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About the Authors

STEVEN BENDER

Associate Dean Steven Bender is a national academic leader on immigration law and policy, as well as an expert in real estate law. Among his honors, the Minority Groups Section of the Association of American Law Schools presented him with the C. Clyde Ferguson, Jr., Award, a prestigious national award recognizing scholarly reputation, mentoring of junior faculty, and teaching excellence. He joined the Seattle University School of Law faculty from the University of Oregon in 2011 and served as Associate Dean for Research and Faculty Development 2014–2017. Steven Bender is now the Associate Dean for Planning and Strategic Initiatives.

Professor Bender is a prolific author of many law review articles, a casebook on real estate transactions, a national two-volume treatise on real estate financing, and several acclaimed books. His latest books include the co-edited “From Extraction to Emancipation: Reimagining Development,” published in 2018 by Carolina Academic Press and the ABA Section of International Law, and “Deadly Voyages: Migrant Journeys Across the Globe,” published in 2020 by Rowman & Littlefield.

Among his other books are “Mea Culpa: Lessons on Law and Regret from U.S. History” (NYU Press 2015); “Run for the Border: Vice and Virtue in U.S.-Mexico Border Crossings” (NYU Press 2012); “Greasers and Gringos: Latinos, Law, and the American Imagination” (NYU Press 2003); “Tierra y Libertad: Land, Liberty, and Latino Housing” (NYU Press 2010); “One Night in America: Robert Kennedy, Cesar Chavez, and the Dream of Dignity” (Routledge 2008), winner of the 2008 Oregon Book Award for General Nonfiction; “How the West Was Juan: Reimagining the U.S.-Mexico Border” (San Diego State University Press 2017); and “Comprende?: The Significance of Spanish in English-Only Times,” (Floricanto Press 2008). He is co-author of “Everyday Law for Latino/as” (Routledge 2008)

and “Compassionate Migration and Regional Policy in the Americas” (Palgrave Macmillan 2017).

Associate Dean Bender is an elected member of the American Law Institute, the American College of Real Estate Lawyers, and the American College of Mortgage Attorneys. From 2009 to 2011, Steven Bender served as co-president of the Society of American Law Teachers (SALT) and also served multiple leadership roles in LatCrit (Latina and Latino Critical Legal Theory, Inc.).

LUIS RICARDO FRAGA

Luis Ricardo Fraga is the Rev. Donald P. McNeill, C.S.C., Professor of Transformative Latino Leadership, the Joseph and Elizabeth Robbie Professor of Political Science, the Director of the Institute for Latino Studies, and a Fellow of the Institute for Educational Initiatives at Notre Dame. His areas of research and teaching interest are Latino politics, voting rights, education, and immigration. He has authored and co-authored five books, most recently *Latinos in the New Millennium* (Cambridge University Press 2012) and over forty academic articles and book chapters. He is currently working on a co-authored book tentatively entitled *America At Its Best: The Origin and Implementation of the 1975 Voting Rights Act*. He has also been an expert witness on a number of voting rights cases throughout his career. Most recently he was one of the expert witnesses in *Montes v. City of Yakima* (2014), which was won in summary judgment. In 2011, he was appointed by President Barack Obama to serve on the President’s Advisory Commission on Education Excellence for Hispanics where he co-chaired the Postsecondary Education Subcommittee. In that same year he was recognized by *Hispanic Business* as one of the *100 Influentials* in the United States. He has received nineteen awards for his scholarship, mentoring, teaching, and service. For example, in 2012 he was recognized in the Seattle Archdiocese as one of the *Champions of Catholic Education* and in 2013 as the recipient of the inaugural *Juan Diego Award* for his work to establish the

first two-way immersion, Spanish-English Catholic school there. In 2017, he received the Distinguished Career Award from the Latino Caucus of the Midwest Political Science Association; in 2018, he received the Lifetime Achievement for Excellence in Community Service Award from the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF); and in 2019, he received the Norton Long Career Achievement Award from the Urban and Local Politics Section of the American Political Science Association.

BARBARA Y. PHILLIPS

Barbara Y. Phillips, social justice feminist, independent scholar and Adjunct Professor at the University of Mississippi Law School, was formerly a Program Officer of the Ford Foundation in the Human Rights Unit. She has been an Associate Professor at the University of Mississippi Law School, Spaeth Fellow at Stanford Law School, partner in the San Francisco law firm Rosen & Phillips, staff attorney with the Voting Rights Project of the national Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, and Special Assistant Attorney General in the Office of the Minnesota Attorney General. She was co-counsel with Joaquin G. Avila in *Gomez v. City of Watsonville*, 863 F.2d 1407 (9th Cir. 1988).

Her publications include three essays *How I Became a Civil Rights Lawyer*, *The Legacy of Other Social Justice Movements*, and *The Trojan Horse Called "Diversity"* in *Voices of Civil Rights Lawyers: Reflections from the Deep South, 1964–1980* (ed. Kent Spriggs, University Press of Florida 2017); *How a Targeted Triggering Approach Can Repair the Voting Rights Act: Congress Can Eliminate the Blight of Voting Discrimination Once and For All*, *Voting Rights Symposium*, 85 *Miss. L.J.* 6, 1163 (2017) (co-authored with Joaquin G. Avila and Molly P. Matter); *The Gift of Hopwood: Diversity and the Fife and Drum March Back to the 19th Century*, 34 *Ga. L. Rev.* 291 (Fall 1999); *Reconsidering Reynolds v. Sims: The Relevance of Its Basic Standard of Equality to Other Vote Dilution Claims*, 38 *Howard L.J.* 3, 561 (Summer 1995).

B.A., Macalester College; J.D., Northwestern University School of Law; J.S.M., Stanford Law School.

MOLLY P. MATTER

Molly P. Matter is owner of Amend Law LLC, a community lawyering human rights firm, and current Chair of the Civil Rights Law Section of the Washington State Bar Association. Matter worked during and after law school with Joaquin G. Avila at the National Voting Rights Advocacy Initiative. At Amend Law LLC, Molly Matter works in partnership with local and national organizations to investigate state and federal voting rights claims, advocate for civil rights legislation, and provide pro bono asylum counsel. Matter's scholarship focuses on 1st, 14th 15th Amendment rights, domestic and international children's human rights law and criminal justice reform. Matter is co-counsel with Advancing Justice San Francisco and Mexican Americans Legal Defense and Education Fund in *Higginson v. Becerra*, the constitutional challenge to the California Voting Rights Act. Prior to law school, Matter worked with the American Civil Liberties Union and the Washington Defenders Association to pass voting rights restoration legislation for formerly incarcerated individuals. Matter has been involved in racial justice work since the age of fifteen and served as the first voting youth commissioner on the Human Rights Commission of Tacoma, Washington.

TAYYAB MAHMUD

Professor Tayyab Mahmud joined Seattle University School of Law in 2006. He served as the Associate Dean for Research and Faculty Development 2007–2009, and was formerly the director of the Center for Global Justice. He holds a Ph.D. in Political Science, and before going to law school taught International Relations and Political Science at various universities in Pakistan and the United States. A graduate of University of California Hastings College of the Law, he is licensed to practice in

California and Pakistan. He has worked with the California Attorney General's Office, the Los Angeles District Attorney's Office, the San Francisco-based firm Pettit & Martin, and the Pakistan-based firm Walker Martineau Saleem. He started his career as a law professor at Cleveland-Marshall College of Law in 1989. He was a Law & Public Affairs (LAPA) Fellow at the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs at Princeton University in 2011–2012, and a Visiting Scholar at Harvard Law School in 1997–1998. Between 2004–2006, he was Professor of Law and Chair, Global Perspectives Group, at the John Marshall Law School in Chicago.

From 2006 to 2008, Professor Mahmud was Co-President of the Society of American Law Teachers (SALT), an organization of progressive law teachers working for justice, diversity, and academic excellence. Currently, he serves on the Advisory Committee of the Board of Governors of SALT, and the Steering Committee of the Board of Directors of Latina/o Critical Legal Studies, Inc. (LatCrit). He has served on the editorial boards of the American Journal of Comparative Law, Hastings Int'l & Comparative Law Review, Journal of Third World Legal Studies, and the Journal of Humanities Research.

Professor Mahmud has published extensively in the areas of comparative constitutional law, human rights, international law, legal history and legal theory. His primary research areas are critical legal theory, colonial legal regimes, international law, and post-colonial legal systems. His current research is focused on neoliberal political economy and extra-constitutional usurpation and exercise of power in post-colonial states.

WILLIAM R. TAMAYO

William R. Tamayo (Bill Tamayo) was appointed District Director of the United States Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, San Francisco District in June 2015. He oversees investigations and operations in Northern California, Northern Nevada, Oregon, Washington, Alaska, Idaho and

Montana. He served as EEOC Regional Attorney from June 1995 through June 2015 and directed the District's litigation and legal program. From 1995 to 2005, the District's jurisdiction included Northern and Central California, Hawaii, American Samoa, Wake Island, Guam and the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands.

From 1979 to 1995, he was a staff attorney and the Managing Attorney for the Asian Law Caucus, Inc. of San Francisco, California. As a staff attorney, William Tamayo emphasized the practice of immigration and nationality law (political asylum, deportation defense, exclusion, family petitioning, citizenship) and civil rights litigation and advocacy involving employment discrimination, immigrant rights, voting rights, and the Census. He was co-counsel for the plaintiff-intervenor in *EEOC & Castrejon v. Tortilleria La Major*, 785 F. Supp. 585 (E.D. Cal 1991) (undocumented workers are protected under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964) and co-led the legal team that developed the "self-petitioning provisions" for battered immigrant women under the Violence Against Women Act through which over 120,000 women in addition to their children have been able to leave abusive relationships and gain legal permanent immigration status.

During his tenure as Regional Attorney, the EEOC San Francisco District obtained significant recoveries including among others, *Arnett & EEOC v. Cal. Pub. Emp. Ret. Sys.* (\$250 million for older disabled public safety officers), *EEOC v. Walmart* (\$3.5 million for disabled workers denied accommodations or jobs), *EEOC v. 3M Co.* (\$3.0 million for older workers laid off), *EEOC v. Lockheed-Martin* (\$2.5 million for Black avionics electrician harassed and retaliated against), *EEOC v. Fry's Elec.* (\$2.3 million for Asian employee terminated for alerting company to sexual harassment and for teenage Latina employee who was harassed) *EEOC v. Les Schwab Tires* (\$2.0 million for women denied sales and service jobs), *EEOC v. Tanimura & Antle* (\$1.855 million for sexually harassed and retaliated farm workers), *EEOC v. Lowe's Home Improvement* (\$1.72 million for sexual harassment of store workers), *EEOC v. Kovacevich "5" Farms* (\$1.68

million for female farm workers denied hire) and *EEOC v. Herrick Corp.* (\$1.11 million for four Pakistani Muslims harassed at work), *EEOC v. United Airlines* (\$1.04 million settlement for disabled employees denied reassignments as accommodations) and obtained a nearly \$1 million verdict for a farm worker who was sexually harassed (raped) and retaliated against, *EEOC v. Harris Farms*. The work of the EEOC on behalf of farm workers was featured in the June 2013 *Frontline/PBS* documentary, *Rape in the Fields*, which also aired on *Univision*. In December 2019, as District Director, he helped negotiate a \$4.4 million dollar sexual harassment settlement against Uber.

J.D., University of California, Davis, School of Law; B.A., San Francisco State University. william.tamayo@eoc.gov.

JAIME M. HAWK

Jaime M. Hawk is Legal Strategy Director for the American Civil Liberties Union of Washington's Campaign for Smart Justice, where she leads on a range of issues to reform the state's criminal legal system, including voting rights restoration for those disenfranchised due to a felony conviction. Before this position, she was Of Counsel with a law firm in Seattle working on civil rights litigation. She was previously an Assistant Federal Defender for seven years and a law clerk to a federal judge. She began her legal career as an attorney fellow on the U.S. Senate Judiciary Committee staff of Edward M. Kennedy in Washington, D.C. Hawk has taught as an adjunct law professor at Gonzaga University, where she attended law school as a Thomas More Scholar. She is a member of the ABA House of Delegates and serves on the national council of the ABA Criminal Justice Section and as a committee co-chair for the ABA Civil Rights and Social Justice Section. Hawk was appointed to the WSBA Council on Public Defense and the executive committee of the WSBA Civil Rights Section. She also serves in other access-to-justice leadership efforts, including as a member of the Washington Task Force on Unaccompanied Children. She is a past recipient of the

Washington Defender Association President's Award and Gonzaga Law School's Myra Bradwell Award for commitment to furthering women and children's rights through the law. Hawk is passionate about issues of international human rights, having served on the board of directors for the Center for Women and Democracy and joining in several of its international delegations, and currently serving on the board of the ABA Center for Human Rights.

BREANNE SCHUSTER

Breanne Schuster is a Staff Attorney at the American Civil Liberties Union of Washington (ACLU-WA), where she works on a variety of issues including the housing crisis, economic justice, and voting rights. She has successfully litigated a number of cases challenging unlawful election systems, has led trainings regarding Washington State's Voting Rights Restoration Act, and continues to work to reduce barriers to voting and ensure that election systems do not dilute the vote of communities of color. Breanne received her J.D. at Seattle University School of Law and her B.S. from the University of Wisconsin Madison in Dance and Spanish.

ROBERT S. CHANG

Robert S. Chang is a Professor of Law and the founder and Executive Director of the Fred T. Korematsu Center for Law and Equality at Seattle University School of Law. He has also previously served as Associate Dean for Research and Faculty Development. Robert Chang joined the School of Law from Loyola Law School in Los Angeles, where he was Professor of Law and a J. Rex Dibble Fellow. He also served for two years as the Sturm Distinguished Visiting Professor of Law at the University of Denver Sturm College of Law.

A graduate of Princeton and Duke Universities, he writes primarily in the area of race and interethnic relations. Robert Chang is the author of "Disoriented: Asian Americans, Law and the Nation-State" (NYU Press

1999); “Minority Relations: Intergroup Conflict and Cooperation” (University Press of Mississippi, 2016); and numerous articles, essays, and chapters published in leading law reviews and books on Critical Race Theory, LatCrit Theory, and Asian American Legal Studies. He is currently working on three books: “The United States Supreme Court and White Social Dominance” (with Carlton Waterhouse, Michalyn Steele & Tanya Hernandez, under contract, Cambridge University Press); “Asian Americans and the Law: A Reader” (with Neil Gotanda & Rose Cuison Villazor, co-editors, under contract, New York University Press); and “Mexican American Studies on Trial” (with Nolan Cabrera). His recent op-eds have appeared in NBC News Think, the Washington Post, and USA Today.

Robert Chang has received numerous recognitions for his scholarship and service. In 2009, he was a co-recipient of the Clyde Ferguson Award granted by the Minority Groups Section of the Association of American Law Schools that honors “an outstanding law teacher who in the course of his or her career has achieved excellence in the areas of public service, teaching, and scholarship.” In 2012, he was elected to the American Law Institute. In 2014, he was the co-recipient of the Charles A. Goldmark Distinguished Service Award from the Legal Foundation of Washington for his leadership role in a statewide task force on race and the criminal justice system. In addition to co-chairing the task force, he led the research team that produced its *Preliminary Report on Race and Washington’s Criminal Justice System* that was presented to the Washington Supreme Court and was published simultaneously in the *Gonzaga Law Review*, the *Seattle University Law Review*, and the *Washington Law Review*. In 2018, the Society of American Law Teachers recognized him with the M. Shanara Gilbert Human Rights Award for his work leading a successful appeal and being a member of the trial team in a successful constitutional challenge to the enactment and enforcement of a facially neutral law that was used to terminate the Mexican American Studies Program at the Tucson Unified School District.