



20 YEARS CENTER
FOR
REPRODUCTIVE
RIGHTS

WORKSHOP

Engaging Tradition and Stigma: Divergent Trends in Reproductive and Sexual Rights

Friday, May 4, 2012

Jerome Greene Lounge, Jerome Greene Annex
Columbia Law School

Program of Events

Thursday, May 3, 2012

7:30 p.m. DINNER
Calle Ocho
45 West 81st Street

Friday, May 4, 2012

Jerome Greene Lounge, Jerome Green Annex, Columbia Law School (410 West 117th Street)

8:30 a.m. BREAKFAST

9:00 a.m. INTRODUCTIONS

9:30 a.m. WHY WE ARE HERE AND WHAT WE MEAN BY STIGMA

10:00 a.m. THE STORY OF ABORTION STIGMA AND
REFLECTIONS
Moderator: **Diana Hortsch**

10:50 a.m. THE STORY OF HIV/AIDS STIGMA AND
REFLECTIONS
Moderator: **Katherine Franke**

11:40 a.m. COFFEE BREAK

12:00 p.m. THE STORY OF LESBIAN/GAY STIGMA AND
REFLECTIONS
Moderator: **Urvashi Vaid**

12:50 p.m. LUNCH

2:00 p.m. WHAT MOVES THE NEEDLE?
Moderator: **Diana Hortsch**

3:30 p.m. COFFEE BREAK

3:45 p.m. TRADEOFFS AND STRATEGIC CHOICES
Moderator: **Katherine Franke**

5:15 p.m. CONCLUSION

6:00 p.m. COCKTAIL RECEPTION
Faculty House
64 Morningside Drive

Participants

Paula Abrams, Jeffrey Bain Faculty Scholar and Professor of Law, Lewis & Clark Law School

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Paula Abrams is the Jeffrey Bain Faculty Scholar and Professor of Law at Lewis & Clark Law School. Her research interests are in the areas of constitutional rights and human rights. Her scholarship focuses primarily on reproductive rights in domestic and international law. Her most recent article is “The Scarlet Letter: The Supreme Court and the Language of Abortion Stigma.” Professor Abrams is the author of *Cross Purposes*, a book on the landmark Supreme Court Case, *Pierce v. Society of Sisters*. She is a graduate of the University of Michigan and the University of California, Berkeley School of Law. Prior to joining the faculty at Lewis & Clark, Abrams worked in Washington, D.C., for the Executive Office of the President, and in Oregon as executive director of both the Oregon Judicial Fitness Commission and the Oregon Commission on the Judicial Branch. She teaches courses in constitutional law, including comparative constitutional law and reproduction and the law, and a course in international art law. In 2010, Professor Abrams received the Leo Levinson Award for Excellence in Teaching.

Erez Aloni, CRR-CLS Fellow, Center for Reproductive Rights and Columbia Law School

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Erez Aloni is the 2011-2013 Center for Reproductive Rights-Columbia Law School Fellow. He holds an S.J.D. and LL.M. from the University of Pennsylvania Law School, where he taught a seminar on Sexuality and the Law. His research focuses on the legal recognition of non-marital relationships in the United States and Europe, and the intersection between sexual and reproductive rights. He has published articles with the NYU Review of Law and Social Change, the *Duke Journal of Gender Law and Policy*, and the *Tulane Law Review*. Prior to studying at Penn, Erez worked at one of Israel's leading law firms, M. Firon and Co., in the field of constitutional litigation.

Katrina Anderson, Human Rights Counsel, Center for Reproductive Rights

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Katrina Anderson first worked at the Center from 2006-2009 as a Blackmun Litigation Fellow, and then returned in 2011 in her current position as a Human Rights Attorney. She leads the Center's work to integrate international human rights strategies into domestic legal advocacy. Her work prioritizes engagement with the United Nations system to hold the U.S. government accountable to its international obligations under human rights treaties and other global standards.

Katrina developed and leads the Center's advocacy strategy to achieve recognition of reproductive healthcare providers as women's human rights defenders. Such recognition triggers obligations for the U.S. government to protect abortion providers dealing with threats, legal restrictions, and harassment that jeopardize their human rights and those of their patients. She conceptualized the Center's ground-breaking report “Defending Human Rights: Abortion Providers Under Siege” about the situation of abortion providers in six U.S. states. This report and related advocacy prompted the UN Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights defenders to categorize providers as human rights defenders for the first time in December 2010. In 2008, Katrina authored the Center's shadow report to the UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination for its periodic review of the United States. This advocacy resulted in recommendations by

the CERD Committee to the U.S. government to identify racial disparities in sexual and reproductive health as a form of discrimination, and take positive steps to eliminate them.

Katrina has lived and worked extensively outside the United States, including most recently in the Netherlands, where she served as Legal Officer for the Women's Initiatives for Gender Justice. Prior to joining the Center, she worked in Thailand and Cambodia for several years documenting human rights abuses against women and girls.

She is a graduate of the University of Virginia (B.A. in English), Seattle University School of Law (J.D., summa cum laude) and American University Washington College of Law (LL.M. in International Legal Studies).

Scott Burris, Professor of Law, Temple University Beasley School of Law
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Scott Burris, J.D., is a Professor of Law at Temple Law School, where he directs the Center for Health Law, Policy and Practice, and the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation's Public Health Law Research program. He is also Associate Director of the Centers for Law and the Public's Health: A Collaborative at Johns Hopkins and Georgetown Universities.

Burris began his career in public health law during the early days of the HIV/AIDS epidemic. He was the editor of the first systematic legal analysis of HIV in the United States, *AIDS and the Law: A Guide for the Public* (Yale University Press, 1987; *New Guide for the Public* published 1993), and spent several years lobbying and litigating on behalf of people with HIV as an attorney at the American Civil Liberties Union. Since joining the Temple faculty in 1991, his research has focused on how law influences public health and health behavior.

He is the author of over 100 books, book chapters, articles and reports on issues including discrimination against people with HIV and other disabilities; HIV policy; research ethics; and the health effects of criminal law and drug policy. His current research topics include health governance, the regulation of sexual behavior, harm reduction and human research subject protection. He has been particularly interested in developing theory and methods aimed at promoting effective local health governance. His work has been supported by organizations including the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, the Open Society Institute, and the National Institutes of Health and the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention.

He has served as a consultant on public health law with organizations ranging from the United Nations Development Programme and the American Psychological Association to the Institute of Medicine and the producers of the Oscar-winning film *Philadelphia*. He is a member of the Law, Policy and Ethics Core of the Center for Interdisciplinary Research on AIDS at Yale, and serves as an advisor to the Tsinghua University AIDS Institute, the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences Research Center for HIV/AIDS Public Policy and the Program in Bioethics at Monash University. Burris is a graduate of Washington University in St. Louis and Yale Law School.

Elizabeth Castelli, Professor of Religion and Chair of the Religion Department, Barnard College
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Elizabeth A. Castelli is Professor and Chair of the Religion Department. In the 2011-2012 academic year, she is also Acting Director of the Barnard Center for Research on Women.

Castelli is a specialist in biblical studies, early Christianity, and feminist/gender studies in religion. She is the author and editor of several books, including her 2004 monograph, *Martyrdom and Memory: Early Christian Culture Making* (Columbia UP) and the 2001 anthology, *Women, Gender, and Religion: A Reader* (Palgrave). More recently, she has published several articles on the use of the language of martyrdom, persecution, and religious freedom in contemporary Christian political movements in the US and abroad. She has just finished a translation of Italian filmmaker Pier Paolo Pasolini's *San Paolo*, the never-produced script for a film about St. Paul, which will be published later this year by Verso UK. She is also working on a collection of essays on the theme of confession.

Castelli is the founding editor of the scholarly journal *Postscripts: The Journal of Sacred Texts and Contemporary Worlds*. She serves on the editorial boards of the *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* and the *Journal of Early Christian Studies*, and she is an advisory board member of the Center for Religion and Media at New York University. Prior to entering academia, she worked as Executive Director of the Rhode Island Council on Domestic Violence, a coalition of the state's shelters for battered women.

Kevin Cathcart, Executive Director, Lambda Legal
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Kevin M. Cathcart, Executive Director of Lambda Legal since 1992, is a leading strategist and spokesperson in the movement to achieve full recognition of the civil rights of lesbians, gay men, bisexuals, transgender people and people with HIV. Cathcart has made Lambda Legal an unparalleled national force through its far-reaching litigation and public education. Under his leadership, Lambda Legal promotes security, respect and fairness for lesbian and gay youth, families and all people, regardless of sexual orientation or HIV status.

Lambda Legal's groundbreaking work reached new heights in 2003 when it won a U.S. Supreme Court victory striking down Texas' "Homosexual Conduct" law and every law like it in the nation. Lambda Legal was lead counsel in the case, representing two men who were arrested in Houston while having consensual sex at home. The landmark ruling continues to impact all areas of LGBT people's lives, and Cathcart has mapped out a wide-ranging strategy for Lambda Legal to turn its historic court victory into a reality in people's everyday lives. In 2009, Lambda Legal won a historic and unanimous victory for marriage equality in Iowa, extending the organization's record of groundbreaking accomplishments.

Other unique programs begun during Cathcart's tenure include Lambda Legal's Foster Care Initiative to improve care of lesbian and gay youth in foster care, whose needs go largely unmet throughout the country. With its Marriage Project, Lambda Legal plays a leading role in litigation and education to win the freedom to marry.

Cathcart has fostered dramatic growth in the organization as well as in the scope of its work. He oversaw the opening of Lambda Legal's second regional office, the Midwest Regional Office in Chicago in 1993, followed by the opening of the Southern Regional Office in Atlanta and the South Central Regional Office in Dallas. From its regional offices, including the Western Regional Office in Los Angeles and from its New York Headquarters, Lambda Legal responds to requests for help and information from thousands of individuals facing discrimination each year. Since Cathcart took Lambda Legal's helm, the staff has more than quadrupled and the organization's budget has grown to just over \$10 million.

A longtime leader in the lesbian and gay community, Cathcart served from 1984 to 1992 as executive director of Gay & Lesbian Advocates & Defenders (GLAD) in Boston, New England's lesbian, gay, and AIDS legal

organization. Prior to GLAD, Cathcart was a staff attorney at the North Shore Children's Law Project. He also serves on the Steering Committee of the LGBT Executive Director's Institute. Cathcart graduated from Richard Stockton State College (New Jersey) in 1976 and the Harvard Graduate School of Education in 1978. He received his J.D. from Northeastern School of Law in 1982.

Kate Cockrill, MPH, Research Analyst and Project Manager at ASNIRH, UCSF
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Kate Cosby Cockrill, MPH, is a research analyst and project manager at ANSIRH. She currently directs the Social and Emotional Aspects of Abortion Program and leads the Measuring Abortion Stigma team, which is developing and testing an abortion stigma scale to measure stigma experienced by women who have abortions. She is also developing a framework for understanding abortion stigma that connects lived experiences of abortion to stigma theory. Ms. Cockrill has a MPH from UC Berkeley and has 10 years of experience in the field of abortion care and women's health. Prior to graduate school she worked at the Feminist Women's Health Center in Atlanta, Georgia, the Fayetteville Women's Clinic in Fayetteville, Arkansas and the National Abortion Federation in Washington, DC.

Rebecca Cook, Professor in the Faculty of Law, and Co-Director, International Reproductive and Sexual Health Law Programme, University of Toronto
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A.B. (Barnard), M.A. (Tufts), M.P.A. (Harvard), J.D. (Georgetown), LL.M. (Columbia), J.S.D. (Columbia), called to the Bar of Washington, D.C., is a Professor in the Faculty of Law, the Faculty of Medicine and the Joint Centre for Bioethics at the University of Toronto; and Co-Director, International Reproductive and Sexual Health Law Programme, University of Toronto. She is ethical and legal issues co-editor of the *International Journal of Gynecology and Obstetrics*, and serves on the editorial advisory boards of *Human Rights Quarterly* and *Reproductive Health Matters*. She has written over two hundred publications in the areas of international human rights, the law relating to women's health and feminist ethics. She is the recipient of the Certificate of Recognition for Outstanding Contribution to Women's Health by the International Federation of Gynecologists and Obstetricians, the Ludwik and Estelle Jus Memorial Human Rights Prize, and is a Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada. Her publications include: *Human Rights of Women: National and International Perspectives*, (1994), which is also available in a revised Spanish edition (*Derechos Humanos de La Mujer: Perspectivas Nacionales e Internacionales, Profamilia, Colombia*) and *Reproductive Health and Human Rights: Integrating Medicine, Ethics and Law*, with Bernard M. Dickens and Mahmoud F. Fathalla (Oxford University Press, 2003). Her latest book, *Stereotyping Women: Transnational Legal Perspectives*, was co-authored by Simone Cusack and published by University of Pennsylvania Press in 2010, and is forthcoming in Spanish.

Jon W. Davidson, Legal Director, Lambda Legal
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Jon W. Davidson is Legal Director at Lambda Legal, the largest and oldest national legal organization committed to achieving full recognition of the civil rights of lesbians, gay men, bisexuals, transgender people and those with HIV. Based in the organization's Western Regional Office, he is responsible for strategically guiding Lambda Legal's legal work and supervising the organization's attorneys, Legal Help Desk specialists, and legal assistants in all five of Lambda Legal's offices.

In his more than 18 years at Lambda Legal, Davidson has been counsel in cases that have won lesbians and gay men the freedom to marry; protected domestic partner benefits against attack; championed the rights of LGBT students; secured asylum for LGBT people persecuted in their home countries; and put an end to HIV-related discrimination in employment, insurance and public accommodations. Davidson also has helped reform antigay practices of the Los Angeles Police Department and was the co-drafter of AB 205, California's comprehensive Domestic Partner Rights and Responsibilities Act.

Davidson joined Lambda Legal in 1995, and previously served as Senior Counsel in its Western Regional Office. Prior to that, Davidson was head of the Lesbian and Gay Rights Project of the ACLU of Southern California, whose staff he joined in 1988. From 1980 to 1988, Davidson was an associate, and then a partner, at Irell & Manella, one of Los Angeles's leading law firms, where he specialized in litigation involving the media and the entertainment industry.

From 1979 to 1980, Davidson served as a law clerk to Hon. William Matthew Byrne, Jr., of the United States District Court for the Central District of California. Davidson has been an Adjunct Professor of Law at the UCLA School of Law, University of Southern California Law Center, Loyola Law School, and Whittier Law School, where he has taught law classes dealing with sexual orientation and HIV-related issues. The Stanford University and Yale Law School graduate also has served as an advisory member of the Subcommittee on Sexual Orientation Fairness of the California State Judicial Council's Committee on Access and Fairness and of the Legal Advisory Committee to Los Angeles's HIV and AIDS Legal Services Alliance. In 2010, Davidson was presented with the Dan Bradley Award by the National LGBT Bar Association, the organization's highest honor.

Joanna N. Erdman, Information Society Project's Program Fellow for the Study of Reproductive Justice at Yale Law School
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Joanna Erdman, BA (Toronto) 2001, J.D. (Toronto) 2004, LL.M. (Harvard) 2006, is a 2011-2012 fellow with the Information Society Project's Program for the Study of Reproductive Justice at Yale Law School. Joanna's primary scholarship concerns sexual and reproductive health law in a transnational context. Joanna recently completed a five-year appointment as Co-Director of the International Reproductive and Sexual Health Law Programme and founding Director of the Health Equity and Law Clinic at the Faculty of Law, University of Toronto, Canada. In July 2012, Joanna will join the Schulich School of Law at Dalhousie University (Halifax, Canada) as the inaugural MacBain Chair in Health Law and Policy.

Katherine Franke, Isidor and Seville Sulzbacher Professor of Law & Director of the Center for Gender and Sexuality Law, Columbia University School of Law
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Katherine Franke is the Isidor and Seville Sulzbacher Professor of Law, and Director of the Center for Gender & Sexuality Law at Columbia Law School. She is also on the Executive Committee of Columbia's Institute for Research on Women and Gender and works closely with the Center for Palestine Studies. She is among the nation's leading scholars working at the intersections of feminist, queer, and critical race theory. In addition to her scholarly research she writes regularly for a more popular audience in the Gender & Sexuality Law Blog and is on the Board of Directors of the Center for Constitutional Rights. She was awarded a Guggenheim Fellowship in 2011 to write a book on the curious role of the right to marry in larger civil rights struggles, comparing African Americans in the immediate post Civil War period with same-sex couples today.

Jordan Goldberg, State Advocacy Counsel, Center for Reproductive Rights
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Jordan Goldberg is the State Advocacy Counsel for the U.S. Legal Program at the Center for Reproductive Rights. Ms. Goldberg's work includes legal analyses of state legislative proposals affecting women's reproductive rights, technical assistance to local advocates on state legislative issues, and the development and promotion of pro-active legislative and policy strategies. Prior to joining the Center as a Legal Fellow in 2008, Ms. Goldberg clerked for the Honorable Barry T. Albin, Associate Justice of the New Jersey Supreme Court. Ms. Goldberg has a background in both politics and communications; she held a range of positions on political campaigns in West Virginia, Massachusetts and New York, worked in the New York State Senate, and served as a communications consultant for progressive nonprofit groups working on women's rights and reproductive rights issues. Ms. Goldberg received her J.D. magna cum laude from Fordham University School of Law and holds a BFA in Film and Television from New York University, where she also studied Politics.

Suzanne Goldberg, Herbert and Doris Wechsler Clinical Professor of Law & Director of the Center for Gender and Sexuality Law
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Suzanne B. Goldberg is the Herbert and Doris Wechsler Clinical Law Professor at Columbia Law School, where she also founded and directs the Sexuality and Gender Law Clinic and co-directs the Center for Gender & Sexuality Law. Through the Clinic, Professor Goldberg regularly submits amicus briefs in gender and sexuality cases, including *Perry v. Schwarzenegger* and other marriage equality cases. Her academic writing has focused on barriers to equality, most recently regarding antidiscrimination law frameworks and, separately, the evolution of equality law related to social groups. Prior to entering academia, Professor Goldberg spent nearly a decade as a lawyer with Lambda Legal, where she was counsel on a wide range of cases, including *Romer v. Evans* and *Lawrence v. Texas*, where she represented John Lawrence and Tyrone Garner in the state courts, and *Romer v. Evans*. Professor Goldberg graduated with honors from Harvard Law School in 1990 and from Brown University in 1985, and was a Fulbright Fellow at the National University of Singapore from 1985-86.

Kirk Grisham, Staff Associate, Department of Sociomedical Sciences, Mailman School of Public Health
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Kirk Grisham BA, MPH(c) has worked in various health care and labor justice organizations throughout New York, building on the experience he gained working in the Oakland Public Schools and at the Ella Baker Center for Human Rights in California. He currently works at Columbia University's Mailman School of Public Health as a researcher in the Department of Sociomedical Sciences. He is part of a dynamic team that focuses on the socio-economic, sexual, and health contexts of young African-American men who have sex with men. He is the Project Director of the You & Me Study, which aims to learn more about partner dynamics among Black, White, and interracial couples. Kirk focuses his writing, activism and scholastic exploration on race and gender in health, housing, and welfare, and has particular interest in HIV stigma and criminalization, technology, and citizenship. His writing has been featured on websites such as Black AIDS Institute, Colorlines, The Feminist Wire, AlterNet, Youth Outlook, AIDS Connect, National Sexuality Resource Center, KenyonFarrow.com, and others.

Greg Herek, Professor of Psychology, UC Davis
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Gregory M. Herek is a Professor of Psychology at the University of California at Davis (UCD), where he teaches graduate and undergraduate courses on prejudice, sexual orientation, and survey research methodology. An internationally recognized authority on prejudice against sexual minorities, anti-gay violence, and AIDS-related stigma, he has published more than 100 scholarly papers and has edited 7 volumes on these and related topics.

In addition to his teaching and scholarship, Professor Herek has worked extensively to communicate the findings of scientific research to legislators, the courts, and policy makers. He has served as an expert witness and consultant for numerous legal cases involving the civil rights of lesbians and gay men. These include *Gill v. Office of Personnel Management*, the Massachusetts case challenging the federal Defense of Marriage Act, and *Perry v. Schwarzenegger*, the California case challenging the constitutionality of Proposition 8. Dr. Herek's testimony was cited repeatedly in Judge Vaughn Walker's ruling that struck down Proposition 8.

In addition, he has assisted the American Psychological Association (APA) in preparing amicus briefs for federal and state court cases challenging the constitutionality of state marriage laws, state sodomy laws, state antigay ballot propositions, military policies excluding lesbians and gay men, and state laws prohibiting adoption and foster parenting by lesbians and gay men. In 2011, he was an invited expert witness for hearings by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights on Federal Enforcement of Civil Rights Laws to Protect Students Against Bullying, Violence and Harassment. At the invitation of the National Academy of Sciences, he was a member of the Institute of Medicine's Committee on Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Health Issues, which issued an historic report in 2011, *The health of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender people*.

Professor Herek is a Fellow of the APA, the Association for Psychological Science, and several other professional societies. He has received numerous professional awards, including the 1996 APA Early Career Award for Distinguished Contributions to Psychology in the Public Interest and the 2006 Kurt Lewin Memorial Award for "outstanding contributions to the development and integration of psychological research and social action," presented by the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues (APA Division 9). In 2010, he received the Distinguished Humanitarian Contribution Award from the California Psychological Association, and the Distinguished Scholarly Public Service Award from the University of California, Davis.

Leila Hessini, Director of Women's Organizing and Community Outreach, Ipas
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Leila Hessini serves as Director of women's organizing and community outreach at Ipas, a global organization that promotes women's sexual and reproductive rights. She co-founded Strategic Analysis for Gender Equity promoting gender and economic justice and global equity. She is chair of the Global Fund for Women Board and serves on the boards of the SisterSong Women of Color Reproductive Health Collective, the Women's Global Network for Reproductive Rights and IPPF's Safe Abortion Fund. Leila has published widely on issues related to North African women's activism and scholarship, reproductive rights and social justice.

Diana Hortsch, Senior Director of the Law School Initiative, Center for Reproductive Rights
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Diana has extensive experience building programs and working with U.S. Law Schools. She is the former director of the Global Public Service Law Project at NYU where she also served as Lecturer-in-Law, teaching a course on comparative strategies for using law to bring about social change in a number of countries including India, South Africa, Kenya, Brazil, Argentina and China. She has also worked as an independent consultant providing services in the areas of human rights program development, education, and training to NGOs, universities, and funders. Most recently, she worked as a consultant for the Governance and Civil Society Unit at the Ford Foundation.

Diana is a graduate of Bryn Mawr College and New York University School of Law and a former clerk to Magistrate Judge Cheryl Pollak.

Chris Iseli, Director of Communications, Center for Reproductive Rights
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Chris Iseli joined the Center for Reproductive Rights as Director of Communications in 2011, returning to an issue of deep personal interest after a career of more than 15 years in nonprofit communications that has also included work in higher education and on child welfare issues.

Immediately before coming to the Center, Mr. Iseli served as Director of Communications for Children's Rights, a national legal advocacy organization working to reform failing foster care systems and improve outcomes for the more than 800,000 abused and neglected children who pass through U.S. child welfare systems each year. For more than 10 years prior, he was a publicist, copywriter and editor, and then communications director for Goucher College in Baltimore, MD.

A native of Washington, DC, Mr. Iseli grew up in the Maryland suburbs and lived in Los Angeles and Baltimore before settling at last in New York City. In addition to his work in nonprofit communications, he has written widely as a freelance journalist and performed extensively as a guitarist and bassist with two Baltimore-area bands.

Mr. Iseli is a graduate of the Philip Merrill College of Journalism at the University of Maryland, College Park.

Peg Johnston, Director, Southern Tier Women's Services
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Peg Johnston has been director of an abortion facility in Binghamton, NY since 1981 and has been active on the national stage in her efforts to provide compassionate abortion care for women. She is a past president of the Abortion Care Network, the Abortion Conversation Project, and the National Coalition of Abortion Providers, all of which addressed stigma in their mission. She is also the primary author of several patient aides, notably the Pregnancy Options Workbooks, Healthy Coping, Mom, Dad, I'm Pregnant, and Especially for Men. She has also written several influential essays, including, "Opting Out of the Abortion Wars," "We Have Met the Enemy and S/he is Us," and "Lose the Adjective." In the 70's and 80's Peg was active in Herizon, a lesbian social and cultural space.

Ali Miller, Associate Scholar for International Human Rights, Yale Law School
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Alice Miller is an Associate Scholar for International Human Rights at Yale Law School, as well as an Assistant Clinical Professor in the Yale School of Public Health and a Lecturer in Global Affairs at the

Jackson Institute for Global Affairs at the Whitney and Betty MacMillan Center for International and Area Studies. An expert in gender, sexuality, health and international human rights, Miller previously taught at the University of California, Berkeley School of Law, where she was faculty director of the Women's Institute for Leadership Development, and at Columbia University, where she was co-director of the Institute for the Study of Human Rights. She holds a B.A. from Harvard and a J.D. from University of Washington School of Law.

Previously, Professor Miller served as a visiting professor at the Sexuality and Rights Institute, Pune/Khandala, India and Istanbul, Turkey, 2002-2009, and was also a visiting professor at the University of Amsterdam, International School, The Netherlands for their Summer Institute on Sexuality, Culture, and Society, July 2001-2008. In 2010-2011, she was the Center for Reproductive Rights Innovation in Scholarship Awardee. Professor Miller has also undertaken many important projects and consultancies with international and national NGOs and UN Agencies, serving as an expert on human rights norm development in the areas of health, reproduction and sexuality for the WHO, IPPF and the International Council on Human Rights Policy. Professor Miller also sits on Advisory Boards for Human Rights Watch and the International Gay and Lesbian Human Rights Commission, and serves as a manuscript reviewer for a number of peer reviewed journals, including *American Journal of Public Health*, *Health and Human Rights: An International Quarterly Journal* and *Reproductive Health Matters*.

Aisha C. Moodie-Mills, Advisor, LGBT Policy & Racial Justice, Center for American Progress
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Aisha C. Moodie-Mills is the Advisor for LGBT Policy & Racial Justice at American Progress, where her work with the FIRE Initiative explores the intersections of race, sexual orientation, economics, and public policy. She has been recognized as one of the top "Forty Under 40" national LGBT leaders by *The Advocate*, and as one of *The Root's* 100 emerging and established leaders in the African-American community.

Aisha has also been a key strategist and spokesperson on behalf of same-sex marriage in the District of Columbia, where she served as the president of D.C.'s marriage equality campaign as the district became the fifth jurisdiction/state in the country to extend marriage rights to lesbian and gay couples. She and her wife Danielle were among the first same-sex couples to receive a marriage license in D.C., and their wedding was the first lesbian wedding to be featured by *Essence* magazine online.

Throughout her career, Aisha has served as a political advisor, private-sector liaison, and fundraiser to more than 50 members of Congress including six senators and the Congressional Black Caucus. Prior to her work at CAP, she was the president of Synergy Strategy Group, a boutique fundraising and political consulting firm where she has raised millions of dollars for progressive candidates and advocacy organizations while helping them to amplify their voice in the public policy arena and expand their political reach.

Before Synergy, she served as the executive director of the Congressional Black Caucus's Political Action Committee, regional finance director at the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, and as an independent consultant to a host of progressive advocacy organizations and political campaigns. She cut her teeth in electoral politics as a member of the Human Rights Campaign's campaign corps.

Aisha began her career in education policy and nonprofit management at the Center for Education Reform. She holds two degrees from the University of Maryland, College Park: a master of business administration from the R.H. Smith School of Business and a bachelor's degree in psychology. She is a member of Net

Impact, a global network of leaders who are changing the world through business, and the National Black MBA Association. A native of Willingboro, N.J., she and Danielle reside in Washington, D.C.

Kimberly M. Mutcherson, Associate Professor, Rutgers School of Law-Camden
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Kimberly Mutcherson is a graduate of Columbia Law School where she was a recipient of the Samuel I. Rosenman Prize for excellence in public law courses and outstanding qualities of citizenship and leadership in the Law School as well as the Kirkland and Ellis Fellowship for post-graduate public interest work. Prior to joining the faculty at Rutgers School of Law–Camden, Professor Mutcherson was an Acting Assistant Professor of Lawyering at the New York University School of Law, a consulting attorney at the Center for Reproductive Law and Policy (now the Center for Reproductive Rights), and a Staff Attorney at the HIV Law Project.

Professor Mutcherson teaches Torts, Health Law Policy: The Global HIV/AIDS Epidemic, Family Law, South African Constitutional Law, and Bioethics, Babies, & Babymaking. She has served as a Visiting Scholar at the Center for Bioethics at the University of Pennsylvania and as a fellow at the Institute for Research on Women at Rutgers University. Her scholarly work encompasses family and health law with an emphasis on using health law topics to study the relationship between families and the state. Her work has appeared in the *Harvard Journal of Law & Gender*, *Law and Inequality: A Journal of Theory and Practice*, the *Cornell Journal of Law and Public Policy*, the *Nevada Law Review*, the *Yale Journal of Law and Feminism*, and the *Columbia Journal of Gender and Law*.

Professor Mutcherson has been heavily involved in diversity efforts at the law school and across the Rutgers campuses. She has served as the Co-Chair of the Chancellor’s Committee on Institutional Equity and Diversity on the Camden campus and participated in the President’s Council on Institutional Equity and Diversity and the Working Group on Faculty Diversity. In 2011, Professor Mutcherson received the Chancellor’s Teaching Excellence Award and the Women’s Law Caucus Faculty Appreciation Award.

Jaclyn Neely, Research Assistant to Professor Carol Sanger, Columbia Law School
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Jaclyn Neely is a third year law student at Columbia. While attending CLS, she has been involved with the *Columbia Law Review*, serving as the Bluebook Editor, the Mediation Clinic, the Domestic Violence Externship at the Queens District Attorney's Office, and the Human Rights Internship Program. She also served on the board of the Columbia Law Women's Association and Rightslink, a research-based human rights organization. For the past year, Jaclyn has been a research assistant for Professor Carol Sanger, particularly focusing on the role that stigma plays in the field of abortion. This fall, Jaclyn will be a first year associate at the New York office of Gibson Dunn & Crutcher.

Alison Norris, Assistant Professor of Epidemiology, College of Public Health, The Ohio State University
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Alison Norris is an epidemiologist at The Ohio State University who employs multidisciplinary methods to conduct research in sexual and reproductive health, with a focus on sensitive or stigmatized subjects. Her research interests include sexually transmitted infections, contraception, abortion, and safe obstetrical services. Dr. Norris’ appointments include chairing the Board of Directors of Health in Harmony (USA and Indonesia). Her recent publications include “Conducting Abortion Research in International Settings” and

“Abortion Stigma: A Reconceptualization of Constituents, Causes, and Consequences” both published in *Women’s Health Issues*. Dr. Norris completed a post-doctoral fellowship at Johns Hopkins School of Public Health, where she studied contraception and the consequences of unwanted pregnancy, including abortion, in Zanzibar, Tanzania. Dr. Norris earned an M.D. and a PhD from the Yale Schools of Medicine and Public Health.

Twila Perry, Professor of Law and Judge Alexander P. Waugh, Sr. Scholar, Rutgers School of Law, Newark
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Professor Perry received her B.A. from Mount Holyoke College, her M.S.W. from the Columbia University School of Social Work, and her J.D. from New York University Law School, where she was a Root-Tilden Scholar and an editor of the *Law Review*. She served as law clerk to Judge Mary Johnson Lowe of the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of New York and was associated with the New York law firm of Winthrop, Stimson, Putnam and Roberts. Prior to joining the Rutgers faculty in the spring of 1984, Professor Perry was an assistant U.S. attorney in the Southern District of New York. Professor Perry writes in the area of family law with a particular interest in the intersection of critical race theory and feminist legal theory. She has published articles on numerous subjects, including transracial and international adoption, the legal obligations of marriage, the Black family and family law, no-fault divorce, and alimony.

Julie Rikelman, Litigation Director, Center for Reproductive Rights
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Julie was appointed the organization's Litigation Director in 2012 after returning to the organization in 2011 as a Senior Staff Attorney. She first worked at the Center from 1999-2001 as a Blackmun Fellow.

Most recently, Julie was a lead attorney working on invasive ultrasound laws, helping to build an innovative legal strategy that exposes the way in which these laws violate the 1st Amendment rights of both patients and their doctors. Earlier, Julie was part of the Center's team in a successful challenge in the United States Supreme Court (in *Ferguson v. City of Charleston*) to a local policy requiring a hospital to report to the police confidential medical information of poor and minority pregnant women. She also defended the rights of teenagers in Florida and Alaska to make their own reproductive health choices and litigated against restrictions on medication abortion.

Prior to returning to the Center, Julie was Vice President of Litigation at NBC Universal. She clerked for the Hon. Morton I. Greenberg of the United States Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit and the Hon. Dana A. Fabe of the Alaska Supreme Court. In 2004, she won the National Law Journal Pro Bono Award. Julie graduated with honors from Harvard Law School and Harvard College.

Julie Shapiro, Professor of Law, Faculty Fellow, Fred T. Korematsu Center for Law and Equality, Seattle University School of Law
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Julie Shapiro is a Professor of Law at Seattle University School of Law. She studies how the law adapts – or fails to adapt – to the myriad ways families are structured today. She has been invited to speak about legal implications of assisted reproductive technology, the role of judicial review in controversial cases, and the history of the legal treatment of non-traditional families. Professor Shapiro also writes Related Topics (julieshapiro.wordpress.com), a blog that provides a forum for intelligent and sustained discussion of how the law is adapting – or not – to the increasingly complex ways in which families are structured today.

Applying theory to practice, Professor Shapiro has assisted Legal Voice (formerly the Northwest Women's Law Center) in numerous lesbian and gay family law cases, including *In re L.B.*, which established the rights of de facto parents in the state of Washington, and *Andersen v. King County*, the case challenging Washington's Defense of Marriage Act. For her efforts, she was co-recipient in 2006 of the first "Queer of the Year Award" given by Outlaws, Seattle University School of Law's LGBTQ student organization. She serves on the National Family Law Advisory Committee of the National Center for Lesbian Rights.

Professor Shapiro began her legal career clerking for Judge Joseph S. Lord, III in United States District Court for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania. After her clerkship, she entered a small practice where she specialized in police misconduct. In 1984 she was co-founder of Maguigan, Shapiro, Engle and Tiryak, a small civil rights law firm. In addition to police misconduct, Shapiro and her partners pioneered the use of the federal RICO statute to protect abortion clinics. In 1987 Shapiro opened her own solo practice, continuing to specialize in police misconduct and also litigating AIDS discrimination cases in cooperation with the AIDS Law Project of Pennsylvania. Her public service was recognized by the AIDS Law Project and Lambda Legal Defense and Education Fund in 1991.

Juhu Thukral, Director of Law and Advocacy, The Opportunity Agenda
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Juhu Thukral is a leading expert on the rights of low-income and immigrant women in the areas of sexual health and rights, gender-based violence, economic security, and criminal justice. She is a founder of numerous ventures supporting women and LGBT people, and has been recognized as one of "21 Leaders for the 21st Century 2012."

Ms. Thukral is the Director of Law and Advocacy at The Opportunity Agenda, where she leads strategic communications and policy initiatives on economic, immigrant, and gender and sexuality concerns. Prior to this, Ms. Thukral was the Founder and Director of the Sex Workers Project at the Urban Justice Center in New York City, where she continues to act as a Senior Advisor. She founded the Sex Workers Project in 2001, after recognizing the strong need for an organization that protects the legal and human rights of sex workers. She is also a founding Steering Committee member of the NY Anti-Trafficking Network. In 2010, she co-founded the Women's 21st Century Salon. Ms. Thukral has extensive experience in developing policy and programmatic initiatives, fundraising and donor education, and managing successful partnerships with diverse arrays of collaborating organizations seeking to make a shared impact.

Ms. Thukral has spoken widely on issues of gender and sexuality, and has authored articles that have appeared in *Race-Talk*, *RH Reality Check*, *Feministing.com*, *Research for Sex Work*, and *SIECUS Report*, in addition to in-depth research reports involving human rights documentation and communications research. She has served as an expert source for a wide range of media outlets, including the *Washington Post*, *Boston Globe*, *New York Times*, *Women's eNews*, *NPR*, *Democracy Now*, *Good Morning America*, *NY1*, *Village Voice*, *AlterNet* and numerous other venues.

Before founding the Sex Workers Project, Ms. Thukral was a Staff Attorney in the Urban Justice Center's Family Violence Project, where she engaged in legal advocacy for battered women who were dealing with the criminal justice and child welfare systems. In addition, Ms. Thukral was a Blackmun Fellowship Attorney at the Center for Reproductive Rights, and a Ruth Chance Law Fellow at Equal Rights Advocates in San Francisco. During these fellowships, she advocated on behalf of low-income and immigrant women on

economic justice issues, including sexual harassment and other rights violations, as well as a spectrum of reproductive rights concerns.

Ms. Thukral obtained her J.D. from the University of San Francisco School of Law, where she was awarded the Elaine Osborne Jacobson Award for Women in Health Care Law, and her B.A. from Rice University.

Nicole Tuszynski, Program Associate, Center for Reproductive Rights
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Nicole Tuszynski joined the Center in 2009 and works in our Law School Initiative as part of the U.S. Legal Program. She has coordinated several conferences, including "Visualizing the Fetus: Implications of Mandatory Ultrasound Laws" at the University of Texas School of Law and "Gender Justice in the Americas: A Transnational Dialogue on Sexuality, Violence, Reproduction, and Human Rights." She serves as a liaison for the Center's partnership with Law Students for Reproductive Justice. Nicole holds a master's degree in Human Rights Studies from New York University's Gallatin School of Individualized Studies, and a B.A. in Political Science from Stonehill College. Before joining the Center, Nicole worked as a research assistant on several academic projects.

Melissa Upreti, Regional Director, Asia, Center for Reproductive Rights
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Melissa Upreti is the Regional Director for Asia at the Center for Reproductive Rights. In her eleven years at the Center, she has led fact-finding missions to investigate violations of women's rights resulting from restrictive abortion laws in Nepal and the Philippines and has helped develop pioneering litigation to secure accountability for maternal deaths in India. She helped develop and was a co-petitioner in the 2009 landmark abortion case in Nepal that recognizes abortion as a constitutionally protected right. Melissa has led the development and publication of several major reports on women's reproductive rights in Asia including two regional studies of laws and policies that affect women's reproductive health and lives and fact-finding reports that document human rights violations stemming from criminal bans on abortion in Nepal and the Philippines. She conceptualized and co-authored the report *Maternal Mortality in India: Using International and Constitutional Law to Promote Accountability and Change* which has been used extensively to develop maternal mortality litigation in India. She is co-author of "The Global Gag Rule – An Antithesis for the Rights-Based Approach to Health," which was published in the *Health and Human Rights Journal* of the Harvard School of Public Health.

Upreti has been a women's rights advocate for over fifteen years. Prior to her work at the Center she was a Program Officer at The Asia Foundation in Nepal where she helped managed the legal rights component of a women's empowerment program and coordinated projects on trafficking and violence against women.

Upreti is a graduate of Columbia Law School where she earned her LL.M. degree as a Joint Japan/World Bank Graduate Scholar and has a bachelor's degree in law from India.

Upreti is active in various communities and has served as a mentor to the next generation of reproductive rights advocates in the U.S. through her work as a former board member of Law Students for Reproductive Justice. She is also a founding board member of Next Generation Nepal, a U.S.-based non-profit engaged in fighting against the trafficking of young children in Nepal.

Urvashi Vaid, Director of the Engaging Tradition Project, Center for Gender and Sexuality Law, Columbia Law School

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Urvashi Vaid is a community organizer, writer and attorney who has been a leader in the LGBT and social justice movements for nearly three decades.

She is Director of the Engaging Tradition Project at the Center for Gender and Sexuality Law at Columbia Law School. The Project seeks to understand how the idea of tradition is used by and used against movements for gender and sexual justice; and to explore how tradition-based practices inform, enable and/or limit the work of social justice movements.

Vaid is author of *Virtual Equality: The Mainstreaming of Gay & Lesbian Liberation* (Anchor, 1996), a political analysis of the U.S. LGBT movement. She is co-editor, with Dr. John D'Emilio and Dr. William Turner, of an anthology on public policy history titled *Creating Change: Public Policy, Sexuality and Civil Rights* (St. Martin's Press, 2000). Her forthcoming book, *Irresistible Revolution: Race, Class and the Assumptions of LGBT Politics* will be published in 2012 by Magnus Books.

Vaid is a former Visiting Senior Fellow with the City University of New York (CUNY) Graduate Center's Department of Sociology. From 2005-2010, she was the Executive Director of the Arcus Foundation. From January 2001- August 2005, Vaid was deputy director of governance and civil society programs at the Ford Foundation.

Vaid worked in various capacities at the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force (NGLTF), the oldest national LGBT civil rights organization; first as its media director (7/86-7/89), then as executive director (8/89-12/92), and as director of its Policy Institute think-tank (1/97-1/01). From 1983-1986, Vaid was staff attorney at the National Prison Project of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), where she initiated the organization's work on HIV/AIDS in prisons. Vaid is a graduate of Vassar College, and Northeastern University School of Law.

Evan Wolfson, Founder and President, Freedom to Marry

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Evan Wolfson is founder and President of Freedom to Marry, the campaign to win marriage nationwide. Before founding Freedom to Marry, Evan served as marriage project director for Lambda Legal Defense & Education Fund, was co-counsel in the historic Hawaii marriage case, and participated in numerous gay rights and HIV/AIDS cases.

Born in Brooklyn and raised in Pittsburgh, Evan graduated from Yale College in 1978. For two years, he served as a Peace Corps volunteer in a village in Togo, West Africa. After graduating from Harvard Law School in 1983 and teaching political philosophy at Harvard College, Evan served as assistant district attorney for Kings County (Brooklyn). There, in addition to handling felony trials and appeals, he wrote amicus briefs that helped win the U.S. Supreme Court's ban on race discrimination in jury selection (*Batson v. Kentucky*), and the New York State high court's elimination of the marital rape exemption (*People v. Liberta*).

Citing his national leadership on marriage and his appearance before the U.S. Supreme Court in *Boy Scouts of America v. James Dale*, the National Law Journal in 2000 named Evan one of "the 100 most influential

lawyers in America." In 2004, Evan was named one of the "Time 100," *Time* magazine's list of "the 100 most influential people in the world."

Evan Wolfson's book, *Why Marriage Matters: America, Equality, and Gay People's Right to Marry*, was published by Simon & Schuster in July 2004.