



IMBALANCED JUSTICE

PROFESSIONAL DIVERSITY ON THE ARIZONA JUDICIARY

PEOPLE'S
PARITY
PROJECT

IMBALANCED JUSTICE

Arizona's judiciary is dominated by former corporate lawyers and ex-prosecutors, and many of them were appointed by a governor who defied the constitution's rules for picking judges.

In recent years, the right wing Arizona Supreme Court derailed two efforts to tax the state's wealthiest citizens. Proposition 208 was a citizen-sponsored initiative to tax the wealthy to help underfunded schools. But the high court ruled in 2021 that the additional school funding infringed the legislature's power to fund education. Then, in April 2022, the justices struck down Prop 307, which would have allowed taxpayers to undo a massive \$2 billion tax cut that disproportionately benefited the state's wealthiest people.

These two rulings have generally made it harder for citizens to govern themselves through initiatives. Democratic attorney Roy Herrera commented that any progressive ballot measure is "going to be dealing with a court that seems to have a political leaning and that's going to make it very difficult."²

The high court is one of the most conservative in the country and has been for a number of years. The court ruled in 2019 that a business could deny service to a gay couple, creating an exemption to a local civil rights law banning such discrimination. The justices cited the for-profit corporation's right to free speech and free exercise of religion under state law.³ (A few years later, the right-wing U.S. Supreme Court would adopt similar reasoning in a case out of Colorado.⁴) In 2018, the Arizona Supreme Court ruled that immigrant students covered by the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) program must pay out-of-state tuition at Arizona's colleges and universities.⁵ In recent years, the justices' death penalty decisions have been repeatedly overturned by the U.S. Supreme Court, which hasn't been particularly hospitable to claims from people on death row, even when conservatives held a narrower 5-4 majority.⁶ The justices will soon weigh in on crucial debates, including a case involving an archaic Arizona law that could lead to criminal charges for doctors who provide abortion care.⁷

¹Ballotpedia, Proposition 208, [https://ballotpedia.org/Arizona_Proposition_208,_Tax_on_Incomes_Exceeding_\\$250,000_for_Teacher_Salaries_and_Schools_Initiative_\(2020\)](https://ballotpedia.org/Arizona_Proposition_208,_Tax_on_Incomes_Exceeding_$250,000_for_Teacher_Salaries_and_Schools_Initiative_(2020))

²"After court losses, ballot initiative backers regroup," Arizona Capitol Times, March 28, 2022, <https://azcapitoltimes.com/news/2022/04/28/after-court-losses-ballot-initiative-backers-regroup/>

³Brush & Nib Studio, LC v. City of Phoenix, 448 P.3d 890 (2019).

⁴303 Creative LLC v. Elenis, 600 U.S. 570 (2023).

⁵Brnovich v. Abel Badillo, No. CV-17-0215-PR (2018), <https://caselaw.findlaw.com/court/az-supreme-court/1894958.html>

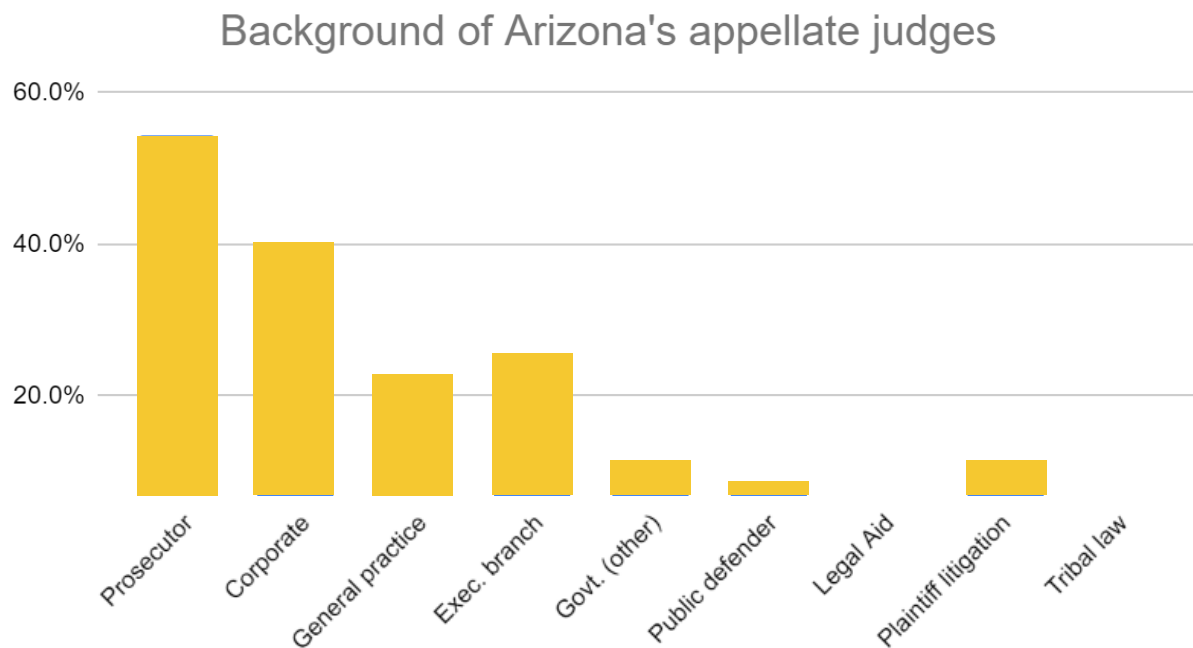
⁶Alexis Weiss, "Supreme Court chides Arizona – again – for death-penalty sentencing rules," Cronkite News, Feb. 22, 2023, <https://cronkitenews.azpbs.org/2023/02/22/supreme-court-chides-arizona-again-for-death-penalty-sentencing-rules/>

⁷"Arizona court to review ruling that abortion doctors can't be charged under pre-statehood law," Associated Press, August 23, 2023, <https://apnews.com/article/abortion-arizona-doctors-old-law-fe8b903e49472f2e3c6b4d28bd18ffb7>.

RESULTS: A STACKED JUDICIARY

Of the seven justices on the state’s highest court, four are ex-prosecutors and three are former corporate lawyers. Statewide, 45% of judges are ex-prosecutors and more than one-third worked as corporate lawyers. Some counties have even larger disparities.

This study examines the professional background of the 209 judges on Arizona’s Supreme Court, Court of Appeals, and Superior Courts. We categorized their professional backgrounds, based on information from official bios, governors’ press releases, LinkedIn pages, news articles, and databases such as Ballotpedia.⁸



How are workers and criminal defendants supposed to expect a fair trial? Research has shown correlations between judges’ professional background and their rulings on the bench. A 2022 study by Maya Sen and Allison Harris found that former public defenders “are less willing to render extremely long sentences tantamount to life in prison.”⁹ And another recent study found that former prosecutors or corporate lawyers were less likely to rule for workers.¹⁰ Workers across the country are looking to the courts for justices, only to find that those courts are controlled by people who used to represent bosses and employers.

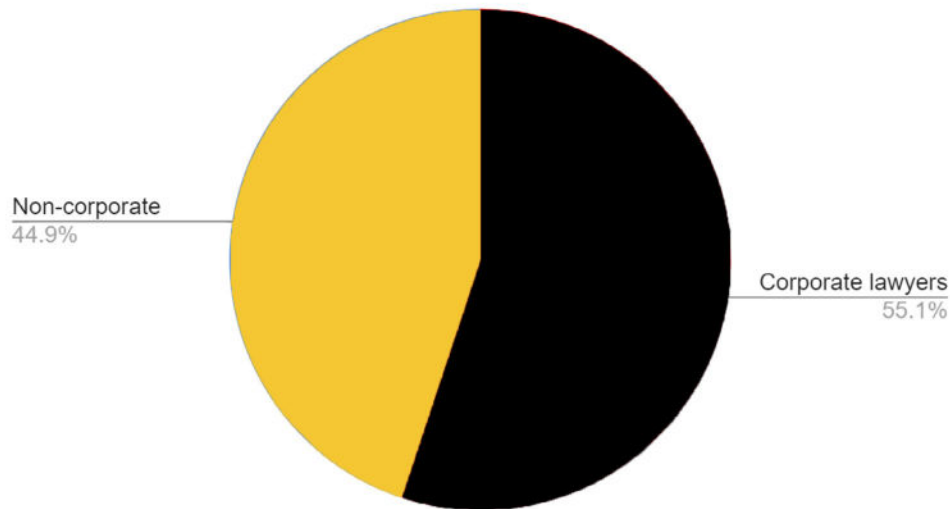
⁸See the Appendix.

⁹Harris, Allison, and Maya Sen. Working Paper. “How Judges’ Professional Experience Impacts Case Outcomes: An Examination of Public Defenders and Criminal Sentencing,” <https://tinyurl.com/y9wjgbxl>.

¹⁰Carrie Johnson, “Corporate Lawyers Who Become Judges Less Likely To Side With Workers, Study Says,” NPR, February 24, 2021, <https://www.npr.org/2021/02/24/970538084/how-judges-work-experience-can-impact-court-rulings-and-legal-precedent>.

The situation is even worse in Arizona’s largest cities. In Pinal County, which lies between Phoenix and Tucson, six of the nine Superior Court judges came to the bench after working to put people behind bars. In Maricopa County, a progressive community which includes Phoenix, more than half the Superior Court judges are former corporate lawyers. One large, Phoenix-based law firm, Lewis Roca Rothgerber Christie, has seen a dozen former attorneys become current judges, including four appellate judges. Seven current judges worked for Fennemore Craig, another big corporate firm based in Phoenix that offers to “advise and defend management in virtually all aspects of the employment relationship.”¹¹

Former corporate lawyers on Maricopa County Superior Court



More than 40% of the judges in Pima County, which includes the capital city of Tucson, are ex-prosecutors. The numbers are even higher in some rural counties. In five smaller counties, every superior court judge worked as prosecutor. And six of the seven judges in Yuma County came to the bench after prosecutorial work.

Most Arizona jurisdictions have few judges who served as lawyers who help people that can’t afford representation. Former Legal Aid lawyers constitute only 3% of Arizona’s bench, and around 11% of judges worked as public defenders. Another 10% came to the bench after representing injured workers or consumers in personal injury lawsuits. Only a handful of judges, around 2%, worked as tribal lawyers.

POLITICS, NOT MERIT

It wasn’t always this way in Arizona. The state long served as a model for reforming how judges are chosen. So how did Arizona, a battleground state with a constitution that’s designed to produce a qualified and diverse judiciary, end up with a far-right judiciary dominated by jurists who used to represent powerful institutions like the state or big business? Simply put, politicians found ways to flout the state constitutions’ rules and get their preferred judges on the bench.

¹¹Fennemore Craig, “Employment and Labor Law,” <https://www.fennemorelaw.com/services/practices/employment-and-labor-relations/>.

In 1974, then-state Sen. Sandra Day O'Connor sponsored an amendment that created a "merit selection" system.¹² Years later, O'Connor said she pushed the reform after running in a partisan election. "It was lawyers appearing before the very judges who were running who would come up and give the campaign contributions. Now, what kind of a system is that? It is really kind of frightening," she said.¹³

The governor also had unfettered authority to choose anyone when vacant seats arose. One person who testified in favor of merit selection called the governor "a king maker who appoints judges ... without the advice of anyone."¹⁴

The merit selection reform was supposed to take politics out of the process, while still allowing voters to decide whether to keep judges on the bench through "retention" elections. Voters approved an amendment in 1974 creating nominating commissions that would vet applicants for judicial seats and recommend a list of the most qualified to the governor, who must choose from the list. (The amendment only applied to appellate judgeships and seats in the state's largest counties or those that chose to adopt the system. The rest continued to choose judges in partisan or nonpartisan elections.)

The constitution lays out detailed rules for choosing judges. It says the commission's 16 members must be diverse, and only 7 can be members of one political party.¹⁵

This system was severely undermined by former Gov. Doug Ducey, a Republican who bent and broke the constitution's rules to get his preferred judges approved by the Commission on Appellate Court Appointments. By 2019, well into Ducey's second term, more than two-thirds of the commissioners were Republicans, and none were Democrats.¹⁶ Ducey had appointed seven Republicans and five registered independents tied to the GOP, leaving several seats vacant after Democrats left.¹⁷

Ducey flouted the constitution's requirements for diversity and bipartisanship.¹⁸ He chose few Democrats and few people of color.¹⁹ They didn't reflect the diversity of Arizona. Instead, Ducey's commissioners were lobbyists, lawyers for corporations, and prosecutors.²⁰ But since his high court justices have the final say on state law, he faced no repercussions.

¹²S.C.R. 6, Arizona Senate (1971), <https://oconnorinstitute.org/wp-content/uploads/1971-SCR-6.pdf>.

¹³AZ PBS, "Merit Selection v. Election," April 5, 2006, <https://azpbs.org/horizon/2006/04/merit-selection-v-election/>.

¹⁴REFLECTIONS ON ARIZONA'S JUDICIAL SELECTION PROCESS, Sandra Day O'Connor & RonNell Andersen Jones, "Reflections on Arizona's Judicial Selection Process," Arizona Law Review, VOL. 50:15, <http://www.arizonalawreview.org/pdf/50-1/50arizlrev15.pdf>.

¹⁵Article 6.1, Arizona Constitution

¹⁶Jeremy Duda, "Montgomery opponents cleared from judicial nominating commission," Arizona Mirror, May 31, 2019, <https://www.azmirror.com/2019/05/31/montgomery-opponents-cleared-from-judicial-nominating-commission/>; Billy Corriher, "Arizona governor flouts constitution to appoint reactionary prosecutor," The Supreme Courts, September 6, 2019, <https://thesupremecourts.org/2019/09/06/arizona-governor-flouts-constitution-to-appoint-reactionary-prosecutor/>.

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸Andrew Oxford, "Nominations for redistricting panel lack diversity, Democrats allege," Arizona Republic, October 10, 2020, <https://www.azcentral.com/story/news/politics/arizona/2020/10/10/nominees-redistricting-panel-lack-diversity-democrats-allege/5943967002/>; Billy Corriher, "Governor packs commission with power over courts and redistricting," The Supreme Court, February 27, 2020, <http://thesupremecourts.org/2020/02/27/governor-packs-commission-with-power-over-courts-redistricting/>.

¹⁹Dillon Rosenblatt, "Democrats fire first salvo in redistricting battle," February 20, 2020, <https://azcapitoltimes.com/news/2020/02/20/democrats-fire-first-salvo-in-redistricting-battle/>.

²⁰Maria Polletta, "Democrats cry foul, say Ducey is stacking commission that helps pick Arizona's top judges and others," The Republic, May 5, 2019, <https://www.azcentral.com/story/news/politics/arizona/2019/05/02/doug-ducey-stacking-arizona-commission-appellate-court-appointments-democrats-say/3630708002/>.

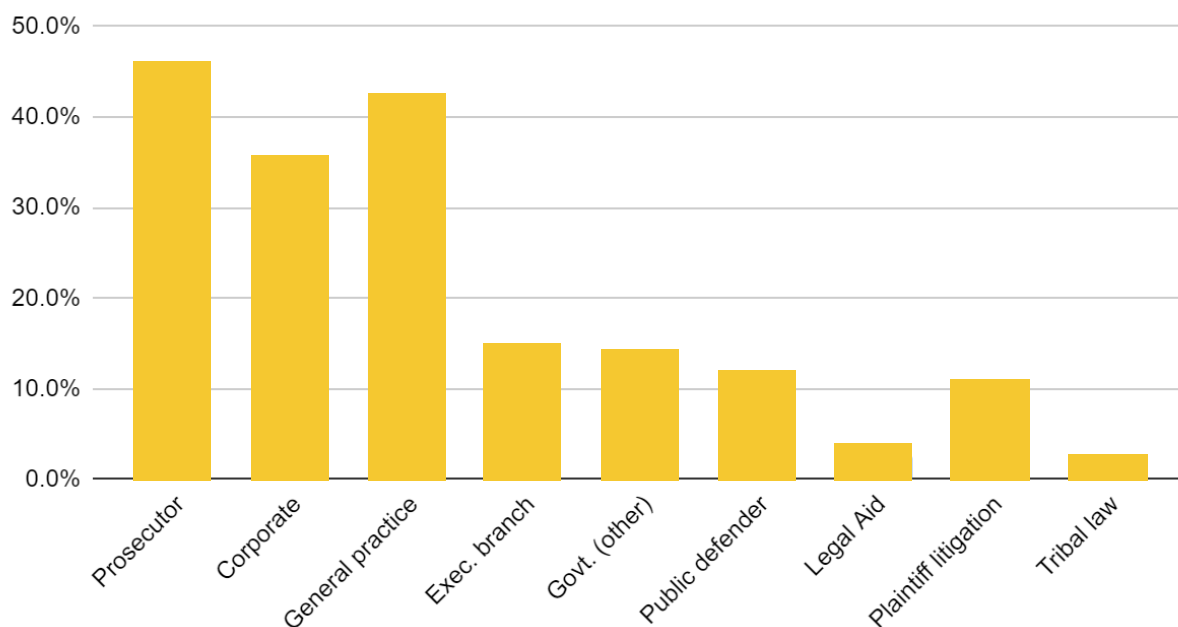
These commissions were intended to be bipartisan, but instead, they were dominated by conservatives who were determined to get the most right-wing judges on the bench. Governors in other states, particularly Florida, have engaged in similar power grabs.²¹

Some of the local commissions are still dominated by Ducey appointees. In Maricopa County, by far the state's largest county, half the commissioners were picked by Ducey.²² But current Gov. Katie Hobbs will have the chance to fill a couple of those seats next year.

Ducey escalated his attempts to pack the Commission on Appellate Court Appointments after it decided in early 2019 that Maricopa County prosecutor Bill Montgomery wasn't qualified for an appointment to the state supreme court. In fact, some observers commented that he was one of the least qualified applicants.²³ While Montgomery had never served as a judge, he had blocked criminal justice reform and discriminated against LGBTQ couples, among other things.

After Montgomery was deemed unqualified, Ducey refused to reappoint commissioners who had rejected him, leaving seats vacant instead of filing them with non-conservatives.²⁴ Several months later, Ducey's reshaped commission approved Montgomery, and Ducey appointed him.²⁵

Professional background of Arizona judges



²¹Andrew Pantazi, "Rick Scott has already influenced who will be selected for Florida Supreme Court," October 16, 2018, <https://www.jacksonville.com/news/20181016/rick-scott-has-already-influenced-who-will-be-selected-for-florida-supreme-court>.

²²Maricopa County Commission on Trial Court Appointments, https://www.azcourts.gov/Portals/75/Membership_Lists/Maricopa%20Membership%20List%20-%20PUBLICRev9-5-23.pdf?ver=WX-sBATgMTHtl6Byxa0_Hg%3d%3d

²³Mark Harrison, "Bill Montgomery still not qualified for Arizona Supreme Court," Arizona Capitol Times, August 16, 2019, <https://azcapitoltimes.com/news/2019/08/16/bill-montgomery-still-not-qualified-for-arizona-supreme-court/>

²⁴Mark Joseph Stern, "Arizona's Governor Is Leading Republicans' Quiet, Radical Takeover of State Supreme Courts," Slate, August 2019, <https://slate.com/news-and-politics/2019/08/arizona-supreme-court-rigging-doug-ducey-bill-montgomery.html>.

²⁵Ibid.

Ducey, in fact, appointed five of the seven current justices—71% of the court. His first appointment was Justice Clint Bolick, a libertarian who praised the infamous 1905 *Lochner* decision by the U.S. Supreme Court.²⁶ The Court in *Lochner* overturned a New Deal-era “maximum hour” law that limited bakery workers to 60-hour workweeks. In his book *Death Grip*, Bolick referred to this decision as a “celebration of freedom of enterprise and freedom of contract, and a repudiation of government paternalism and excessive regulation.”²⁷ He also said the ruling “reflects a careful and proper balancing of freedom and the state’s power.”²⁸

In 2016, Ducey persuaded the state legislature to add two seats to the Arizona Supreme Court, which had a slim progressive majority at the time. Ducey then filled those seats with two conservatives and changed the ideology of the court. (Politicians in Georgia did something similar that year, and North Carolina lawmakers contemplated it.²⁹)

Ducey and his nominating commissions packed Arizona’s courts with former prosecutors and corporate attorneys.³⁰ His commissioners included the head of the state’s Chamber of Commerce.³¹ It’s no surprise that these commissions chose lawyers from within their own ranks to send to the governor as potential nominees.

The high court, which includes three ex-corporate lawyers, has expanded the rights of corporations. In 2019, the justices ruled that a for-profit corporation had a right to religious freedom under state law, and that allowed it to violate a local civil rights law by refusing to make wedding invitations for a gay couple.³² The dissenting justices warned that the court’s reasoning could lead to religious-freedom exceptions to laws that also prohibit discrimination on the basis of, among other things, race or disability.³³

On December 30, 2022, the justices unanimously ruled that legislators had violated an open meetings law by planning legislation at a meeting of the corporate-funded American Legislative Exchange Council, a which is group of lawmakers, corporate lawyers, and lobbyists.³⁴ But they also said lawmakers are free to ignore the open meetings law, because the state constitution gives them the power to establish their own rules for legislating.³⁵

The court’s ruling said that “each house can interpret, amend, enforce or disregard those rules with almost limitless impunity.”³⁶ State Rep. Annalise Ortiz commented on the high court’s ruling: “Most people would be disgusted by the spectacle of lobbyists and lawmakers wining and dining in lavish resorts while they craft legislation that often causes harm to the most vulnerable, hardworking Arizonans.”³⁷

²⁶Ian Milhiser, “The Most Chilling Political Appointment That You’ve Probably Never Heard Of,” ThinkProgress, January 6, 2016, <https://archive.thinkprogress.org/the-most-chilling-political-appointment-that-youve-probably-never-heard-of-d2b083a153ab/>.

²⁷*Ibid.*

²⁸*Ibid.*

²⁹Billy Corriher, “Court Packing? It’s Already Happening at the State Level,” *Governing*, Sept. 28, 2020, <https://www.governing.com/now/Court-Packing-Its-Already-Happening-at-the-State-Level.html>.

³⁰Polletta, “Democrats cry foul, say Ducey is stacking commission.

³¹*Ibid.*

³²Brush & Nib Studio.

³³*Ibid.*

³⁴*Puente v. Ariz. State Legislature*, 521 P.3d 1007 (Ariz. 2022).

³⁵*Ibid.*

³⁶*Ibid.*

³⁷Analise Ortiz, “Shine a light on secret meetings of ALEC,” *Arizona Capitol Times*, November 17, 2022, <https://azcapitoltimes.com/news/2022/11/17/shine-a-light-on-secret-meetings-of-alec/>.

Arizona's judiciary has been captured by corporate interests. That's largely thanks to Ducey, whose own campaign was funded by corporations and billionaires.³⁸ The same could be said of many of the legislators who voted to give Ducey two new seats to fill in 2016.³⁹

Gov. Katie Hobbs, who took office early this year, has begun to appoint jurists with backgrounds as public defenders or lawyers who fight for workers. In March, she appointed seven judges in Maricopa County, and five of them had worked as public defenders in Phoenix.⁴⁰

CONCLUSION

There are things that activists and organizers can do right now to help foster professional diversity on Arizona's courts. They can demand that the governor appoint lawyers who spent their careers fighting for people.

They can ask for those types of lawyers to be represented on her nominating commissions. Advocacy groups and organizations can also offer the names of lawyers and non-lawyers to serve on the commissions. In 2024, there will be several openings in Maricopa County and other places. Hobbs will even choose many members of the appellate court commission during her first term.

Additionally, Arizonans can demand reforms to strengthen the merit selection system and keep governors from abusing the process. State Sen. Martin Quezada proposed a constitutional amendment to strengthen the requirements for diversity of all kinds on the nominating commissions.⁴¹

Advocates for workers or criminal legal reform can recruit and encourage pro-people lawyers to apply for appointments or run in elections. The current governor has appointed former public defenders and should be pushed to avoid putting more corporate lawyers and prosecutors on a bench that is already dominated by them.

Residents can take steps to learn about their local judges and educate people in their communities. Court watching programs in cities around the country have held judges accountable for bad decisions and unconstitutional practices.⁴²

The people of Arizona look to their courts for justice. Can they trust the courts to deliver if they're dominated by judges who spent their careers fighting for corporations or the state? All Arizonans deserve courts that include diverse perspectives and give them a fair chance at justice. Reshaping the courts to be more reflective of those perspectives has to be a top priority in order to bring access to justice in Arizona within reach.

³⁸EJ Montini, "Gov. Doug Ducey's billionaire sugar daddy revealed," The Republic, December 14, 2018, <https://www.azcentral.com/story/opinion/op-ed/ej-montini/2018/12/14/doug-ducey-larry-van-tuyl-berkshire-hathaway-arizona-election/2314022002/>.

³⁹FollowTheMoney.org, Arizona, 2016, [https://www.followthemoney.org/show-me?s=AZ&y=2016&c-r-ot=H&gro=c-t-id#\[f\]gro=d-ccg,d-cci,c-t-pt](https://www.followthemoney.org/show-me?s=AZ&y=2016&c-r-ot=H&gro=c-t-id#[f]gro=d-ccg,d-cci,c-t-pt).

⁴⁰Office of the Governor, "Governor Hobbs Announces Appointment of Seven Maricopa County Superior Court Judges," March 2023, <https://azgovernor.gov/office-arizona-governor/news/2023/03/governor-hobbs-announces-appointment-seven-maricopa-county>. ⁴¹S.C.R.1042 (2022), <https://www.billtrack50.com/billdetail/1440843>

⁴²American Bar Association, "ABA Court Watching," https://www.americanbar.org/groups/legal_aid_indigent_defense/indigent_defense_systems_improvement/court-watching0/aba-court-watching/.

Appendix: Professional Diversity of Arizona Courts

Name	Appointed by	Final year of term	Prosecutor	Corporate	General practice	Executive branch (s)	Government (other)	Public defender	Legal Aid	Plaintiff litigation	Tribal law
Supreme Court											
Robert M. Brutinel	Janice Kay Brewer	2026				1					
Ann A. Scott Timmer	Janice Kay Brewer	2028	1	1					1		
Justice Clint Bolick	Doug Ducey	2024						1			
John R. Lopez IV	Doug Ducey	2026	1				1				
James P. Beene	Doug Ducey	2028	1				1				
William (Bill) G. Mont	Doug Ducey	2028	1	1							
Kathryn H. King	Doug Ducey	2024		1			1				
Court of Appeals			42.9%	42.9%	14.3%		42.9%	14.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Jeffrey Sklar	Doug Ducey	2026			1						
Sean Earl Brearcliffe	Doug Ducey	2026			1						
Peter Eckerstrom	Janet Napolitano	2024				1			1		
Christopher P. Starin	Doug Ducey	2024			1						
Cynthia Bailey	Doug Ducey	2028	1					1			
David Weinzweig	Doug Ducey	2026			1						
Samuel A. Thumma	Janice Kay Brewer	2026			1						
Paul McMurdie	Doug Ducey	2026	1								
Jennifer Perkins	Doug Ducey	2026			1		1				1
James Morse	Doug Ducey	2026	1								
Kent Ernest Cattani	Janice Kay Brewer	2028	1	1		1	1				
Randall M. Howe	Janice Kay Brewer	2026	1								
David Gass	Doug Ducey	2028			1			1			
Angela Paton	Doug Ducey	2024	1				1				
Jennifer B. Campbell	Doug Ducey	2026	1			1					
Maria Elena Cruz	Doug Ducey	2026	1			1			1		
Michael J. Brown	Janet Napolitano	2028				1					
Brian Furuya	Doug Ducey	2024				1		1			
D. Steven Williams	Doug Ducey	2028	1			1					
Karl Eppich	Doug Ducey	2026	1	1							
Lacy Gard	Doug Ducey	2026	1								
Christopher O'Neil	Doug Ducey	2026									1
Andrew M. Jacobs	Katie Hobbs	2026			1						
Anni Hill Foster	Doug Ducey	2026	1				1				
Daniel J. Kiley	Doug Ducey	2026	1	1			1				
Michael F. Kelly	Doug Ducey	2026	1								1
Michael S. Catlett	Doug Ducey	2026	1				1				
Garye Vasquez	Janet Napolitano	2026									1
Cocoino			53.6%	39.3%	25.0%		21.4%	10.7%	7.1%	0.0%	14.3%
Ted S. Reed	Janice Kay Brewer	2026	1			1					
Stacy Krueger	Doug Ducey	2024	1								
Elaine Fridlund-Horne		2026				1					
Cathleen Brown Nichols		2024				1					1
Maricopa			50.0%	0.0%	75.0%		0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	25.0%
Jay Adleman	Janice Kay Brewer	2024	1	1		1					
Sara Agne	Doug Ducey	2024			1						
Glenn Allen	Doug Ducey	2024	1			1					1
Brad Astrowsky	Janice Kay Brewer	2026	1								1
Stasy Avelar	Doug Ducey	2024	1	1		1					
Justin Beresky	Doug Ducey	2024	1			1					
Michael Blair	Doug Ducey	2026			1						
John Blanchard	Doug Ducey	2026			1		1				
Scott Blaney	Doug Ducey	2024			1						
Mark Brain	Janice Kay Brewer	2026			1						
Robert Brooks	Doug Ducey	2026	1	1			1				
Lori Bustamante	Janice Kay Brewer	2024	1	1		1					
Sunita Cairo	Doug Ducey	2024			1		1				
Michelle Carson	Katie Hobbs	2024				1			1		
Rodrick Coffey	Janice Kay Brewer	2024			1						
Rodrick Coffey	Janice Kay Brewer	2024			1						
Suzanne Cohen	Janice Kay Brewer	2024	1								
Bruce Cohen	Janet Napolitano	2024	1	1							
Gregory Como	Doug Ducey	2024			1						
Katherine Cooper	Janice Kay Brewer	2026			1	1		1			
Christopher Coury	Janice Kay Brewer	2024			1			1			
Max Covil	Doug Ducey	2026							1		
Kristin Culbertson	Doug Ducey	2026			1						
Quintin Cushner	Doug Ducey	2024			1						
Marvin Davis	Doug Ducey	2026				1			1		1
James Drake	Doug Ducey	2024						1			
Adam Driggs	Doug Ducey	2024	1	1		1					
Monica Edelstein	Doug Ducey	2026	1					1			
Dean Fink	Janet Napolitano	2026			1						
Geoffrey Fish	Janice Kay Brewer	2026	1			1					
Ronda Fisk	Doug Ducey	2024			1						
Dewain Fox	Doug Ducey	2026			1	1					

Appendix: Professional Diversity of Arizona Courts

Name	Appointed by	Final year of term	Prosecutor	Corporate	General practice	Executive branch (state Government) (other)	Public defender	Legal Aid	Plaintiff litigation	Tribal law		
Jillian Francis	Doug Ducey	2024	1			1						
David Garbarino	Doug Ducey	2024		1		1						
Pamela Gates	Janice Kay Brewer	2024			1							
Jo Gentry	Janet Napolitano	2024			1		1			1		
Marischa Gilla	Katie Hobbs	2024	1			1						
Michael Gordon	Janet Napolitano	2024			1			1				
Jennifer Green	Janice Kay Brewer	2026	1									
Ashley Halvorson	Doug Ducey	2024		1								
John Hannah	Janet Napolitano	2024			1	1		1				
Melody Harmon	Katie Hobbs	2024				1		1		1		
Michael Herrod	Janice Kay Brewer	2026				1						
Charlene Jackson	Doug Ducey	2024				1				1		
Melissa Julian	Doug Ducey	2026				1						
Amy Kalman	Katie Hobbs	2024						1				
Michael Kemp	Janet Napolitano	2024	1	1								
Joseph Kiefer	Doug Ducey	2026			1		1					
James Knapp	Doug Ducey	2024	1				1					
Ronee Steiner	Doug Ducey	2026				1		1				
Joseph Kreamer	Janet Napolitano	2026		1						1		
Margaret LaBianca	Doug Ducey	2024			1							
Todd Lang	Doug Ducey	2024				1	1		1			
Kerstin Lemaire	Doug Ducey	2026				1		1	1	1		
Michael Mandell	Doug Ducey	2024			1	1	1					
Daniel Martin	Janet Napolitano	2026		1								
Suzanne Marwil	Doug Ducey	2024		1		1						
Julie Mata	Doug Ducey	2026						1				
Steve McCarthy	Katie Hobbs	2024						1				
Scott McCoy	Janice Kay Brewer	2024			1	1						
David McDowell	Doug Ducey	2024			1	1						
Joseph Mikitish	Janice Kay Brewer	2024		1		1	1					
Keith Miller	Doug Ducey	2024		1		1	1					
Scott Minder	Doug Ducey	2024			1							
Frank Moskowitz	Janice Kay Brewer	2026			1	1						
Sam Myers	Janet Napolitano	2026	1	1								
Suzanne nicholls	Doug Ducey	2026	1	1		1	1					
Colleen Odonnell-Sn	Katie Hobbs	2024				1	1					
David Palmer	Janice Kay Brewer	2024					1					
Amanda Parker	Doug Ducey	2024	1			1						
Susanna Pineda	Janet Napolitano	2026	1									
Jay Polk	Janice Kay Brewer	2026			1	1						
Adele Ponce	Doug Ducey	2024		1								
Michael Rassas	Doug Ducey	2026	1				1					
Joshua Rogers	Doug Ducey	2026			1							
Jeffrey Rueter	Doug Ducey	2026	1			1						
Andrew Russell	Doug Ducey	2024		1								
Timothy Ryan	Janet Napolitano	2024	1			1		1		1		
Jennifer Ryan-Touhill	Janice Kay Brewer	2026				1	1					
Aryeh Schwartz	Doug Ducey	2026			1	1						
Joan Sinclair	Janice Kay Brewer	2026	1	1		1	1		1			
Patricia Starr	Janice Kay Brewer	2024	1			1			1			
Pamela Dunne (Svob	Janice Kay Brewer	2026	1			1						
Timothy Thomason	Janice Kay Brewer	2024		1								
Peter Thompson	Janice Kay Brewer	2024				1	1			1		
Michael Valenzuela	Doug Ducey	2024	1			1						
Lisa Ann Vandenberg	Doug Ducey	2024	1			1						
Danielle Viola	Janice Kay Brewer	2026		1								
Lisa Wahlín	Doug Ducey	2024	1	1		1	1					
Randall Warner	Janet Napolitano	2026			1	1						
Kevin Wein	Doug Ducey	2024			1					1		
Joseph Welty	Janet Napolitano	2026	1			1						
Tracey Westerhouse	Doug Ducey	2026				1				1		
Chuck "Roy" Whiteh	Doug Ducey	2026				1		1				
Christopher Whitten	Janet Napolitano	2024	1			1				1		
Paula Williams	Katie Hobbs	2026	1	1		1						
William Wingard	Katie Hobbs	2026				1						
Cassie Woo	Doug Ducey	2024	1				1					
Melissa Zabor	Katie Hobbs	2024	1			1		1				
Pima			35.7%	55.1%		43.9%	17.3%	16.3%	14.3%	4.1%	11.2%	3.1%
Lisa Abrams	Doug Ducey	2024				1	1	1				
Renee Bennett	Doug Ducey	2024	1				1					
Janet C. Bostwick	Doug Ducey	2026			1		1					
Christopher Brownin	Jane D. Hull	2026				1						
Kyle Bryson	Janice Kay Brewer	2024				1						
Randi L. Burnett	Katie Hobbs	2024				1			1			
Javier Chon-Lopez	Janet Napolitano	2026						1				

Appendix: Professional Diversity of Arizona Courts

	Appointed by	Final year of term	Prosecutor	Corporate	General practice	Executive branch (s'	Government (other)	Public defender	Legal Aid	Plaintiff litigation	Tribal law	
Gary Cohen	Doug Ducey	2024				1		1			1	
Danielle J.K. Constan	Doug Ducey	2024	1									
J. Alan Goodwin	Doug Ducey	2026	1			1	1	1				
Richard Gordon	Janice Kay Brewer	2024	1	1								
Brenden J. Griffin	Janice Kay Brewer	2024		1								
Peter Hochuli	Doug Ducey	2026	1			1						
Kellie L. Johnson	Doug Ducey	2024	1									
Cynthia T. Kuhn	Doug Ducey	2026				1						
Kenneth Lee	Fife Symington	2024									1	
Danelle Liwski	Janice Kay Brewer	2026	1			1						
James E. Marner	Janice Kay Brewer	2026	1								1	
Scott McDonald	Doug Ducey	2024		1				1				
Casey F. McGinley	Doug Ducey	2024	1									
D. Douglas Metcalf	Janice Kay Brewer	2024	1	1								
Kimberly H. Ortiz	Doug Ducey	2024	1				1					
Kathleen Quigley	Janice Kay Brewer	2026	1									
Greg Sakall	Doug Ducey	2024									1	
Laurie B. San Angelo	Doug Ducey	2026					1					
Joan Wagener	Janice Kay Brewer	2024				1						
Catherine Woods	Janice Kay Brewer	2026		1		1						
Wayne E. Yehling	Doug Ducey	2024				1						
Jeffrey Bergin	Janice Kay Brewer	2026		1		1						
Pinal			41.4%	24.1%		44.8%	10.3%	20.7%	6.9%	3.4%	13.8%	0.0%
Joseph R. Georgini		2024				1		1				
Steven J. Fuller		2026	1			1						
Daniel A. Washburn		2026				1						
Jason R. Holmberg	Janice Kay Brewer	2024	1									
Delia R. Neal	Doug Ducey	2026	1									
Robert C. Olson	Janet Napolitano	2024	1									
Patrick K. Gard	Doug Ducey	2024	1									
Jessica K. Dixon	Katie Hobbs	2024				1						
Danielle Harris	Katie Hobbs	2024	1			1						
Apache County			66.7%	0.0%		55.6%	0.0%	11.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Michael Latham		2026	1	1								
Cochise County												
Joel Larson		2026				1			1			
John Kelliher		2026				1						
David Thorn		2026	1			1						
Timothy Dickerson		2024				1						
Jason Lindstrom		2024	1									
Terry Bannon		2026	1									
Gila County												
Timothy Wright		2026	1					1				
Bryan Chambers	Doug Ducey	2024	1					1				
Graham County												
Michael Peterson	Doug Ducey	2026				1						
Greenlee County												
Jeremy Ford		2026	1									
La Paz County												
Marcus Kelley		2026	1			1	1					
Mohave County												
Megan A. McCoy	Doug Ducey	2026	1									
Derek Carlisle		2026	1									
Steven C. Moss	Doug Ducey	2026				1						
Lee Jantzen	Janice Kay Brewer	2026	1									
Rick Williams		2024				1						
Eric Gordon		2026				1		1				
Rick Lambert	Janice Kay Brewer	2026	1						1			
Navajo County												
Dale Nielson	Janice Kay Brewer	2024	1						1			
Joseph Clark	Doug Ducey	2026	1									
Melinda Hardy		2024	1			1				1		1
Michala Ruechel	Janet Napolitano	2024	1			1						
Santa Cruz County												
Thomas Fink	Janice Kay Brewer	2026	1			1						
Liliana Ortega		2024	1									
Yavapai County												
Michael P. McGill	Doug Ducey	2026	1									
John Napper		2026							1			
Tina R. Ainley	Janet Napolitano	2026	1									
Krista M. Carman	Doug Ducey	2024				1					1	
Anna C. Young	Janice Kay Brewer	2026				1					1	
Michael R. Bluff	Janet Napolitano	2024				1						
Debra R. Phelan	Katie Hobbs	2024				1					1	

APPENDIX

Appendix: Professional Diversity of Arizona Courts

Name	Appointed by	Final year of term	Prosecutor	Corporate	General practice	Executive branch (state Government) (other)	Public defender	Legal Aid	Plaintiff litigation	Tribal law
Yuma County										
Mark Wayne Reeves		2024	1					1		
Erin Farrar	Doug Ducey	2026				1	1			
Lawrence Kenworthy		2026	1			1		1		
David Haws	Janice Kay Brewer	2024	1	1						
Roger Nelson	Doug Ducey	2026	1							
Sorenson Nathaniel	Doug Ducey	2024	1							
Darci Weede	Doug Ducey	2024	1			1				
Total			99	77	91	32	30	24	6	23
Percentage			45.8%	35.6%	42.1%	14.8%	13.9%	11.1%	2.8%	10.6%
		216								

CLICK [HERE](#) FOR MORE INFORMATION ON THE BACKGROUNDS OF INDIVIDUAL JUDGES AND AN UPDATED VERSION OF THIS RESEARCH.

The background is a dark, moody photograph. On the right side, there is a close-up of a classical statue's head, possibly of a woman, with detailed features like hair and a serene expression. On the left side, a hammer is positioned diagonally, with its head pointing towards the bottom left and its handle extending towards the top left. The lighting is dramatic, highlighting the textures of the statue and the metallic surface of the hammer. The overall tone is somber and contemplative.

PEOPLE'S PARITY PROJECT