foundation's "Muslim Americans: Middle Class and Mostly Mainstream." A member of the California State Bar, Ms. Qazi graduated with Cum Laude honors from Wayne State University School of Law, and graduated Magna Cum Laude from UCLA with a BA in Political Science. She is also proud to be on the advisory board of the South Asian Network (SAN) and the boards of the ACLU of Southern California and the Public Law Center.



### **Sherene Razack**

Sherene H. Razack is a Distinguished Professor and the Penney Kanner Endowed Chair in Women's Studies. Her research and teaching focus on racial violence. She is the founder of the virtual research and teaching network Racial Violence Hub (RVHub).



### **Ignacia Rodriguez**

Ignacia Rodriguez conducts legal research as well as legislative and administrative advocacy focusing on immigration executive actions and congressional action on immigration. She also engages in litigation, policy analysis, education, and advocacy to support the integration of low-income immigrant youth and children through access to education. Ms. Rodriguez's experience as an activist in the immigrants' rights movement and as an undocumented student from Chile has led to her devotion to improving the lives of low-income immigrants. While at UCLA School of Law, she worked with the Central American Resource Center (CARECEN), the Coalition for Humane Immigrant Rights of Los Angeles (CHIRLA), and Public Counsel. She holds an A.A. from Santa Monica College, a B.A. from UCLA, and a J.D. from the UCLA School of Law.



### **Ananya Roy**

Ananya Roy is Professor of Urban Planning and Social Welfare and inaugural Director of the Institute on Inequality and Democracy at UCLA Luskin. She holds The Meyer and Renee Luskin Chair in Inequality and Democracy. Professor Roy's research and scholarship has a determined focus on poverty and inequality and lies in four domains: how the urban poor in "world-class" cities, from Kolkata to Chicago, face and fight dispossession and displacement; how global financialization, working in varied realms from microfinance to real-estate speculation, creates new markets in debt and risk; how the efforts to manage and govern the problem of poverty reveal the contradictions and limits of liberal democracy; how economic prosperity and aspiration in the global South is creating new potentialities for programs of human development and social welfare. Professor Roy's authored books include *Poverty Capital: Microfinance and the Making of Development* (Routledge, 2010) for which she received the Paul Davidoff book award, which recognizes scholarship that advances social justice. Professor Roy is also a recipient of the Distinguished Teaching Award, the highest teaching

recognition that the University of California, Berkeley bestows on its faculty. A resident of Oakland, CA, for many years, her recent research uncovers how the "war on poverty" shaped that city and how also it became the terrain of militant politics as well as experiments with community development. This work appears in her co-edited book, *Territories of Poverty: Rethinking North and South* (University of Georgia Press, 2015). Professor Roy's ongoing research examines what she calls the "urban land question," in India, as well as in globally interconnected nodes across North and South. Her concern is with how poor people's movements challenge evictions and foreclosures, creating political openings for new legal and policy frameworks for the use and regulation of urban land and thereby engender new meanings of property and personhood.



### **Gary Segura**

Before beginning his appointment as Dean at UCLA Luskin in January 2017, Gary Segura served as the Morris M. Doyle Centennial Professor of Public Policy, professor of political science, and professor and former chair of Chicana/o-Latina/o studies at Stanford University. A member of the Stanford faculty since 2008, he was a faculty affiliate of African and African American studies; American studies; feminist, gender and sexuality studies; Latin American studies; and urban studies. In addition, he was the director of the Center for American Democracy and the director of the Institute on the Politics of Inequality, Race and Ethnicity at Stanford. In 2010, Professor Segura was elected as a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. Prior to joining Stanford, he was a member of the faculty at the University of Washington (2005-08), the University of Iowa (2001-05), Claremont Graduate University (1996-2001) and the University of California, Davis (1991-96). Professor Segura received a B.A. magna cum laude in political science from Loyola University of the South, and an A.M. and a Ph.D. in political science from the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. His research

focuses on issues of political representation and social cleavages, the domestic politics of wartime public opinion and the politics of America's growing Latino minority. Professor Segura has published more than 55 articles and chapters, and he is a co-editor of "Diversity in Democracy: Minority Representation in the United States" and a co-author of four books — "Latino America: How America's Most Dynamic Population is Poised to Transform the Politics of the Nation," "Latinos in the New Millennium: An Almanac of Opinion, Behavior, and Policy Preferences," "The Future is Ours: Minority Politics, Political Behavior, and the Multiracial Era of American Politics," and "Latino Lives in America: Making It Home." Active in professional service, he has served on numerous committees and



editorial boards, and he is a past president of the Western Political Science Association, Midwest Political Science Association and Latino Caucus in Political Science. From 2009 to 2015, he was the co-principal investigator of the American National Election Studies. Moreover, he has briefed members of Congress and senior administration officials on issues related to Latinos, served as an expert witness in three marriage equality cases heard by the Supreme Court, and has filed amicus curiae briefs on subjects as diverse as voting rights, marriage equality and affirmative action.



### **Shannon Speed**

Shannon Speed is a citizen of the Chickasaw Nation. She is Director of the American Indian Studies Center and an Associate Professor of Gender Studies and Anthropology at UCLA. Dr. Speed has worked for the last two decades in Mexico and in the U.S. with indigenous immigrant women on issues of indigenous autonomy, sovereignty, gender, violence, and social justice. She has published five books and edited volumes, including *Rights in Rebellion: Human Rights and Indigenous Struggle in Chiapas*. She has published numerous journal articles and book chapters in English and Spanish, as well as two books in Spanish. Her current research project is called *States of Violence: Indigenous Women Migrants and Human Rights in the Era of Neoliberal Multicriminalism*.



### **Sherod Thaxton**

Sherod Thaxton is Assistant Professor of Law at the UCLA School of Law. Prior to joining the law faculty, he was the Earl B. Dickerson Fellow and Lecturer in Law at the University of Chicago Law School and a staff attorney in the Capital Habeas Unit of the Office of the Federal Defender for the Eastern District of California. His primary research and teaching interests are in the areas of criminal law and procedure, capital punishment, habeas corpus, the sociology of law, and empirical legal studies. After receiving his undergraduate degree in political science from the University of California at Davis, Professor Thaxton enrolled in the sociology program at Emory University and studied under the direction of Robert Agnew. While pursuing his graduate studies, he was the principal investigator of the Death Penalty Tracking Project for the Office of the Multi-County Public Defender in Atlanta, Georgia. At Emory, he earned his master's and doctoral degrees—specializing in criminology and social psychology—and was selected as a finalist

for the American Sociological Association Dissertation Award. Professor Thaxton received his law degree from the University of Chicago Law School where he was a John M. Olin Fellow in Law and Economics, an Academy of Achievement student honoree, and a Public Interest Law Prize recipient. He was also an editor of the University of Chicago Law Review and the University of Chicago Legal Forum—the only member of his graduating class to serve on multiple journals. Prior to law school, he was a Soros Justice Postgraduate Fellow at the Open Society Institute of the Soros Foundation in New York, and a Law and Social Science Doctoral Fellow at the American Bar Foundation in Chicago. Professor Thaxton's scholarship incorporates theoretical and methodological insights from the social sciences to evaluate legal concepts, legal doctrines, legal actors, and legal institutions. He is currently engaged in projects examining charging and plea-bargaining in both death penalty and non-death penalty contexts, state-level procedural sentencing law, and the behavioral underpinnings of substantive criminal law and sentencing law. His recent scholarship appears in the *Journal of Criminal Law & Criminology*, the *Journal of Criminal Justice*, the *European Journal of Criminology*, and the *Australian & New Zealand Journal of Criminology*.



### **Melanie Yazzie**

Melanie K. Yazzie is a citizen of the Navajo Nation. She is a University of California President's Postdoctoral Fellow with the Department of Gender Studies at the University of California Los Angeles. She is also Acting Assistant Professor of Gender and Sexuality Studies at the University of California Riverside. She holds a PhD in American Studies from the University of New Mexico. She specializes in Diné studies, Native feminist and queer studies, American Indian history, social and political theory, the history and politics of water, and Indigenous resistance movements. She is the vice president of Navajo Studies Conference, Inc., a non-profit dedicated to the development of Navajo Studies, and co-founder of The Red Nation, an activist coalition advocating the liberation of Native people from colonialism and capitalism.



### **Noah Zatz**

Noah D. Zatz is Professor of Law at UCLA, where he is faculty co-director of the Critical Race Studies Program, Associate Director of the Institute for Research on Labor and Employment, and a core faculty member of the Epstein Program in Public Interest Law & Policy. His research focuses on law and policy concerning low-wage and no-wage work, especially at their intersections with civil rights, public benefits, family law, immigration, and criminal justice. His current work examines how threats of racialized state violence force people in the United States into precarious and underpaid work situations. Zatz teaches courses including *Reentry, Work & Race*; *Employment Discrimination Law*; and *Public Benefits Law & Antipoverty Policy*. He collaborates with a number of community organizations in LA on issues relating to work, race, and mass incarceration and is active in the sanctuary cities movement. Previously, he worked as a Skadden Fellow and Staff Attorney at the National Employment Law Project (NELP) in New York

City. He clerked for Judge Kimba M. Wood and Judge Guido Calabresi and has been a fellow at Princeton University's Program in Law and Public Affairs and a visiting professor at the University of Chicago Law School and at Yale Law School. Professor Zatz also is a Senior Contributor at the OnLabor blog.



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NOTES

# NOTES



