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MPI MIGRATION POLICY INSTITUTE in partnership with CLINIC and SFS GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY School of Foreign Service Institute for the Study of International Migration

SPEAKER BIOGRAPHIES

KEYNOTE

Mayor David Holt is the 38th Mayor of Oklahoma City, where he has served as mayor since 2018, leading a transformational era that has seen his city become the 21st largest in the nation. He also serves as Dean of the Oklahoma City University School of Law.

From 2025 to 2026, Mayor Holt served as the 83rd President of the United States Conference of Mayors, the official nonpartisan organization founded in 1932 that speaks for the nation's 1,400 mayors.

He is one of five mayors in Oklahoma City's history to be elected at least three times. In his most recent election, earlier this year, he received 86.5% percent of the vote.

His "One OKC" style has incorporated the diversity of Oklahoma City into its decision-making process in new ways. Mayor Holt is a member of the Osage Nation and is Oklahoma City's first Native American mayor. In 2023, he was named by *TIME* magazine as one of its "100 Next" most influential people in the world.

Mayor Holt previously served in the Oklahoma Senate for eight years. He received his B.A. from George Washington University and his J.D. from the Oklahoma City University School of Law.

State of Play: Immigration Policy at a Tipping Point

Nancy Foner is Distinguished Professor Emerita of Sociology at Hunter College and the Graduate Center, City University of New York. Her recent work has focused on comparing immigration in the United States today and historically, immigrant minorities in the United States and Europe, and how immigration has been remaking American society.

Dr. Foner is the author or editor of more than 20 books; the most recent are *Immigration: How the Past Shapes the Present* (Polity, 2026) and *One Quarter of the Nation: Immigration and the Transformation of America* (Princeton UP, 2022). Her other award-winning books include *From Ellis Island to JFK: New York's Two Great Waves of Immigration* (Yale UP, 2000); *In a New Land: A Comparative View of Immigration* (NYU Press, 2005); *Not Just Black and White: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives on Immigration, Race, and Ethnicity in the United States* (edited with George Fredrickson, Russell Sage Foundation, 2004); and *Strangers No More: Immigration and the Challenges of Integration in North America and Western Europe* (written with Richard Alba, Princeton UP, 2015).

She served on the Social Science Research Council Committee on International Migration, the Russell Sage Foundation Immigration Research Advisory Committee, and the National Academy of Sciences panel on the Integration of Immigrants into American Society. She also chaired the International Migration Section of the American Sociological Association.

She received her B.A. from Brandeis University and Ph.D. from the University of Chicago.

Amy Howe is Co-Founder of SCOTUSblog, a website devoted to comprehensive and nonpartisan coverage of the U.S. Supreme Court since 2002. She is also a Fellow at the Georgetown Institute of Politics and Public Service. Since 2016, she has served as the primary reporter for the blog, covering everything from retirements and confirmation hearings to oral arguments and opinions. Since spring 2025, she also has served as the Supreme Court analyst for the PBS NewsHour.

Ms. Howe was part of the SCOTUSblog team that won a Peabody Award in 2013, becoming the first blog to do so, as well as a National Press Club Journalism Award for Breaking News. Before turning to full-time journalism, she litigated cases before the Supreme Court, on issues ranging from international child custody to the death penalty. She was also a very junior lawyer on Al Gore's Supreme Court team during Bush v. Gore. She has taught or co-taught Supreme Court litigation at Vanderbilt Law School, Stanford Law School, and Harvard Law School. She also co-taught an international human rights clinic at American University's Washington College of Law.

She has a bachelor's degree from the University of North Carolina, a master's degree in Arab studies from Georgetown, and a law degree from the Georgetown University Law Center, where she was an executive editor of the *Georgetown Law Journal*.

Doris Meissner, former Commissioner of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), is a Senior Fellow at the Migration Policy Institute (MPI), where she directs the Institute's U.S. immigration policy work. Her responsibilities focus on the role of immigration in America's future and on administering the nation's immigration laws, systems, and government agencies. Her work and expertise also include immigration and politics, immigration enforcement, border control, cooperation with other countries, and immigration and national security.

From 1993 to 2000, she served in the Clinton administration as INS Commissioner. Her accomplishments included reforming the nation's asylum system; creating new strategies for managing U.S. borders; improving naturalization and other services for immigrants; shaping responses to migration and humanitarian emergencies; strengthening cooperation with Mexico, Canada, and other countries; and managing growth that doubled the agency's personnel and tripled its budget.

She first joined the Justice Department in 1973 as a White House Fellow and Special Assistant to the Attorney General. She served in various senior policy posts until 1981, when she became Acting Commissioner of the INS and then Executive Associate Commissioner. In 1986, she joined the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace as a Senior Associate. Ms. Meissner created the Endowment's Immigration Policy Project, which evolved into the Migration Policy Institute in 2001.

She is Vice Chair of the board of trustees of the Wisconsin Alumni Research Foundation. She is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, the Inter-American Dialogue, the Pacific Council on International Diplomacy, the National Academy of Public Administration, the Administrative Conference of the United States, and the Constitution Society.

Carlos Odio, a Co-Founder of Equis Research, is a researcher and strategist.

He is frequently cited for his data-driven analysis of voting trends. His work draws on two decades of behind-the-scenes experience in government, politics, and advocacy, spanning the 2008 presidential campaign, the White House Office of Political Affairs, New Organizing Institute, and the Florida Alliance.

Earlier, he managed communications for AlleyCorp, a group of New York-based internet startups, and GALA, an arts nonprofit in Washington, DC.

Pia Orrenius, a labor economist, is Vice President of the Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas, where she works on regional economic growth and demographic change. She manages the regional and microeconomics group in the Dallas Fed Research Department, is Executive Editor of the publication *Southwest Economy* and co-edited *Ten Gallon Economy: Sizing up Economic Growth in Texas* (2015, Palgrave MacMillan).

Her academic research focuses on the labor market impacts of immigration, unauthorized immigration, and U.S. immigration policy. She is coauthor of the book *Beside the Golden Door: U.S. Immigration Reform in a New Era of Globalization* (2010, AEI Press).

Before joining the Dallas Fed, Dr. Orrenius was Senior Economist on the Council of Economic Advisers in the Executive Office of the President, in 2004–05, where she advised the Bush administration on labor, health, and immigration issues.

The Era of Pervasive Enforcement

Muzaffar Chishti is a Migration Policy Institute (MPI) Senior Fellow and Director of the MPI office at New York University School of Law. His work focuses on U.S. immigration policy at federal, state, and local levels; the intersection of labor and immigration law; immigration enforcement; civil liberties; and immigrant integration.

Prior to joining MPI, Mr. Chishti was Director of the Immigration Project of the Union of Needletrades, Industrial & Textile Employees (UNITE). He has testified extensively on immigration policy issues before Congress and is frequently quoted in the media.

Mr. Chishti serves on the board of the New York Immigration Coalition. He has served as Chairman of the Boards of Directors of the National Immigration Forum and the National Immigration Law Center, as a member of the American Bar Association’s Coordinating Committee on Immigration, and on the board of the Asian American Federation.

In 1992, as part of a U.S. team, he assisted the Russian Parliament in drafting its legislation on forced migrants and refugees. In 2025, he received the Outstanding American by Choice recognition from U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services Director Ur Jaddou; he is also a 1995 recipient of the Ellis Island Medal of Honor and 1994 recipient of the New York State Governor's Award for Outstanding Asian Americans.

He was educated at St. Stephen's College, Delhi; the University of Delhi; Cornell Law School; and the Columbia School of International Affairs.

Phyllis Coven has spent more than three decades shaping U.S. immigration policy, refugee protection, and humanitarian programs through senior leadership roles in the federal government and international organizations. She is a Senior Fellow at Harvard's Advanced Leadership Initiative and recently produced and co-directed with Yael Schacher of Refugees International, *Harsh Legacy*, a documentary examining how Congress enacted the sweeping 1996 immigration law and how its provisions laid the groundwork for today's immigration enforcement system.

As the U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS) Ombudsman, she provided independent oversight and recommendations for systemic reforms to improve U.S. immigration services. She also served in senior roles at the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the International Organization for Migration, where she directed international protection programs related to the Syrian humanitarian crisis and advised on global migration policy in Geneva.

Earlier in her career, she held senior positions within the U.S. Departments of Justice and Homeland Security, including serving as Director of International Affairs at the Immigration and Naturalization Service and District Director for USCIS in New York and Los Angeles. She led U.S. immigration operations abroad in regions including the Middle East and Southern Africa.

R. Gil Kerlikowske accomplished a noteworthy 40-year career as an urban law enforcement executive and leader of the nation's largest law enforcement organization. He served as the Commissioner of U.S. Customs and Border Protection (CBP) from 2014-17, where he guided CBP's mission to secure the nation's borders while facilitating lawful international trade and travel.

Prior to his CBP appointment, he served as the Senate-confirmed Director of the White House Office of National Drug Control Policy, from 2009-14. He was Deputy Director of the U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Community Oriented Policing Services from 1998-2000.

Mr. Kerlikowske served as Chief of Police in Seattle, between 2000-09, and in Buffalo, New York, between 1994-98. He was twice elected President of the Major Cities Chiefs Association, comprised of the largest law enforcement agencies in the United States and Canada.

He was a Resident Fellow at Harvard University, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Institute of Politics in Spring 2017 and has taught graduate courses in criminal justice at Northeastern and the University of South Carolina.

C. Stewart Verdery Jr. is Founder and Partner at the bipartisan advocacy firm Monument Advocacy. Previously, he was the first Assistant Secretary for Policy and Planning at the U.S. Department of Homeland Security (DHS), a position he held from 2003 to 2005 following his unanimous confirmation by the Senate.

At DHS, he oversaw U.S. Customs and Border Protection, U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement, and the Transportation Security Administration, and led efforts to develop and implement policies related to immigration, visas, and travel facilitation; cargo security and international trade; transportation security; and law enforcement. He worked extensively with foreign governments, testified frequently before Congress, and represented the department publicly on a diverse set of issues. He also chaired official government advisory committees on international trade and tourism and served on the President's Advisory Committee to Protect Americans' Civil Liberties.

Earlier, he served as General Counsel to Senate Assistant Majority Leader Don Nickles (R-OK), where he played a major role on policy issues including law enforcement, commerce, nominations, constitutional law, campaign finance, and telecommunications. He also oversaw the Senate

Republican High Tech Task Force and served as Counsel to Senate Judiciary Committee Chairman Orrin Hatch (R-UT) and Senate Committee on Rules and Administration Chairman John Warner (R-VA).

Ben Wizner is a Deputy Legal Director at the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) and Director of its Center for Democracy, which encompasses the organization's work on free speech, privacy, immigrants' rights, voting rights, human rights, and national security.

Prior to assuming this role, Mr. Wizner was the Director of the ACLU's Speech, Privacy, and Technology Project. In more than two decades at the ACLU, he has litigated cases involving the right to protest, freedom of expression online, government surveillance practices, airport security policies, targeted killing, and torture. Since July 2013, he has been the principal legal advisor to NSA whistleblower Edward Snowden.

Mr. Wizner is a graduate of Harvard College and New York University School of Law and was a law clerk to the Hon. Stephen Reinhardt of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit.

Legal Immigration in an Age of Demographic, Skill, and Policy Change

Julia Gelatt is Associate Director of the U.S. Immigration Policy Program at the Migration Policy Institute. Her research and policy work focus on the legal immigration system, demographic trends, unauthorized immigrants and mixed status families, access to public benefits and government services, and the impacts of U.S. immigration policies on immigrant families and the U.S. economy. She leads MPI's data team, and development of the Institute's estimates of the size and characteristics of the unauthorized immigrant population.

Dr. Gelatt previously worked as a Research Associate at the Urban Institute, where her mixed-methods research focused on state policies toward immigrants and barriers to and facilitators of immigrant families' access to public benefits. She was a Research Assistant at MPI before graduate school.

She earned her PhD in sociology, with a specialization in demography, from Princeton University, where her work focused on the relationship between immigration status and children's health and well-being. She earned a bachelor's degree in sociology/anthropology from Carleton College.

Lauren Kaori Gurley is the labor reporter for *The Washington Post*. She covers the economy with a focus on labor and immigration. Before joining the *Post*, she covered labor and tech at Vice for three years. She has also written for *The New Republic*, *The American Prospect*, *In These Times*, and *The New York Review of Books*.

She has been honored with the Newswomen's Club of New York's Best New Journalist Award, 2021; Sidney Hillman Foundation's Sidney Award, 2021; Gerald Loeb Breaking News Finalist, 2024; and SABEW Best in Business Retail Award, 2025.

She earned her BA in comparative literature from the University of Chicago and her MA in journalism and Latin American studies from New York University.

Anna Maria Mayda is Director of the Institute for the Study of International Migration (ISIM) at Georgetown University, where she has also been a tenured Professor of economics since 2003, with a joint appointment in the Economics Department and School of Foreign Service.

Her research mainly focuses on issues of immigration, trade, and political economy and has been published in journals such as the *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, the *Review of Economics and Statistics*, the *American Economic Journal: Applied*, the *Journal of International Economics*, the *Journal of Development Economics*, and the *European Economic Review*. She has also been awarded two National Science Foundation (NSF) grants.

Dr. Mayda was a visiting scholar in several policy institutions including the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank in Washington DC, CEPII in Paris, and the Einaudi Institute for Economics and Finance in Rome. More recently she was Senior Economist and Senior Adviser in the Office of the Chief Economist at the U.S. State Department. In this role, she worked on issues related to U.S. immigration policy and trade policy.

She is a Research Affiliate at the Center for Economic and Policy Research (CEPR) and Centre for Research on International Migration (CReAM).

Dr. Mayda studied statistics and economics at University of Rome La Sapienza, and received a Master's and PhD in economics from Harvard University.

Doug Rand leads the Talent Mobility Fund, a program of Renaissance Philanthropy that expands opportunities for international scientists, engineers, and other highly skilled professionals to work and thrive in the United States. He is also co-host of The Melting Pod, a podcast about the past, present, and future of the U.S. immigration system.

Mr. Rand served as Senior Advisor to the Director of U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS) during the Biden administration and as Assistant Director for Entrepreneurship in the White House Office of Science and Technology Policy (OSTP) during the Obama administration. He has also been a Senior Fellow at the Federation of American Scientists and an advisor to the National Security Commission on Artificial Intelligence.

As an entrepreneur, he was the Co-Founder and President of Boundless, and the Co-Founder and CEO of Playscripts, Inc.

Patrick Shen is Vice President for Immigration Policy at the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and a former Co-Chair of the National Asian Pacific American Bar Association's Immigration Committee.

Mr. Shen was an immigration lawyer for over 30 years in government and private sectors before leaving the legal profession in 2025. Most recently, he was a partner at a leading global business immigration law firm. During his government service, he was unanimously confirmed by the U.S. Senate to lead the Justice Department's Office of Special Counsel for Immigration Related Unfair Employment Practices. He was also U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement's first Director of Policy and Planning, and Chief Immigration Counsel of the Senate Judiciary Committee.

He began his career as a Justice Department trial attorney, with assignments at the former U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, the U.S. Attorney's Office for the Eastern District of New York, and the department's Civil Division.

Mr. Shen taught as an adjunct professor at American University. He was a sports reporter in Taiwan before law school. He became a certified EMT shortly after September 11, 2001, and continues to volunteer with his local fire department.

He received his undergraduate and law degrees from Brigham Young University.

Impacts on Communities and Providers in a Period of Dramatic Change

Mauricio Calvo is CEO of Latino Memphis, and has grown a one-person organization into an institution serving hundreds of families across the Mid-South through legal services, workforce development, advocacy, and human services. He was appointed the first Latino school board member in Tennessee's largest school district. He has served on the boards of UnidosUS, Hope Credit Union, The Urban Child Institute, and others. He is a frequent contributor on local and national media on issues impacting Latinos and immigration.

His academic journey includes studies at Christian Brothers University, Lipscomb University, Boston College, and Georgetown. He is a proud member of the LGBTQ+ community.

He is a graduate of Yale Law School and the Yale School of Management, and received master's and undergraduate degrees from Harvard, where he studied evolutionary biology.

Anna Marie Gallagher is Executive Director of the Catholic Legal Immigration Network, Inc. (CLINIC). She has practiced immigration and refugee law for more than three decades, working in the United States, Central America, and Europe. Her experience includes private practice, advocacy, and several years in academia.

Before joining CLINIC in 2019, Ms. Gallagher was a shareholder and head of the litigation practice area for Maggio, Kattar, Nahajzer + Alexander. Prior to her time with the firm, she worked as a consultant in Europe to organizations with a focus on policy planning and analysis, training, and research on refugee and migration issues. She was a member of the Extended International Team of the Jesuit Refugee Service's International Office and of the Policy Team of the Jesuit Refugee Service Europe.

Ms. Gallagher was a Co-Founder and former President of the Board of Directors of the International Coalition on the Detention of Refugees, Asylum Seekers, and Migrants, a nongovernmental organization dedicated to the promotion of human rights for refugees and migrants around the world who are subject to administrative detention. She helped found the Center for Human Rights Legal Action (Centro para la Acción Legal en Derechos Humanos, known as CALDH), an international nonprofit focused on advocating for the rights of internally displaced persons and returned refugees in Guatemala.
Ms. Gallagher was Deputy Director of the Legal Action Center for the American Immigration Law Foundation. She was a Teaching Fellow at the Center for Applied Legal Studies at the Georgetown University Law Center, and the Pedro Arrupe Tutor of Migration and Refugee Law at the University of Deusto in Bilbao, Spain.

She received her juris doctorate from the Antioch School of Law, her masters in advocacy from Georgetown University Law Center, and her bachelor's from Temple University.

Guerline M. Jozef is Co-Founder and Executive Director of Haitian Bridge Alliance (HBA), a Black-led, women-led, Haitian-American-led organization serving migrants at the U.S.–Mexico border. She is also Co-Founder of the Black Immigrants Bail Fund and the Cameroon Advocacy Network.

Ms. Jozef was named one of POLITICO's "40 Most Influential People on Race, Politics, and Policy," received the Robert F. Kennedy Human Rights Award, and was named to the BBC's Top 100 Women List of 2024. Recent accolades include the AFL-CIO's 2024 GMLK Human Rights Award, the 2025 Caribbean Philanthropic Alliance Afro-Caribbean Diaspora IMPACT Award, the Women's Refugee Commission's Voices of Courage Award, the *Haitian Times*' Newsmaker of the Year, and the 1804 Haitian Roundtable's Midwin Charles Legacy Award.

She has testified before the United Nations, the U.S. Congress, and the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, and recently addressed the IV International Congressional and Parliament Forum in Barranquilla, Colombia.

Matthew Soerens is the Vice President of Advocacy and Policy at World Relief, where he provides oversight for all advocacy initiatives and policy positions. He also serves as the National Coordinator for the Evangelical Immigration Table. Previously, Mr. Soerens served as U.S. Director of Church Mobilization, helping evangelical churches understand the realities of refugees and immigration. His World Relief journey began as a Department of Justice-accredited legal counselor at the local office in Wheaton, Illinois. He is the co-author of *Seeking Refuge: The Human Face of the Global Refugee Crisis* and *Welcoming the Stranger*. He has also written for various publications, including *Christianity Today*, *The New York Times*, *USA TODAY*, *The Washington Post, The Washington Examiner*, and *Sojourners.*

Mr. Soerens holds a bachelor's degree from Wheaton College, where he also serves as an adjunct faculty member for the humanitarian and disaster leadership graduate program, and a master's degree from DePaul University's School of Public Service.

He is a member of the Advisory Council for the Religion and Refugees Project from MPI's Refugee and Forced Displacement Initiative.

Keren Zwick is Executive Director of the National Immigrant Justice Center. Prior to assuming this role in July 2026, she was Director of NIJC's federal litigation practice, where she focused on challenges to anti-immigrant government policies, including efforts by the Department of Homeland Security to limit access to asylum and its practice of making warrantless immigration arrests without probable cause. She also worked on many challenges to policies that cut off access to a fair process in the immigration system.

Before joining NIJC's litigation team, Ms. Zwick was a member of NIJC's LGBTQ Immigrant Rights Initiative and its Adult Detention Project, where she focused on detained representation and circuit court appeals. She primarily represented LGBTQ people seeking asylum and people at risk of persecution and torture in their home countries because of their mental health.

Ms. Zwick is a graduate of Columbia Law School and the University of Chicago. Following law school, she clerked at the United States Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit. She is licensed to practice law in Illinois.