

An illustration of a city skyline at night, featuring a prominent dome and a tall obelisk. A path leads from the foreground to a red-carpeted entrance with three blue stars above it. Various people are walking along the path, including a person in a wheelchair, a person with a dog, and a person with a stroller. The scene is lit with spotlights, creating long shadows.

For the People

2020 ANNUAL REPORT

**BRENNAN
CENTER**
FOR JUSTICE
AT NEW YORK UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF LAW

“

**The framers
knew that liberty
is a fragile thing,
and so should we.”**

–Justice William J. Brennan Jr.

Table of Contents

Letter from the Board Chairs	2	Brennan Center Live	26
Letter from the President	4	Brennan Legacy Awards	30
The Good Fight	6	Financials	32
Digital	10	Our Supporters	34
Media	12	Special Funds	44
Advocacy	14	Pro Bono Partners	44
The Work Ahead	16	Who We Are	45
Court Reform	16		
Racial Justice	19		
Fair Votes	18		
Criminal Justice Reform	23		

Dear Friends,

We are pleased to share with you this report on the truly extraordinary year that was. As we reflect on the Brennan Center's accomplishments in 2020, we can say with great pride and relief that in the end, democracy prevailed — against brazen assaults on our electoral processes, against lies intended to equate ballot access with stolen elections, and against naked attempts to delegitimize the votes and voices of Black and brown people.

The events of the past year brought into sharp focus the deepening cracks in our systems of democracy and justice. We can no longer take for granted that they will endure in the face of relentless, and increasingly dangerous, attacks.

What is also clear: the mission of the Brennan Center for Justice at NYU School of Law — to defend, restore, and renew those systems — has never been more vital to our country's future.

Since its inception 25 years ago, our organization has been at the center of these fights. The Brennan Center is nonpartisan and fiercely independent. We lead with facts — backed by rigorous research, top-notch legal advocacy, and expert communications — to solve the most pressing issues facing our democracy. We work to hold our institutions accountable to the promise of liberty and justice for all.

In 2020, we prioritized protecting the election — countering disinformation, misinformation, and attempts at further suppressing the vote under the pretext of a pandemic. Those efforts — publishing the slate of proposals relied on by national leaders to ensure safe and secure voting, advising election officials and amplifying their trusted voices, partnering with broad coalitions and crafting campaigns to increase voter participation, going to court to protect ballot access, expanding our public reach, and ensuring a strong, well-funded institutional structure and spine — are detailed in the pages that follow.

We enter the new year deeply committed to seizing the opportunities and confronting the challenges ahead. We are ready to usher in an era of renewal and to fully reinforce the values of participatory democracy, equal justice, and the rule of law.

Our charge in 2021: To advance much-needed reforms that have been made possible by new leadership in the White House and Congress. To restore the balance of power among our three branches of government and call out executive overreach. And to craft the next generation of solutions that will revitalize our systems of democracy and justice.


At this pivotal moment, we know that we have a once-in-a-lifetime chance to win the change our nation so urgently needs, and that the only way to defend our democracy is to strengthen it.

The Brennan Center is extraordinarily grateful to its community of supporters — people like you, who have long partnered with us, encouraged us, and enabled our efforts to protect our shared, treasured values. As we celebrate every success, learn from every challenge, and look ahead to the promise of all that is to come, we thank you for your steadfast commitment.

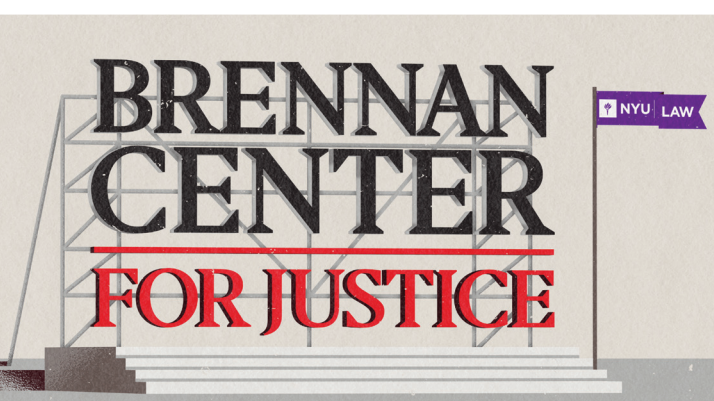
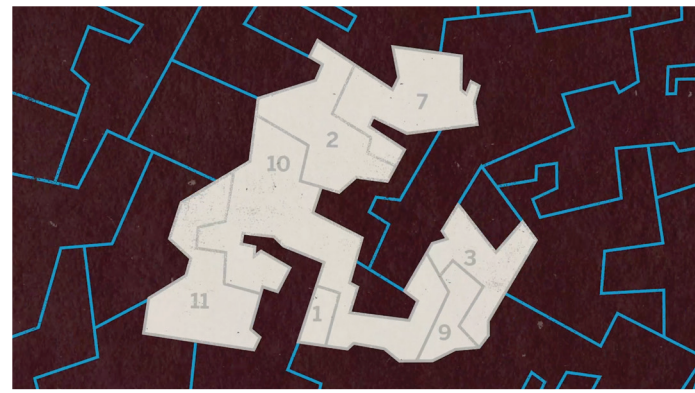
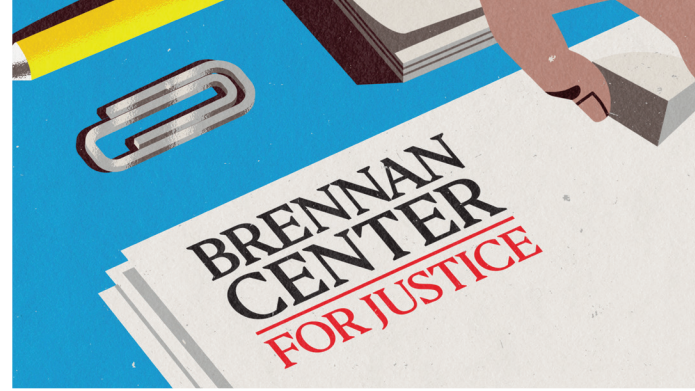
Here's to a better, more democratic, and more just America — for all.



Robert Atkins
Co-chair, Board of Directors



Patricia Bauman
Co-chair, Board of Directors



For the People

After years of threats to democracy, the moment for reform is now.



Michael Waldman

We're in a great fight for the future of American democracy. Over the past year, we saw a historic turnout for the 2020 election, even amid an ongoing pandemic and frenetic efforts to restrict the vote. Then we watched aghast as the defeated former president tried to overturn the election and foment an insurrection. Now his supporters are pushing restrictive voting laws across the country — laws aimed squarely at Black and brown citizens, using the same Big Lie peddled by Trump and the Proud Boys.

History teaches that after abuse of power, a season of reform often follows. But such change is far from automatic. The best response to attacks on democracy is to strengthen democracy. The best response to the Big Lie is to tell the truth.

This year — and the years to come — offer a remarkable chance to advance bold reforms that will help ensure that our government works for all Americans. It's a fight the Brennan Center is waging nationally and in states across the country.

I've worked on these issues for the better part of four decades — in the White House, teaching, practicing law, and leading the Brennan Center for the past 15 years. Never have I seen so much

urgency, so much focus, so great a recognition of the need to repair and defend our frayed democracy.

So, in 2021, the Brennan Center has thrown itself fully into the fight for reform. We are focusing our resources on five key fights:

1. *The For the People Act (H.R. 1 and S. 1).*

This landmark bill passed the House in March 2021. If enacted, it would be the most sweeping democracy reform in more than half a century — the next great civil rights law. It would make government more responsive and less corrupt. And it would meet the urgent demand for racial justice by advancing a more representative democracy.

What would it do? Automatic voter registration is already in effect in 19 states and D.C. If fully implemented nationwide, it could add tens of millions to the rolls permanently. The bill would also set a national standard for voter access in every state — requiring the opportunity to vote by mail, ensuring adequate early in-person voting, and curbing voter suppression. It would reform campaign finance and curb the role of big money by establishing a system of small donor public financing, which would give ordinary citizens a louder voice, even in an era of dark money and

“The best response to attacks on democracy is to strengthen democracy. The best response to the Big Lie is to tell the truth.”

super PACs. It would bar partisan gerrymandering, setting up independent redistricting commissions to draw fair maps. It would strengthen federal ethics laws. And it would end a shameful legacy of the Jim Crow era by restoring the right to vote for people with past criminal convictions.

This measure marks a milestone for the Brennan Center. Many of its provisions — such as automatic voter registration and small donor public financing — were first proposed and advanced by our experts over the past decade and a half. Now we can make them the law of the land.

2. The John Lewis Voting Rights Advancement Act. The Voting Rights Act of 1965 was the nation's most effective civil rights law, but the Supreme Court gutted it in its 2013 *Shelby County v. Holder* ruling. Ever since, voter suppression laws have proliferated. This vital legislation would restore the Act to full strength and apply new rules throughout the country.

3. The Protecting Our Democracy Act. Trump's presidency showed the importance of the unwritten norms of self-governance — the often invisible guardrails that protect against abuse of power. The Brennan Center's Task Force on Democracy and the Rule of Law, co-chaired

by Preet Bharara and Christine Todd Whitman, set out reforms to codify many of them. Their recommendations are reflected in legislation to strengthen checks and balances and restore accountability to the presidency.

4. Curbing the imperial presidency. Trump's declaration of a national emergency to fund his border wall with Mexico revealed the potential for abuse of executive powers. The answer is to reset the skewed balance of power between the president and Congress. Strengthening the National Emergencies Act would preserve the president's ability to act in true emergencies while respecting the Constitution.

5. The fight in the states. Trump's Big Lie continues to drive efforts to restrict the vote in states across the country. According to our research, four times as many voter suppression measures were introduced in 2021 as had been proposed two years before, disproportionately targeting Black and brown voters. And they aim to roll back vital gains achieved in the past year — attacking vote by mail and early voting. We will expose and fight these moves. And we'll make clear that Congress can stop this voter suppression wave, cold, with reform legislation.

It has the constitutional and legal authority. Now it must have the political will.

I'm so proud of my Brennan Center colleagues. They're passionate, rigorous, and committed. They have poured themselves into the fight for our country's ideals and to strengthen our institutions. Now we can see these innovative ideas written into law. For us, that is the great purpose of the year ahead.



Michael Waldman
President



The Good Fight

The 2020 election — held amid a pandemic and lies — was an extraordinary civic achievement.

The question now: how do we sustain and build on those advances?

In 2020, despite the Covid-19 pandemic, voter suppression, and presidential lies, we saw the highest turnout since 1900. An astonishing 108 million voters — two-thirds of the total — cast their ballots early or by mail. In November 2020, American democracy triumphed.

All of this might have seemed impossible earlier in the year. When the pandemic hit, it seemed inconceivable that a free, fair, secure, and safe election could take place in just eight months.

Achieving it required a surge of commitment from across the political spectrum. Civic groups, voting rights advocates, election officials, and businesses mobilized. Improved election systems, upgraded infrastructure, and investment in training, technical support, and backup measures prevented the debilitating attack from foreign actors that many had feared. Most states expanded access to voting and made major changes to ensure secure and safe elections.

**Mar.
16,
2020**

How to Protect the 2020 Vote from the Coronavirus

The Brennan Center releases a comprehensive plan to protect the 2020 elections from the coronavirus.

**Mar.
19,
2020**

Estimated Costs of Covid-19 Election Resiliency Measures

In our first cost estimate, the Brennan Center calculates it will cost at least \$2 billion to protect the November elections.

The result: an election that the federal government concluded was the “most secure” in U.S. history.

The Brennan Center played a crucial role in these successes — fighting disinformation and voter suppression, working to ensure that proper election security procedures were in place, and responding to the new threats posed by Covid-19:

- In March, the very same week we abandoned our offices because of the shutdown, we outlined a plan of action in *How to Protect the 2020 Vote from the Coronavirus*, arguing for access to vote by mail, expanded early voting, and safe polling places. It was embraced by more than 200 civil rights, good government, and civic groups, as well as by 1,000 political scientists, state election officials, and members of Congress.
- Also in March, we published a preliminary estimate of how much it would cost to protect the November election from the virus. Our estimate:

approximately \$2 billion. A month later, we released another estimate of how much money it would cost to protect all elections — including primaries — throughout 2020. The total price tag: at least \$4 billion.

- We persuaded Congress to provide \$400 million for states to run safe elections as part of the first coronavirus relief bill. All told, our staff experts testified before Congress six times in 2020.
- By April, we were in constant communication with our coast-to-coast network of hundreds of election officials.
- By June, we had produced 14 policy papers. One major area of focus was defending the security and necessity of expanded vote by mail. We noted that many states, both Democratic and Republican, already had made mail balloting the primary method of voting.

- In August, we teamed up with the Infectious Diseases Society of America and issued joint guidelines to minimize the risk of transmitting Covid-19 at the polls. The document provided solutions — such as where to locate polling sites and how to configure and supply them — to ensure the safety of voters and poll workers alike.
- Also in August, we released tool kits for activists in all 50 states. In each tool kit, we identified the voting reforms needed in each state. Activists could then use this information to pressure their legislators to implement the right policies to make voting as safe and accessible as possible.
- By September, we were working with local groups in Florida, Georgia, Pennsylvania, and Texas on state-specific voter education and protection efforts. In Pennsylvania, we teamed up with Hall of Famer Franco Harris of the Pittsburgh Steelers, who taped a public service announcement

June
1,
2020

**Congressional
Testimony**

Vice President for Democracy
Wendy Weiser testifies before
Congress on election security and
integrity during the pandemic.

June
3,
2020

**Waiting
to Vote**

A Brennan Center study finds
long waits at polling places
disproportionately affect
communities of color and result
in disenfranchisement.

June
3,
2020

**Congressional
Testimony**

Myrna Pérez, director of the Voting
Rights and Elections Program,
testifies before Congress
on protecting the right to vote
amid Covid-19.

June
11,
2020

**Congressional
Testimony**

Lawrence Norden, director of
the Election Reform Program,
testifies before Congress on
ensuring a free and fair election
during the pandemic.

reminding voters to put their mail ballots into the mandated security envelopes, in order to ensure their votes would be counted.

- Our attorneys filed or intervened in lawsuits in Michigan, Pennsylvania, and Texas — either to defend necessary voting changes that protected voters from the virus, or to stop voting changes that would put voters in harm’s way or suppress the vote. In October, we successfully blocked an attempt by the Trump campaign to ban the use of secure drop boxes for Pennsylvania voters who chose to vote by mail.
- As the election approached, we conducted high-level media briefings on how the pandemic could impact voters and the count. Our experts spoke to the news corps at ABC, NBC/MSNBC, and Univision. And we partnered with ABC News in the run-up to Election Day. Our goal was to ensure that the media explained that delays in

counting votes were to be expected amid a pandemic.

- After the election, we traveled to Georgia to help election officials conduct a recount of the presidential vote as President Trump attacked the integrity of the state’s election officials and alleged foul play. We provided training that helped officials perform a risk-limiting audit — under unprecedented national scrutiny — that confirmed Joe Biden had won the state of Georgia.

In the face of this remarkable election, Donald Trump and his allies promoted a Big Lie: that it was stolen and that he really won. He attempted to throw out the votes of majority-Black cities, such as Philadelphia, Milwaukee, and Atlanta. He tried to overturn the results of the election while waging a constant disinformation campaign claiming that widespread voter fraud had robbed him of a second term.

Sixty courts rejected his claims, finding no evidence of voter fraud. Even so, tens of millions of Americans wrongly believed the election was stolen. This fantasy then inspired an insurrection that aimed to stop the counting of electoral votes, leaving six dead, hundreds injured, and the Capitol ransacked.

The Big Lie did not end on January 6. It still drives the move to restrict the vote across the United States. Legislators across the country are trying to roll back the improvements that led to record turnout in 2020 and a successful election that might have ended in disaster. The Brennan Center will continue to fight back against these racist and antidemocratic voter-suppression bills. The struggle to protect the vote never ends, and our vigilance will not waver. ■

**June
12,
2020**

Guidelines for Healthy In-Person Voting

The Brennan Center and Infectious Diseases Society of America issue guidelines to minimize the risk of transmitting the coronavirus at polling locations.

**Sept.-
Nov.
2020**

Vote with Confidence Campaign

The Brennan Center launches a voter education campaign in Florida, Georgia, Pennsylvania, and Texas informing voters to cast their ballots early and with confidence in November’s elections.

**Sept.
24,
2020**

Congressional Testimony

President Michael Waldman testifies before Congress on rejuvenating the Justice Department’s civil rights mission.

**Oct.
6,
2020**

Voters Should Not Be Intimidated

A Brennan Center resource explains the strict limits on what the military, law enforcement, and vigilantes can do at the polls.

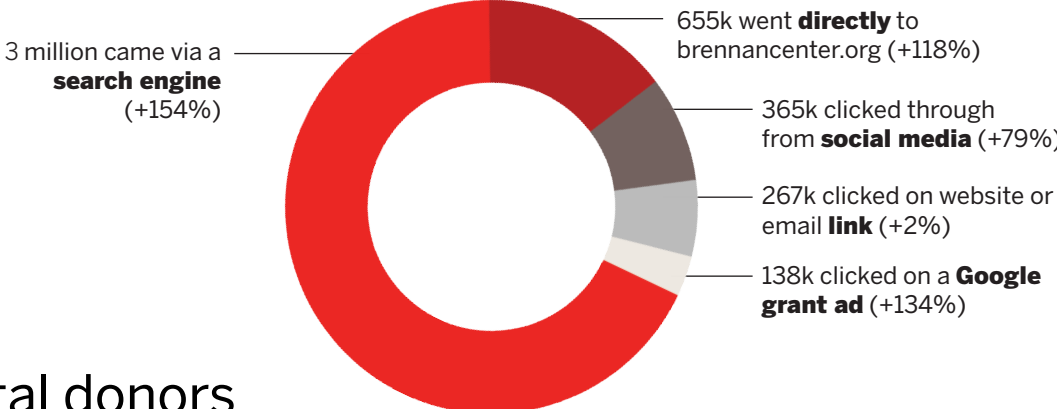
Getting the Word Out

Since the last presidential election, the Brennan Center's website traffic has increased

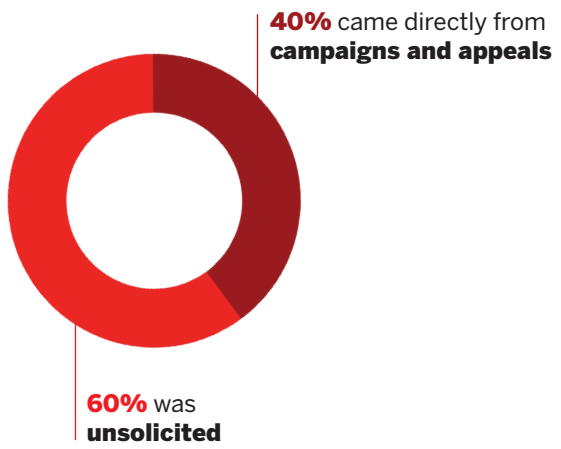
263%



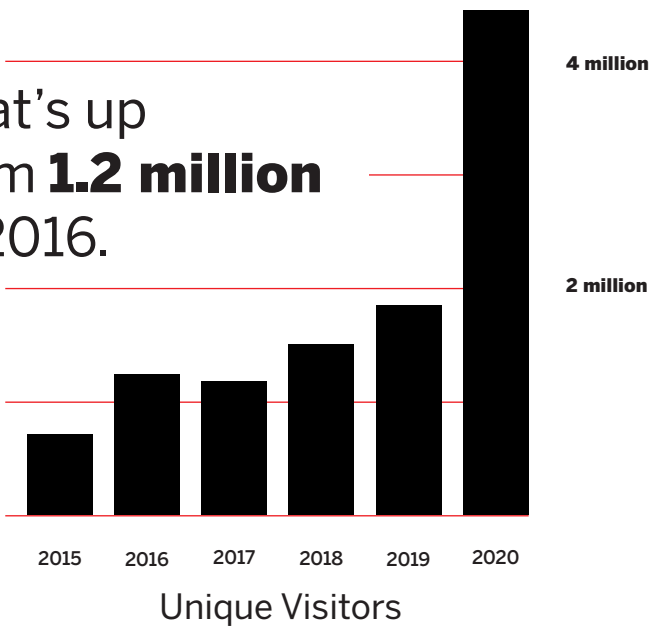
Here's how 4.5 million people got to our website.



8,000 digital donors gave the Brennan Center \$1.5 million in calendar year 2020.



That's up from **1.2 million** in 2016.





Harsha Panduranga, counsel in the Liberty and National Security Program, joins NY 1 on March 1, 2020, to discuss the Trump administration's Muslim ban.



Brennan Center Fellow **Michael German** joins MSNBC's *All In with Chris Hayes* on August 28, 2020, to discuss far-right militant groups and their ties with law enforcement.

In 2020, the Brennan Center earned **67,502** media mentions.



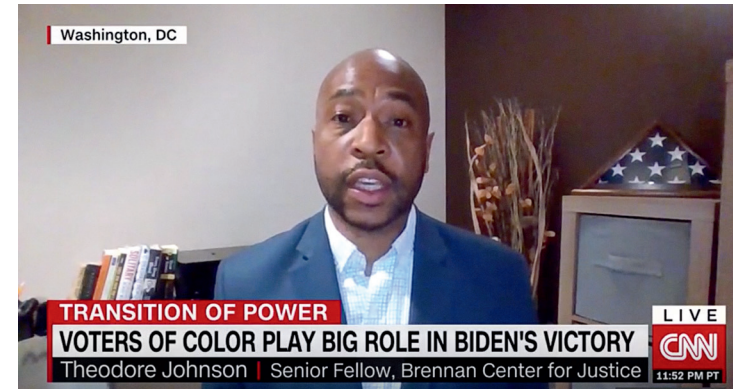
Brennan Center President **Michael Waldman** joins ABC's *Good Morning America* on October 22, 2020, to discuss the likelihood of voter fraud in the 2020 presidential election.



Elizabeth Goitein, director of the Liberty and National Security Program, joins *CBS Sunday Morning's* Ted Koppel on August 16, 2020, to discuss secret presidential powers.



Vice President for Democracy **Wendy Weiser** joins *MSNBC Live* on September 13, 2020, to discuss why voters should trust our election system.



Theodore R. Johnson, director of the Fellows Program, joins *CNN Newsroom Live* on November 8, 2020, to discuss the role of voters of color during the presidential election.

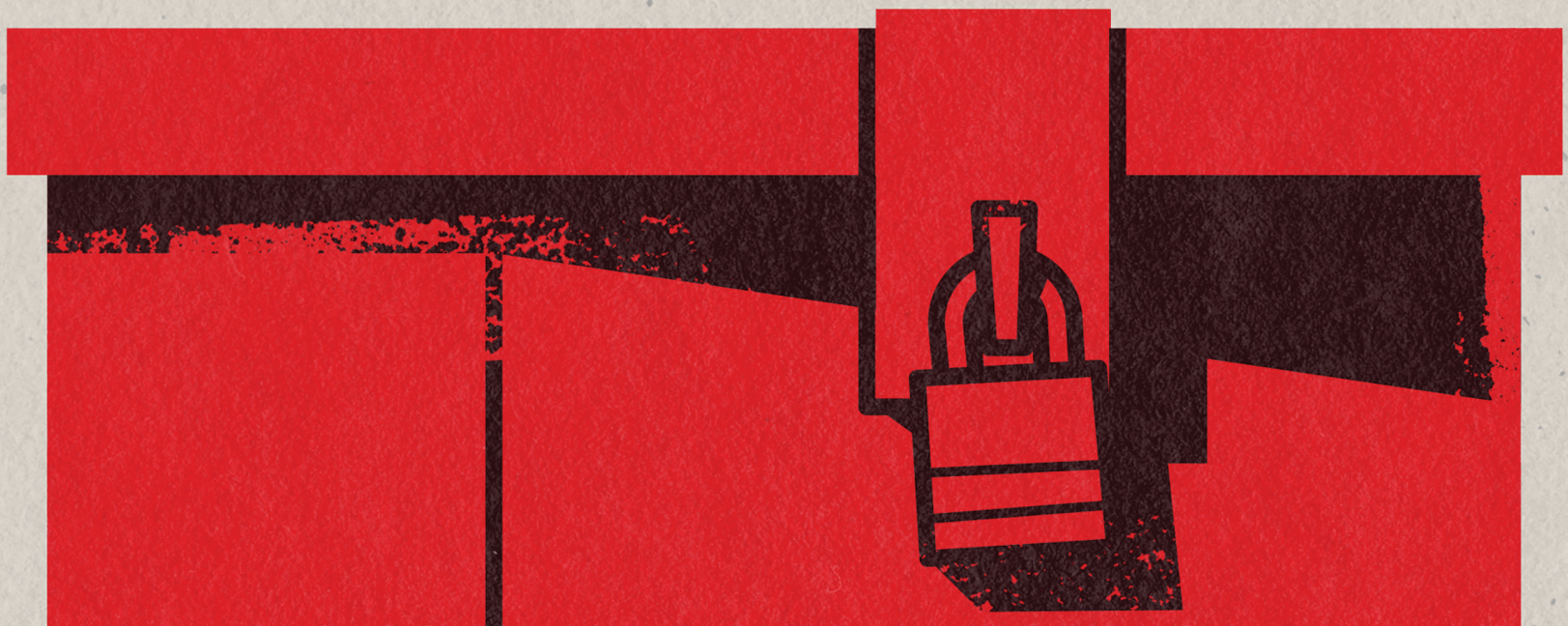
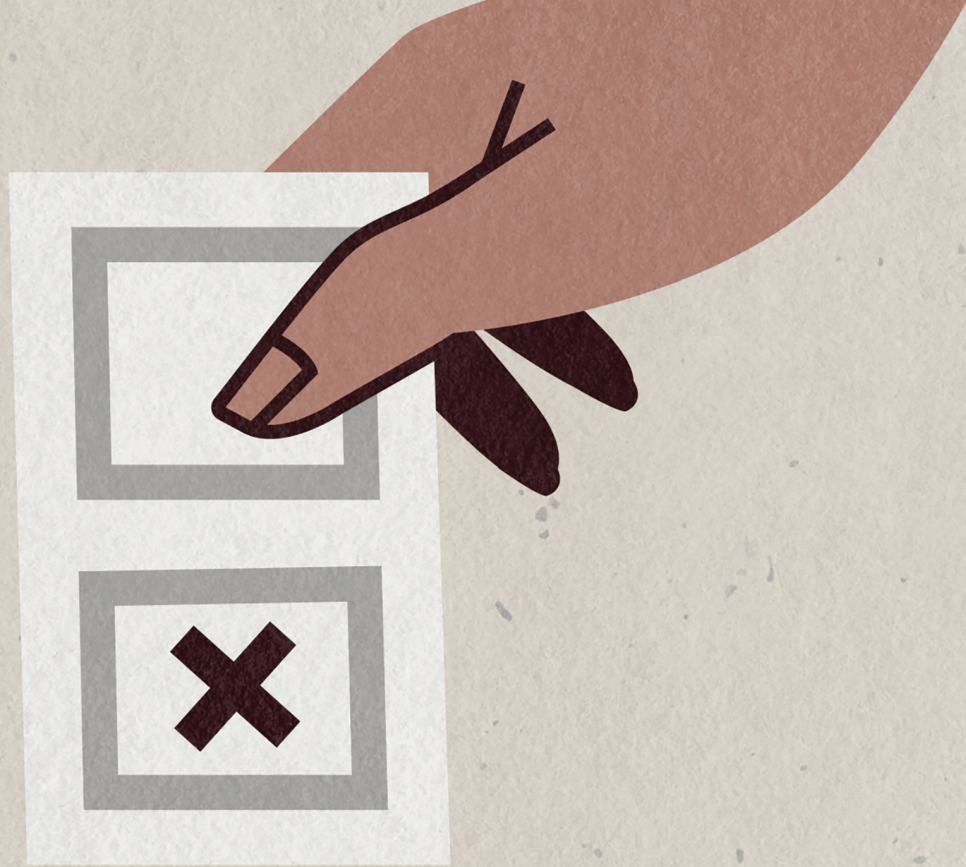
That's up over the last presidential election year by **182%**.



Director of the Election Reform Program **Lawrence Norden** joins Fox News on October 21, 2020, to discuss election security.



Faiza Patel, director of the Liberty and National Security Program, joins Al Jazeera on April 25, 2020, to discuss pandemic-related surveillance.



Partnering with the Business Community

The private sector stepped up in meaningful ways to make voting safe and accessible in 2020. Here's how those efforts played out and paid off.

A dynamic coalition of private-sector and nonprofit leaders stepped up in extraordinary ways to protect the 2020 elections. The Brennan Center worked side by side with an array of law firms, philanthropists, and businesses to ensure that all eligible voters could safely cast their ballots.

We are particularly proud to be a primary partner of the nonpartisan Time to Vote movement, spearheaded by Levi Strauss & Co., Patagonia, and PayPal. After honoring the coalition with a 2019 Brennan Legacy Award, we went on in 2020 to present a series of strategy briefings to the Time to Vote membership, provide it with policy expertise and support, and publicly advocate on behalf of its mission, penning op-eds in *Newsweek* and the *Miami Herald*.

In the lead-up to the election, the *New York Times* featured Brennan Center Board member and Time to Vote principal Franz Paasche in an article about the effort, "Paid Time Off, Free Fries: How Corporate America Is Getting Out the Vote." The *Times* reported: "Corporate America is having a civic awakening, with thousands of companies

encouraging voter participation by offering their workers paid time off, voter-education tools and interactive sessions on how elections work." Time to Vote also played a vital role in recruiting a new generation of poll workers — a role traditionally filled by older adults, who faced grave health risks this year due to the pandemic.

In normal times, a functional democracy should not have to rely on the private sector to provide the very basics for its elections. This year, however, our national leaders failed to provide adequate financial resources. Even as we fought to hold them accountable, we doubled down to ensure that any interventions to help fill the breach were legal and sound. We published explainers about the appropriate guardrails for monetary contributions or donations of items like personal protective equipment to election officials. And we spoke out in support of the major sports franchises that converted their supersized arenas into polling places by making the case that these sites met the guidelines we published in conjunction with the Infectious Diseases Society of America for healthy, in-person voting. ■

The Work Ahead

Brennan Center staff are publishing books, developing research, and creating new policy — all aimed at building a more perfect union.



Court Reform: Back on the Agenda

Decades after President Donald Trump and Sen. Mitch McConnell have left the political scene, their imprint on American life will be felt through the rulings of more than 230 new federal judges. But this stark remaking of the courts has only heightened a crisis long in progress, says Alicia Bannon, managing director of the Democracy Program. The changing of the guard in Washington brings an opportunity to ensure that the judiciary delivers justice and is seen as legitimate.

Why should Supreme Court reform be a priority?

The Court is supposed to be the last line of defense for holding our government accountable to the Constitution, protecting our rights, and

making sure our democracy functions. In 2020, though, the Court made it harder to vote amid the pandemic — one of many instances in which it has rolled back rights.

These decisions come against the backdrop of a judicial confirmation process that has descended to the rawest kind of partisan constitutional hardball. Amy Coney Barrett was confirmed just about a week before Election Day, even though Senate Republicans had refused to consider filling Justice Scalia's seat when it opened nearly nine months before the 2016 election.

This is more than just hypocrisy. It's a crisis for the rule of law and for our democracy. Courts don't have an army. What they have is their public legitimacy — the fact that people are willing to



“There is a democratic legitimacy deficit on the Supreme Court.”



Alicia Bannon

accept judicial decisions even when they vehemently disagree with them.

There is also a broader democratic legitimacy deficit on the Court. We appoint our judges through a political process so that there is a link between the Court and the values of our country. But this means that democracy deficits in our political system reverberate in the judiciary. For example, among the six conservative justices, all but Chief Justice Roberts were confirmed by senators who won their most recent elections with fewer votes in sum than the senators who voted against confirmation. This affects the Court in substantive ways; it is ideologically extreme and not aligned with either the public or the legal profession.

What are some starting points for reform?

It's best to start with the problems we're trying to address. What packages of reforms respond to those concerns and reset the dynamic so we don't have continued escalation around confirmations and so the Court is more stable, more representative, and more legitimate?

One place where reformers could start to address this is through the size of the Court. While expansion is often framed as a partisan move, it could be a component of a broader structural reform. Subsets of justices could hear cases in panels, as courts do in India, Germany, and the United Kingdom. Some uncertainty around who's going to cast the deciding vote in any particular case would discourage the Court from pushing the legal envelope too far, and it would help lower the stakes — and hopefully the temperature — of confirmations.

On a lot of dimensions, the Court does not look like America or even the legal profession, and a

larger court could open up opportunities for greater diversity in terms of education, professional background, geography, race, and ethnicity.

Another thing to look at is how vacancies get created. It's become the norm for justices to time their retirements, waiting for a president who'll appoint a like-minded successor. That doesn't make any sense from the perspective of the Court's legitimacy or the democratic process. Regular appointments — with every president getting two appointments every four years — are one way of introducing predictability into the process and taking away justices' power to shape the Court's future composition. Term limits are also responsive to this concern.

How should we look at district and circuit courts, where the vast majority of federal cases end?

We need a different approach to the nomination process, and we need pathways to the federal bench other than prosecutors' offices and corporate law firms. Civil rights lawyers and public defenders are virtually absent from the bench right now. There's also a stark lack of demographic diversity; nearly three-quarters of federal judges are white, and more than two-thirds are male.

We should also be thinking about how our system of justice is and isn't working for people. Judge-made doctrines like qualified immunity have slammed the courthouse doors to those looking to hold police accountable for abuses. Laws like the 1996 Prison Litigation Reform Act pose huge barriers to incarcerated people bringing civil rights cases. Congress should open up our courts so people can vindicate their rights.

What can Biden and Congress accomplish on the courts?

Biden has already signaled that he's going to prioritize judicial nominations — and that he's looking for nominees from diverse backgrounds, including civil rights lawyers. This is urgently needed to bring some balance to a judiciary that Trump has left a tremendous mark on.

The Supreme Court justices are the only judges in the country who don't follow a code of conduct, and it's telling that they have yet to adopt one. The For the People Act would require it. I also expect to see a push in Congress to add seats to the lower courts — something the judiciary says it needs to handle caseloads, which have grown tremendously. This has received bipartisan support in the past.

How does the judiciary fit into the broader democracy reform agenda?

So many of the problems in our courts come from the fact that our political branches aren't sufficiently representative of and responsive to the public. This makes it harder for the public to advocate for strong judicial nominees. It means that a lot of issues that should be addressed legislatively end up getting bootlegged to the courts. And most consequentially, it means that Congress only rarely uses its power to undo harmful Supreme Court decisions, even though in many instances the Court has left that option open.

Congress will have the chance to consider key legislation — the For the People Act and the Voting Rights Advancement Act. If we have a government that's really by, for, and of the people, that will make the courts less important. That's good news for the courts, and for all of us. ■



Racial Justice: Perfecting the American Experiment

Theodore R. Johnson is the director of the Brennan Center's Fellows Program. His book, *When the Stars Begin to Fall: Overcoming Racism and Renewing the Promise of America*, will be published in 2021 by Grove Atlantic.

You are the first director of the Brennan Center's Fellows Program. What's your vision for the program going forward?

I have two primary goals for the Fellows Program. The first is to bring new and diverse voices and perspectives that expand the reach of the Brennan Center's core mission and look ahead to policy challenges that Americans must confront. For example, we're bringing on a formerly incarcerated fellow to augment our policy work with the perspective of someone with lived experience in our nation's correctional facilities.

The second is to focus on the necessity to reform our democratic culture. We need to ensure

a citizenry that is properly equipped to participate in our democracy. Much of the Brennan Center's work is necessarily aimed at protecting and defending our democracy's systems and processes through executive, legislative, and judicial means. But if systemic reforms are paired with a disengaged or ill-prepared public, our democracy will not fulfill its potential. Our ability to achieve these goals will benefit from the input of a mix of fellows who collectively bring scholarship and an array of lived experiences and nontraditional career paths to bear.

You've also been a Brennan Center fellow for three years. What makes the program distinct?

There are few places where one can explore complicated topics and ideas, have the freedom to determine how best to pursue and share those ideas, and do so alongside the best legal minds working to reform our systems of democracy and

“If we are really serious about tackling structural racism, it’s going to require nearly all of us.”



Theodore R. Johnson

justice. You can bring an entrepreneurial spirit and your personal experience to the work, pair it with rigorous scholarship, and build on the Brennan Center’s programmatic work to reach new audiences. Our current cohort of fellows have undertaken book projects, organized public events and symposia, conducted applied and theoretical research, written narrative essays, and contributed timely op-eds on current news to complement the organization’s work.

The time and space to be curious is invaluable. In my three years here, I’ve written not only a book, but also essays and op-eds for more than a dozen national newspapers and magazines on Black voting behavior as well as race relations in America writ large. And I’ve moderated talks with leading scholars, renowned authors and journalists, and politicians from Georgia’s Stacey Abrams to South Carolina Sen. Tim Scott. The opportunity that the Fellows Program affords is extraordinary.

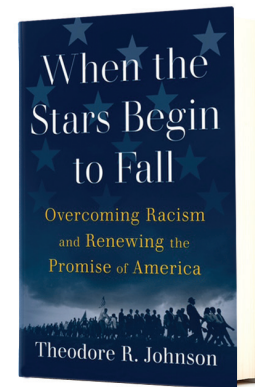
Your book grapples with racism, arguably the most critical issue facing America, and does so with optimism. Tell us about it.

There are lots of books out that tackle various challenges resulting from structural racism, and the seriousness of the topic often leaves readers feeling pessimistic about our ability to confront them. My book doesn’t shy away from the immensity of the challenges, but it seeks to provide a pathway through so that the United States can manage the effects of structural racism.

The argument is pretty straightforward: racism is the primary obstacle to America’s living up to its professed ideals, and the only way to get past

it is to instill a multiracial solidarity among Americans. It also argues that Black Americans’ historical experience in the United States provides lessons for what national solidarity should look like.

The book incorporates a wide reading of history, political science, and sociology as the foundation for its insights on how to create connections among the members of a diverse society. But it also includes deeply personal narratives to pair the scholarship with appeals to public sentiment. The book weaves this all together in a way that makes it accessible, engaging, and challenging all at once.



A lot of your writing delves into your family’s and your own experiences with race and racism. What experiences in your life make you optimistic that national solidarity is possible?

Almost the entirety of my life has required not only that I live and work with different racial and economic groups, but that I invest in each of them. I grew up in Raleigh, North Carolina, where my family was one of the few Black families in an overwhelmingly white neighborhood. I spent 20 years in the military, where I met, served with, and befriended Americans holding political ideologies across the spectrum. I went to a historically Black university for my undergraduate education and to graduate schools with students from very wealthy families.

All of the experiences and exposures demonstrated how very much the vast majority of Americans have in common. But it also exposed how dangerous it is when we are unable or unwilling to exit our comfort zones and engage the very

people we need to create a true multiracial democracy. The American project requires we find ways to create connections with democratic strangers. It is hard and involved and resource intensive, but it is possible. And frankly, it is the only way to ensure that the nation endures.

One of the admirable things about your work is you practice what you preach. You've written for very conservative audiences. Can you tell us about the experience and the responses you get?

The only way to make progress on race relations is to engage different audiences with a range of worldviews. So I've never been shy about making my argument for racial equality to whoever is willing to engage. I've written to share aspects of the Black experience in school, the military, politics, and in America writ large. And I rely heavily on personal and historical anecdotes to bring political and sociological research to life.

Some of the reception to my writing in conservative publications has been quite rough, as one might expect. But almost invariably, I receive comments or emails from readers who appreciate how the piece helped them see an issue differently or understand it more comprehensively.

If we are really serious about tackling structural racism, it's going to require nearly all of us — not just across lines of race and ethnicity, but also across partisan and ideological divides. The whole of the American project is contingent on engaging one another and finding common ground. Right now, that isn't happening as people become more and more polarized. But I hope my work can help people of good faith see they aren't so different from one another. ■



Fair Votes: Phasing Out the Electoral College

The undemocratic nature of the Electoral College is facing greater scrutiny. In two of the last six presidential elections, the system delivered the presidency to candidates who lost the popular vote. It encourages campaigns to focus on relatively few “battleground” states. And it dilutes the influence of voters of color. There are, however, efforts underway to phase it out.

John F. Kowal, the Brennan Center’s vice president for programs, and **Wilfred U. Codrington III**, assistant professor of law at Brooklyn Law School and Brennan Center fellow, explore this movement — and a history of constitutional reforms that have expanded the scope of American democracy — in their book, *The People’s Constitution*, to be published in 2021 by The New Press.

What did the 2020 election teach us about the Electoral College?

John F. Kowal: Last year, Donald Trump treated the

post–Election Day period as a sudden-death playoff, as if what had happened in the election itself didn’t matter. He lobbied state legislatures to disregard their own laws, and the will of the voters in their states, to appoint their own electors. That kind of behavior is made possible by this dangerous, outmoded, and absurd system of electing presidents.

What makes the Electoral College incompatible with American values?

Wilfred U. Codrington III: The Electoral College undermines the fundamental ideal of political equality. That was one of the biggest blights in the Constitution from the start: there just was no ideal of equality. We know that about half of the men who created the Constitution were slave owners. We know that there were no women in the rooms where these decisions were made. It took a civil war to actually enshrine the notion of equality in the Constitution. The Electoral College was built on



Wilfred U. Codrington III

the ideas that 1) it's the states and not the people that matter, and 2) only a certain segment of people have a voice. It was built on a lot of pretty awful compromises to thwart the idea of political equality.

How do the Electoral College's racist origins continue to manifest today?

Codrington: Every time there's been a chance to reform or get rid of the Electoral College, it was race that was in the foreground, stopping change from occurring. After the disastrous 1800 election almost tore the country apart, there was a proposal by a Massachusetts congressman to institute a direct popular vote for president. But even he knew it wouldn't be accepted because the three-fifths compromise gave southern states disproportionate representation. It created a political incentive to expand slavery.

Later, in the 1960s and '70s, when there was a real possibility of getting rid of the Electoral College and 80 percent of the country was behind that reform, it was the southern segregationists, led by Sen. Strom Thurmond, who thwarted that opportunity. He knew the Electoral College gave his bloc more clout in the South, where the majority of the country's Black population resides. In a winner-take-all system, Black votes don't matter, even where they make up a substantial minority.

Trump and his enablers looked to invalidate votes in cities like Detroit and Philadelphia, and in Fulton and DeKalb Counties in Georgia — all places with high concentrations of Black people.

Disenfranchising people of color is not even veiled at this point. But the 2020 election was determined by a popular vote margin of more than 7 million. Without the Electoral College, those schemes to try to overturn the will of the people would have been meaningless. Instead, what the Electoral College

does is augment and aggrandize the divisive racial politics in the country.

Is the National Popular Vote Interstate Compact (NPV) an effective path to reform?

Codrington: The ultimate reform would involve eliminating the Electoral College by constitutional amendment. In the meantime, the NPV is an interim reform that will hopefully push the country along.

Under the NPV, the participating states would award their electoral votes to whoever wins the national popular vote. Were 270 electoral votes' worth of states and jurisdictions — the amount required to elect the president — to sign on to the agreement, you would have a de facto popular vote election. Since the NPV was conceived, 16 states and the District of Columbia have joined. That's nearly 75 percent of the needed total.

In short, the NPV uses the current system to advance the ideal system. The idea is that the popular vote does not necessarily help Democrats or Republicans; it helps whoever wins the most votes. It encourages candidates to appeal to people beyond a handful of swing states.

Kowal: The NPV would address the pernicious effect of a battleground map in which a few states get all the attention. Under the current system, candidates have no incentive to increase their vote in reliably red or blue states, ignoring large numbers of voters of color in the process. One advantage of the NPV is that it's a lot easier to persuade a number of states equaling 270 electoral votes to join this compact than it is to get two-thirds of Congress to agree to an amendment in the first place. Once the NPV is established, we believe lawmakers will be more willing to devise a more permanent solution.



John F. Kowal

What role does this movement play in broader democracy and constitutional reform efforts?

Codrington: The Constitution has become more democratic, more inclusive, and more legitimate over time. That's because the franchise has been expanded and more people have been able to take part in the politics of this country.

For much of American history, Black people weren't even conceived of as people, never mind political beings. But the 15th Amendment ultimately changed that. Women were previously not conceived of as independent persons beyond the property of their fathers and husbands. But the 19th Amendment began to change that. Eighteen-year-olds weren't uniformly able to vote across the country until the 26th Amendment changed that. What we've seen is that people have gotten together and changed the Constitution because of movements to broaden democracy, to include more people, to make the country more legitimate.

These are all examples of the country moving toward the "more perfect union" described in the Constitution's preamble. Electoral College reform is part of the same movement — achieving a more democratic system where everyone gets to have a voice in selecting the single elected official who's supposed to represent everyone.

Kowal: We have to look at Electoral College reform as part of a larger set of remedies for what ails American democracy. There's the continued threat of voter suppression, the outside role of big money in our elections, the continued repercussions of partisan gerrymandering. Reforms that address these issues share the same goal — making our democracy more responsive to the will of the people. ■



Criminal Justice Reform: From Protest to Policy

Last summer, millions of Americans took to the streets in the wake of George Floyd's killing to protest police brutality and racial injustice. The national reckoning pushed criminal justice reform squarely to the fore of public debate ahead of the election and culminated in significant victories this past November, ranging from relaxed drug laws to greater police accountability across the country. **Lauren-Brooke Eisen**, director of the Justice Program, outlines the unique opportunities for the Biden administration to seize upon this momentum.

During the campaign, Joe Biden conceded that his support for the 1994 Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act was a "mistake." What opportunities will he have as president to truly reform our justice system?

Local jails and state prisons house the majority of our country's incarcerated population — but the

federal government still has a critical role to play in transforming our criminal legal systems. It can spark a paradigm shift in this country. One way the Biden administration can start is to halt federal subsidies for mass incarceration. It can do so by working with Congress to enact the Reverse Mass Incarceration Act (RMIA), a bill that would incentivize states to reduce both crime and incarceration. Under the RMIA, states would be free to choose the best path to achieving these goals, relying both on local expertise and on federal support.

Certainly, both Democrat and Republican leaders would be attracted to a program that improves public safety, reduces our reliance on an expensive and inefficient system, and recognizes the irreparable harms of mass incarceration, particularly on Black and brown people. First proposed by the Brennan Center in 2015, the RMIA was introduced in two previous congressional

“Mass incarceration drives and reinforces deep-seated racial inequity. It’s time for transformative change.”



Lauren-Brooke “L.B.” Eisen

sessions and was named by Biden as a key priority during his campaign. If the RMIA is enacted, we predict that it could reduce the national prison population by up to 20 percent over the next 10 years, saving state governments as much as \$12.1 billion and reducing the population of state prisons by 260,000.

Because this legislation would provide much-needed dollars for states, it offers the chance for immediate and high-impact action on behalf of criminal and racial justice reform.

The administration should also support federal drug law reform. It can also play a greater role in reimagining incarceration itself by limiting the use of solitary confinement, improving access to education, and ensuring that incarcerated people are treated with humanity and dignity.

What can the federal government do to ensure greater police accountability?

The Biden administration, through the Justice Department, should mandate use-of-force reporting by all law enforcement agencies and build a comprehensive database. The administration can convey its seriousness by making compliance a condition of federal aid.

Additionally, the DOJ should resume “pattern or practice” investigations that focus on systemic problematic behavior by a police department and should support legislation that would provide subpoena power for these investigations. This would be a 180-degree turn from the previous administration’s approach to local police departments that violate civil rights, which opened only one of these investigations in four years.

The events of 2020 highlighted how police departments are often called on to respond to situations and problems better addressed by

social workers and mental health professionals. The new administration should work with Congress to provide more funding to help counties and states implement co-responder models where social workers or therapists arrive on the scene together with police, allowing behavioral health specialists to offer assistance in crisis situations.

This administration should also prohibit the transfer of military-grade weapons to state and local law enforcement agencies. These military-grade weapons and armored vehicles belong in combat zones, not American streets.

In response to Trump’s controversial pardons, critics have argued that the president’s clemency power needs to be revoked or limited. You take the opposite view. Why should this practice be expanded?

Clemency is an important but seldom-used tool for checking the unjust outcomes produced by the criminal legal systems. In fact, as of October 2020, more than 13,000 federal clemency petitions still sat awaiting action.

But the current process is not transparent. Fact-finding takes place behind closed doors and requires seven layers of review. Reasons for grants or denials are neither explained nor subject to judicial review.

Given that there are possibly thousands of people who are appropriate clemency candidates sitting in federal prison, the new administration should increase the number of pardons and clemency grants. A new process, independent of the Department of Justice, should be adopted to better routinize its use. Clear standards and written decisions should be made accessible to the public to help demystify how clemency operates and secure public confidence.

With the pandemic surging among incarcerated populations, what measures can the new administration prioritize to improve conditions in federal prisons?

To date, there have been outbreaks at more than 850 jails and prisons in the country. At least 372,583 incarcerated people in prison have tested positive for Covid-19, and more than 2,359 have died. And these are just the people we know about.

The Biden administration should urge all 50 state governors, many of whom possess the power to grant clemency, to cut prison sentences short or pardon offenses outright. The administration should encourage governors and directors of correction to expand their states' "good time credit" or equivalent programs to reduce overall incarceration. And it should work with state prosecutors to keep people who have been convicted of crimes, but not yet sentenced, out of prison for the duration of this health crisis. Essentially, we're asking for the broadest relief for the largest group of people possible.

At the federal level, the administration must direct the federal Bureau of Prisons to proactively identify and release those who are medically vulnerable, or older, or who may be otherwise eligible for early release under the federal compassionate release provision.

For years the Brennan Center has pushed to reduce the size and scope of our correctional system. We saw some reduction in jail populations and number of arrests at the beginning of the pandemic, but we've since seen a huge uptick in jail populations. I hope this public health crisis will spark a true rethinking of who we can keep away from our vast incarceration infrastructure.

We've just witnessed a dramatic uptick in federal executions. What should this administration do to expedite the eradication of the federal death penalty?

The president should implement a moratorium on federal executions. If the Department of Justice refuses to pursue death penalty sentences, the Supreme Court may be encouraged to strike it down for good; the president's and Department of Justice's view that the death penalty is unconstitutional may convince the Court that our "standards of decency" have evolved beyond this cruel and unusual practice.

The administration should also work with Congress to pass legislation to immediately and permanently abolish the federal death penalty and commute existing federal death sentences to life without parole.

What's the broader/longer-term outlook for the fight to end mass incarceration?

We have 2.2 million people in our prisons and jails, more than 5 million on probation or parole, and 12 million admissions cycling through county and city jails every year. I hope we can continue to educate policymakers and the public that this level of incarceration has massive societal consequences. It drives and reinforces deep-seated racial inequity and disproportionately punishes both poor and Black Americans. It ruins people's lives and breaks up families. It's time for transformative change. We must work locally and nationally to reinvest in communities we've historically divested from, reduce unnecessary contact with law enforcement, shorten our overly long and punitive sentences, and ultimately, not mete out more harm through our criminal legal systems. ■



**BRENNAN
CENTER
LIVE**

Onstage to Online

The pandemic forced a pivot to virtual events and brought thousands of new viewers to Brennan Center programs.



▲ Journalist Adam Cohen on Injustice at the Supreme Court

Adam Cohen joins Melissa Murray, NYU law professor and Brennan Center Board member, to discuss his book *Supreme Inequality: The Supreme Court's Fifty-Year Battle for a More Unjust America*. Cohen discusses how the judiciary has become a driver of income inequality by failing to protect the interests of the working poor.

▼ Pandemic Propaganda: A New Electoral Crisis

In partnership with *Foreign Affairs* magazine, experts discuss how Covid-19 misinformation and conspiracy theories could impact the elections, and how to ensure safe, free, and fair access to the ballot. Clockwise from top left, Ángel Díaz, counsel, Liberty and National Security Program, Brennan Center; Daniel Kurtz-Phelan, executive editor, *Foreign Affairs*; Ian Vandewalker, senior counsel, Democracy Program, Brennan Center; and Laura Rosenberger, director, Alliance for Securing Democracy.





© Kahin: Courtesy of NYU Photo Bureau

◀ Election Expert Richard L. Hasen on Voters' Distrust

Richard L. Hasen, professor of law and political science at the University of California, Irvine, joins Brennan Center Fellow Victoria Bassetti to discuss his book *Election Meltdown: Dirty Tricks, Distrust, and the Threat to American Democracy*. Hasen identifies why voters increasingly distrust our electoral systems and offers proposals to boost public confidence.

▼ Why Fixing Democracy Is Easier Than You Think

Former Obama speechwriter David Litt speaks with Valerie Jarrett — his White House boss and former senior adviser to the president — about his book *Democracy in One Book or Less: How It Works, Why It Doesn't, and Why Fixing It Is Easier Than You Think*. Litt explains our political dysfunction and how to restore the balance of power.



▲ Dirty Tricks: 9 Falsehoods That Could Undermine the Election

As part of the Public Theater's "Creative Activism: A Day of Art, Ideas, and Action," Brennan Center experts join moderator Angelique Roché to outline the lies, misconceptions, and false arguments that voters will contend with in the 2020 elections. Clockwise from top left, Angelique Roché, journalist; Sean Morales-Doyle, deputy director, Voting Rights and Elections, Brennan Center; Elizabeth Howard, senior counsel, Democracy Program, Brennan Center; and Myrna Pérez, director, Voting Rights and Elections, Brennan Center.



▲ Historian Anne Applebaum on the “Seductive Lure of Authoritarianism”

Pulitzer Prize–winning historian Anne Applebaum joins *Washington Post* columnist Max Boot to discuss her book *Twilight of Democracy: The Seductive Lure of Authoritarianism*. Applebaum observes patterns among weakening democracies from Poland to the United States, and she describes how the cultural elite can enable autocracy.



▼ Incarceration and Inequality

Panelists discuss a groundbreaking Brennan Center report that shows how involvement with the criminal justice system lowers individuals’ earnings and compounds economic and racial disparities. Clockwise from top left, Nicole Austin-Hillery, executive director, U.S. Program, Human Rights Watch; Lauren-Brooke Eisen, director, Justice Program, Brennan Center; Ames Grawert, senior counsel and John L. Neu Justice Counsel, Justice Program, Brennan Center; and Wes Moore, CEO, Robin Hood.



◀ Voting and Representation Symposium: New Issues and Challenges (Day 1)

Four panels over the course of two days bring together legal experts and practitioners to discuss obstacles to voting, fair representation, and inclusive democracy. Clockwise from top left, Justin Levitt, associate dean for research and law professor, Loyola Law School; Eliza Sweren-Becker, counsel, Democracy Program, Brennan Center; Guy-Uriel Charles, Edward and Ellen Schwarzman Professor of Law, Duke Law School; and Janai Nelson, associate director-counsel, NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund.



Brennan Center President **Michael Waldman** kicked off the evening with Board member and 2015 Legacy Award honoree **Kimberley D. Harris**.



Fair Fight Action founder **Stacey Abrams** shared words of inspiration from her work in Georgia and the movement to stamp out voter suppression.

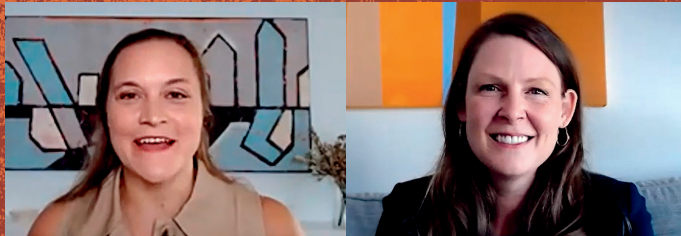
A Virtual Celebration

Like so many others, we had to reimagine our annual in-person gala. This year we held the Brennan Legacy Awards Dinner on October 20 and convened online with our supporters and partners — a fitting call to action in the urgent weeks leading up to the November election.

A dynamic evening video program highlighted an array of leaders for democracy and justice — past Legacy Award honorees, grassroots allies, civic and business voices — in conversation with Brennan Center experts. The event reached its largest audience yet and, more important, allowed our community to coalesce.



Kathy Behrens, president of Social Responsibility and Player Programs at the NBA, in conversation with former NBA player **Caron Butler** on his activism for justice reform.



Microsoft's Brad Smith (2014 honoree, not pictured) and **Ginny Badanes** joined Brennan Center senior counsel **Liz Howard** to highlight our election security partnership.



Desmond Meade, president of the Florida Rights Restoration Coalition and 2019 honoree, spoke with **Myrna Pérez**, the Center's director of Voting Rights and Elections.



Former N.J. Gov. **Christine Todd Whitman** and former U.S. Attorney **Preet Bharara** (2018 honorees) discussed their leadership of the Center's Task Force on Rule of Law and Democracy.



Sandra Phillips Rogers, chief legal and diversity officer of Toyota Motor North America and 2016 honoree, shared how corporate legal teams can join the fight for justice.



Playwright and actor **Anna Deavere Smith** (2005 honoree) gave a touching memorial tribute to Rep. John Lewis, heroic voting rights champion and 2006 honoree.

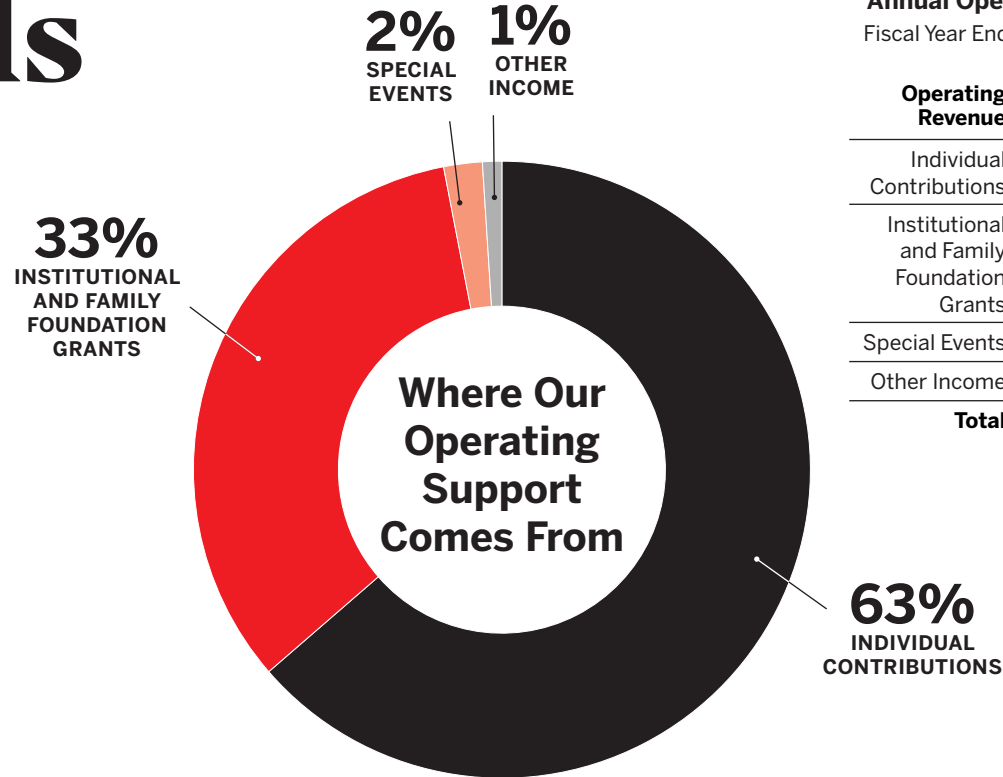


Laura Arnold, cofounder of Arnold Ventures, delivered an urgent call for criminal justice reform and an end to mass incarceration.

Financials

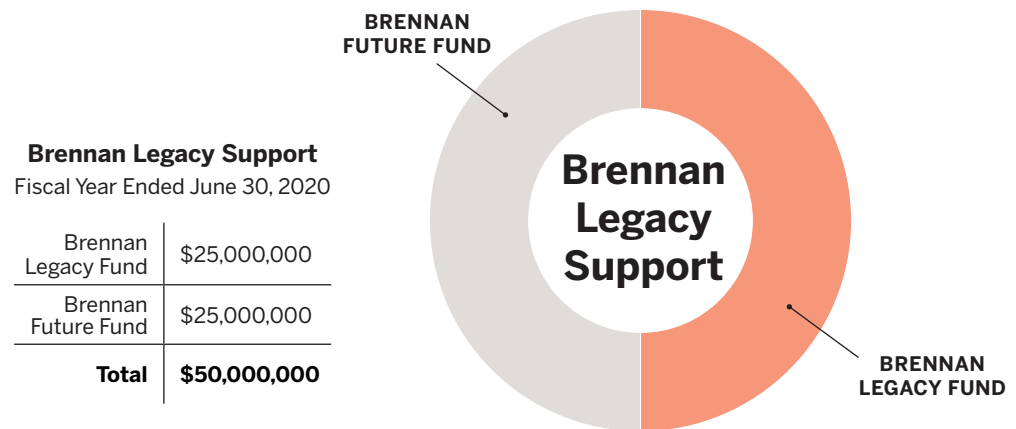
The unprecedented crises of 2020 garnered extraordinary interest in and commitment to our work. We are proud to have built a diverse base of support for our independent, nonpartisan approach and solutions. We deepened the Center’s long-term strength, as well, by raising dedicated funding for Brennan Legacy initiatives, which are described in detail on page 44.

The Brennan Center is grateful for the pro bono support provided by the law firm community; the monetary value of those services is not included in these charts.



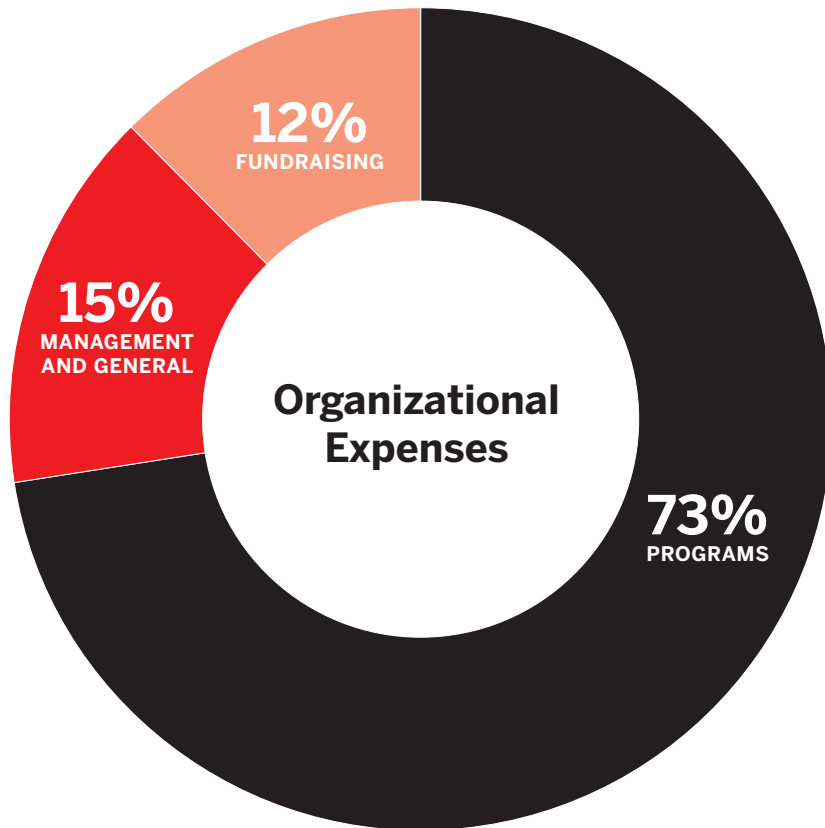
Annual Operating Support
Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 2020

Operating Revenue	2020 Total
Individual Contributions	\$21,835,934
Institutional and Family Foundation Grants	\$11,456,662
Special Events	\$827,216
Other Income	\$284,672
Total	\$34,404,484



Brennan Legacy Support
Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 2020

Brennan Legacy Fund	\$25,000,000
Brennan Future Fund	\$25,000,000
Total	\$50,000,000

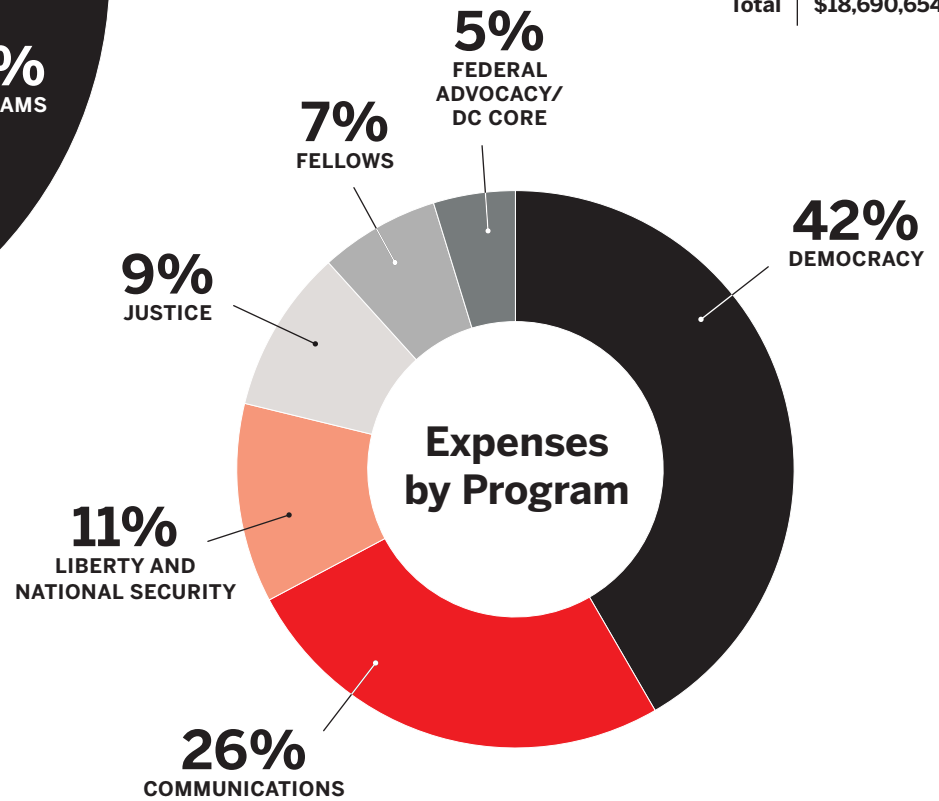


Organizational Expenses
Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 2020

Programs	\$18,690,654
Management and General	\$3,875,102
Fundraising	\$3,201,775
Total	\$25,767,531

Expenses by Program
Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 2020

Democracy	\$7,783,435
Communications	\$4,783,480
Liberty and National Security	\$2,161,824
Justice	\$1,774,250
Fellows	\$1,300,206
Federal Advocacy/DC Core	\$887,459
Total	\$18,690,654



Our Supporters

The Brennan Center's work is made possible through the generous financial support of more than 25,000 individuals and families, charitable foundations, law firms, and businesses. We are pleased to recognize the following leaders for their partnership in 2020:*

\$2,000,000+

Arnold Ventures
Ford Foundation
Lakeshore Foundation

\$1,000,000 – \$1,999,999

The Amazon Community, including Amazon's
Black Employee Network
Robert Wood Johnson Foundation
The JPB Foundation
Craig Newmark Philanthropies
Quadrivium
Solidarity Giving
Bernard and Anne Spitzer Charitable Trust

\$500,000 – \$999,999

Open Society Foundations
Salesforce
Wilf Family Foundations

*Funding levels represent annualized giving.

\$250,000 – \$499,999

Alumbra Innovations Foundation
The Battery Foundation
The Bauman Foundation
Carter Burden III and Susan Burden
Carnegie Corporation of New York
The Endeavor Foundation (formerly
Christian A. Johnson Endeavor Foundation)
The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation
Horizon Charitable Foundation
The Klarman Family Foundation
Leon Levy Foundation
The John and Wendy Neu Foundation
Park Foundation
Someland Foundation
Tides Foundation
Zegar Family Foundation

\$100,000 – \$249,999

Bainum Family Foundation
Bank of America
The Arthur M. Blank Family Foundation

Bohemian Foundation
Bridging Peace Fund of Tides Foundation
Marguerite Casey Foundation
Change Happens Foundation
Richard Chernick
Quinn Delaney and Wayne Jordan
Democracy Fund
Ray and Dagmar Dolby Fund
Marc Fasteau and Anne G. Fredericks
Charitable Fund
FJC - A Foundation of Philanthropic Funds
Fore River Foundation
Sibyl Frankenburg and Steven Kessel
Lisa and Douglas Goldman Fund
Noble and Lorraine Hancock Family Fund
Heising-Simons Foundation
Hellman Foundation
The Joyce Foundation
The Margaret and Daniel Loeb Foundation
The Mai Family Foundation
Mertz Gilmore Foundation
NEO Philanthropy
Ken Olum
The Overbrook Foundation
Piper Fund, a Proteus Fund initiative
Present Progressive Fund of Schwab Charitable
Public Wise
Charles H. Revson Foundation
The Rice Family Foundation
Estate of Carole Rifkind
Robin Hood
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
Schooner Foundation
Square One Foundation
Supporting American Democracy Program
of Shared Ascent Fund
2020 Census Project
The University of Chicago Law School

Vital Projects Fund
Wachtell, Lipton, Rosen & Katz
Wallace Global Fund
The WhyNot Initiative

\$50,000 – \$99,999

AJG Foundation
Leslie and Ashish Bhutani
Booth Ferris Foundation
Samuel Brin
Centerview Partners
The Donald and Carole Chaiken Foundation
Columbia Law School
The Cooper-Siegel Family Foundation
CREDO
Theodore Cross Family Charitable Foundation
Cynthia Crossen and James Gleick
Dorot Foundation
The Ralph and Fanny Ellison Charitable Trust
Equal Justice Works
Fast Tempos & Odd Time Signatures
FThree Foundation
Cathy and Larry Gilson
Robert Goodman and Jayne Lipman
The Gardner Grout Foundation
Geoffrey Gund Fund
Horace and Amy Hagedorn Fund
Hanover Charitable Fund
The Charles Evans Hughes
Memorial Foundation
Michele and David Joerg
Richard and Francine Loeb Family Foundation
Nancy and Edwin Marks Family Foundation
Media Democracy Fund
Robert B. Menschel
Michelle Mercer and Bruce Golden
Microsoft
The Fred & Gilda Nobel Foundation

Paul Hastings LLP
PayPal
Quinn Emanuel Urquhart & Sullivan, LLP
Ryan Rockefeller and Julia Jansch
Wyatt Rockefeller and Julie Fabrizio
The Selbin Family
Gretchen Sisson and Andrew McCollum
David and Liz Ehrenfest Steinglass
Sudarsky Family Foundation
The Tow Foundation
William B. Wiener, Jr. Foundation

\$25,000 – \$49,999

Robert Atkins
Patricia Bauman and Hon. John Landrum Bryant
Bernstein Litowitz Berger & Grossmann LLP
Allen Blue and Kira Snyder
William C. Bullitt Foundation
Cavali Foundation
Hannah LF Cooper
Cravath, Swaine & Moore LLP
CS Fund/Warsh-Mott Legacy
Davis Polk & Wardwell LLP
Edwards Family Fund
The Law Offices of Kenneth R. Feinberg, PC
Mary Ford
Mark Friedman and Marjorie Solomon
Susan Sachs Goldman
John and Kathryn Greenberg
Gutttag Family Foundation
Erica and Rich Halverson
Tom Healy and Fred P. Hochberg
The Heller Foundation
Matt and Kathryn Kamm
Alexander and Elizabeth Kendall
Kirkland & Ellis LLP
Ruth Lazarus and Michael Feldberg
Leaves of Grass Fund

Lebowitz-Aberly Family Foundation
The Shirley and Milton Levy Family
Charitable Trust
Loeb Family Charitable Fund
A.L. Mailman Family Foundation
The Chris and Melody Malachowsky
Family Foundation
Patricia Nelson Matkowski
Christopher and Linda Mayer
Nion McEvoy and Leslie Berriman
The Katie McGrath & J.J. Abrams
Family Foundation
Ken Miller and Lybess Sweezy
Roger and Margot Milliken
Weston Milliken at Tides Foundation
Molina Family Foundation
Karen Morris and Alan Levenson
Jill and Geoffrey Parker
Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton
& Garrison LLP
PepsiCo
Fran and Charles Rodgers
Gerald Rosenfeld and Judith Zarin
The Schmale Family
Trink and Ernie Schurian
Frederick A.O. Schwarz, Jr.
Jon and Mary Shirley Foundation
The Spring Up Fund
Mark Stevens and Mary Murphy
Sandor and Faye Straus
Maurice S Surlow Memorial Fund of
the Jewish Community Foundation
Teach A Man To Fish Foundation
University of Minnesota Law School
Valone Family Fund
Scott and Christy Wallace
The Winkler Family Foundation (TX)
Kaethe and Gordon Zellner

SUPPORTERS

\$10,000 – \$24,999

Alpern Family Foundation
Harold C. Appleton
Arnold & Porter
Bangs Family Fund
Bartlett Family Charitable Fund
Jeff Benjamin
Michael Beriss and Jean Carlson
Helen Bernstein
Tom and Andi Bernstein
B-Giving Roetzel Family Foundation
The Birches Foundation
Alan and Madeline Blinder
The Herb Block Foundation
Bushnell-Kessel Charitable Fund
Joan Cirillo and Roger Cooke
Marilyn Clements
Nancy Cloud
Naomi and Harvey Cohen
Cooper-MacGrath Foundation
Richard Cotton
Craig Dessen and Kerrie Horrocks
Howard Dickstein and Jeannine English
Natasha and David Dolby
Dolotta Family Charitable Foundation
Catherine and Thomas Dunlay Family Fund
of the Greater Cincinnati Foundation
Susan and Charles Elder
AJ Epstein
Evolve Foundation
Lester and Carol Ezrati
Morris F. Friedell
Fund for a Safer Future
Fund for the Future at Rockefeller Family Fund
Serra Falk Goldman
David and Sylvia Goodman
Peggy and Richard D. Greenfield
Jean and Anthony Greenwald

The Marc Haas Foundation
Hagler Family Fund
Lee Halprin and Abby Rockefeller
Alice Herb
Ramsey Homsany
Cindy and Alan Horn
The Audrey & Sydney Irmas
Charitable Foundation
Jackson Family Fund of the Princeton Area
Community Foundation
David Jernberg
Thomas and Mary Anne Jorde
JPMorgan Chase & Co.
Janet and Stanley Kane Foundation
Catherine and Josh Kanter
Rochelle S. Kaplan and Arthur D. Lipson
Karsten Family Foundation
Jerold and Stephanie Kayden
Daniel F. Kolb
Arthur Krumrey and Cinda Berry Fund
The Lancaster and Walker Family Fund
Robert and Carol Lawson
Lederer Foundation
Linda-Eling Lee and Jan Hatzius
The Lehman-Stamm Family Fund
Leslie Fund
Levi Strauss Foundation
John Levy and Gail Rothenberg
Sheralyn Listgarten
Loeb Family Charitable Foundations
Ilona Marsh and Mark Stein
Meltzer-Thorne Family Fund of the
Liberty Hill Foundation
Wilhelm Merck and Nonie Brady
MeUndies
Nancy Meyer and Marc Weiss
Nathan and Rebecca Milikowsky
The Betty Millard Foundation

Huang Min Charitable Fund
Nelson Minar
The Leo Model Foundation
Moldauer Family Fund
National Basketball Association
NBCUniversal
Northrop Grumman Foundation
Nicholas S. Noyes
Vivian and Paul Olum Charitable Foundation
Orrick, Herrington & Sutcliffe LLP
Franz Paasche and Alison Pavia
Morris and Barbara Pearl
Sue Pearl
Pfizer Inc.
Jonathan Reiss and Micki Kaplan Reiss
Steven Alan Reiss and Mary Mattingly
Alice and Ben Reiter
David and Laura Richardson
Larry and Wendy Rockefeller
Sandra and William Rogers
Robert C. Rothhouse
Eric and Alexandra Schoenberg
Robert T. Shelton Trust
Simpson Thacher & Bartlett LLP
SLC Giving Fund
Steigerwald Family Gift Fund
Mary Ann Stein
Barbra Streisand
Susan Iris Sugar
Lawrence Summers and Elisa New
Thurnauer Charitable Trust
Alice Underwood
University of California, Berkeley Law School
Weil, Gotshal & Manges LLP
Wheeler Charitable Foundation
Wild Thyme Fund
The Winkler Family Foundation (CA)
Wendy C. Wolf

Yo La Tengo
Zaitlin-Nienberg Family Fund

\$5,000 – \$9,999

Eli Adler
Shane Adler
Rajeev and Arpita Agarwal
Jessica Agnew-Blais and Peter Deming
Philip and Edith Altbach
David Altshuler
Maurice Amado Foundation
Angell Charitable Trust
Brian Arbogast and Valerie Tarico
Lawrence N. Barshay
Daniel Baumol and Sabrina L. Lee
Chantal and Curtis Below
The Dale and Max W. Berger Foundation
Marsha Dick Bilzin
Carol Black and Neal Marlens
BLT Charitable Trust
Jill Braufman
Catherine Brienza JD and Dr. Patrick Roth
Dorothy C. Bullitt
CapSpecialty
Brad and Judy Chase
Katherine Bassell Crowe
Cuneo Gilbert & LaDuca, LLP
Joan K. Davidson (The J.M. Kaplan Fund)
Donna K. Donaghy
Ronald and Diane Eichner
Enhancing Tomorrow Foundation
Barbara Eymann and Robert Antonisse
Lillian H. Florsheim Foundation
Mark W. Friedman and Ema Vidak Gojkovic
Ross Garon and Anna Suh
Holly and Rudy Geist
Patricia Hellman Gibbs
Linda Gochfeld

Renee Kamm Goff and Neal Goff
Steven and Cindy Goldstein
Nicholas P. Groombridge and Kimberly Conner
Lisa Gustavson and Christopher Sales
David P. Halstead
Phil Hammond
Kimberley D. Harris
Janet and Richard Hart
Hogan Lovells US LLP
Susie Hwang and Matthew Glickman
Gloria Jarecki, The Brightwater Fund
Kanter Family Foundation
Daphne Keller and Jim Greer
John S. Kendall
Richard Kendall and Lisa See
Frida Kumar
Lashof Family Giving Account
John Lazarus
Lee-Zacheis Family Fund
Jonathan E. Lehman
Richard and Madeleine Lenski
The Hyman Levine Family Foundation: L'Dor V'Dor
Alex Li
Paul and Karen Lightfoot
Jonathan Marshall and Lorrie Goldin
Shaun and Kathy Matthews
Doneg McDonough, CEO,
Health System Analytics, LLC
Bozena and John A. McLees
Jeffrey Mellen and Kathryn Hamlin
Menemsha Family Fund
Jane and Richard A. Mescon
Metalsmiths for Change
Bonnie Mills and Doug Eicher
Mogen Foundation
The John Henry Moore Fund
The Morrison & Foerster Foundation
Douglas M. Myers and Sue-Ellen Myers

The Native Iris Fund at Community Foundation
Santa Cruz County
Navigator Limited
John and Jean Nonna
Stephen and Marry Norris
O'Melveny & Myers LLP
Pearlman-Swartz Charitable Fund
Darsha Primich and Robert Fleisher
PSSC Labs
Mary Redmond and Eli Schloss
The Grace Jones Richardson Trust
Heidi and Richard Rieger
The Rosewater Fund
Jacqueline P. Rubin and Matthew Healey
Ms. Karen Sanford
Schulte Roth & Zabel LLP
Gail and Edward Scovell
Donna V. and John L. Sennott Jr.
September 20th Fund of
the New World Foundation
The Shames Family Foundation
Brad and Elaine Shapiro
Howard M. Shapiro and Shirley Brandman
Saul B. Shapiro and Kerith J. Aronow
The Silver Foundation
Mason Smith
Nancy and John Solana
The Jocelyn and Alyssa Spencer Charitable Fund
Stanford Law School
Mary Cummer Steele
Sidney Stern Memorial Trust
Peggy and David Tanner
Tuttleman Foundation
Jyoti Uppuluri and Boaz Gurdin
Christine Varney and Tom Graham
Philippe and Katherine Villers
Visa
Kenneth Vittor and Judith Aisen Charitable Fund

SUPPORTERS

Hon. Jenonne Walker
Carol Warshawsky
Clare and Richard Weinberg
Judy and Doug Weinstock
Roger Weisberg and Karen Freedman
Janet L. Winter
Holly S. Wright
Charlie Wu
WWGD Fund of the Liberty Hill Foundation
Isaac Zacharias
The David and Mary Zimmer Charitable Gift Fund

\$1,000 – \$4,999

Don Abbott
John Aerni
Howard J. Aibel, Esq.
The Akili Fund
Diana Alcázar-O'Dowd and Joseph O'Dowd
Dr. Mary Elizabeth Alexander
Edith W. and Frederick P. Allen
AllTrails Inc
Judith and Roy Alper
Sarah Bakes LLC (Sarah Myers Altman)
Julie and Alan Altshuler
Sharman B. Altshuler
American Patriot in Paris
Angeles Investment Advisors, LLC
Mrs. Kendall S. Anthony
Vanessa Antonetti
Varda Appleton and David Schriger
Estate of Linda Arden
Celine M. Armstrong and Kaivan M. A. Shakib
Katherine B. Arthaud
Ashman Family Charitable Fund
Astor Street Foundation, Inc.
Paul and Sarah Auvil
Leticia Baca
Keriann Backus

Emily and Sam Bacon
Benjamin M. Baker
Ms. Rana Baladi
The Hilaria and Alec Baldwin Foundation
Anne and Bill Baretz
Leora Barish and Henry Bean
Sandra S. Baron and Gregory L. Diskant
Ken and Lisa Baronsky
Anthony Barron
Chris and Margot Barry
Stuart J. Baskin and Linda Lennon
Richard and Taylor Beale Family Fund
W. Robinson and Barbara W. Beard
Emily Beeny and Abe Frank
James R. and Linda Beers
Bella Domani
Judith E. Belsky
Cassandra Benjamin and Michael Patterson
Dianne Bennett
James Bennett
Karen Berg
Anna Bernstein
Henry Bernstein
Zachary and Rachael Bernstein
Annie Berry
Ann C. Bertino and Joseph L. Pellis II
Aaron Bieber and Veronica Bieber
William Bingley
Mark and Deborah Blackman Charitable Trust
Richard Blau
Zachary and Rebecca Blume
Andrew R. Bokor and Lisa A. Moss
Nan Booth
Katherine Borsecnik and Gene Weil
Sean O'Donnell Bosack
Thomas Bowen, Jr.
Jack Bradshaw
Ann Bramwell

Carolyn Bliss Branson
Beverly Brodsky
Edward J. Bronson
Richard Bronstein and Eileen Silvers
Jeff Brooks
Peter Brooks
Richard Brosnick and Jill Del Monico
Andrew Brown and Marley Goldman
Dr. Robert J. Brown
Carol Brull
Sara B. and Michael D. Buckley
Alice and Lance Buhl
Dr. Douglas W. and Rebecca G. Bunnell
Michelle Burg
Brian Burke and Lynn Margherio
Patricia Burke
Michael Burns
Nicole J. Burton
The Byock-Shaw Family Fund of
the Liberty Hill Foundation
Michael Byowitz and Ruth Holzer
Steve and Buffy Cafilisch
John Callery
Joel Truex Camche
James Cannon and Cheryl Stevenson
Cardinal Brook Trust
Larry Chait and Charmane Eastman
Kelvin and Kasey Chen
Mel Chen
Catherine Chenu-Campbell
Ron Chernow
Frederick Chiccone
Kathy and Stuart Chiron
Joseph Chung
Alison Cichowlas
Alison Cien Fuegos
Dr. Ryan and Mrs. Ann Claycomb
Robert Coffman

The Donald and Gayle Collat Charitable Fund
Cherida Collins-Smith
Dana and Sunny Jo Comfort
Ann Condon
Richard Connell
Dr. Harry Conner and Dr. Carol Scott-Conner
Margaret Conrow
Dr. Stephen and Wendi Cook
James E. Costello
Margaret Cotton
Kirk Cozine
Kevin Crandell
Nina Cunningham
Robert F. Cusumano
Andrew Daly
Kirk Davenport
Deborah A. David and Norman A. Kurland
Bill Davidson
Bill Davies
Rassa Davoodpour
Craig and Julie Deao
Debevoise & Plimpton LLP
Thomas E. DeBlois, M.D.
Carl A. and Nancy J. de Brito
Matthew Delaney
Michael Delman
Roberta Denning
Jeffrey Dennis
Tobey and Mark Dichter
Amy J. Divine
Amanda and Emmett Doerr
Stephen and Minda Dolmatch
The Double E Foundation
Adrienne Douglas
Brandon M. Dow
Janet Dracksdorf and Stephen Mills
Kevin Dreyfuss
George Driesen

Drone Giving Fund
Pat Dunbar
The Dungan-Ahearn Charitable Fund
Karen Dunn
Susan and Thomas Dunn
Carey Dunne
William J. Durch
D.A. Durkin, Sr.
Dr. Francine D. Dykes and Richard Delay
Robert Eberle
Jessica and Brett Ecker
Eden Hand Arts
Will Edmonson
Edward and Sons Trading Co., Inc.
Carlton Einsel
Amber Elliot
Mike Elliott
Jeffrey and Rebecca Engel
Michelle and Glenn Engelmann
Mr. and Mrs. Alain Enthoven
Walter Eugene and Eva Goldwater
Richard Evers
Fred Farkouh
Mary Fasching and Bob Osann
Michael and Kathi Fay
James D. Fearon and Lisa T. Derrer
Jim Feldman
James W. and Elizabeth B. Fentress
Alan and Brenda Ferber
Jesse and Betsy Fink
Heidi S. Fiske
Jody Fleischer
Nancy E. Fleischer
Peter E. Fleming
Susan Flicop and Christopher Hill
Seira Flores
Nancy and Thomas Florsheim
Annemarie and Luke Forrest

Alix Foster
Stephen and Lynda Fox
Andrew Frackman and Emily Braun
David Frane and Charla Gabert
Kathryn W. Frank and James B. Blume
Mary Frank
Paul and Joan Franklin
Franklin Philanthropic Foundation
Freedom House
Sabine and Todd Friedbacher
Eleanor Friedman and Jonathan Cohen
Ruth and Edward Friedman
Frischling Bauman Family Fund
Jennifer Frutchy
David Quinn Gacioch/The Gacioch Family
Sean Eric Gaddis
Christopher Saxton Gaillard
Meredith and Joel Gantcher
Josh Garvin
Margery Gass
Gordon and Shelley Geballe
Stephen Gelardi
The Genz and Ramirez Fund
Katherine and Michael George
Lisa Gerchick
Julie Ann Giacobassi and Zach Hall
Tracy C. Gibbons, Ph.D.
Bruce C. Gibney
Jonathan Gibson
J.J. Gifford
Daniel Ginsburg and Laura Lechner
Raymond P. Ginther and Marie M. Ginther
Brooke Gladstone and Fred Kaplan
Rolf Goeth
Daniel and Melanie Goldey
Daniel Goldstein and Laura Sklar
Yarian Gomez
Ellen Feldberg Gordon and Michael Gordon

SUPPORTERS

Cathleen Gorman
Lynne Gottlieb
Michael J. Gottlieb
William S. and Monica Grabin
Danielle C. Gray
Katherine Gray
Paul A. Gray and Enrica Vagliani
Leonard Green and Debra Green
Donald Greenberg
Megan Greenberg
Francis J. Greenburger
The Greene-Milstein Family Foundation
The Stewart and Constance Greenfield Foundation
Sean and Alisha Griffey
Frank Grobman
Liz Kanter Groskind and Eric Groskind
Elaina and Gary Gross
Antonia and George Grumbach
Adele Grunberg
Simon and Masako Guest
Evan Guillemin
Katie Gunther
Hank and Karoly Gutman
Beth and Paul Gutwin
Joseph A. Guzinski
Barry Haas and Susan Hardin
Fred Habeeb Jr.
Heda Elmendorf Hahn
John H. Hall
Julie and Alan Halpern
Halpern Family Fund
Robert and Kristi Hardin
Bob and Linda Harris
Christopher F. and Megan Harris
Cindy and David Harrison
Mark and Ellen Harrison
Robert and Justine Haselow
Brad Hathaway

Hawk Family Foundation
Michael Haynes
David C. Heilbron
Sharon and Alex Henthorn-Iwane
Anne Herman
Stacey Herzing
William Himwich
Ira Hirschfield and Tom Hansen
Julie Holinga and Brian Hamburg
Hollione Fund
Deborah Holtz
Sara Holtz
Spencer Holtzman
Tamisie Honey
Ross Hooper
David E. Howard and Mike Murphy
Hubbard Zapolsky Family
Scott Huckins
Elizabeth B. Hughes
Marsha Hurst and Richard J. Hiller
Kim Isley and Emily Fisher
Samuel Issacharoff, Professor, NYU Law
Jane Jackson
Chris D. Jagel, Esq.
Karen and Peter Jakes
Pamela Jarvis
George and Jane Jaynes
Elizabeth Jennings
Tom and Betsy Jennings
Samantha and Mark T. Johnsen
Lynn R. Johnson
Roger Johnson
Beverly J. Johnston
Harry M. and Ruth Johnston
Chris and Martina Jones
Marc and Jeanie K. Kahn
Susan Kaiden
Garrett Kamps

Mark E. Kaplan
Peter Kaplan and Katharine Hanson
Nancy Ann Stern Karetsky
Chris and Beth Karlin
Robert J. Katz
Kazan McClain Partners' Foundation
Susannah Keagle
Robert and Wendy Kenney
Lori Kenschaft and Randall Smith
Alicia Kershaw
Lena H. Kim and Theodore D. Ruel
Dana Kirchman
Clay K. Kirk
Alice J. Kitchen
Nicholas and Erin Kitten
David C. Kleiman
Joanna Knobler and Ira Kawaller
Beth Korein
KORG USA, Inc
Paul Korman
Michael A. Kost
Lillian E. Kraemer
Mary A. and Julius R. Krevans
Shyam Krishnan
Stephen F. Kunkel
Dal LaMagna and Sarah Drew
Bruce and Susanne Landau
Allison Landis
Jonathan Lanning
William and Ann Lansing
Dorothy Largay
John Larse
Richard C. Laskey
Donald Lateiner
Laurie S. Lauterbach
Risa Lavizzo-Mourey
Flora Lazar and Lee Greenhouse
David Lazear

James Leary
Margaret A. Leary
Peter Lebowitz
Lee-Murphy Charitable Gift Fund
Benjamin Lerman and Judith Hahn
Sharon and Seth Leslie
Meryl Levin
Zahavah Levine and Jeff Meyer
C. Stephen Lewis
David A. Lewis
Miriam Lezak
Linda Lichter and Nick Marck
Liddell Family
Nisha Ligon
Aaron Lin
Paula and Barry Litt
Robert Lofthus
Mindy Loiselle and Lanny Levenson
Dr. R. Scott and Jenna Lokey
Timothy Long
Steven Lubet and Linda Lipton
Michael Luey
Mitzi Lyman and David Geronemus
Sarah Lynch
Tom Lyons
Lisa and Paul Maco
Jesse and Alissa Maddren
Kenley Maddux
Kerry K. Madigan
Lawrence Madison
James Maino and Lisa Kilburn
Edward R. Mandell and Lisa J. Greenberg
Yael Mandelstam and Ken Tabachnick
Maude and John March (The Little Long Pond Fund)
Philip H. Martin
Susan E. Martin, Ph.D.
Peter Martinazzi
Maryann K. Maslan Jacobson

Jim Masson and Katie Heinrich
Seth and Suzette Brooks Masters
Sara Matlin and Jay Laefer
Abigail and Collin McCreath
McGilliard Donation Fund
Cooper and Alexandra McGuire
David and Michela McMahon
Jonathan C. Medow
Barbara J. Meislin
Wallace D. Mersereau
Frank and Ellen Michelman
Middle Road Foundation
Amanda Miller
Barbara Miller and James Alleman
Harry Miller
Kristie Miller
Melvin Miller
Ron Miller
Miller Gootnick Family Fund
The Millman and Schiff Family Philanthropic Fund
David and Leslee Miraldi
Frank Mitchell
Raamla Mohamed
Moliver Fund
Jonathan Mondschein and (Ms.) Dale Reyer
Ruthanne Marie Morentz
William T. Morkill
Mary and Malcolm Morris
Owynn Morrow
Ella C. Mose
Zev Luria Murgai
Melissa Murray and Joshua Hill
Andrew E. Nagel
Bette and Jeffrey Nagin
James Robert Nelson
Michael Newman
Sarah Crane Newman
Thomas and Diane Neyens

Mary Anne Nidiry
Nancy S. Nordhoff
Norman Giving Fund
Notaboat Fund
Carol Noymer
Nick Nyhart and Kathleen McTigue
John and Leslie J. Oberdorfer
Olive Bridge Fund
Warren Oliveri and McGennis Williams
John and Lorraine Olson
James Orlet
Rachel and John Osborn
April Palmatier Charitable Fund
Diane Parker
Debra and Allen Parmet
Marcus Paroske
Brian and Erin Pastuszanski
Diane Pattee
Daniel Patterson
Elizabeth (Libba) Patterson
Cranston Paull and Carrie T. Drake
Patti Penski
Margot Perot
Laurence and Caren Peters
Richard G. Peterson
Isabel Petrikin
The Pew Charitable Trusts
Greg and Jan Phillips
Piedmont Office Realty Trust
Linda K. Pierce
Susan Pimentel, Esq.
PixelSpoke Worker Cooperative
Ruth and Stephen Pollak
Deborah Poore
Lia and William Poorvu
Posel Gockley Fund of the Whatcom
Community Foundation
The Pratt Family Giving Fund

SUPPORTERS

Carol L. Preisig and Katherine A. P. Corn
Tamara and Jeremy Preiss
Hope and Michael Proper
Anderson Pugash
Punchpass Software for Fitness Studios
Cindy and Chris Pyle
Christopher Quilter Fund
Josh Radnor
Drew Raines
Cathy Raphael
Rebecca L. Rawls
Ken Regelson and Judith Wong
Kathy Reich and Ken Meyer
Thomas M. Reichheld
Scott W. Reilly
Reinys-Fox Charitable Fund
Margaret Renik
Mary Jo Reston
Richard L. Revesz and Vicki Been
Thomas W. Rezanka, Esq.
Nina Reznick
Vickie Riccardo and Donald Spencer
Paula Riggert
Gayle C. Riggs
José E. Rivera and Tejal R. Vakharia
The RMHauser Family Fund
Carolyn and Harold Robb
John Angell Robbins, II
Richard K. Robbins
Kathleen A. Roberts and Howard Clyman
Loren Rodgers
Serena Torrey Roosevelt and Theodore Roosevelt V
Sidney S. Rosdeitcher
Norma Rose
Liane J. Roseman
Michael B. Rosenzweig
S. Paul and Donna Rosenzweig
Sidney Rothberg and Susan Robbins Rothberg

Alan Rothman and Lori Bornstein
The RPM Fund
David, Adrienne, and Jordan Rubin Fund
Philip Rubin
Angelica Zander Rudenstine and Neil L. Rudenstine
Rolf and Jennifer Russell
M Duane Rutledge
Nancy J. and Bradley Sabel
Molly and Andrew Sacamano
Lynn and John Sachs
Patricia Sax
Binyumen and Carol Schaechter
Rick Schaffer
Rachael Scheinman
Michael L. Schler
William Schwartz and Lucy Chudson
Janell Schweickert
Tracy and Evan Segal
Cathy J. Seidenberg
Richard D. Seifert
Betsey and Arthur Selkowitz
Marc M. Seltzer
Veronica Selzler
Linda Senat
Ann and Irwin Sentilles
The Senville Foundation
Shasta Fund
Ilene Shaw
Dean Shea
Aviad Sheinfeld
Susan Shelhamer
Timothy Shepard and Andra Georges
Jane C. Sherburne
Joan Sherman
Kevin Sherman and Sarah Greenwalt
Peter R. and Claudia A. Sherman
Carolyn Shine
Andrew I. Shore

Matthew Shurtleff
Alan Siegel
Dr. Eugenia L. Siegler and David Hochman
Nicholas Sievers
Barbara Sih and Michael Klausner
Amanda Silver
Noel L. Silverman and Tanya M. Melich
Stuart Silverman
Barbara Silverstein
Julia and Daniel Small
Nathan S. Smith
The Stephen S. and Paula K. Smith
Family Foundation
Joanna Solmon
David Solomito and Dane Larsen
Soros Fund Charitable Foundation
Sterling Speirn
Gene Sperling and Allison Abner
Michael Spiegelman
Robert B. Stack and Vivian Escobar-Stack
Richard and Meredith Stark
Bill Stasiulatis and Carolina Saez
Lauri and Gordon Steel
Beth Stekler
William Stempel and Roberta Friedman
James L. Stengel
Stern Benoit Family Foundation
Saul Sternberg
Myron Steves and Rowena Young
Dr. Lawrence Stifler
In Memory of Tom Stoddard
Peter Stoel and Karen Josephson
Antonia Stolper and Robert Fertik
Milton E. Strauss
Andria Strelow
Tim Stumbaugh
Joanna Sturm
Matthew Scott Sucherman and Tracy Anne Yosten

Jen Suellentrop
David and Catherine Sullivan
Bernard and Phyllis Sussman
John Sutcliffe
Clare Sutphin and Jack Clancy
Jeanne Sutton
Janet and John A. Swanson
Cheryl L. Sweeney
Frances Sweeney
Barbara K. Sweet
Faith Swennes
James Swigert and Nancy Neubert
Bruce Swinehart
Claire M. Tangvald
TarverWalls Foundation
Melita M. Teichert
Ellen Tenenbaum and Craig Zimmerman
Alice Tenney
Michael C. Tharp
Robert L. and Carolyn Thompson
Thompson Street Charitable Fund
Susanna and Linda Thornton
Timothy and Sally Tomlinson
Mrs. Alanna Tondi and Mr. Max Potasznik
Jean Mitoko Toyama
Catherine C. Tracy
Mr. Thomas Tudor
The Tufenkian Foundation
Alice Turak
Judith Turian, Ph.D.
Dr. Laura D. Tyson
Uncle Barry's
Unitarian Church of Evanston
United Way of Metropolitan Chicago
Steven R. VanBever
Lesley Vance
Patricia E. Vance
Helen C. van der Voort

Sarah Rosenwald Varet and Jesse Coleman
Art Varnado
Christine Varner
Vera Institute of Justice
The Vervane Foundation
Victoria's Giving
Audrey W. Vincent
Nik Waggener
Wagging Tail Fund
Karen E. Wagner
Mary Wang and Christian Nyampeta
Mikel Ward
Kenneth and Rita Warner
Mrs. Lynn Warshow
The Wasserman Foundation
Charles Weinstein
Phyllis Weinstock and Mark Hansen
Helene Weisz
Fred and Emily Weitz
Richard Wekerle
Lawson Wetli
Karen Kay and Rodney Harold Wiens
Tim Willgohs
Laurie Williams
Tess Williams and Tim Warden-Hertz
William J. Williams, Jr.
Steven Wish
With Chocolate Sauce Foundation
Frank H. Wohl Esq.
Fredric Woocher and Wendy Dozoretz
Elizabeth Woodard
Suze Woolf
James Worth
Peter M. Wright
Max Yaffe
Jean Yngve
Grant Young
Zacks Family Foundation

Laura Zado
Susan Zimicki
Charles Zimmer
Craig H. Zimmerman
Robert P. Zimmerman
Zuckerman Spaeder LLP

Special Thanks

The Brennan Center extends its deepest gratitude to the many supporters whose names are not listed here, including those who contribute through collaborative funding networks, pro bono legal assistance, or employee giving programs, as well as donors who prefer to remain anonymous.

We sincerely regret any omissions or incorrect listings. Please contact us at donations@brennan.law.nyu.edu with updates.

The illustrations throughout this report are from our new video, "The Brennan Center's Fight for Change," which we produced with Brand New School. You can find it on our website and on [YouTube.com/BrennanCenter](https://www.youtube.com/BrennanCenter).

Special Funds

The Brennan Center for Justice has created three special initiatives, each designed to ensure a solid, sustainable future for our organization.

Brennan Legacy Fund

This is our Board-directed strategic opportunities and reserve fund. Launched in 2015, it ensures the Center has the resilience and resources to rise to urgent challenges.

Brennan Future Fund

This is a time-limited fund for use over the next five years — intended to spur bold new thinking to advance democracy and justice in America.

Inez Milholland Endowment for Democracy

Inez Milholland (1886–1916) was a leader for women's suffrage, an ardent fighter for equality, and a graduate of NYU Law. This dedicated fund supports the Brennan Center's Democracy Program.

We are also pleased that a growing cohort of leaders have included the Brennan Center for Justice in their estate planning as members of our **Brennan Legacy Circle**.

For more information about how to contribute to these funds or join the Brennan Legacy Circle, please contact Jennifer Weiss-Wolf at weiss-wolfj@brennan.law.nyu.edu or (646) 292-8323.

Pro Bono Partners

Our work depends on the support of legal leaders who fight alongside us for democracy, justice, and the rule of law.

Arnold & Porter
Ballard Spahr LLP
Bazelon Less & Feldman, P.C.
Butzel Long
Covington & Burling LLP
Cravath, Swaine & Moore LLP
Davis Polk & Wardwell LLP
Davis Wright Tremaine LLP
Debevoise & Plimpton LLP
Dechert LLP
Emery Celli Brinckerhoff Abady
Ward & Maazel LLP
Eversheds Sutherland (US) LLP
Gibson, Dunn & Crutcher LLP
Haynes & Boone, LLP
Hogan Lovells US LLP
Holwell Shuster & Goldberg LLP
Hunton Andrews Kurth
Jenner & Block LLP
Kendall Brill & Kelly LLP

Latham & Watkins LLP
McDermott Will & Emery LLP
Miller, Canfield, Paddock
and Stone, P.L.C.
O'Melveny & Myers LLP
Paul Hastings LLP
Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton
& Garrison LLP
Poyner Spruill LLP
Quinn Emanuel Urquhart
& Sullivan, LLP
Reed Smith LLP
Schulte Roth & Zabel LLP
Simpson Thacher & Bartlett LLP
Sugarman Law Firm LLP
Troutman Sanders LLP
Wachtell, Lipton, Rosen & Katz
Weil, Gotshal & Manges LLP
Wilmer Cutler Pickering Hale
and Dorr LLP

Who We Are

Board of Directors

Robert Atkins, *Co-chair*
Patricia Bauman, *Co-chair*

Leslie Bhutani
Nancy Brennan
Adam B. Cox
Danielle C. Gray
Kimberley D. Harris
Helen Hershkoff
Thomas M. Jorde
Daniel F. Kolb
Ruth Lazarus
Paul Lightfoot, *Treasurer*
Trevor Morrison
Erin Murphy
Melissa Murray
Wendy Neu
Franz Paasche
Lawrence B. Pedowitz
Steven A. Reiss
Richard Revesz
Gerald Rosenfeld
Stephen Schulhofer
Emily Spitzer
Gerald Torres
Christine A. Varney
Michael Waldman
Scott Wallace
Adam Winkler
Kenji Yoshino

Executive Team

Michael Waldman
President
Lisa Benenson
Vice President for Communications and Strategy
John Anthony Butler
Vice President and Chief Operating Officer
Jeanine Chirlin
Chief of Staff
John F. Kowal
Vice President for Programs
Kimberly Thomas
Vice President for Administration
Wendy Weiser
Vice President for Democracy
Jennifer Weiss-Wolf
Vice President for Development

Program Leadership

Alicia Bannon
Managing Director, Democracy
Spencer Boyer
Director, Washington, DC, Office
Lauren-Brooke Eisen
Director, Justice
Elizabeth Goitein
Director, Liberty and National Security
Theodore R. Johnson
Director, Fellows Program
Lawrence Norden
Director, Election Reform

Faiza Patel
Director, Liberty and National Security
Myrna Pérez
Director, Voting Rights and Elections
Ram Subramanian
Managing Director, Justice

Contact Us

General Inquiries
Phone: (646) 292-8310
Fax: (212) 463-7308
Email: brennancenter@nyu.edu

New York Office
120 Broadway
Suite 1750
New York, NY 10271

Washington, DC, Office
1140 Connecticut Avenue NW
Suite 1150
Washington, DC 20036

Donations

Paulette Hodge
Direct Response Director
(646) 925-8750
hodgep@brennan.law.nyu.edu



**BRENNAN
CENTER**
FOR JUSTICE

120 Broadway, Suite 1750
New York, NY 10271
brennancenter.org