SENDING NEW YORKERS TO JAIL

Police Unions, Campaign Contributions and the Political Fight to Rollback

Bail Reform





PUBLIC POLICY AND EDUCATION FUND OF NEW YORK

Accreditation

Report Prepared By:

Katie Schaffer

Director of Organizing and Advocacy, Center for Community Alternatives

Erin George
Civil Rights Campaigns Director, Citizen Action of New York

Stanley Fritz
Statewide Political Director, Citizen Action of New York

Data Prepared By:

Aaron Narraph Fernando Activist and Student at John Jay College of Criminal Justice

Katelin Penner

Activist and Student at Wesleyan College

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Campaign Contributions, Corporate Interests & the Obstruction of Progressive Change

From housing justice to education and healthcare, New Yorkers' needs and demands have often been trumped by powerful corporate interests with millions to spend on campaign contributions. Real estate associations, hedge fund billionaires, district attorneys, pharmaceutical companies, and law enforcement, among others, consistently pour enormous sums of money into electoral campaigns, drowning out the voices of ordinary people. The result? Politicians who feel beholden to these donors and are willing to shape policy based on their interests. Often, this comes at the expense of advancing racial justice and equity and passing laws that meet the needs of the the most vulnerable members of our society.

For example, over the last decade, more than \$62 million has been spent by real estate interests to support candidates in New York State elections. In 2014 alone, members of the Real Estate Board of New York and their firms gave \$21.5 million—more than one-tenth of the money entering state elections. While powerful grassroots organizing resulted in a slate of tenant protection laws in 2019, hundreds of thousands of rent-regulated apartments in New York City had already been lost due to landlord-friendly laws that allowed for their deregulation. Wall Street interests have given over \$38 million to support candidates in New York State elections since 2009. Many of these same hedge fund billionaires successfully campaigned to divert public resources into private and charter schools and block funding of the Foundation Aid formula to fully fund public schools. Health industry interests including pharmaceutical, health insurance, and medical device companies have given over \$11 million to support candidates in New York State elections over the last decade while working to block passage of the New York Health Act, which would provide universal healthcare to all.

The Political Power of Police, Prosecutors and Corrections Unions

The influence of law enforcement unions and associations on Albany is just as insidious. These groups exist, ostensibly, to advocate for their respective memberships: district attorneys, corrections officers, police officers, sheriffs and sergeants. However in practice, law enforcement unions and associations wield enormous leverage in state and local politics; funding elections, and lobbying policy-makers to maintain the mass incarceration status-quo from which they directly benefit. The District Attorney's Association of the State of New York (DAASNY), the New York State Correctional Officers & Police Benevolent Association (NYSCOPBA), the NYC Police Benevolent Association (PBA), the Sergeant's Benevolent Association (SBA) and the New York Sheriff's Association represent some of the most powerful special interest groups in Albany.

In 2016 and 2017, DAASNY successfully lobbied Governor Cuomo to veto bipartisan legislation to repeal the antiquated "Gravity Knife Law" which criminalized possession of certain classifications of knives that are broadly available for purchase and frequently used for professional purposes. Until advocates succeeded in reforming the law in 2019, this statute was weaponized by law enforcement to target people of color. Until its repeal, nearly 4,000 people were arrested each year, often those in the construction trades who carried

these knives for work. In the run-up to the 2017 passage of Raise the Age, DAASNY successfully advocated to expand the lists of crimes for which youth would be tried as adults, pushing thousands of young people accused of felonies directly into adult court. DAASNY also lobbied for years in opposition to the passage of legislation to create a commission to investigate prosecutorial misconduct.

For years, NYSCOPBA has actively opposed critical legislation to end long-term isolated confinement in jails and prisons. In 2019, despite having majority co-sponsorship in both the Senate and Assembly, the HALT Solitary Confinement Act was not brought to the floor for a vote. Instead, New York State's elected leadership capitulated to NYSCOPBA and put forth an Administrative "rules change" that will have no meaningful impact on the crisis of solitary confinement and permits the continued torture of thousands of incarcerated people who are currently forced into isolation for months, years and even decades. NYSCOPBA has also lobbied against community-driven parole reforms to assist in the release of elderly people who have served decades in prison and regularly opposes individual parole releases, fueling the crisis of mass incarceration and death in prisons.

Their goal is clear: District attorneys and law enforcement are determined to preserve mass incarceration and maintain their unbridled power within the criminal legal system. By funnelling millions into local and state elections, they secure undemocratic influence over the decisions of elected officials and block desperately needed reform to New York's racist, cruel and discriminatory "justice" system. Law enforcement then uses their close ties to the media, who consistently report based directly on "tips" from police and prosecutors without any due diligence, to further fuel their ability to manipulate lawmakers and shape public perception. Instead of providing accurate and objective context on justice reform issues, numerous New York news outlets merely amplify the fear-mongering and lies of police union officials, prosecutors, and politicians who have long opposed efforts to end mass incarceration. Under the guise of "protecting the public," law enforcement groups advocate to maintain carceral power over Black and brown communities.

Bail Reform & Rollbacks: The Real Story

In 2017, a statewide coalition led by directly impacted people and advocacy groups dedicated to ending mass pretrial jailing launched a comprehensive campaign to overhaul New York's unjust bail, discovery, and speedy trial laws. At that time, 16,000 New Yorkers languished in jail pretrial, overwhelmingly denied freedom because they could not afford bail. Subjected to weeks, months and sometimes years of pretrial incarceration, New Yorkers were also denied access to basic information about their cases because of New York's regressive discovery laws. Close to 90% of those jailed pretrial in New York City were Black and/or Latinx, and more than 60% of the pretrial population was Black and/or Latinx in other parts of the state, despite representing far smaller percentages of the overall population. Desperate to get out of jail, people held pretrial are far more likely than people who await trial at home to take guilty pleas and receive harsher sentences, regardless of guilt or innocence.

In 2019, despite aggressive opposition lobbying efforts by prosecutors, ¹⁶ law enforcement, ¹⁷ and the bail bond industry (which spent \$150,000 on lobbying against the reforms in 2018 alone ¹⁸), New York State legislators passed a package of reforms that began to address the long-standing injustice and disparity in the pretrial system. While not the gold-standard legislation that advocates had championed, the pretrial package eliminated money bail and guaranteed pretrial liberty for the vast majority of New Yorkers charged with

misdemeanors and non-violent felonies. Additionally, it created an open, early and automatic discovery system, and improved speedy trial law. These historic civil rights reforms moved New York towards a system that prioritized pretrial freedom, significantly reduced the number of legally innocent people held in jail, and protected the presumption of innocence for many more low-income and working class people who would await their day in court at home with their families, instead of jailed because they were unable to afford money bail.

However, as soon as the new pretrial package had passed, law enforcement and prosecutors launched an all-out offensive against the new laws, just as they had done a decade prior following the passage of the Rockefeller Drug Law reforms.¹⁹ In the months that followed, they were joined by "law and order" conservatives, the bail bond industry and members of white supremacist groups demanding that bail reform be reversed.²⁰ Thousands of dollars were driven towards scare-tactics and public disinformation campaigns.²¹ Inaccurate information about the impacts of bail reform was fed to the press.²² Fear-mongering ads and mailers were sent out in droves. Law enforcement organized anti-bail reform events and rallies across the state.²³ This political campaign to repeal or rollback the new bail reform law was paired with training efforts to evade it once enacted. For example, in July, the New York Prosecutors Training Institute, DAASNY's training arm, gave a 90 minute presentation that included recommendations on how police and prosecutors could find ways to jail people who otherwise should be released under the new bail law.²⁴

Law enforcement's Willie Horton-esque campaign to pressure elected officials into supporting their proincarceration efforts and rollback bail reform intensified in the months leading up to the law's January 1, 2020 enactment date. It reached a fever pitch as the State's budget negotiations moved forward.²⁵ Media outlets reported out inaccurate or misleading information related to bail reform on a daily basis,²⁶ real estate industry lobbyists spent thousands on anti-bail reform billboards in the Capital Region,²⁷ political extremists amplified racist rhetoric and spread false information about the new laws through Facebook groups and paid ads,²⁸ law enforcement officers rallied against bail reform at the New York State Capitol building,²⁹ and virtual press conferences in support of bail reform were invaded by individuals who spread white supremacist messages and used racial slurs against Black advocates and Black elected officials.³⁰

Despite consistent attempts to undermine the law, mounting evidence shows that bail reform has been working³¹ ever since it went into effect on January 1.³² Within one month of enactment, the law led to a 30% reduction in the average daily jail census statewide—from 21,406 a year ago to 14,983 in January 2020.³³ Each day in February 2020, 6,800 fewer New Yorkers were jailed pretrial than in February 2019.³⁴ This meant 6,800 people, primarily Black and Brown New Yorkers, were not forced to suffer pretrial incarceration and instead remained with their families and loved ones as their case moved forward—a reality that had previously only been afforded to people with financial means. When the coronavirus pandemic reached New York, the new law became a critical public health protection as tens of thousands fewer people were protected from the heightened risk of contracting COVID-19 in local jails.

Despite these important gains, the legislature and Governor capitulated to law enforcement pressure and rolled back bail reforms as part of the FY21 budget agreement passed in April 2020,³⁵ placing tens of thousands at risk of pretrial incarceration should the rollback law go into effect as planned on July 2, 2020.

Follow the (Carceral) Money

Within the State government, the push to undo the success of bail reform was driven at the executive level by Governor Cuomo and in the legislature by Democratic Senators on Long Island and in the Hudson Valley. The fear-mongering media campaign, as well as concern that bail reform would hurt the re-election chances of newly elected Democratic Senators undeniably influenced legislative outcomes. But we must also examine the role of political campaign contributions by law enforcement in shaping the terrain in which rollbacks to bail reform were passed.

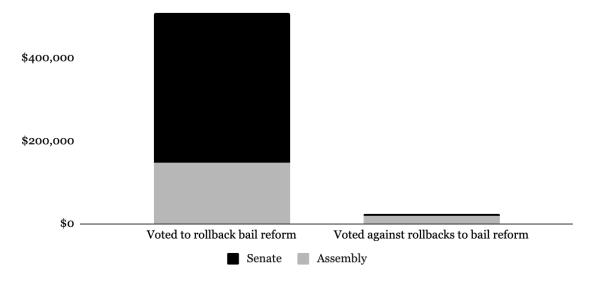
Since 2010, Governor Cuomo has accepted a total of \$703,250 dollars in campaign contributions from police and law enforcement, with \$86,450 in donations since November 2018 alone. Collectively, the six Democratic Senators from Long Island have received \$131,400 from police and other law enforcement unions in the last year and a half. This includes \$31,500 to Senator Monica Martinez, \$31,050 to Senator Todd Kaminsky, \$23,450 to Senator Jim Gaughran, \$23,150 to Senator John Brooks, \$14,250 to Senator Anna Kaplan, and \$8,000 to Senator Kevin Thomas. Additional pressure to undo the bail reform laws and allow for more people to be jailed pretrial came from Senator James Skoufis of the Hudson Valley, who has received \$7,500 from police unions since 2018.

Senate leadership has also accepted an outsized proportion of campaign contributions from police and corrections unions. Senate Majority Leader Andrea Stewart-Cousins' campaign war chest includes \$27,250 donated by law enforcement unions since 2018. Her deputy, Senator Gianaris, has received \$18,650 in contributions³⁸ since November 2018, including \$16,400 between the passage of bail reform in April 2019 and April 2020. While Senator Gianaris was the lead sponsor of the Bail Elimination Act and a champion of bail reform in 2019, he succumbed to political pressure in 2020, participating in a working group tasked with developing a rollback proposal³⁹ and failing to speak out publicly against regressive changes to the law.⁴⁰

Among individual Senators and Assembly Members, there is a correlation between Democrats who voted for bail reform rollbacks and those who accepted campaign contributions from law enforcement. Of the Senate Democrats who voted for rollbacks, 66% had accepted law enforcement union campaign contributions this cycle (since November 2018), collectively totaling \$291,735. Of the 16 Democratic Senators who received over \$5,000 each from police unions, all voted to roll back bail reform. On average, the Democratic Senators who voted to rollback bail reform accepted over \$10,000 each from law enforcement unions. In the New York State Assembly, of the 77 Assembly Democrats who voted for bail reform rollbacks, 42 had accepted donations from law enforcement unions since November 2018, totaling \$146,370. This amounts to an average of \$1,901 per Assembly Member who voted in favor of rolling back bail reform.

Total Law Enforcement Union Campaign Contributions (Nov. 2018 - June 2020)

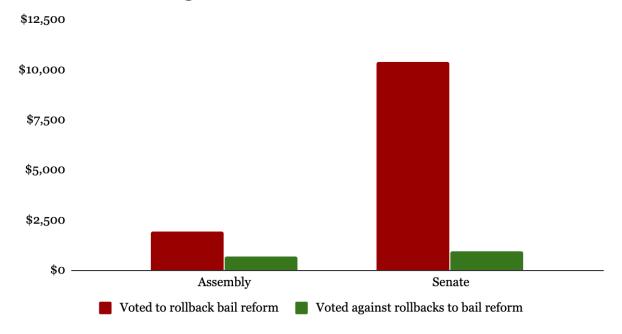
\$600,000



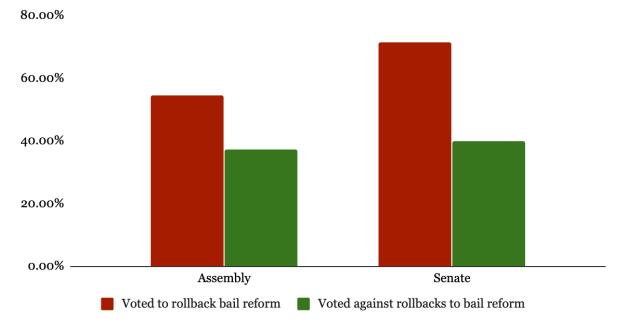
This stands in sharp contrast to the Democrats who voted against potentially subjecting tens of thousands more New Yorkers to incarceration before trial. Of the Senate Democrats who voted against bail reform rollbacks, three did not receive police union money this cycle and the two who did have since donated these funds to community-based organizations. Of the Assembly Democrats who voted against bail reform rollbacks, 17 did not receive law enforcement union money this cycle. Of those who did receive it, all but two—Assembly Member Erik Dilan and Assembly Member Angelo Santabarbara—have since donated it. On average, Senators who voted to expose more New Yorkers to money bail received 10 times as much in law enforcement union donations as those who voted in opposition. Assembly Members who voted for rollbacks to bail reform received nearly 3 times as much in law enforcement donations, on average, as those who voted against.

| SENATE | | | | | | | |
|---|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------|---|--|--|--|--|
| | Total Law Enforcement Union Money | Average Per Senator | % who Received Contributions from Law Enforcement Unions | | | | |
| Voted to rollback bail reform | \$362,310 | \$10,352 | 71.43% | | | | |
| Voted against rollbacks to bail reform | \$4,750 | \$950 | 40.00% | | | | |
| ASSEMBLY | | | | | | | |
| | Total Law Enforcement Union Money | Average Per Assembly Member | % who Received Contributions from Law Enforcement Unions | | | | |
| Voted to rollback bail reform | \$146,370 | \$1,901 | 54.55% | | | | |
| Voted against rollbacks to bail reform | \$18,750 | \$694 | 37.04% | | | | |

Average Law Enforcement Union Campaign Contribution Per Legislator (Nov. 2018 - June 2020)



Percentage of Legislators who Received Contributions from Law Enforcement Unions (Nov. 2018 - June 2020)



The suggestion of this report is not one of direct causation. Legislators who voted to subject more New Yorkers to money bail and pretrial jailing did so for a variety of reasons, including individual-level or caucus-level political calculations. However, the power of law enforcement unions undeniably played a role in shaping the political landscape that allowed for the passage of bail reform rollbacks.

Individual Assembly Members' opposition to the rollbacks was reflected in the final vote on the budget which included only 76 votes in favor, the absolute minimum number needed to pass. And while regressive changes to the law—and an expansion of money bail—were passed as part of the final FY21 budget, it is important to note that far worse, more carceral proposals were staved off. In February, the Senate Democrats released a proposal that would not only have eliminated the decarceral gains of the 2019 bail reform, but would have increased the number of people incarcerated pretrial compared to 2018. In March 2020, Governor Cuomo internally put forward a series of proposals that would have also increased jail populations prior to reform. These regressive proposals were blocked by powerful grassroots organizing efforts which acted as a counterweight to the political and media power wielded by DAASNY and the police unions.

The Movement for #NoCopMoney

On May 25, 2020, George Floyd was murdered by a Minneapolis police officer who kneeled on his neck for a total of 8 minutes and 46 seconds. Protests began in Minneapolis the day after his death and subsequently were organized in over 400 cities, throughout all 50 U.S. states and internationally. As hundreds of thousands took to the streets to demand an end to anti-Black state violence and a defunding of the police, increased attention was paid to the police unions who protect their members at all costs and exert political power to stymic critical efforts to reign in the scope, power or funding of the police. On May 29, Aaron Narraph Fernando posted a list of all 2020 New York City candidates who had accepted police or corrections union donations. A #NoCopMoney campaign began in earnest demanding that candidates refuse law enforcement union contributions and donate any they had previously accepted. Since then, 21 candidates have donated police union campaign contributions. Political organizations and clubs have also launched a new pledge for candidates, including a refusal to endorse candidates who accept donations from police unions or do not support major budget cuts to New York's City and State police forces, among other planks.

Recommendations: Decarceration & Democratic Protections

New York, like the rest of the United States, has a policing and incarceration system that disproportionately targets, brutalizes, and cages Black and brown people. A history of slavery and racist systems of disinvestment, disenfranchaisment and criminalization have resulted in racialized and stratified politics that depress the political power of Black people, people of color and poor communities. The dominance of big money and special interest groups like DAASNY and NYSCOPBA also makes it far harder for communities targeted by mass incarceration and mass criminalization to exert political power and achieve desperately needed change.

To address the mutually reinforcing harms of anti-Black state violence and unjust political influence, New York must:

• Suspend Bail Reform Rollbacks & Protect Pretrial Liberty: Rollbacks to bail reform are slated to go into effect on July 2, 2020. If enacted, they will expose tens of thousands more New Yorkers—

overwhelmingly Black, brown and poor people—to jail before trial each year, a capitulation to racist fear-mongering and a cynical acceptance of more tragic deaths like those of Kalief Browder, Layleen Polanco, and India Cummings. As New Yorkers continue to flood the streets to protest the casual disregard for Black lives, Governor Cuomo must use his emergency powers to suspend the bail reform rollbacks indefinitely and put an end to all pretrial detention that in this pandemic is even more likely to be a death sentence. New York's legislature must commit to taking up legislation to undo these harms and protect the pretrial liberty of all New Yorkers.

- **Defund Police and Invest in Communities:** A critical northstar of the mass uprisings that have followed the deaths of George Floyd, Breonna Taylor and Ahmaud Arbery has been to defund the police. In New York City alone, \$6 billion is allocated to the NYPD— more than the funding received by the Department of Health, youth and community development, and homeless services combined. At Rather than invest in systems of state violence and mass criminalization, New York must invest in communities, including public education, affordable housing, and quality healthcare. While much of this work must be taken on by municipalities and counties, New York State must also re-examine the state budget to prioritize spending on community needs, not policing or prisons.
- Pass and Protect Community-Driven Legislation to Dismantle Systems of State Violence: A yearslong campaign led by the families of people murdered by the police culminated in a critical set of legislative wins, most notably the repeal of 50-a, a state law that has been used for decades to shield records of police misconduct. However, New York's legislature must go further to proactively address racist state violence from policing to courts to jails and prisons, including legislation that will decriminalize, decarcerate and divest from systems of mass criminalization. Once passed, New York's elected officials must commit to protecting and building upon these critical policy changes rather than succumbing to political pressure from prosecutors and police.
- Take a #NoCopMoney Pledge: We have seen how political contributions can be a corrupting force in state and local politics. This is particularly true in the case of police and corrections unions who can also leverage their close relationship with media outlets to stymie progressive change. Thus, we call on all local, state and national candidates to take a #NoCopMoney pledge to reject future political contributions from police unions and to donate any money previously accepted.
- Expand Voting Rights: The disenfranchisement of incarcerated people is rooted in racist policies designed to deny Black people the right to vote. New York must undo this ongoing legacy and the systematic disenfranchisement of Black and brown New Yorkers by guaranteeing voting rights for all, including those who are incarcerated or on parole. To achieve necessary, transformative change, individuals and communities targeted by the violence of policing and incarceration must have a political voice.
- End Big Money in Politics: New York must limit the influence of big money in politics and institute a small donor matching system for state elections, including District Attorneys and the Governor. Public financing is critical to upending the "pay-to-play" culture in Albany, promoting greater accountability and supporting the passage of legislation to decarcerate and transform the criminal legal system. 47

Appendix: Data Tables

Political Contributions by Law Enforcement Unions & Bail Reform Rollback Votes By Legislator

SENATE

| Senator | Bail Rollbacks | Police officers | Correction officers | Court officers | NYSC OPBA | Total Cop Money |
|-----------------|-------------------|-----------------|---------------------|----------------|--------------|--------------------|
| Ramos* | N | \$2,250 | \$1,250 | \$0 | \$0 | \$3,500 |
| Biaggi* | N | \$250 | \$1,000 | \$0 | \$0 | \$1,250 |
| Salazar | N | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 |
| Myrie | N | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 |
| Rivera | N | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 |
| Savino | Y | \$43,150 | \$9,000 | \$8,000 | \$3,000 | \$63,150 |
| Martinez | Y | \$22,600 | \$8,900 | \$0 | \$0 | \$31,500 |
| Kaminsky | Y | \$28,050 | \$2,000 | \$1,000 | \$0 | \$31,050 |
| Kennedy | Y | \$24,060 | | | \$3,500 | \$27,560 |
| Stewart-Cousins | Y | \$26,000 | \$250 | \$1,000 | \$0 | \$27,250 |
| Gaughran | Y | \$20,450 | \$3,000 | \$0 | \$0 | \$23,450 |
| Brooks | Y | \$22,300 | \$850 | \$0 | \$0 | \$23,150 |
| Gounardes | Y | \$16,000 | \$5,500 | | | \$21,500 |
| Gianaris* | Y | \$12,500 | \$750 | \$400 | \$5,000 | \$18,650 |
| Carlucci | Y | \$9,950 | \$5,850 | \$0 | \$0 | \$15,800 |
| Kaplan | Y | \$14,250 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$14,250 |
| Harckham | Y | \$10,050 | \$2,200 | \$0 | \$0 | \$12,250 |
| Addabbo Jr. | Y | \$8,250 | \$200 | \$0 | \$0 | \$8,450 |
| Thomas | Y | \$8,000 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$8,000 |
| Skoufis | Y | \$7,500 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$7,500 |
| Mayer | Y | \$6,000 | \$475 | \$1,000 | \$0 | \$7,475 |
| Benjamin** | Y | \$1,500 | \$3,000 | \$0 | \$0 | \$4,500 |
| Breslin | Y | \$4,000 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$4,000 |

| Comrie | Y | \$2,625 | \$1,000 | \$0 | \$0 | \$3,625 |
|-------------|---|---------|---------|-----|-------|---------|
| Liu* | Y | \$0 | \$2,500 | \$0 | \$0 | \$2,500 |
| Bailey | Y | \$500 | \$1,500 | \$0 | | \$2,000 |
| Felder | Y | \$1,500 | \$200 | \$0 | \$0 | \$1,700 |
| Persaud | Y | \$1,500 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$1,500 |
| Stavisky* | Y | \$1,000 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$1,000 |
| Sepúlveda | Y | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$500 | \$500 |
| Hoylman | Y | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 |
| Sanders Jr. | Y | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 |
| Parker | Y | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 |
| Montgomery | Y | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 |
| Kavanagh | Y | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 |
| Krueger | Y | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 |
| Serrano | Y | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 |
| Jackson | Y | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 |
| Metzger | Y | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 |
| May | Y | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 |

^{*}Legislators who have donated or committed to donating all of their law enforcement union money.

<u>Note</u>: Given the vast array of law enforcement unions, associations and political action committees (PACs), there may be unaccounted for campaign contributions, so the quantities listed here are likely an undercount. In addition, some legislators have not filed their most recent financial reports, so some contributions may be intentionally or unintentionally hidden.

The "Police Officers" column includes campaign contributions from the Police Benevolent Association and the Sergeants Benevolent Association, among others. The "Correction Officers" column includes the Correction Officers Benevolent Association and county correction officer associations across the state. "Court Officers" includes Court Officer Benevolent Associations. "NYSCOPBA" is the acronym for the New York State Correctional Officers & Police Benevolent Association which includes both police and corrections officers.

The "Bail Rollbacks" column tracks the FY21 budget vote of each Democratic legislator, either in favor of bail reform rollbacks (Y) or in opposition (N).

^{**}Legislators who have donated or committed to donating only some of their law enforcement union money.

ASSEMBLY

| Assembly Member | Bail Rollbacks | Police officers | Correction officers | Court officers | NYSC OPBA | Total Cop Money |
|--------------------|----------------|-----------------|---------------------|----------------|--------------|--------------------|
| Richardson* | ER | \$0 | \$1,000 | \$0 | \$0 | \$1,000 |
| Simotas* | N | \$1,500 | \$2,850 | \$0 | \$0 | \$4,350 |
| Lentol* | N | \$1,500 | \$2,250 | \$0 | \$0 | \$3,750 |
| Dilan | N | \$500 | \$2,000 | \$500 | \$0 | \$3,000 |
| De La Rosa* | N | \$0 | \$2,000 | \$0 | \$0 | \$2,000 |
| Aubry** | N | \$1,650 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$1,650 |
| Quart* | N | \$0 | \$0 | \$1,000 | \$0 | \$1,000 |
| Cruz* | N | \$1,000 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$1,000 |
| Santabarbara | N | \$1,000 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$1,000 |
| Fernandez* | N | \$500 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$500 |
| Reyes* | N | \$0 | \$500 | \$0 | \$0 | \$500 |
| Buttenschon | N | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 |
| Kim | N | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 |
| Carroll | N | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 |
| Frontus | N | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 |
| Ortiz | N | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 |
| Simon | N | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 |
| Walker | N | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 |
| Wright | N | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 |
| Mosley | N | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 |
| Barron | N | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 |
| Niou | N | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 |
| Rosenthal | N | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 |
| O'Donnell | N | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 |
| Taylor | N | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 |
| Epstein | N | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 |
| Blake | N | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 |
| Hunter | N | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 |

| Heastie | Y | \$22,250 | \$4,700 | \$0 | \$0 | \$26,950 |
|----------------|---|----------|---------|---------|---------|----------|
| DenDekker** | Y | \$10,750 | \$8,300 | \$1,400 | \$0 | \$20,450 |
| Abbate Jr. | Y | \$10,050 | \$8,300 | \$1,400 | \$0 | \$19,750 |
| Weinstein | Y | \$7,000 | \$250 | \$0 | \$0 | \$7,250 |
| Weprin | Y | \$1,800 | \$4,000 | \$0 | \$1,000 | \$6,800 |
| Jones | Y | \$1,200 | \$0 | \$0 | \$4,700 | \$5,900 |
| Paulin | Y | \$4,500 | \$550 | \$0 | \$0 | \$5,050 |
| Solages | Y | \$4,500 | \$500 | \$0 | \$0 | \$5,000 |
| Braunstein | Y | \$2,750 | \$500 | \$750 | \$0 | \$4,000 |
| Griffin | Y | \$2,650 | \$1,050 | \$0 | \$0 | \$3,700 |
| Cusick | Y | \$2,820 | \$0 | \$300 | \$0 | \$3,120 |
| Benedetto | Y | \$800 | \$2,000 | \$0 | \$0 | \$2,800 |
| Davila** | Y | \$250 | \$0 | \$2,500 | \$0 | \$2,750 |
| Miller | Y | \$500 | \$2,000 | \$0 | \$0 | \$2,500 |
| Pretlow | Y | \$1,500 | \$1,000 | \$0 | \$0 | \$2,500 |
| Nolan | Y | \$350 | \$2,000 | \$0 | \$0 | \$2,350 |
| Sayegh | Y | \$1,500 | \$650 | \$0 | \$0 | \$2,150 |
| Engelbright | Y | \$2,000 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$2,000 |
| Pheffer Amato | Y | \$1,500 | \$100 | \$250 | \$0 | \$1,850 |
| Burke | Y | \$1,750 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$1,750 |
| Jean-Pierre | Y | \$1,550 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$1,550 |
| Magnarelli | Y | \$1,500 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$1,500 |
| D'Urso | Y | \$1,100 | \$300 | \$0 | \$0 | \$1,400 |
| Rosenthal | Y | \$1,000 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$1,000 |
| Dinowitz | Y | \$1,000 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$1,000 |
| Fall | Y | \$500 | \$0 | \$500 | \$0 | \$1,000 |
| Lavine | Y | \$500 | \$500 | \$0 | \$0 | \$1,000 |
| Darling | Y | \$1,000 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$1,000 |
| Woerner | Y | \$1,000 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$1,000 |
| Peoples-Stokes | Y | \$1,000 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$1,000 |
| Cymbrowitz | Y | \$850 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$850 |
| Rozic | Y | \$750 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$750 |

| Wallace | Y | \$750 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$750 |
|-------------|---|-------|-------|-----|-------|-------|
| Hevesi | Y | \$500 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$500 |
| Hyndman* | Y | \$0 | \$500 | \$0 | \$0 | \$500 |
| Cahill | Y | \$500 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$500 |
| Fahy | Y | \$500 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$500 |
| Bronson | Y | \$500 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$500 |
| Schimminger | Y | \$500 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$500 |
| Gunther | Y | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$500 | \$500 |
| Barrett | Y | \$250 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$250 |
| Lupardo | Y | \$200 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$200 |
| Thiele | Y | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 |
| Barnwell | Y | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 |
| Cook | Y | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 |
| Vanel | Y | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 |
| Bichotte | Y | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 |
| Colton | Y | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 |
| Eichenstein | Y | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 |
| Perry | Y | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 |
| Williams | Y | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 |
| Glick | Y | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 |
| Rodriguez | Y | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 |
| Dickens | Y | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 |
| Gottfried | Y | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 |
| Seawright | Y | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 |
| Joyner | Y | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 |
| Rivera | Y | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 |
| Arroyo | Y | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 |
| Crespo | Y | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 |
| Pichardo | Y | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 |
| Otis | Y | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 |
| Abinanti | Y | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 |
| Buchwald | Y | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 |
| | | | | - | - | |

| Galef | Y | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 |
|-----------|---|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| Zebrowski | Y | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 |
| Jaffee | Y | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 |
| Jacobson | Y | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 |
| McDonald | Y | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 |
| Steck | Y | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 |
| Lifton | Y | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 |
| Stirpe | Y | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 |
| Gantt | Y | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 |
| McMahon | Y | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 |
| Ryan | Y | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 |
| Stern | Y | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 |
| Ramos | Y | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 |

^{*}Legislators who have donated or committed to donating all of their law enforcement union money.

^{**}Legislators who have donated or committed to donating only some of their law enforcement union money.

Endnotes

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