



**IMPACT OF PROFESSIONAL
BACKGROUND ON CONNECTICUT
SUPREME COURT OPINIONS**

**PEOPLE'S
PARITY
PROJECT**

SUMMARY

The Connecticut Supreme Court holds significant sway over the lives of the state's residents, acting as the final authority on the meaning of both its constitution and statutes. From child custody to land use and solitary confinement to car accidents, the Court has authority over every aspect of state law. Despite this tremendous power, little attention has been paid to the professional backgrounds of the justices deciding these cases—even though research has shown that those backgrounds can have significant impacts on the outcomes for those who seek justice in the courts.

At the federal level, the Biden administration has made a deliberate effort to increase the professional diversity of the bench, nominating significant numbers of judges with backgrounds in public defense, legal aid, and civil and workers' rights¹. However, despite the efforts of the CT Pro-People Judiciary Coalition², three of Governor Ned Lamont's four nominees to the Connecticut Supreme Court have worked as prosecutors³, and the Connecticut bench overall is skewed toward former prosecutors and corporate lawyers⁴. By adding even more prosecutors to the bench, Governor Lamont has exacerbated the underrepresentation of judges with experience in public defense, legal aid, civil rights, and other fields where lawyers represent people against powerful interests like corporations and the state.

Despite the legal profession's claims to objective judgment and decision-making, common sense and empirical data show that a judge's prior experiences influence their decisions. This report expands on efforts to analyze the impact of judges' professional backgrounds on the outcomes of the cases before them, which have demonstrated that appearing before judges with certain backgrounds has negative consequences for both workers and criminal defendants⁵. This study analyzed dissenting opinions from the Connecticut Supreme Court,

¹ Colleen Long, Biden Seeking Professional Diversity in His Judicial Picks, Associated Press, <https://apnews.com/article/joe-biden-us-supreme-court-business-congress-race-and-ethnicity-e775b084ed2943c9c328a4726b21b579> (February 10, 2022).

² Jaden Edison, Advocates Urge More Professional Diversity in Judicial Nominees, Connecticut Mirror, <https://ctmirror.org/2023/08/23/advocates-urge-more-professional-diversity-in-judicial-nominees/> (August 23, 2023).

³ John Craven, Take Two: Gov. Lamont makes new pick for CT Supreme Court after first choice withdraws, News 12 Connecticut, <https://connecticut.news12.com/take-two-gov-lamont-makes-new-pick-for-ct-supreme-court-after-first-choice-withdraws> (Sep. 21, 2023).

⁴ Stephen Kennedy, Imbalanced Justice: Professional Diversity of the Connecticut Judicial Bench, People's Parity Project, <https://peoplesparity.org/ctjudiciary/> (April 2022).

⁵ See Allison P. Harris, Maya Sen Working Paper. How Judges' Professional Experience Impacts Case Outcomes: An Examination of Public Defenders and Criminal Sentencing, <https://scholar.harvard.edu/msen/public-defenders> (accessed August 31, 2023); Joanna Shepherd, Jobs, Judges, and Justice: The Relationship Between Professional Diversity and Judicial

categorizing them as favoring either individuals or corporate or state interests, and finding that former prosecutors and corporate attorneys side more often with state and corporate interests than do justices with experience representing individuals.

To date, other studies have focused on trial courts, and similar efforts have not been made at the state supreme court level. By understanding the impact that certain career paths have on the decision-making of justices on the Connecticut Supreme Court, the state's executive and legislative branches can better understand the impact future judicial nominations are likely to have on their residents' practical outcomes in court and on the development of substantive law.

WHY PROFESSIONAL DIVERSITY MATTERS

Before being elevated to the bench, judges can have a wealth of different experiences as legal professionals. Although the legal profession presents judges as objective arbiters of truth, both anecdotal observations from judges themselves and empirical studies of judges' behavior reveal the unavoidable fact that judges' prior experiences, both personal and professional, influence their decisions on the bench.

Reflecting on the legacy of their colleague Justice Thurgood Marshall, several U.S. Supreme Court justices noted the unique perspective that he brought to the bench. Many of these justices, such as Justice Lewis Powell, credited that perspective to Justice Marshall's position as the first Black justice, stating that "a member of a previously excluded group can bring insights to the Court that the rest of its members lack."⁶ Others, however, noted that Justice Marshall brought a unique professional background to the Court. Justice Byron White noted that both Marshall's experience as a Black man in the United States and his career as a civil rights attorney gave him experience that "none of us could claim to match," adding that those experiences also influenced White and his colleagues in their decision-making.⁷ Justice William Brennan stated that, from both a personal and professional perspective, Marshall "spoke from first-hand knowledge of the law's failure to fulfill its promised protections for so many Americans."⁸

Perhaps most illuminating, Justice White went on to remark that from his personal and professional experience, Justice Marshall "would tell us things that we knew but would rather forget; and he told us much that we did not know due to the limitations of our own experience." White's acknowledgement of the implicit biases and ignorance of certain issues that judges hold is an important reminder of the value of diversity on the bench.

As the only public defender to ever sit on the Connecticut Supreme Court, Joette Katz, noted, U.S. Supreme Court "Chief Justice [John] Roberts [famously described] the role of a judge as

Decisions, http://demandjustice.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/02/Jobs-Judges-and-Justices_Demand-Justice_Joanna-Shepherd-Report_2021.pdf (2021).

⁶ Barbara A. Perry, A "Representative" Supreme Court?: The Impact of Race, Religion, and Gender on Appointments, 137 (1991).

⁷ Byron R. White, A Tribute to Justice Thurgood Marshall, 44 Stan. L. Rev. 1215, 1215-16 (1992).

⁸ William J. Brennan, Jr., A Tribute to Justice Thurgood Marshall, 105 Harv. L. Rev., 23, 23 (1991).

calling ‘balls and strikes.’ Less remembered is Sen. Hern Kohl’s response that no two umpires have the same strike zone.”⁹ The current bench leans heavily toward judges whose “strike zones” tend to favor powerful interests like corporations and the state while those who may be more sympathetic to the people in their crosshairs are left to watch from the sidelines.

This idea is not merely speculative. Empirical studies have borne out the impact of professional diversity that these justices intuited. A recent study of federal criminal sentencing from 2010 to 2019 showed that judges without any criminal defense experience handed down significantly harsher sentences than those with public defense experience.¹⁰ Another study analyzing employment cases found that judges with prior experience as criminal prosecutors or representing corporations were significantly more likely to find in favor of corporate defendants in employment cases than judges with experience representing individuals.¹¹ Extrapolating these results across case types would suggest that an overreliance on certain types of attorneys as judicial candidates would lead to poor outcomes for the actual people appearing in our courts.

Despite this concern, Connecticut’s governors and state legislators have stacked the state’s courts with judges from a small range of professional backgrounds. A study of the professional diversity of Connecticut’s courts found a significant overrepresentation of prosecutors and corporate attorneys, along with a significant underrepresentation of judges with backgrounds in public defense, legal aid, civil rights, labor, and plaintiffs’ litigation.¹² This imbalance was particularly pronounced at the appellate level: there are currently no appellate judges with public defense, legal aid, or civil rights backgrounds, and only one with experience in plaintiffs’ litigation representing individuals against powerful interests.

This report seeks to highlight the impact of Connecticut’s lack of professional diversity on its highest court on the people appearing before it. It will further make recommendations on how attorneys with underrepresented professional experiences can be identified and elevated to build a state judiciary that works for the people of Connecticut, not powerful interests.

METHODS

Connecticut Supreme Court opinions issued between January 2021 and July 2023 were collected and categorized by whether there were any recorded dissenting opinions. Dissenting opinions were analyzed further since they are the ones that most easily could have changed outcomes with a different

⁹ Joette Katz, Another Positive that Sets SCOTUS Nominee Ketanji Brown Jackson Apart, Conn. L. Trib., <https://www.law.com/ctlawtribune/2022/03/08/another-positive-that-sets-scotus-nominee-ketanji-brown-jackson-apart/> (March 8, 2022).

¹⁰ Allison P. Harris, Maya Sen Working Paper. How Judges’ Professional Experience Impacts Case Outcomes: An Examination of Public Defenders and Criminal Sentencing, <https://scholar.harvard.edu/msen/public-defenders> (accessed March 12, 2022)..

¹¹ Joanna Shepherd, Jobs, Judges, and Justice: The Relationship Between Professional Diversity and Judicial Decisions, http://demandjustice.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/02/Jobs-Judges-and-Justices_Demand-Justice_Joanna-Shepherd-Report_2021.pdf (2021).

¹² Stephen Kennedy, Imbalanced Justice: Professional Diversity of the Connecticut Judicial Bench, People’s Parity Project, <https://peoplesparity.org/ctjudiciary/> (April 2022).

composition of the court. All justices appearing in dissent were recorded for each case. Cases involving individuals versus either a corporation or the state were collected and the prevailing parties (either individual or corporation/state) were recorded for each.

Professional experiences of all Connecticut Supreme Courts justices were recorded from the Court’s website at <https://www.jud.ct.gov//external/supapp/supjustices.htm>. Each justice’s professional background was categorized as prosecution, Attorney General’s office, municipal corporation counsel, corporate, plaintiffs’ litigation, or state executive branch, which were the broad categories corresponding most closely with the experience of the justices on the bench during the period of study.

Of the cases with dissenting opinions, the percentages of dissents joined by each justice were calculated. These dissents were then grouped by prevailing party, either an individual or a corporation / government entity. Cases where there were no individual parties and only corporate or government bodies were excluded.

RESULTS

Justices’ backgrounds were categorized as follows:

Joan Alexander	Prosecution
Gregory D’Auria	Attorney General’s Office, Corporate
Steven Ecker	Plaintiffs’ Litigation
Maria Araujo Kahn	Prosecution
Andrew McDonald	Corporation Counsel, Other Government
Raheem Mullins	Prosecution
Richard Robinson	Corporation Counsel

For the years studied, twenty-seven opinions included dissents and 134 did not. Of the opinions with published dissents, three justices signed on to at least one-third of dissents: Justices Steven Ecker and Gregory D’Auria and Chief Justice Richard Robinson. Justices Raheem Mullins, Maria Araujo Kahn, Joan Alexander, and Kevin McDonald appeared on less than 15% of dissents, as indicated in Figure 1.

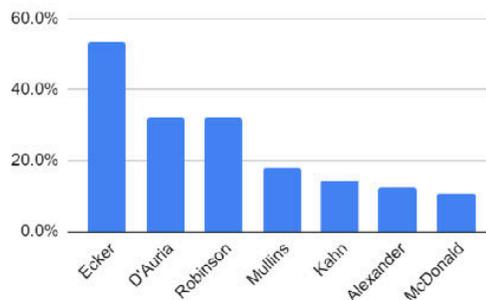


Figure 1: Percentage of total dissents joined by each justice studied.

To identify any trends in the types of dissents that justices joined, dissenting opinions were separated by prevailing party type, either individual or corporation/state. This categorization marked a clear distinction where justices with corporate and prosecutorial backgrounds dissented most often from majorities favoring individuals, with the justices with experience representing individuals dissented more often from pro-corporate/state majorities.

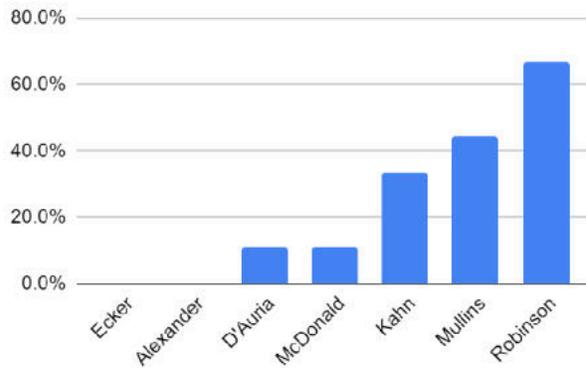


Figure 2: Percentage of dissents from majority opinions favoring individuals.

As shown in Figure 2, Chief Justice Robinson appeared on two-thirds and Justices Mullins and Araujo Kahn around one-third of dissents to opinions where individuals were the prevailing parties, which were significantly higher percentages than those observed for Justices D'Auria and McDonald. In contrast, Justices Ecker and Alexander did not dissent from any opinions favoring an individual.

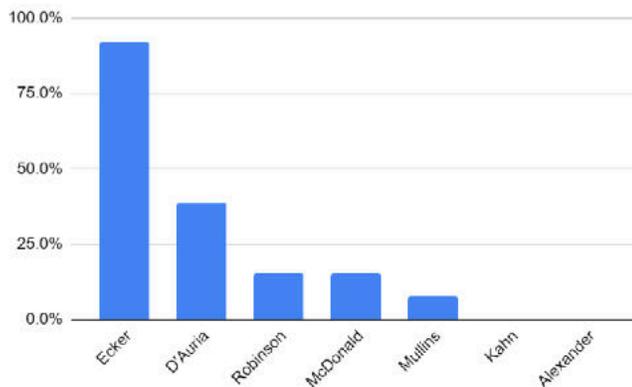


Figure 3: Percentage of dissents from majority opinions favoring corporations or the state.

In the other direction, as shown in Figure 3, Justice Ecker authored or joined 92.3% of dissenting opinions where the prevailing party was a corporation or the state, rather than an individual. Justice D'Auria also appeared on over one-third of dissents in such cases, while all other justices appeared on 15% or fewer.

Notably, the most frequent dissenting voice for individuals over corporations or the state was Justice Ecker, whose background was in plaintiffs' litigation, bringing claims on behalf of individuals. The next most reliable vote for individuals was Justice D'Auria who spent most of his career in the Attorney General's office, including a stint representing Connecticut consumers. It seems reasonable to conclude that these justices' backgrounds may influence their perceptions of such cases.

The justices dissenting most often from pro-individual rulings, and least likely to dissent from pro-corporate or pro-state opinions, had backgrounds representing state and municipal entities either as prosecutors or corporation counsel. These justices' experiences matched most closely to the corporate or state parties in the cases. Prosecutors sided more often with the prosecution in criminal cases. Municipal corporation counsel, who often handle employment cases against municipalities, sided more often with corporations in employment disputes.

The stakes of these cases can be significant for the injured workers or consumers involved, and the one former plaintiffs' attorney on the Connecticut Supreme Court, Justice Steven Ecker, was often the sole voice highlighting those stakes. In *Clark v. Waterford, Cohanzie Fire Department*, the majority opinion limited the availability of disability and retirement benefits for certain part-time firefighters and police officers by reinterpreting, for the first time in seventy years, the statute that controls eligibility.¹³ Justice Ecker's dissent not only points out inconsistencies in the majority's textual analysis, but also centers the impact of this faulty analysis on the disabled firefighters and police officers involved. By keeping the stakes front and center, Justice Ecker highlights the fact that real people will be left to suffer from their injuries without the benefits they otherwise would have been entitled to, which can be lost in opinions focused mostly on language alone.

In *State v. Griffin*, police officers told a defendant that they would arrest his family members, falsely told him that he was facing the death penalty, and falsely indicated that he would receive a lesser charge if he gave a confession, eventually eliciting a confession from the defendant.¹⁴ The Court's majority opinion broke down each tactic that the police officers used, and although it disapproved of some of them, it determined that the confession was given voluntarily. Justice Ecker's dissent instead treated the interrogation as a whole, and then further zoomed out to identify the department's well-established use of these combinations of tactics to "employ psychological manipulation as a means to overwhelm a suspect's will." Considering the totality of the coercive effect of each tactic, the dissent stated that it could not be said that the defendant's confession was given voluntarily.

These are only a few examples. From *Fajardo v. Boston Scientific Corp.*,¹⁵ where a woman suffered severe pelvic injury from a poorly-designed pelvic sling, to *Dorfman v. Smith*,¹⁶ where an insurance company engaged in abusive tactics during litigation after a serious car accident, to *Larmel v. Metro North*,¹⁷ where a plaintiff was denied access to justice after being forced into arbitration, Justice Ecker engaged rigorously with the law while highlighting the impact on the people impacted by the court's decisions. If there were more justices with experience representing people, like Justice Ecker, these outcomes could have been significantly different, allowing the individuals involved to vindicate their rights, while also moving the state's substantive law more in the direction of protecting people.

¹³ *Clark v. Town of Waterford*, SC 20630 (Conn. Jun. 20, 2023).

¹⁴ *State v. Griffin*, 339 Conn. 631, 262 A.3d 44 (Conn. 2021).

¹⁵ *Fajardo v. Boston Scientific Corp.*, No. X06UWYCV146026830 (Conn. Super. Ct. Aug. 15, 2018)

¹⁶ *Dorfman v. Smith*, 342 Conn. 582, 271 A.3d 53 (Conn. 2022).

¹⁷ *Larmel v. Metro N. Commuter R.R. Co.*, 341 Conn. 332, 267 A.3d 162 (Conn. 2021).

Nothing in this study suggests any explicit bias on the part of any of the justices. However, it is reasonable to conclude that their professional experiences inform their approach to the law, which influences their ultimate opinions. With a more representative bench composed of a more diverse set of backgrounds, the results of some Connecticut Supreme Court cases may have been different—and more favorable to individuals rather than powerful interests like corporations or the state. With a different composition of the Court, powerful dissenting opinions like those submitted by Justice Ecker on behalf of individuals could be majority opinions, interpreting the state’s laws in favor of its residents, rather than the entities that have harmed them.

RECOMMENDATIONS

To ensure that the Connecticut bench is representative of the broad spectrum of legal experiences and thus able to better serve the people in need of justice in the courtroom, the state must make a deliberate effort to identify and nominate qualified judges from pro-people backgrounds and to improve the pipeline of attorneys entering these fields. We suggest the following state-specific changes to ensure a robust pipeline of potential judges with public interest backgrounds and to elevate more attorneys with a diversity of professional experiences to the bench: 1) commit to increasing the professional diversity of the state bench, 2) counter public interest drift in law school, 3) lower student debt burden, and 4) increase state judicial clerkship and judicial internship pay.

Commit to Increased Nominations of Attorneys with Pro-People Experience

Public interest attorneys are severely underrepresented on the state bench. It is important that the Judicial Selection Commission, the Governor’s office, and the General Assembly all commit to addressing these disparities. The Commission and Governor should prioritize identifying candidates with underrepresented professional backgrounds, and when considering candidates before them, the Judiciary Committee should consider their professional backgrounds and what the overall slate of nominees represents professionally. Finally, the Governor and General Assembly should commit to replacing Justice Maria Araujo Kahn with a justice with legal aid, economic justice, public defense, or civil rights experience to add another pro-people voice to the bench. The General Assembly Judiciary Committee should reject any nominee without a background representing individuals.

¹⁵ Fajardo v. Boston Scientific Corp., No. X06UWYCV146026830 (Conn. Super. Ct. Aug. 15, 2018)

¹⁶ Dorfman v. Smith, 342 Conn. 582, 271 A.3d 53 (Conn. 2022).

¹⁷ Larmel v. Metro N. Commuter R.R. Co., 341 Conn. 332, 267 A.3d 162 (Conn. 2021).

COUNTERING PUBLIC INTEREST DRIFT

Empirical data have shown that a significant proportion of students enter law school with hopes of entering pro-people legal professions, but by their second years have shifted their goals toward entering large law firms.^{18,19} Increased effort should be made by law schools in the state to ensure there are adequate opportunities and funding for students interested in public interest work. Additionally, law schools should highlight public interest pathways to the judiciary in partnership with judges from public interest backgrounds so that the current pro-corporate and prosecutorial bias of the state bench does not discourage students who aspire to become judges from entering public interest careers in the first place.

LOWERING STUDENT DEBT BURDEN

The average law school graduate owed over \$160,000 in debt.²⁰ Within this average, there are significant demographic disparities, with Black law school graduates on average carrying 97% higher debt loads than white law students. and women taking longer to pay off their debt due to lower average salaries.¹³ The incredible debt burden that law school graduates carry leaves public interest work out of reach for too many. Legal aid attorneys and public defenders often earn less than their area's median income, while nationwide, first-year associates at private law firms could expect starting salaries of around \$135,000 in 2017.^{21,22} For many graduates with high amounts of student loan debt, the high salaries of private law firms may be hard to resist, regardless of how much they may have wished to go into public interest law.

Connecticut could help address this issue by lowering tuition at the University of Connecticut School of Law and providing additional scholarship opportunities for students willing to commit to public interest work. The vast majority of UConn Law graduates remain in Connecticut, so lowering tuition would have an outsized impact on the debt burden of law school graduates in the state.²³ For graduates of all law schools, Connecticut should consider funding a bonus program or other loan repayment option for law school graduates who pursue public interest careers within the state.

INCREASING STATE JUDICIAL CLERKSHIP PAY

¹⁸ John Bliss, From Idealists to Hired Guns?: An Empirical Analysis of "Public Interest Drift in Law School, UC Davis L. Rev. Vol. 51, 1973-2032 (2018).

¹⁹ John Bliss, Divided Selves: Professional Role Distancing Among Law Students and New Lawyers in a Period of Market Crisis, 42 Law & Social Inquiry 3, 855-897 (2016).

²⁰ Melanie Hanson, Average Law School Debt, Educationdata.org, <https://educationdata.org/average-law-school-debt> (December 5, 2021).

²¹ Sonia Weiser, Lawyers by Day, Uber Drivers and Bartenders by Night, New York Times, <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/06/03/nyregion/legal-aid-lawyers-salary-ny.html> (June 3, 2019).

²² Debra Cassens Weiss, What is the Starting Pay for Public Defenders? Low Salaries Discourage Applicants, American Bar Association Journal, <https://www.abajournal.com/news/article/what-is-the-starting-pay-for-public-defenders-low-salaries-discourage-applicants> (October 21, 2021).

²³ University of Connecticut, Employment Summary for 2020 Graduates, <https://law.uconn.edu/wp-content/uploads/sites/3082/2021/07/210428-ABA-Employment-and-Salary-Data-Class-of-2020-FINAL.pdf> (April 28, 2021).

Judicial clerkships are often seen as the keys to elite positions within the legal profession, whether private, public, or academic.^{24,25} However, clerkship salaries in Connecticut are on par with public interest positions in Connecticut and thus are significantly lower than those in the private sector.²⁶ Temporary assistant clerks in Connecticut earn little more than minimum wage.²⁷ These positions are often seen as prerequisites for entering prestigious legal positions, both private and public, and as the first step on the path to becoming a judge. Increasing the pay for these positions would allow a broader range of students to enter the field and gain this qualification for the bench.

CONCLUSION

Despite the impact that judges' professional backgrounds have on their decisions on the bench, little attention has been paid to the professional diversity of Connecticut's courts. This report adds to the existing literature showing that judges' professional backgrounds influence their opinions, this time at the supreme court level. As shown above, the only justice on the Connecticut Supreme Court with experience representing individuals against powerful interests was also the most frequent dissenter against pro-corporate and carceral opinions, while former prosecutors and corporation counsel sided more often with corporations and the state. Given the overrepresentation of former prosecutors and corporate attorneys in Connecticut's appellate courts, people appearing before these courts are less likely to prevail in their cases than they would be in a more balanced court, which could lead to increased incarceration, income inequality, and financial instability. By committing to appoint more judges with pro-people backgrounds and providing increased opportunities for public interest-minded law students to pursue clerkships and other opportunities that could someday support their own nominations, this disparity could be addressed to the benefit of our residents. For a truly representative bench that will protect the interests of all who appear before them, the state must commit to ensuring professional diversity and greater representation of pro-people judges.

²⁴ William H. Simon, Judicial Clerkships and Elite Professional Culture, 36 J. Legal Educ. 129 (1986).

²⁵ Howard M. Wasserman, Academic Feeder Judges: Are Clerkships the Key to Academia?, 105 Judicature 1, <https://judicature.duke.edu/articles/academic-feeder-judges-are-clerkships-the-key-to-academia/> (Spring 2021).

²⁶ State of Connecticut Judicial Branch, Law Clerk Application Information, <https://www.jud.ct.gov/external/supapp/lawclerkapps.html> (viewed March 9, 2022).

²⁷ State of Connecticut Judicial Branch, Temporary Assistant Clerk I, <https://www.jud.ct.gov/external/news/jobs/TAC.htm> (viewed March 9, 2022).

APPENDIX

Case	Year	Type	Dissenter 1	Dissenter 2	Dissenter 3	Individual Prevailing	Corporation/ State Prevailing
Banks v. Commissioner of Correction	2023	Habeas	Robinson	Mullins		x	
Commission on Human Rights & Opportunities v. Cantillon	2023	Administrative Appeal	Ecker				x
Clark v. Waterford, Cohanzie Fire Dept.	2023	Workers' Compensation	Ecker				x
State v. Malone	2023	Criminal	D'Auria	Robinson	Ecker		x
Robinson v. V. D.	2023	Tort	D'Auria	Ecker	Alexander		
Smith v. Supple	2023	Tort	D'Auria	Ecker	Alexander		
Pryor v. Brignole	2023	Contract	D'Auria	Ecker			x
Dunn v. Northeast Helicopters Flight Services, LLC	2023	Employment	Mullins	Robinson		x	
State v. Brandon	2022	Criminal	Ecker	McDonald			x
Kovachich v. Dept. of Mental Health and Addiction Services	2022	Employment	Robinson			x	
State v. Freeman	2022	Criminal	Mullins	Kahn		x	
State v. Torres	2022	Criminal	Ecker	McDonald	D'Auria		x
Maldonado v. Flannery	2022	Tort	Robinson			x	
Dorfman v. Smith	2022	Tort	Ecker				x
Strand/BRC Group, LLC v. Board of Representatives	2022	Land Use	D'Auria				
Allstate Ins. Co. v. Tenn	2022	Insurance	D'Auria	McDonald		x	
Fajardo v. Boston Scientific Corp.	2021	Tort	Ecker				x
Larmel v. Metro North Commuter Railroad Co.	2021	Tort	Ecker	Robinson			x
State v. Bradley	2021	Criminal	Ecker				x
Not Another Power Plant v. Connecticut Siting Council	2021	Administrative Appeal	Ecker	D'Auria			x
Meribear Productions, Inc. v. Frank	2021	Contract	D'Auria	Mullins			x
State v. Jodi D.	2021	Criminal	Mullins	Kahn		x	

North Sails Group, LLC v. Boards & More GMBH	2021	Contract	Ecker	Kahn			
State v. Dawson	2021	Criminal	Robinson			x	
State v. Griffin	2021	Criminal	Ecker				x
State v. Mark T.	2021	Criminal	Kahn	Robinson	Mullins	x	
Wilton Campus 1691, LLC. v. Wilton	2021	Property	Robinson				

Table 1: Categorization of opinions with dissents.

Name	Year	Type	Individual Prevailing	Corporation/State Prevailing
Crandle v. Connecticut State Employees Retirement Commission	2022	Administrative Appeal		x
Burton v. Dept. of Environmental Protection	2021	Administrative Appeal		x
A Better Way Wholesale Autos, Inc. v. Saint Paul	2021	Arbitration	x	
Connex Credit Union v. Thibodeau	2023	Contract		x
State v. Massaro	2023	Criminal		x
State v. Lanier	2023	Criminal		x
State v. Langston	2023	Criminal		x
State v. Malone	2023	Criminal		x
State v. Alvarez	2023	Criminal	x	
State v. Michael R.	2023	Criminal		x
State v. Calhoun	2023	Criminal		x
State v. Curet	2023	Criminal		x
State v. King	2023	Criminal		x
State v. James A.	2022	Criminal		x
State v. Gary S.	2022	Criminal		x

State v. Brown	2022	Criminal		x
State v. Pan	2022	Criminal	x	
State v. Ares	2022	Criminal	x	
State v. Washington	2022	Criminal		x
State v. Ortega	2022	Criminal		x
State v. Johnson	2022	Criminal		x
State v. Lori T.	2022	Criminal		x
State v. Graham	2022	Criminal		x
State v. Flores	2022	Criminal		x
State v. Mekoshvili	2022	Criminal		x
State v. Patrick M.	2022	Criminal	x	
State vs. Hinds	2022	Criminal		x
State v. Schimanski	2022	Criminal	x	
State vs. Peluso	2022	Criminal	x	
State v. Rogers	2022	Criminal		x
State v. Qayyum	2022	Criminal		x
State v. Patterson	2022	Criminal		x
State v. Bowden	2022	Criminal		x
State v. Samuolis	2022	Criminal		x
State v. Davis	2022	Criminal		x
State v. Council	2022	Criminal		x
State v. Juan F.	2022	Criminal		x
State v. Juan J.	2022	Criminal	x	
State v. Rivera	2022	Criminal		x
State v. Hargett	2022	Criminal		x
State v. Ortiz	2022	Criminal		x
State v. Abraham	2022	Criminal		x
State v. Tyrus	2022	Criminal		x
State v. Gray	2022	Criminal		x
State v. Taveras	2022	Criminal		x
State v. Daniels	2022	Criminal		x
	2022	Criminal		x

State v. Jose A.

B.				
State v. Patel	2022	Criminal		x
State v. Fisher	2022	Criminal		x
State v. Gore	2022	Criminal		x
State v. Bruny	2022	Criminal		x
State v. Belcher	2022	Criminal	x	
State v. Lopez	2022	Criminal	x	
State v. Hughes	2021	Criminal		x
State v. Bermudez	2021	Criminal		x
State v. Streit	2021	Criminal		x
State v. Ward	2021	Criminal	x	
State v. Coltherst	2021	Criminal		x
State v. A.B.	2021	Criminal	x	
State v. Bemer	2021	Criminal	x	
State v. Correa	2021	Criminal	x	
State v. LeRoya M.	2021	Criminal		x
State v. Tomlinson	2021	Criminal		x
State v. Turner	2021	Criminal		x
State v. Tinsley	2021	Criminal		x
State v. Gibson	2021	Criminal		x
State v. Robert R.	2021	Criminal	x	
State v. Roy D. L.	2021	Criminal		x
State v. Richards	2021	Criminal		x
State v. Silva	2021	Criminal		x
State v. Bemer	2021	Criminal	x	
State v. Watson	2021	Criminal		x
State v. Alicea	2021	Criminal		x
State v. Courtney G.	2021	Criminal		x
State v. Weathers	2021	Criminal		x
State v. Pompei	2021	Criminal		x
State v. Michael T.	2021	Criminal		x
State v. Francis	2021	Criminal		x
State v. Komisarjevsky	2021	Criminal		x

State v. Battle	2021	Criminal		x
State v. Davis	2021	Criminal	x	
State v. Armadore	2021	Criminal		x
State v. Jose R.	2021	Criminal	x	
State v. Christopher S.	2021	Criminal		x
State v. Gonzalez	2021	Criminal		x
Mitchell v. State	2021	Criminal		x
State v. Smith	2021	Criminal		x
State v. Graham	2021	Criminal		x
State v. Gomes	2021	Criminal	x	
State v. Bischoff	2021	Criminal		x
State v. Imperiale	2021	Criminal		x
Cerame v. Lamont	2023	Declaratory Judgment		x
Francis v. Board of Pardons & Paroles	2021	Declaratory Judgment		x
New Haven v. AFSCME, Council 4, Local 3144	2021	Employment	x	
JPMorgan Chase Bank, National Assn. v. Malick	2023	Foreclosure	x	
Strazza Building & Construction, Inc. v. Harris	2023	Foreclosure		x
Bank of New York Mellon v. Tope	2022	Foreclosure	x	
JPMorgan Chase Bank, National Assn. v. Virgulak	2022	Foreclosure	x	
Wells Fargo Bank, N.A. v. Lorson	2021	Foreclosure	x	
Toro Credit Co. v. Zeytoonjian	2021	Foreclosure		x
	2021	Foreclosure		x

U.S. Bank National Assn. v. Rothermel				
Grant v. Commissioner of Correction	2022	Habeas		x
Diaz v. Commissioner of Correction	2022	Habeas		x
Kelsey v. Commissioner of Correction	2022	Habeas		x
Barlow v. Commissioner of Correction	2022	Habeas	x	
Saunders v. Commissioner of Correction	2022	Habeas	x	
Grant v. Commissioner of Correction	2022	Habeas		x
Goguen v. Commissioner of Correction	2021	Habeas		x
Woods v. Commissioner of Correction	2021	Habeas		x
Jordan v. Commissioner of Correction	2021	Habeas		x
Halladay v. Commissioner of Correction	2021	Habeas		x
Klass v. Liberty Mutual Ins. Co.	2022	Insurance	x	
In re Amias I.	2022	Juvenile		x
In re Annessa J.	2022	Juvenile		x
In re Aisjaha N.	2022	Juvenile		x
In re Vada V.	2022	Juvenile		x
In re Ivory W.	2022	Juvenile		x
In re Riley B.	2022	Juvenile		x
Markatos v. Zoning Board of Appeals	2023	Land Use		x
Pfister v. Madison Beach Hotel, LLC	2022	Land Use		x
Tillman v.	2021	Land Use		x

Planning & Zoning Commission				
Carpenter v. Daar	2023	Medical Malpractice	x	
Caverly v. State	2022	Medical Malpractice	x	
Riccio v. Bristol Hospital, Inc.	2022	Medical Malpractice		x
Dobie v. New Haven	2023	Tort		x
Adams v. Aircraft Spruce & Specialty Co.	2022	Tort		x
Costanzo v. Plainfield	2022	Tort		x
Peek v. Manchester Memorial Hospital	2022	Tort	x	
Gonzalez v. O & G Industries, Inc.	2021	Tort		x
Maghfour v. Waterbury	2021	Tort	x	
Doe v. Madison	2021	Tort		x
DeMaria v. Bridgeport	2021	Tort	x	
Daley v. Kashmanian	2022	Torts	x	
Clements v. Aramark Corp.	2021	Workers' Compensation		x

Table 2: Categorization of opinions without dissents.



**PEOPLE'S
PARITY
PROJECT**