Pratheepan (Deep) Gulasekaram

pgulasekaram@colorado.edu; 303.492.1568 (office)

EDUCATION

Stanford Law School, *JD with Distinction* (2001)

Brown University, *BA, magna cum laude, British and American Literature* (1996)
Ratcliffe Hicks Prize for highest standing in Language and Literature

LEGAL TEACHING EXPERIENCE

University of Colorado Law School, *Professor of Law & Director, Byron R. White Center for Study of American Constitutional Law*
Courses: Constitutional Law; Immigration Law
Byron White Center: Lead strategic planning & programming, including annual Justice John Paul Stevens Lecture, Rothgerber Constitutional Law Conference, Constitution Day, & Marshall-Brennan Constitutional Literacy Project
Recipient: 2026 Colorado Law Public & Community Service Award

Santa Clara University School of Law, *Professor of Law & Faculty Scholar, Markulla Center for Applied Ethics* (2007-2023)
Courses: Constitutional Law I & II; Immigration Law; Immigration Law & Policy (seminar/practicum)
Program Director: SCU School of Law Summer Study Abroad Program (Shanghai, China) 2013-2020
Recipient: 2019 SCU President's Recognition Award; 2012 SCU Law Public Interest & Social Justice Achievement Award

Stanford Law School, *Visiting Professor* (Fall 2021; Fall 2011)
Course: Immigration Law

University of California, Berkeley & U.C. Berkeley Law School *Visiting Professor* (Spring 2018, 2019, 2020)
Courses: Immigration and Citizenship Law & Policy (Spring 2018/19) (undergraduate)
Immigration Law (Spring 2020) (law school)

New York University School of Law, *Acting Assistant Professor of Lawyering* (2005-2007)

Loyola University School of Law (New Orleans, LA), *Visiting Assistant Professor* (2004-2005)
Courses: Constitutional Law I, II

OTHER LEGAL EXPERIENCE

The Honorable Jacques L. Wiener, Jr.
United States Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit, *Law Clerk* (New Orleans, LA) (2001-2002)

O'Melveny & Myers LLP, *Associate Attorney* (Century City, CA) (2003-2004)
Susman Godfrey LLP, *Associate Attorney* (Los Angeles, CA) (2002-2003)

Asian Law Caucus, *Extern* (San Francisco, CA) (2000-2001)

CASEBOOKS, BOOKS, & BOOK CHAPTERS

The Evolution of Sanctuary (book manuscript) (work-in-progress) (with Rose C. Villazor, Rick Su)

Immigration and Citizenship: Process and Policy (WEST ACADEMIC) (10th Ed., 2026) (with Hiroshi Motomura, Juliet Stumpf & Rose C. Villazor) (leading immigration law casebook used in law schools)

Asylum, Refugees, & Other Humanitarian Protections (WEST ACADEMIC) (1st Ed., 2026) (same co-authors)

Immigration and Nationality Laws of the United States: Selected Statutes, Regulations, and Forms (WEST ACADEMIC) (2026) (same co-authors)

The New Immigration Federalism (CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS 2015) (with S.K. Ramakrishnan)
Cited by: *Barbara v. Trump*, 609 U.S. – (2026)

United States v. Cruikshank ***Reimagined*** (chapter for ***Critical Race Judgments: Rewritten U.S. Supreme Court Opinions on Race and Law*** (CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS 2022) (D. Carbado, A. Onwuachi-Willig, R. Lenhardt, B. Capers, Eds.)

Immigration Localism (chapter for ***The New Preemption Reader: Legislation, Cases and Commentary on the Leading Challenge in Today's State and Government Law*** (1st Ed.) (2019) (N. Davidson and R. Briffault, Eds.)) (with Rose C. Villazor, Rick Su)

Immigration and American Federalism (chapter for ***Controversies in American Federalism and Public Policy***, (ROUTLEDGE PRESS 2018) (Christopher Banks, Ed.))

LEGAL ACADEMIC ARTICLES & WORKS-IN-PROGRESS

Busing & the Sanctuary City, -- TEXAS A&M L. REV. – (forthcoming) (with Rose C. Villazor, Rick Su)

The Borderline Constitution, 135 YALE L. J. 2065 (2026)

The Renewed Assault on Sanctuary Cities, 77 RUTGERS UNIV. L. REV. 1417 (2026) (with Rose C. Villazor, Rick Su)

Immigration & National Borders, 97 COLORADO L. REV. 885 (2026) (Foreword to 2025 Rothgerber Conference)

Dangerousness & the Undocumented, 114 GEORGETOWN L. J. 1 (2026)

Loyalty Disarmament & the Undocumented, 125 COLUMBIA L. REV. FORUM 29 (2025)

Second Amendment Immigration Exceptionalism, 77 VANDERBILT L. REV. EN BANC 51 (2024)

The Second Amendment's "People" Problem, 76 VANDERBILT L. REV. 1437 (2023)

Immigration Enforcement Preemption, 84 OHIO ST. L. J. 535 (2023)

Restructuring Immigration Enforcement Federalism, 2021 U. ILL. L. REV. ONLINE 39 (2021) (Symposium on Biden's 100 Days)

Anti-Sanctuary & Immigration Localism, 119 COLUMBIA L. REV. 837 (2019) (with Rose C. Villazor, Rick Su)
Cited by: *Serbon v. City of East Chicago*, 194 N.E.3d 84 (Ind. App. 2022); *City of Gary, Indiana v. Nicholson, and State of Indiana,* 181 N.E.3d 390 (Ind. App. 2021)

Privatized Detention & Immigration Federalism, 71 STANFORD L. REV. ONLINE 135 (2019) (with David S. Rubenstein)

Sanctuary Networks, 103 MINNESOTA L. REV. 1209 (2019) (with Rose C. Villazor)

The New Sanctuary and Anti-Sanctuary Movements, 52 U.C. DAVIS L. REV. 549 (2018) (with Rose C. Villazor)
Cited by: *Serbon v. City of East Chicago*, 194 N.E.3d 84 (Ind. App. 2022)

Immigration Exceptionalism, 111 NORTHWESTERN UNIV. L. REV. 583 (2017) (with David S. Rubenstein)

The President and Immigration Federalism, 68 FLORIDA L. REV. 101 (2016) (with S.K. Ramakrishnan)

Immigration Federalism: A Reappraisal, 88 NEW YORK UNIV. L. REV. 2074 (2013) (with S.K. Ramakrishnan)

Guns and Membership in the American Polity, 21 WILLIAM & MARY BILL OF RIGHTS J. 619 (2012) (symposium)

The Importance of the Political in Immigration Federalism, 44 ARIZONA STATE L. J. 1431 (2012) (with S.K. Ramakrishnan)

Why a Wall? 2 U.C. IRVINE L. REV. 147 (2012) (symposium)

"The People" of the Second Amendment: Citizenship & the Right to Bear Arms, 85 NEW YORK UNIV. L. REV. 1521 (2010)
Cited by: *United States v. Jiminez-Shilon*, 34 F.4th 1042 (11th Cir. 2022); *United States v. Zamora-Hernandez*, 2025 WL 494623 (N.D. Okla. 2025); *United States v. Chavira-Ornelas*, 745 F.Supp.3d 1259 (D.N.M. 2024); *United States v. Negrete*, 2024 WL 4624849 (D. Nev. 2024); *United States v. Sing-Ledezma*, 706 F.Supp.3d 650 (W.D. Tex.

2023); *United States v. Vizcaino-Peguero*, 671 F.Supp.3d 124 (D. Puerto Rico 2023); *United States v. Trinidad-Nova*, 671 F.Supp.3d 118 (D. Puerto Rico 2023); *Fraser v. Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms, and Explosives*, 672 F.Supp.3d 203 (E.D. Va. 2023); *Fletcher v. Haas*, 851 F.Supp.2d 287, 295 (D. Mass. 2012); *Pohlabel v. State*, 268 P.3d 1264, 1271 (Nev. 2012); Am. Jur. 2d §§ 26, 1877, 2309, 2714

Response: Eugene Volokh, *A Cautionary Note for Readers of "The People" of the Second Amendment*, N.Y.U. L. Rev. The Legal Workshop Online (Dec. 8, 2011)

Reply: Pratheepan Gulasekaram, *A Cautionary Note to Readers of Professor Volokh's "Cautionary Note,"* N.Y.U. L. Rev. The Legal Workshop Online (Dec. 8, 2011)

Sanctuary Ordinances & Immigration Federalism: A Dialectical Analysis, 55 WAYNE L. REV. 1683 (2009) (with Rose C. Villazor)

Cited by: *Villas at Parkside Partners v. Farmers Branch,* 726 F.3d 524, 561 (5th Cir. 2013) (Higginson, J., concurring)

Sub-National Immigration Regulation & the Pursuit of Cultural Cohesion, 77 U. CINCINNATI L. REV. 1441 (2009)

Aliens with Guns: Equal Protection, Federal Power, and the Second Amendment, 92 IOWA L. REV. 891 (2007)

Cited by: *Fletcher v. Haas*, 851 F.Supp.2d 287 (D. Mass. 2012)

Protecting Unauthorized Use of Trademark in Expressive Works, 80 WASHINGTON L. REV. 887 (2005)

Winner: 2006 Ladas Memorial Award for Trademark Scholarship

Foundations of World Order **by Francis A. Boyle**, 36 STANFORD J. INTL. L. 181 (2000) (book review)

EXPERT REPORTS, TESTIMONY, & COMMISSIONED WRITING

Expert Report & Testimony, **United States v. Vazquez-Ramirez (E.D. Wash. 2024)** (written declaration and in-court testimony for defendants in bench trial, providing background for federal and state regulation of noncitizens and firearms)

Expert Report**, Intercommunity Justice & Peace Center v. Registrar, Ohio Bureau of Motor Vehicles (S.D. Ohio 2020) and Community Refugee & Immigration Services v. Registrar, Ohio Bureau of Motor Vehicles (S.D. Ohio 2020)** (written declaration for plaintiffs, analyzing legal defects in Ohio BMV's attempted exclusion of certain refugees and children of unauthorized noncitizens from receiving driver's licenses; summary judgement awarded to plaintiffs *Intercommunity Justice & Peace Center v. Ohio BMV*, 440 F.Supp.3d 877 (S.D. Ohio 2020))

Sanctuary and Anti-Sanctuary Laws and the United States Constitution, Federal Agency for Civic Education, Germany and Institute of Migration Research and Intercultural Studies, University of Osnabrueck (Fall 2020) (commissioned report for German government, translated for German and European audience)

Understanding Immigration Federalism in the United States (March 2014) (with S.K. Ramakrishnan) (commissioned report for the Center for American Progress)

Restrictive State and Local Immigration Laws: Solutions in Search of Problems, 6 ADVANCE 5 (November 2012) (with S.K. Ramakrishnan) (Issue Brief for the American Constitution Society for Law & Policy)

No Exception to the Rule: The Unconstitutionality of State Immigration Enforcement Laws, 5 ADVANCE 37 (October 2011) (Issue Brief for the American Constitution Society for Law & Policy)

POPULAR PUBLICATIONS, EDITORIALS, & BLOGS

Dangerousness, Immigration Status, and the Second Amendment after **Rahimi,** SECOND THOUGHTS BLOG, Duke Univ. Center for Firearms Law, Mar. 12, 2026

"The People", Citizenship, and Firearms, SECOND THOUGHTS BLOG, Duke Univ. Center for Firearms Law, Jan. 13, 2022 (essay for series on Race & Guns in America)

The President, Immigration Law, and Federalism, BALKINIZATION BLOG (Nov. 2020) (essay for online symposium, responding to Adam Cox and Cristina Rodriguez, *The President and Immigration Law* (OUP 2020))

Cities Can't Defy State Health Orders by Claiming to be "Sanctuaries" for Businesses, LOS ANGELES TIMES, May 22, 2020 (Op-Ed)

Local Immigration Non-Enforcement and Local Gun Deregulation, SECOND THOUGHTS BLOG, Duke Univ. Center for Firearms Law, May 14, 2020 (online symposium essay)

Kansas v. Garcia ***(2019): Argument Preview, Argument Analysis, Opinion Analysis,*** SCOTUSBLOG, Oct.-Nov. 2019

The Perilous Stakes of Immigration Law by Executive Fiat, THE HILL, Nov. 9, 2018 (with David S. Rubenstein)

An Immigration Legacy at Odds with Justice Kennedy's Animating Principles, SCOTUSBLOG, July 3, 2018

The Case for Non-Governmental Sanctuary, LOS ANGELES TIMES, April 5, 2018 (with Rose C. Villazor) (Op-Ed)

The Truth About the Administration's Anti-Sanctuary Campaign, AMERICAN CONSTITUTION SOCIETY FOR LAW & POLICY, Oct. 18, 2017 (blog post)

Trump's Travel Ban 2.0, AMERICAN CONSTITUTION SOCIETY FOR LAW & POLICY, May 17, 2017 (blog post) (commentary on the Ninth Circuit oral argument in *Hawaii v. Trump*)

An Annotated Guide to Donald Trump's Revised Travel Ban, THE GUARDIAN, Mar. 7, 2017

Sanctuary Cities are Safe, Despite Trump's Executive Order, AMERICAN CONSTITUTION SOCIETY FOR LAW & POLICY, Jan.31, 2017 (blog post)

Take the Immigration Fight to the States, LOS ANGELES TIMES, June 27, 2016 (with S.K. Ramakrishnan) (Op-Ed)

How the Supreme Court's Deadlock Will Change Immigration Politics, WASHINGTON POST, June 24, 2016 (Op-Ed) (with S.K. Ramakrishnan)

United States v. Texas***: Ex Ante or Ex Post Judicial Review,*** YALE NOTICE & COMMENT BLOG, June 9, 2016 (with D.S. Rubenstein) (blog post)

The President, Partisanship, and Immigration Policy, SANTA CLARA LAW MAGAZINE, Vol. 22 Spring 2016

President and States in a Partisan Battle over Immigration Policy, AMERICAN CONSTITUTION SOCIETY FOR LAW & POLICY, Jan. 19, 2016 (blog post)

The Legality of Muslim Exclusion, AMERICAN CONSTITUTION SOCIETY FOR LAW & POLICY, Dec. 9, 2015 (blog post)

States Cannot Reject Syrian Refugees, WASHINGTON POST, Nov.19, 2015 (Op-Ed) (with S.K. Ramakrishnan)

An Immigration Policy for the Next 50 Years, THE HILL, Oct. 8, 2015 (with S.K. Ramakrishnan)

Forget Border Walls and Mass Deportations: The Real Changes in Immigration are Happening in the States, WASHINGTON POST, Sept. 24, 2015 (with S.K. Ramakrishnan)

Campaign Rhetoric versus Facts on Immigration, LOS ANGELES TIMES, Sept. 23, 2015 (Op-Ed) (with S.K. Ramakrishnan)

Obama's Actions Likely to Spur States, Not Congress, to Act, SAN JOSE MERCURY NEWS, Dec. 6, 2014 (Op-Ed) (with S.K. Ramakrishnan)

Obama's Deferred Action Program is No Overreach, SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE, Sept. 3, 2014 (Op-Ed (with S.K. Ramakrishnan)

Sheriff Can Dig in Heels More, SANTA ROSA PRESS DEMOCRAT, Feb. 17, 2014 (Op-Ed)

Can Obama Unilaterally Ban Deportations? LOS ANGELES TIMES, Dec. 5, 2013 (Op-Ed) (with S.K. Ramakrishnan)

Driver's Licenses for Undocumented Immigrants: How the Obama Administration's Deferred Action Plan Paved the Way, SAN JOSE MERCURY NEWS, Oct. 12, 2013 (Op-Ed) (with S.K. Ramakrishnan)

Immigration Federalism Post-*Arizona,*** AMERICAN CONSTITUTION SOCIETY FOR LAW & POLICY, Aug. 8, 2013 (blog post)

Gay Marriage Advances Come at a Cost, USA TODAY, July 1, 2013 (Op-Ed)

What Does it Mean to be American? USA TODAY, Apr. 23, 2013 (Op-Ed)

Partisanship, Not Demography, Explains State Immigration Laws, AMERICAN CONSTITUTION SOCIETY FOR LAW & POLICY, June 27, 2012 (blog post) (with S.K. Ramakrishnan)

The Anti-Immigrant Game, LOS ANGELES TIMES, Apr. 24, 2012 (Op-Ed) (with S.K. Ramakrishnan)

Why U.S. v. Arizona Won't End the Debate Over State and Local Immigration Regulation, AMERICAN CONSTITUTION SOCIETY FOR LAW & POLICY, Apr. 27, 2012 (blog post)

Constitutional Values and the California DREAM Act, SAN JOSE MERCURY NEWS, Sept. 14, 2011 (Op-Ed)

A Victory for Immigrants?, AMERICAN CONSTITUTION SOCIETY FOR LAW & POLICY, Aug. 1 2010 (blog post)

Legal Scholars Dissect S.F. Sanctuary Ordinance, N.Y. TIMES, Bay Area Blog, Oct. 21, 2009

The Immigration Debate: Coming Soon – A City ID? SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE, Sept. 30, 2007 (Op-Ed)

REPRESENTATIVE PRESENTATIONS & APPEARANCES

Panelist, ***Constitutional Interpretation in Emergency Situations: Changing or Stable Interpretative Practice?***, World Congress of Constitutional Law, Universidad Externado de Colombia, Bogota, Colombia (July 7, 2026)

Panelist, ***Authoritarianism and Immigrant Claims to Justice***, Law & Society Annual Conference (May 2026)

Presenter, ***Whose Rules? Constitutional Limits on Federal Enforcement and Local Cooperation***, Colorado Bar Assoc. CLE (June 16, 2026) (with Judge Sato K. Crews, U.S. District Court for the District of Colorado)

Presenter, ***Permissible Profiling: Color-Driven Immigration Enforcement Versus Colorblind College Admissions***, Colorado Bar Assoc. CLE (Dec. 10, 2025) (with Justice William Hood, Colorado Supreme Court)

Moderator & Panelist, ***2024-2025 Supreme Court Term Review***, Tenth Circuit Judicial Conference (Aug. 28, 2025)

Speaker, ***Threats to "Sanctuary" Jurisdictions***, State Attorneys General Project American Constitution Society for Law & Policy (Mar. 27, 2025) (presentation to several state AGs regarding current litigation over state non-cooperation laws)

Panelist, ***Immigration & 2024 Election***, Center for Immigration Policy Research, University of Denver (Oct. 29, 2024)

Public Lecture, ***Immigration & Presidential Elections***, Mini-Law School Series, University of Colorado Law School (Sep. 11, 2024)

Public Lecture, ***States as Immigration Battlegrounds***, Mini-Law School Series, University of Colorado Law School (Sep. 24, 2023)

Podcast Guest, ***Who Can Regulate Immigration, States or D.C.?,*** History Behind News Podcast (S.3; Ep.22, May 2023)

Paper Presentation, ***The Second Amendment's People Problem***, National Conference of Constitutional Law Scholars, The Rehnquist Center, University of Arizona (Mar. 2023)

Panelist, ***Regionalism in Immigration Enforcement***, Law & Society Assoc., Global Conference, Lisbon, Portugal (July 2022)

Panelist, ***Roundtable on Race and Guns in America***, Center for Firearms Law, Duke University Law School (Nov. 2021)

Panelist, ***The Second Amendment at the Supreme Court***, U.C. Davis School of Law (Oct. 2021)

Panelist, ***Colloquium on Localism, Popular Constitutionalism, Preemption, and Firearms***, Center for Firearms Law, Duke University Law School (May 2020)

Panelist, ***Theorizing the Interior of Immigration Enforcement***, Law & Society Annual Conference (June 2019)

Panelist, ***Immigration Federalism, Detention, and Sanctuary Cities***, Symposium, Southwestern Law Review (Feb. 2019)

Panelist, ***What are the Limits of Local Control?***, The Federalist Society, Annual Western Chapters Conference (Jan. 2019) (featured on C-Span)

Panelist, ***Executive Power: Immigration Reform in the New Administration***, Symposium, University of Pennsylvania Constitutional Law Journal (Jan. 2018)

Panelist, ***Immigration in the Trump Administration***, American Association of Law Schools Annual Meeting (Jan. 2018)

Panelist, ***Current Issues in Immigration Policy***, Levin Center, Wayne State University Law School (Nov. 2017)

Panelist, ***Public Interest Mobilization and Access to Justice Movements in the New Democratic State***, Symposium, University of Wisconsin Law Review (Oct. 2017)

Panelist, ***Immigration Law and Resistance: Ensuring a Nation of Immigrants***, Symposium, U.C. Davis Law Review (Oct. 2017)

Speaker, ***Immigration Nation? Challenges for All Americans***, American Association of University Women and League of Women Voters, Alameda, Cal. (Sept. 2017)

Speaker, ***Progressive Federalism: A New Way Forward?***, Plenary Session, American Constitution Society for Law & Policy, National Convention, Washington, D.C. (June 2017)

The New Immigration Federalism (Book Talk)
Stanford University, Department of Political Science & School of Law (Feb. 2016)
UCLA International Institute, UCLA School of Sociology (Oct. 2015)
Yale University, Center for Study of Inequality (Sept. 2015)

Speaker, ***Emerging Federal & State Government Policies***, Cities Association of Santa Clara County Annual Meeting (May 2017)

Speaker, ***San Francisco v. Trump: The Legality of Sanctuary Cities***, American Constitution Society for Law & Policy (April 2017)

Panelist, ***What is a Sanctuary Campus?*** Thelton Henderson Center for Social Justice, U.C. Berkeley Law School (Mar. 2017)

Panelist, ***Immigration and the 2016 Presidential Election***, American Association of Law Schools Conf. (Jan. 2016)

Panelist, ***Equality Gained, Equality Lost? The 1965 Immigration Act and its Aftermath***, American Constitution Society for Law & Policy, Economic Policy Institute, Washington D.C. (Oct. 2015) (featured on C-Span)

Panelist, ***Immigration Reform at 50***, Symposium, University of Michigan Law School (Feb. 2015)

Panelist, ***The President's Executive Action on Immigration***, Washington College of Law, American University (Jan. 2015)

Panelist, ***The Obama Presidency & Federalism***, American Association of Law Schools Conf. (Jan. 2015) (featured on C-Span)

Critic, ***Author Meets Critics Session: "Immigration Outside the Law" by Hiroshi Motomura***, UCLA International Institute, UCLA School of Law (Oct. 2014)

Commenter, ***Integration – Models of Community and Difference***, Freeman Spogli Institute for International Study, Stanford University (Sept. 2013)

Co-Organizer & Presenter, ***Emerging Immigration Law Teachers Workshop***, U.C. Irvine School of Law (June 2013) and American University School of Law (June 2011)

Panelist, ***Fresh Perspectives on the Future of Federalism***, American Constitution Society for Law & Policy, National Convention, Washington, D.C. (June 2013)

Panelist, ***The Constitutionality of State and Local Immigration Laws***, American Constitution Society for Law & Policy, State Bar of Georgia (Feb. 2012)

Panelist, ***Immigration Enforcement Policy and Opinions***, Politics of Race, Immigration, and Ethnicity Consortium (PRIEC), U.C. Davis School of Law (May 2011)

Panelist, ***Persistent Puzzles in Immigration Law***, Symposium, U.C. Irvine School of Law (February 2011)

Panelist & Moderator, ***Racialization of Immigration Law***, Post-Racial Civil Rights Law, Politics, and Legal Education, American Association of Law Schools Conf. (June 2010)

Presenter, ***Immigrants & Guns***, Advanced Critical Race Theory Workshop, UCLA School of Law (Mar. 2010)

OTHER PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE & CONSULTANCIES

World Children's Initiative, *Founder; Director of Operations* (2005-2025); *Board Member* (2026-Present) www.wciprojects.org

- Co-founded non-profit organization dedicated to improving healthcare and educational systems for children in developing areas, with seed funding from former U.S. Presidents George H.W. Bush & William J. Clinton
- Built Children's Hospital in southern Sri Lanka (2005-2010)
- Developed Children's Heart Institute in Uganda, and trained local doctors in life-saving pediatric heart procedures (2010-2016)
- Developing safe surgery program in Madagascar in partnership with Operation Smile, Inc. (2017-present)
- Funded research at Univ. of Colorado Medical School with a $39,000 grant to Dr. J. Zablah to develop virtual reality clinical techniques in pediatric interventional cardiology (2023)

Mural Music & Arts Project (MMAP), *Board of Directors* (East Palo Alto, CA) (2011-2021)

De La Salle Academy, *Middle School Teacher* (New York, NY) (1996-1998)

REFERENCES

Hiroshi Motomura
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