

THE BLACK SPECIAL REPORT BY THE BLACK INSTITUTE INSTITUTE



TABLE OF CONTENTS

Executive Summary	3
Key Findings	4
Historical Background	5
Racial Consideration	6
Core Issues with the Legislation Economic Environmental	8 9 12
Survey Premise and Methodology	15
Survey Results Overall Statistical Conclusions County-Specific Conclusions	17 17 19
Conclusion	25
Appendix A: Blank Survey	26
Appendix B: Voting Records	27



Plastic Bags February 2020

Prepared by: Jacob X. Scupp of The Black Institute

The Black Institute shapes intellectual discourse and impacts public policy uniquely from a Black and people of color perspective in the United States and throughout the Diaspora. The Black Institute translates the "think" in think-tank into "action" through a rigorous three-level strategy comprising of academic and community research, inclusive and genuine civic development, and grassroots campaigns and political engagements. The Black Institute changes the discourse of public debate, trains and educate new leadership, develops initiatives to build wealth and power, and delivers justice to Black people and all people of color.

© 2020 The Black Institute, Inc. Designed by The Advance Group

Printed in the United States of America.



39 Broadway, Suite 1740 New York, NY 10006 212.871.6899

info@theblackinstitute.org www.theblackinstitute.org

f theblackin(a)theblackinst(a)theblackinstitute

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

he state of New York recently introduced new legislation and initiatives regarding singleuse bags within the city and the state with the goal to eradicate plastic bags and reduce the usage of other single-use bags (such as paper bags) through the introduction of both a total ban on plastic and a punitive tax on paper. While these efforts are commendable from an environmental perspective, the economic fallout from these proposed laws could have farther-reaching, and potentially devastating, economic effects for many of the state's financially disadvantaged citizens, especially those in New York City's poorest neighborhoods. This was not the result of an extended debate or any other democratic process. Instead, it was decided by select members of Andrew Cuomo's government during closed-door budget negotiations, carried on without the input of the citizens who would be most affected by this move. By slipping this proposal into the budget, without citizen input, the state has disregarded those whom it should be serving and denied them the opportunity to voice their concerns.

Budgetary analysis shows that the projected revenues¹ from the proposal are economically insignificant relative to the impact that the tax will have on low-income or fixed-income individuals and families. It is doubtful that much of the money will find its way back to those neighborhoods which will suffer the most from being nickel and dimed out of what little they already have. There is also compelling evidence to suggest that these initiatives will not result in a reduction of plastic bag waste², but may instead result in a similar or even increased level of plastic waste with which the state must then continue to contend. Plastic bags blowing in the wind like tumbleweeds are certainly a powerful statement about pollution, and they are a part of the problem we face. Considering, however, that there have been no meaningful efforts to curb the far larger impact of industrial pollution, the core issue of environmental desecration remains unaddressed. Instead, the plastic bag served as the strawman of environmental politics for the 2019 session. The government and legislators can pat themselves on the back for having done something symbolic, while the true polluters remain at large and everyone else, especially the poor, pay the price.

¹ See pages 10 and 11 of the Task Force Report, which details several instances of bans and fees around the country. For the purpose of argument, Chicago is projected to collect \$9.2 million. Adjusted, New York City alone would contribute close to \$30 million; however, this is compared to a \$172 billion dollar budget. This is a marginal revenue and, as will be discussed later, not necessarily sustainable. Sourced from Analysis of the Impact of Single-Use Plastic Bags: Options for New York State Plastic Bag Legislation (Rep.). (n.d.). Retrieved www.dec. ny.gov/docs/materials_minerals_pdf/dplasticbagreport2017.pdf

² See pages 10 and 11 of the Task Force report, which cites a 2013 OpinionWorks survey stating that residents had reduced plastic bag usage by 80% in Washington, D.C. and over 50% reductions in plastic bag waste collected around the City of San Jose in California

KEY FINDINGS

he Black Institute (T.B.I) spoke with over 1,000 New Yorkers across the Kings, Queens and Bronx counties and identified 759 individuals that qualified for our target audience. From their responses, we have identified multiple statistics that, when viewed together, should incite feelings of alarm and unease when compared to the actions and effects of Cuomo's proposal.

- 36% of survey respondents from all three targeted boroughs were unaware that there was a renewed effort in Albany to establish a punitive tax on single use bags or to institute a statewide ban.
- 61% of survey respondents opposed the statewide ban on single-use plastic bags
- 80% of survey respondents opposed a new tax or fee on single use bags in any way
- 80% of survey respondents stated the punitive tax on single use bags would create a financial strain in their household.
- 72% of survey respondents stated that environmental issues were either the most important issue or a very important issue.
- 82% of survey respondents understood that their health and well-being were related to the environment they lived in

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

he issue of single-use bags of all kinds has been a topic of discussion for decades. The issue received its first prominent legislative action in 2008, when then-mayor Michal Bloomberg signed Introductory Number 640-A, a bill requiring large retail outfits to provide recycling facilities for plastic bags. Later in 2008 Mayor Bloomberg also proposed a fee on all plastic bags, but the idea attracted significant dissent from multiple sources and the New York City Council expressed no interest in pursuing the issue further.

In 2016, the City Council passed legislation imposing a 5-cent fee on single-use plastic bags. Once again multiple communities and interest groups mobilized to oppose the measure, appealing to the State Legislature for intervention. A bill delaying the implementation of the plastic bag tax was introduced and passed. Governor Andrew Cuomo signed it in February 2017 on the grounds that the resolution's allowance for merchants to keep the tax as revenue was "deeply flawed", but promised to create a task force to study the problem of single-use bags and did so in March of that year. This task force presented the results of their research in January 2018 and offered numerous suggestions, from maintaining the previous system of bag recycling to total bans of all single-use bags. After months of closed door debate, Governor Cuomo and legislative leadership announced that the law was to be a near³ total ban on plastic bags and an optional tax on paper and other single-use bags. The optional tax, if a local government decides to implement it, would see two cents of tax revenue going directly to the local government, the remaining three cents being allocated to the state's Environmental Protection Fund.

The other most recent, alternative approach came in the form of S95, the "Bring Your Own Bag Act", sponsored by Senator Todd Kaminsky. Senator Kaminsky's bill would have banned singleuse plastic bags, like the Governor's bill, but would also have imposed a 10 cent minimum, 25 cent maximum tax on single-use paper and reusable plastic bags. Whatever taxes were to be imposed, retailers would retain 20% of the revenue as a way to defray costs, with the remaining 80% of revenue going to the New York's Environmental Protection Fund. The bill stipulated that these funds would be made available for communities to use in environmental cleanup operations, with an emphasis on low income neighborhoods, but did not specify how this preferential status would be enforced.

³ There are 11 total exemptions from the new ban. Listed in order of appearance: plastic bags for wrapping raw meat, plastic bags for bulk items, plastic bags for sliced or made-to-order foods, plastic bags for newspapers, plastic bags sold in bulk as a point of sale item, plastic bags for trash bags, plastic bags for bulk storage of food, plastic garment bags, plastic bags prepackaged for sale, plastic bags provided by restaurants to wrap food, and plastic bags associated with pharmaceutical products. Sourced Page 9, lines 31-41. A02008C, Part H, Assemb. Reg. Sess. 2019-2020. (N.Y. 2019)

RACIAL CONSIDERATION

t is an unfortunate fact that in New York State, and the entire nation, economic hardship and race tend to go hand in hand. When we began conducting our surveys, we specifically chose Kings, Queens and Bronx counties for our responses because of their high minority percentages relative to both the state and surrounding areas. Census data⁴ indicates that these three counties together are home to over 6 million people, nearly 75% of New York City's population. Roughly 27% of that number are non-Hispanic white persons, and 26% are black or African-American. The New York City data from 2017 shows that in each relevant borough, over 40% of residents live in or near poverty⁵. Yet, when looking at the racial breakdown of poverty rates, only about 27% of white residents live at or near the poverty line across the city. African Americans, Asians, and Hispanics each have almost double the amount of poverty in their racial community that whites have6. In 2017, black Americans had a median income deficit of over \$23,000 compared to their white counterparts⁷, with a median household income of just over \$40,000.

What does this mean? This report has and will continually reference low-income or at-risk communities when discussing the financial and environmental issues associated with the governor's ban and tax. The reality is that financially stressed households and minority households often have a significant overlap, especially in New York. Especially in Kings, Queens and Bronx counties, where non-Hispanic single-race whites only comprise, overall, only slightly more than a quarter of the population. This is especially problematic in New York City and surrounding areas, because the cost of living is so much higher here then almost anywhere else in the nation, with the median apartment rent for NYC over double the national average⁸. Our data shows that over 70% of persons surveyed were renting, meaning that they theoretically required around \$24,000 per year⁹ alone just to cover housing costs.

Nor can the historical impact of redlining be ignored in this discussion. The term "redlining" is in reference to the Home Owners Loan Corporation (HOLC) which created maps of many of America's cities to assist mortgage lenders in determining the riskiness of lending money to certain areas.¹⁰ It was an astonishingly racist evaluation of property values that gave high weight to the level of minority families and minority-owned properties in any given area as a judgement for the risk grade given by HOLC. Because lenders were unwilling to make loans to families in areas that were deemed "hazardous" or "declining", prospective minority owners were shut out of one of the most secure ways to begin accumulating personal wealth. Racial segregation of residential space paved the way for decades of urban decay and financial instability for black and minority families. The

⁴ Decennial Census - Census 2010. (n.d.). Retrieved from www1.nyc.gov/site/planning/data-maps/nyc-population/census-2010.page

⁵ Data Tool. (n.d.). Retrieved from www1.nyc.gov/site/opportunity/poverty-in-nyc/data-tool.page

⁶ Data Tool. (n.d.). Retrieved from www1.nyc.gov/site/opportunity/poverty-in-nyc/data-tool.page

⁷ U.S. Census Bureau. (2017). Median Income In The Past 12 Months (In 2017 Inflation-adjusted dollars) (2017 American Community Survey 1-Year Estimates). Retrieved from factfinder.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?pid=ACS_17_1YR_S1903&prodType =table

⁸ Wallace, N. (2019, May 29). What Is the True Cost of Living in New York City? Retrieved from smartasset.com/mortgage/what-is-thecost-of-living-in-new-york-city

⁹ Averaged rate for a one-bedroom apartment in Brooklyn, the Bronx, or Queens. Figure does not account for rent-controlled apartments, only the market value of listed apartments. Retrieved from: Average Rent NYC: Here's What You'll Pay in Rent: Naked Apartments. (2018, September 26). Retrieved from www.nakedapartments.com/blog/average-rental-prices-nyc/

¹⁰ Domonoske, C. (2016, October 19). Interactive Redlining Map Zooms In On America's History Of Discrimination. Retrieved from www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2016/10/19/498536077/interactive-redlining-map-zooms-in-on-americas-history-of-discrimination

long-term repercussions of redlining can be seen today; our research indicates that an average of 66% of families across Queens, Kings, and Brooklyn counties rent, rather than own, their domiciles. The lack of capital afforded to these communities has kept minorities in a perpetual lower-class economic situation, and with the growing menace of gentrification looming over many of New York City's traditionally blighted neighborhoods and driving up rents, the economic future of many of these poor minority communities is in jeopardy.

Through the remainder of this report, this unfortunate connection between race and low income must be kept in mind. When discussing any sort of overall taxation or ban, the impact on poorer individuals and families cannot be divorced from the impact on minority communities. It is imperative to understand this point, and to realize that the subsequent analysis of the plastic bag ban and paper bag taxation law is revealing the negative effect of any sort of punitive taxation or restriction on minority communities who already struggle to subsist on what they have. The law must be viewed for what it is; another straw on the already strained back of minority communities, who pay the price and reap none of the benefits.

CORE ISSUES WITH THE LEGISLATION

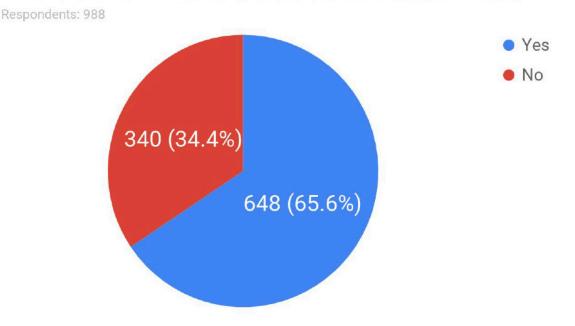
forts to improve the environment should always be applauded as a step in the right direction. This report does not condemn legislation for this purpose. We are concerned about the environment and we do not believe that the efforts to improve the environment should be suspended or neutered due solely to economic concerns. However, the actions and plan the governor has undertaken do not inspire faith in the purity of his motives regarding the advancement of this legislation. Examination of the proposed tax revenues, especially in conjunction with data on single-use bag usage in cities that have implemented such a tax demonstrate that comparatively little, if any, economic benefit will be derived from this tax relative to the economic hardship it will inflict on low-income minority individuals, as well as the untenable position it puts the billion-dollar industry of New York single-use bag pollution will not be significantly reduced despite the implementation of a ban, due to the lack of enforcement measures that exist in the current bill that could lead to manufacturers selling "reusable" bags that are only a micron thicker then they have to be in order to be legally sold.

What was most upsetting, and perhaps most alarming, was the almost total disregard expressed by the Governor for both the task force report and for the possibility that the people he is supposed to represent, the people of New York, might have opinions to communicate with their elected officials. It speaks volumes about the level of interaction that Albany has with the people who elected them, that they pushed this through without allowing it to face public debate. The disinterest that Albany displayed for the concern of affected minority communities is shocking and harmful in many ways. By refusing to acknowledge the concerns of these affected minority communities, further trust in the equitability of the government and the legitimacy of its operations could suffer immensely at an individual level. Popular resentment is a force to be reckoned with if excited, and the governor and his government would do well to remember that.

ECONOMIC ISSUES

he governor's legislation calls for a total ban of single-use plastic carryout bags and a five-cent optional tax on single-use paper bags. This is the most problematic aspect of the governor's plan. This tax will, of course, affect anyone who uses a single-use paper bag, but the share of disposable income that the tax would occupy for persons in weak or perpetually unstable financial situations is dramatically higher compared to the share of a wealthy person's disposable income. According to NRDC, the average American family uses about 1,500 plastic bags a year¹¹, which means that the weekly total is roughly 29 bags per week and a total grocery volume of 87 gallons¹². It would take 18 paper bags¹³ to transport that same volume, which adds \$46 dollars to the annual food expenditures. Data that T.B.I collected from communities largely consisting of financially at-risk individuals and families in New York City shows that 65% of almost 1,000 surveyed individuals stated that a tax would create a new financial strain for their household.

What the governor's task force and the governor himself have failed to understand is that while \$46 dollars may not be too much for upper or middle class consumers, low income or fixed income consumers must juggle around costly priorities that they have little flexibility to default on and few options for increasing their income. This is especially true for the 56% of respondents who receive government benefits, who cannot receive assistance and augment it at the same time, crippling their ability to ease their financial burdens. That the task force and the governor, who is after all supposed to represent the people, failed to take into account these considerations when outlining and selecting policy options is very concerning.



Responses to Whether a Bag Tax would be Financially Pressuring

¹¹ NRDC Lauds Passage of New York City Council Legislation Requiring Groceries, Retailers to Provide Plastic Bag Recycling for Consumers. (2008, January 09). Retrieved from www.nrdc.org/media/2008/080109

¹² The average grocery bag is roughly 3 gallons. From Grocery Bag Trash Can. (2013, September 10). Retrieved from fivegallonideas.com/grocery-bag-trash

¹³ The average paper grocery bag is 1.428 cubic inches, which is just over 5 gallons. From CleanItSupply.com. (n.d.). Retrieved from www. cleanitsupply.com/c-465/grocery-brown.aspx

Callousness and political calculation seem to be the overriding characteristics of Governor Cuomo's decision making process. It is with a similar disdain that the governor has ignored the concerns of the businesses who will now suffer, along with their employees, without compensation. The task force discussed brief industry statistics concerning the bag manufacturing industry in the opening pages of its report: **the plastic bag industry in New York accounts for over \$1 billion in shipments, employs 3,600 persons with a payroll of over \$150 million annually, and has invested over \$20 million in equipment for manufacturing¹⁴. The new law, however, severely undermines this industry's chances for survival because there was no consultation or notice to affected parties, and includes no assistance for these companies or their workers while they go through these changes. The lack of communication or consultation, both of the business communities and the general citizen populace, underscores the impression that the governor and legislative leaders were purposely negligent of affected parties and should lead to questions about the nature and reasons for this law's implementation.**

The usage of revenue and effectiveness of the tax are also issues that need to be addressed. The law allows for a five cent tax on paper bags, with 60% of revenue going to the state's environmental fund and the remaining 40% returning to the municipality authorities where the tax was collected. The most glaring issue with this distribution is that it gives no quarter to retailers to offset the increased cost of paper or other single-use alternatives. Large retailers and chains can absorb this cost without a large reduction in the bottom line, but small retailers will see increases in expenses without a corresponding increase in revenue.

Where these funds will go is a significant sub-issue of the division of revenue problem. The 60% cut the state takes goes to the state's Environmental Protection Fund¹⁵, which low and fixed-income minority communities theoretically receive allocation priority for. There is, however, no defined amount that must be allocated, which leaves the section open to dangerously flexible interpretation. This is disturbing since low income communities often suffer the most from environmental damage and health risks, such as asthma¹⁶, from pollution. The leadership of the fund also causes T.B.I. some concern. The commissioner of the fund is Basil Seggos¹⁷, and the head of the fund's New York division¹⁸ is Steve Zahn¹⁹, who we do not doubt engage in their work with the greatest level of diligence and passion for the environment as one should expect from men in their positions. However, neither of these men are representative of the diverse population that New York City encompasses. We fear that without a representative voice from the minority communities that will bear the brunt of this new penalty, they may be overlooked when it comes time to allocate the collected funds. We do not imply that either of these men lack compassion for the deplorable environmental status of these neighborhoods or those who live in them. We simply worry that they may not fully understand the extent to which these areas need those funds, as compared to those who may end up receiving them.

¹⁴ Analysis of the Impact of Single-Use Plastic Bags: Options for New York State Plastic Bag Legislation (Rep.). (n.d.). Retrieved www.dec. ny.gov/docs/materials_minerals_pdf/dplasticbagreport2017.pdf

¹⁵ Campbell, J. (2019, April 02). NY's plastic bag ban: How will it work? When does it take effect? Retrieved from www.democratandchronicle. com/story/news/politics/albany/2019/03/29/new-york-plastic-bag-ban-how-will-it-work-when-does-it-take-effect/3307293002

¹⁶ Gwynn, R. C., & Thurston, G. D. (2001). The burden of air pollution: Impacts among racial minorities. Environmental Health Perspectives. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.1289/ehp.01109s4501.

¹⁷ "Commissioner." Commissioner - NYS Dept. of Environmental Conservation, www.dec.ny.gov/about/243.html.

¹⁸ This region is comprised of the Bronx, Kings, New York, Queens and Richmond counties. Retrieved from "DEC Region 2 Office." DEC Region 2 Office - NYS Dept. of Environmental Conservation, www.dec.ny.gov/about/605.html.

¹⁹ "DEC Region 2 Office." DEC Region 2 Office - NYS Dept. of Environmental Conservation, www.dec.ny.gov/about/605.html.

80% of survey respondents opposed a new tax or fee on single use bags in any way

Furthermore, the very nature of this tax is to reduce and eventually eliminate single-use bags, meaning that tax revenue will necessarily decrease as well. The NYS Task Force's report points out that in Washington D.C., three years after the city had implemented a tax, consumption of bags had dropped by 80%. This means that there was a corresponding drop in revenue without replacement. As such, the tax will only benefit those who are able to obtain Environmental Protection funds and who quickly convert over to reusable bags, and those funds derived from such a tax will inherently decrease until they are almost inconsequential.

That the funds are to be allocated to the Environmental Protection Fund, and the purpose that they will be dedicated to, is also concerning. The fund is, according to its website, largely dedicated to efforts such as preserving farmland, conservation of forested areas, and the restoration of historical sites in New York State²⁰. While these efforts are noble, the fact that the only item of consequence to minority communities is the funds it allocates to upgrading municipal sewage plants, does not inspire confidence in the fund being used for more pressing environmental problems that affect minority communities, like air pollution and residual industrial pollution. The funds themselves are to be allocated "for the purpose of purchasing and distributing reusable bags, with priority given to low- and fixed-income communities."²¹ While the reasoning behind it seems self-evident and good, this is a virtually meaningless gesture to communities who face lifetime health risks from environmental pollution. That it is allocated under the Environmental Protection Fund further distances the taxed minority communities from any tangible benefit of increased attention, since the fund itself is so toothless in the regular activities it conducts concerning environmental restoration. What good is a park when the community is too sick to enjoy it?

Another issue with this taxation is the amount that will be charged per bag, within the context of the stated aims of the legislation. The NYS Task Force report notes on page 18, in discussing fees on plastic bags, that "Bag use reduction rate has generally been shown to be proportional to the amount of the fee"²². In effect, without charging a disproportionately higher fee, the use of paper or other single-use bags will decline at a far slower rate than with a higher tax. The Black Institute is firmly opposed to a higher tax rate, given our already stated reasons for why any tax at all is horrendous for lower-income families, but wish to emphasize that if the governor was truly serious about reducing pollution, he would have opted for a far larger tax to more quickly and effectively reduce single-use bag usage. It is another sign that the governor and legislative leaders did not do more than a cursory inspection of the facts before making the decision to not only levy this tax, but at what level to fix the rate at.

The Black Institute respects that there is quite a bit of research, both within and without the United States, that points to the effectiveness of fees on single-use bags. We do not deny the facts. What we resent is how, apparently, there was no consideration given to the idea that a significant portion of the community will be further stressed by a punitive tax. The tax is not a sustainable nor practical tax in a revenue sense. It will provide no tangible benefit to those paying into it, and will only serve to continually hobble low and fixed income minority communities.

²⁰ Environmental Protection Fund (EPF). (n.d.). Retrieved from www.dec.ny.gov/about/92815.html

²¹ Sourced Page 12, lines 23-24. A02008C, Part H, Assemb. Reg. Sess. 2019-2020. (N.Y. 2019)

²² 22 Analysis of the Impact of Single-Use Plastic Bags: Options for New York State Plastic Bag Legislation (Rep.). (n.d.). Retrieved www.dec. ny.gov/docs/materials_minerals_pdf/dplasticbagreport2017.pdf

ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES

Ithough it has been said prior in this report, it bears mentioning again; The Black Institute does not oppose the environmental aim of this law. It is undeniable that when plastic bags blow like tumbleweeds down streets and estimates on the amount of plastic pieces in the ocean are in the trillions, something should have and must be done. The same goes for paper bags, which contribute far more overall pollution in production than plastic bags; reduction and elimination of these single-use, environmentally detrimental bags is ideal and noble. It is the way that the state has decided to handle this that is of concern.

72% of survey respondents stated that environmental issues were either the most important issue or a very important issue

Our primary concern is the fact that there is no specific definitions for what a single-use plastic bag is and what a reusable plastic bag is. The budget defines single-use plastic bags as "any plastic bag, other than an exempt bag, that is provided to a customer by a person required to collect tax to be used by the customer to carry tangible personal property"²³ and reusable bags as "a bag: (a) made of cloth or other machine washable fabric that has handles; or (b) a durable bag with handles that is specifically designed and manufactured for multiple reuse."24 Neither of these definitions mention, for plastic, what thickness or dimensions seperate the two from each other. The average single-plastic bag is roughly .5 mils thick or less²⁵, so it can be assumed that some value in that range is what the first definition refers to. Conversely, Californian law, which the NYS Task Force's report spends a large time examining as a basis for the options it offers, defines 2.25 mils as the legal minimum for a bag to be considered reusable²⁶. As the NYS Task Force report mentions, banning certain thickness bags ultimately led to retailers buying thicker bags that qualified as reusable but were practically used as single-use^{27.} While the law bans all plastic bags, our concern comes from the reusable bag definition, which does not exclude plastic bags that are considered durable enough for multiple uses. It is not impossible that retailers will find a way to circumvent the law by providing these bags for a marginal cost, and because these bags would be so much thicker than the current bags and thus pose a similar, if not larger, threat to environmental health.

Another major concern we have is about the various exceptions to the law. As previously discussed, there are 11 permissible single-use plastic bags that will not be banned. These exceptions are: plastic bags for wrapping raw meat, plastic bags for bulk items, plastic bags for sliced or made-to-order foods, plastic bags for newspapers, plastic bags sold in bulk as a point-

- ²³ Page 9, lines 42-44. A02008C, Part H, Assemb. Reg. Sess. 2019-2020. (N.Y. 2019)
- ²⁴ Page 10, lines 3-5. A02008C, Part H, Assemb. Reg. Sess. 2019-2020. (N.Y. 2019)

²⁶ Bag Thickness Standards - What is a Mil. (n.d.). Retrieved from https://1bagatatime.com/learn/what-is-a-mill/ 27 Analysis of the Impact of Single-Use Plastic Bags: Options for New York State Plastic Bag Legislation (Rep.). (n.d.). Retrieved https://www.dec.ny.gov/ docs/materials_minerals_pdf/dplasticbagreport2017.pdf

²⁵ Bag Thickness Standards - What is a Mil. (n.d.). Retrieved from https://1bagatatime.com/learn/what-is-a-mill/ 26 Bag Thickness Standards - What is a Mil. (n.d.). Retrieved from https://1bagatatime.com/learn/what-is-a-mill/ 27 Analysis of the Impact of Single-Use Plastic Bags: Options for New York State Plastic Bag Legislation (Rep.). (n.d.). Retrieved www.dec.ny.gov/docs/materials_minerals_pdf/ dplasticbagreport2017.pdf

²⁷ Analysis of the Impact of Single-Use Plastic Bags: Options for New York State Plastic Bag Legislation (Rep.). (n.d.). Retrieved https:// www.dec.ny.gov/docs/materials_minerals_pdf/dplasticbagreport2017.pdf

of-sale item, plastic bags for trash bags, plastic bags for bulk storage of food, plastic garment bags, plastic bags prepackaged for sale, plastic bags provided by restaurants to wrap food, and plastic bags associated with pharmaceutical products²⁸. Some of these exceptions can be considered reasonable from a health and safety perspective. However, the allowances for restaurants to use plastic take out bags is a clear example of bias in favor of wealthy individuals who can afford to order food and who do not need to go shopping. The ban disproportionately disadvantages grocery and convenience stores that many low-income individuals rely on for their weekly shopping in that they receive no exception in the law. Yet ironically, these same stores are still permitted to sell plastic bags as a bulk item or for trash, as per Page 9 of Section H of the budget. This exception, and all the exceptions to this law, are directly pandering to the various interests who were able to lobby the governor successfully to protect their convenience and profit margins. For a purportedly environmental bill, it is so riddled with exceptions that it is only good for one thing; continuing the systemic oppression of minority and low income individuals through economic tyranny. These exceptions help no one except those who rely on them to keep expenses down, and their very existence undermines the environmental seriousness of the plastic bag problem. If we have a plastic pollution problem, why are exemptions to this ban being handed out like candy to dry cleaners and newspapers and takeout restaurants? Either we have a problem or we do not; there should be no middle ground. Yet here the state stands, with a plastic bag ban whose environmental effects are neutered by 11 exceptions.

Similar reasons apply to single-use paper bags. While these are theoretically better due to the recyclable and compostable nature of paper, the reality is that these bags actually have a larger carbon footprint than their plastic counterparts. The large amount of water required to produce them, as well as the increased transportation costs associated with heavier and bulkier materials²⁹, renders their environmental edge against plastic only marginally better. The report does not take into account the fact that millions of trees are used every year to create these bags, the depletion of which is, on its own, a massive environmental issue. Like plastic bags, paper bags see very limited recycling and cannot be effectively recycled more than a few times.

82% of survey respondents understood that their health and well-being were related to the environment they lived in

Paper bags also come with a disadvantage that does not apply to plastic; being made of organic material means they are susceptible to rot even if properly disposed of. This can lead to a variety of public health problems, infestations being only one of the many health risks that rotting paper bags could foster. Furthermore, in areas without suitable disposal receptacles or public awareness of the issues of rotting paper, health violations and fines will skyrocket and put more economic stress on local governments already unable to cope with the many problems that they face.

With the ban on plastic, retailers will be forced to shift to paper. More trees will be cut down, more water will be consumed, and more fuel will be burned for power and transportation. This is not idle speculation; the Task Force Report includes a telling graph that even with a total ban on plastic

²⁸ Sourced Page 9, lines 31-41. A02008C, Part H, Assemb. Reg. Sess. 2019-2020. (N.Y. 2019)

²⁹ Analysis of the Impact of Single-Use Plastic Bags: Options for New York State Plastic Bag Legislation (Rep.). (n.d.). Retrieved www.dec. ny.gov/docs/materials_minerals_pdf/dplasticbagreport2017.pdf

and fees on alternative single-use bags (generally paper), paper bag use increased from 3% to 16% in California³⁰. We will trade the horror of fishing plastic bags out of the ocean for the catastrophe of rising global temperatures, blighted areas and health risks that have not been present for decades. Healing cannot occur if we must injure to heal. The T.B.I accepts that New York and the world are embroiled in an environmental crisis of epic proportions, and agrees that drastic actions must be taken before it is too late. However, we cannot accept a bill that leaves environmental aspects open to interpretation and encourages equally destructive alternatives to continue for the sake of staunching one such practice.

³⁰ See page 12 of the report Analysis of the Impact of Single-Use Plastic Bags: Options for New York State Plastic Bag Legislation (Rep.). (n.d.). Retrieved www.dec.ny.gov/docs/materials_minerals_pdf/dplasticbagreport2017.pdf

SURVEY PREMISE AND METHODOLOGY

he T.B.I has been monitoring the issue of taxing and/or banning single-use bags since the law was first introduced to the City Council in 2016, and has actively opposed any taxation on single-use bags. We helped coordinate community opposition, collected thousands of signatures from the Queens area, and actively petitioned Albany to step in and prevent the City Council from steamrolling thousands of financially precarious livelihoods for the sake of their noble goal. We were pleased when the issue was postponed by Albany's, and even more so when Governor Cuomo announced the formation of the New York State Plastic Bag Task Force to study this problem. It was our belief that the delay and systematic study of the issue would allow for greater attention and consideration for the economic impact of a tax on financially vulnerable communities. It was especially heartening when the task force asked for the testimony of Bertha Lewis on the matter, which she delivered. Our disappointment upon the release of the Task Force Report therefore, which contained virtually no acknowledgement of the concerns raised by Ms. Lewis³¹ and instead a large degree of praise for the success of bag taxes in other cities, was quite large.

Concerned with this apparent contempt for vulnerable populations displayed within the report and Governor Cuomo's subsequent decision, the T.B.I decided to conduct community outreach efforts across New York City to raise awareness and opposition. We hypothesized that our target demographics, which were people of color, elderly or retired citizens, and those with poor or uncertain financial standing, were largely unaware that this debate had resurfaced on a state level, but that they would be vehemently opposed. We also believed that this same population was not prepared to endure the added expense that would come with this legislation. Our efforts, therefore, were twofold. First, we would survey the communities most likely suffer from the new law and to find the true public opinion of these communities, and to educate these same communities about what the law implied for their daily livelihoods.

The T.B.I decided to focus on Kings County, Queens County, and Bronx County in finding individuals who would fit one or more of the criteria we were looking for. After thorough research and investigation, the T.B.I compiled and canvassed a list of community centers and senior centers within the proximity of New York City Housing Authority developments. These locations were chosen because these locations had higher numbers of financially vulnerable individuals, who could provide the surveyors with valuable opinions.

The following details our procedure for surveying individuals. An outreach team from the T.B.I would travel to a community center and would conduct informal presentations and community discussions regarding the plastic bag issue. Having explained the debate surrounding the issue of single-use bags, the outreach team would conduct a brief survey, the full text of which can be found in Appendix A of this report. The team also canvassed the surrounding areas in order to collect additional data, and would give a brief summary of the issue to canvassed persons before presenting them with the survey. Broadly, the survey was designed to elicit four key areas of information:

³¹See pages 18 and 19 of the New York State Plastic Bag Task Force Report. Legislative Options 3, 4, and 5 reference the impact of the tax on low income communities, but nowhere else in the report is this alluded to

- 1. Demographic information
- 2. Rough financial standing and capacity to endure a punitive tax
- 3. Prior awareness of the single-use bag issue
- 4. Opinions on the issue and complementary issues, like the environment

We were able to collect over 1,000 individual responses who met at least one of our target demographic categories. While we were conducting the surveys, we had ample opportunities to engage with and educate communities who were unaware of this serious issue and the debate surrounding it. In our efforts, we were educating communities that are not always attuned to the political machinations of Albany and creating awareness for an issue that, despite its importance to these communities, was not well known or fully understood.

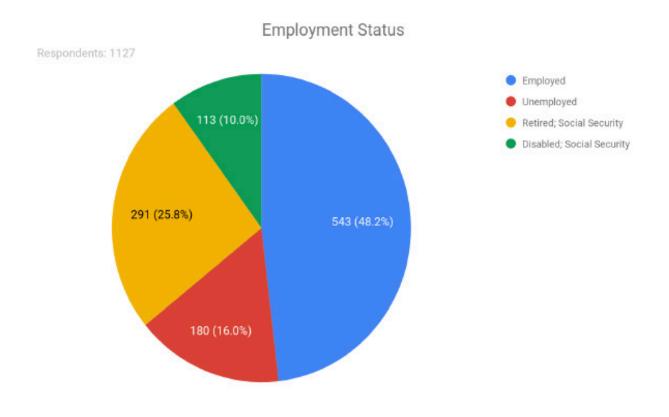
SURVEY RESULTS

he results of the outreach survey will first be discussed in overall trends, in order to demonstrate the enormity of overall responses. Following this will be a more specific breakdown of the data by borough, so that the geographical implications of our findings can be more clearly understood on the community level.

Overall Statistical Conclusions

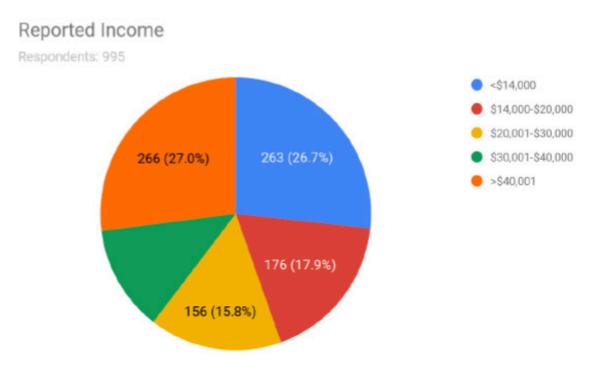
Out of over a thousand respondents, roughly 66% of them live in apartment housing of some kind and 68% of respondents reported that they rented their domicile. Correlation between the two sets of data is fairly high and given the zoned characteristics of the counties that the responses came from, unsurprising. Of those surveyed, just under 50% of respondents reported being employed.

The remaining respondents reported no employment, and 35% of respondents reported that they were living off of either Social Security or disabled benefits. An additional 175 respondents, answering a question on whether they receive public assistance, stated that they received some form of benefits from the government. Out of 951 respondents, 58% reported being enrolled in Medicare or Medicaid. The fact that over one-third of respondents are living on a fixed income should already illustrate the fact that many people do not have income flexibility to accommodate additional expenses, especially taxes. That an additional 200 people receive some kind of benefit from the government, whether through SNAP, Medicare, or other programs, is also telling of the strained financial situation are facing.



Income was relatively evenly distributed across our given range. The low and high ranges of income accounted for just over 25% of the respondents each. However, this data must be examined within the context of the previous data concerning the number of persons who rent their home. Rents across all three surveyed boroughs each average over \$1,500 per month³²; even with public assistance or residence in a rent-controlled apartment, the share of income that rent occupies for those making anywhere from under \$14,000 to \$30,000 annually is quite large. The fact that over 60% of the surveyed persons have an income within the aforementioned range is quite serious, as applied to demographic information from these three counties means that over 3.5 million people are living very close to the edge already. Many of those people are African-American or other persons of color.

When asked about how important environmental issues were to them, 74% of respondents stated that environmental issues were most or very important to them, with only 7% of respondents saying that they were unimportant. This was followed by a question asking respondents to state whether they felt that their health and well-being were related to their environment; of the 960 responses, 85% stated that they agreed with the statement. It is clear that the overwhelming majority of respondents are concerned about the environment and that it is something that is very important.



Concerning the plastic ban proposal, at the time of survey an average of 66% of respondents across the three counties were aware of the proposed ban. This is a concerning number, as one-third of the population surveyed were unaware of an issue that was of crucial importance to their daily routine. An average of 48% percent of respondents across the three counties supported such a ban, but only 31% supported a fee on plastic bags. We did not ask questions specifically about paper bags, but it is not unreasonable to suppose that similar statistics would apply to paper bags. This is a fairly

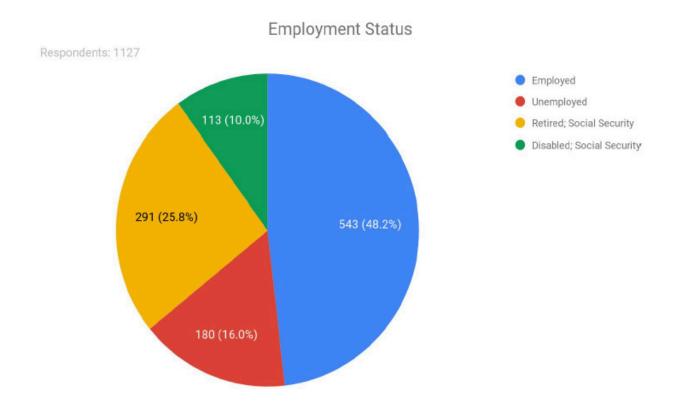
³² Average Rent NYC: Here's What You'll Pay in Rent: Naked Apartments. (2018, September 26). Retrieved from www.nakedapartments. com/blog/average-rental-prices-nyc

significant finding as it details that minority communities are not apathetic about the environment, and to that end a significant percentage of surveyed persons are not opposed to a ban. What the majority are opposed to, however, is being forced to choose between legal extortion and reusable options. With a similar majority of respondents stating that a fee would cause financial strain on their household, it is worthwhile to refer back to the statistic that almost two-thirds of the surveyed population have an annual income under \$30,000 dollars.

There is clear evidence, from the combined data, that demonstrates that while lower income households do care about the environment, many of them would be put into a poor position by having to pay a punitive tax on single use bags. Two-thirds of the population stating that taxes on single-use bags would strain their ability to make ends meet is not a statistic that can, or should, be ignored. That this statistic was not uncovered or considered by our elected officials and civil servants is truly shocking and grossly inappropriate.

County-Specific Statistical Conclusions Bronx County

We began our outreach efforts in Bronx County. These communities have some of the highest rates of asthma in the country and rank among the lowest in the state in terms of general health. When asked their position regarding a statewide ban on single use bags, 65% of those surveyed opposed the proposal. Bronx residents were clear in their opposition to a punitive tax being applied to shopping bags. Eighty-two percent opposed this new tax and 65% of the same group of respondents had been unaware the idea was being discussed in Albany.

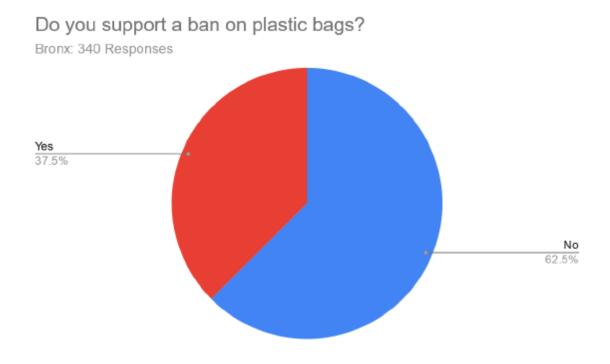


Only 28% of Bronx respondents reported gainful employment. When asked if they were receiving Social Security benefits, 48% of respondents answered in the affirmative. Forty percent of respondents claimed annual incomes of less than \$14,000. Of those surveyed, 23% reported no income at all.

We also asked about the average grocery bill each week in order to determine how much of their grocery budget these fees would devour. In the Bronx, 65% of respondents reported spending less than \$75 per week for their entire household.

In terms of housing, 80% of respondents in the Bronx rented their home.

Lastly, we discussed environmental issues and how those issues impacted their health and wellbeing. Bronxites displayed notable environmental consciousness, with 74% of respondents describing environmental issues as either being somewhat or very important. Significantly, 82% saw a direct link between their environment and their personal well being.

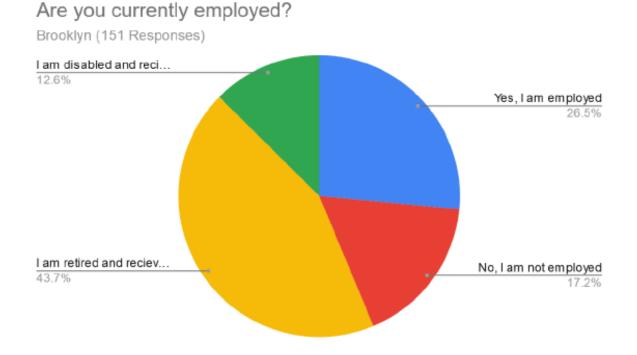


Kings County

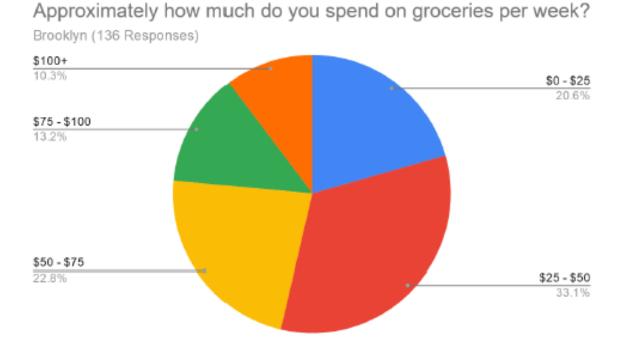
In Kings County, 36% of respondents were unaware that there was an effort to ban single use bags. Forty-six percent of Brooklyn respondents opposed banning single use bags. Nearly 40% of Brooklynites surveyed were unaware of the renewed effort to establish the punitive tax.

Kings County showed a slightly weaker financial outlook with 26% reporting gainful employment. Over 50% of respondents reported an annual income of less than \$20,000.

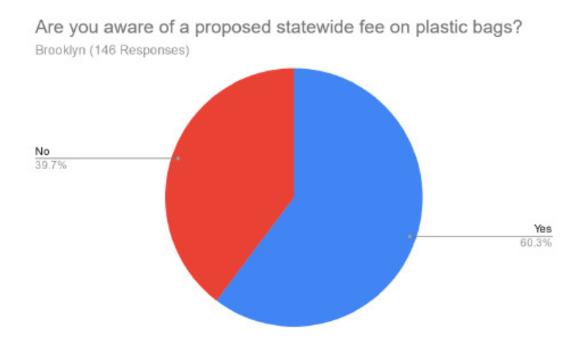
Concerning housing, 70% of surveyed Kings County residents rented their home. While this is less than those in the Bronx, it is still a significant majority.



The number of people spending less than \$75 per week on groceries shrinks slightly to 53% in Kings County. While this is less than the 65% figure in the Bronx, it is still significant enough to prove that at 5 cents per bag, an already tight budget for many is going to be pinched one penny too far.

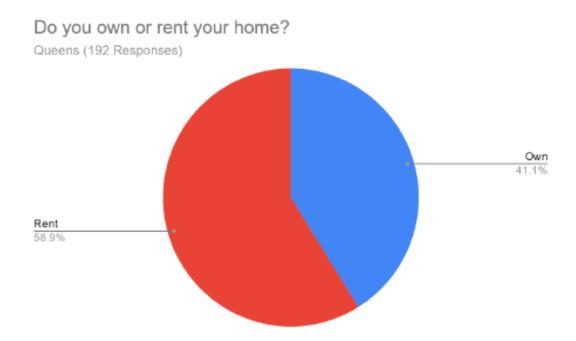


Nearly 72% of respondents in Kings County placed the environment at or near the top of their priority list. Over 80% of Kings County respondents drew a connection between the environment they live in and their general health and quality of life.



Queens County

During our time in Queens County, nearly 30% were unaware of the move to ban single use bags, with an overwhelming 70% opposing the policy. Furthermore, 36% of our Queens respondents were unaware of the proposed tax and a telling 81% of those Queens residents surveyed opposed this new tax.



In Queens, the most suburban borough we operated in, 59% of the respondents were still renting their homes.

Similar to Kings County, over 50% of Queens County respondents reported an income of less than \$20,000 a year.

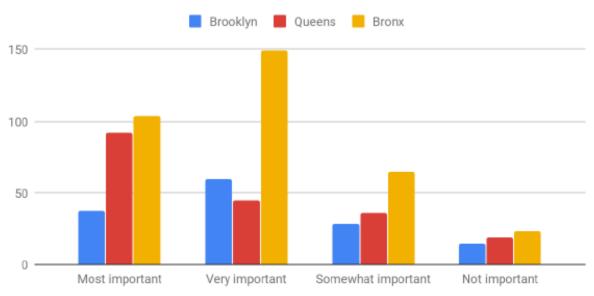
Nearly 72% in both boroughs placed the environment at or near the top of their priority list. Over 80% of Brooklyn and Queens residents drew a connection between the environment they live in and their general health and quality of life.

Overwhelmingly, people care about the environment and understand how it impacts their quality of life. They also understand that this new law will do little to positively impact their quality of life or improve their health outcomes. They do understand that their financial situation just became tighter. For many, it just became harder to live, work and feed their family in New York State and in New York City. In Queens, the most suburban borough we operated in, 59% of the respondents were still renting their homes.

Similar to Kings County, over 50% of Queens County respondents reported an income of less than \$20,000 a year.

Nearly 72% in both boroughs placed the environment at or near the top of their priority list. Over 80% of Brooklyn and Queens residents drew a connection between the environment they live in and their general health and quality of life.

Overwhelmingly, people care about the environment and understand how it impacts their quality of life. They also understand that this new law will do little to positively impact their quality of life or improve their health outcomes. They do understand that their financial situation just became tighter. For many, it just became harder to live, work and feed their family in New York State and in New York City.



How important are environmental issues to you?

How important are environmental issues to you?

CONCLUSION

It should be clear by now that we are unequivocally opposed to the New York State Bag Waste Reduction Act included in the 2019-2020 state budget. We are disappointed in the New York State Plastic Bag Task Force, for failing to examine the opinions of low income individuals and for not ascertaining the impact that any of their recommendations may have on these communities beyond cursory acknowledgements. We are enraged that the governor and legislative leaders have showed no regard for the vulnerable members of the state, and for refusing to allow a public debate over this issue. By circumventing the legislative process and refusing to allow concerned citizens and groups to participate in the creation of this punitive tax, the nature of our democracy has been compromised. We are dumbfounded that the Assembly and Senate voted to approve the budget with such a crucial law included, without debate, and especially baffled by the lack of opposition from those legislators who spoke against such a bill before. We are disappointed in senators³³ and assembly members³⁴ who voted in favor of delaying New York City's bag law yet did not raise any objection to a law of its calibur bring included in the budget. We are especially disappointed in Senator Simcha Felder, who introduced the bill that led to the delay of the city law, for voting in favor of a budget that contained a law that, to use the senator's words, does not "respect our constituents who do not want to be driven crazy and nickeled and dimed every day."35

It is not out of hatred for the environment or in denial of the problems that single-use bags pose for the environment that we oppose this bill. Plastic in our oceans is as much an issue to our state as it is to the world, and we have an obligation, as a state, to do our part to help clean up the mess before it is too late. But single-use bags are not the reason why the Bronx has one of the nation's highest asthma rates and one of its lowest health outcome expectancies. The chemicals and production of both plastic and paper bags are certainly poison to the Earth, but is a drop in the bucket when compared to other sources. The Somerset coal-fired power plant in Niagara County, for example, output 3.8 million tons of carbon dioxide in 2011. That's the equivalent of nearly 700 billion single-use bags; the Task Force report states that New Yorkers go through about 23 billion annually. The governor cannot see the forest for the trees, that the state should be dealing with the big fish of Somerset first instead of the comparatively small fry of plastic bags. Choosing such a minor yet optically appealing issue such as single-use bags instead of a much more effective and revenue-intensive carbon tax should make one question the depth of Cuomo's commitment to environmental causes. His so-called "progressive" actions to address the environment are illusions to placate environmentalists and shift their gaze away from the environmental travesties enacted daily by larger manufacturing and power production companies.

There are, however, no conditions attached to our opposal of the bill on economic grounds. The evidence is clear that this bill is economically unsound in premise and will do nothing but tax lower-income individuals out of desperately needed dollars without any perceivable benefit in return. Large percentages of individuals live precariously on the edge between subsistence and poverty, and this tax only makes the breathing room they have smaller and smaller. The revenue from this bill will be miniscule compared to what taxes on heavy polluters, who can afford to pay for their damage, could levy without putting lower income individuals in a worse position. With the budget's passing, the downtrodden of New York have only months left before they must face another of the thousand cuts that bleed them dry. We must work to mitigate this punitive and unfair law soon, before it is too late to do so.

³³ S 1508 - Prohibits Retail Stores from Using Plastic Bags. (2019, April 12). Retrieved from votesmart.org/bill/26326/66979/prohibitsretail-stores-from-using-plastic-bags

²⁴ S 1508 - Prohibits Retail Stores from Using Plastic Bags. (2019, March 31). Retrieved from votesmart.org/bill/votes/66980

³⁵ Yee, V. (2016, June 08). New York City's Plastic Bag Fee Is Delayed Amid Scrutiny in Albany. Retrieved from www.nytimes.com/2016 /06/08/nyregion/new-york-citys-plastic-bag-fee-is-delayed-amid-scrutiny-in-albanyhtml?action=click&module=RelatedCoverage&pgtype =Article®ion=Footer

APPENDIX A: NYS PLASTIC BAG BAN/FEE SURVEY

- 1. Do you live in New York City?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No

2. Do you live in house or an apartment?

- a. House
- b. Apartment

3. Do you own or rent your home?

- a. Own
- b. Rent

4. Are you currently employed?

- a. Yes, I am employed
- b. No, I am not
- c. I am Retired & receive Social Security benefits
- d. I am Disabled & receive Social Security benefits

5. Do you receive social security, public assistance or SNAP benefits?

- a. Yes
- b. No

6.Approximately, how much is your annual income?

- a. Less than \$14,000
- b. \$14,000 \$20,000
- c. \$20,001 \$30,000
- d. \$30,001 \$40,000
- e. \$40,000 or more

7. How important are environmental issues to you?

- a. Most important
- b. Very important
- c. Somewhat important
- d. Not important

8.Do you believe your health and wellbeing are related to the environment you live in? a. Yes

b.No

9. Are you enrolled in Medicaid or Medicare?

- a. Yes
- b. No

10. Approximately, how much money do you spend on spend on groceries per week?

- a. \$0-\$25
- b. \$25-\$50
- c. \$50-\$75
- d. \$75-\$100
- e. \$100 or more

11. Are you aware of a proposed statewide ban on single use bags? a. Yes

b. No

12.Do you support a statewide ban on single use bags?

- a. Yes
- b. No

13. Are you aware of a proposed statewide a fee on single use bags? a. Yes

b. No

14. Do you support a statewide fee on single use bags?

- a. Yes
- b. No

15. If you were made to pay tax per single use bag would that create financial strain in your household?

- a. Yes
- b. No

Assembly vote record for the budget, sorted by vote³⁶

137	AM David F. Gantt	Democratic	Did Not Vote
134	AM Peter A. Lawrence	Republican, Conservative, Independence	Did Not Vote
107	AM Jacob C. 'Jake' Ashby	Republican, Conservative, Independence, Reform	Nay
120	AM William A. 'Will' Barclay	Republican	Nay
60	AM Charles Barron	Democratic	Nay
117	AM Kenneth D. 'Ken' Blankenbush	Republican, Conservative	Nay
98	AM Karl A. Brabenec	Republican	Nay
94	AM Kevin M. Byrne	Republican, Conservative, Independence, Reform	Nay
133	AM Marjorie L. Byrnes	Republican, Conservative	Nay
122	AM Clifford W. 'Cliff' Crouch	Republican	Nay
147	AM David J. DiPietro	Republican, Conservative	Nay
126	AM Gary D. Finch	Republican	Nay
8	AM Michael J. 'Mike' Fitzpatrick	Republican, Conservative, Independence	Nay
124	AM Christopher S. 'Chris' Friend	Republican	Nay
7	AM Andrew R. Garbarino	Republican, Conservative, Independence	Nay
148	AM Joseph M. 'Joe' Giglio	Republican, Conservative, Independence	Nay
139	AM Stephen M. 'Steve' Hawley	Republican, Conservative, Independence	Nay
131	AM Brian M. Kolb	Republican	Nay
105	AM Kieran Michael Lalor	Republican, Independence	Nay
9	AM Michael LiPetri	Republican, Conservative, Reform	Nay
64	AM Nicole Malliotakis	Republican, Conservative, Taxpayers	Nay
130	AM Brian Manktelow	Republican, Conservative, Independence, Reform	Nay

³⁶ A 2000 - Establishes \$175.5 Billion Budget for FY 2019-2020 - Voting Record New York Assembly. (2019, March 31). Retrieved from www.votesmart.org/bill/votes/66909

14	AM David G. 'Dave' McDonough	Conservative	Nay
17	AM John K. Mikulin	Republican, Conservative, Independence, Reform	Nay
20	AM Melissa L. 'Missy' Miller	Republican, Conservative, Reform	Nay
101	AM Brian D. Miller	Republican, Independence	Nay
145	AM Angelo J. Morinello	Republican, Conservative, Independence, Reform	Nay
57	AM Walter T. Mosley III	Democratic	Nay
144	AM Michael J. Norris	Republican, Independence	Nay
132	AM Philip A. 'Phil' Palmesano	Republican, Conservative, Independence	Nay
19	AM Edward P. 'Ed' Ra	Republican, Conservative, Independence, Tax Revolt	Nay
121	AM John J. Salka	Republican	Nay
99	AM Colin J. Schmitt	Republican, Conservative, Independence, Reform	Nay
5	AM Douglas M. 'Doug' Smith	Republican, Conservative, Independence, Reform	Nay
118	AM Robert J. Smullen	Republican, Conservative, Reform	Nay
114	AM Daniel G. 'Dan' Stec	Republican, Conservative, Independence	Nay
102	AM Christopher 'Chris' Tague	Republican, Conservative, Independence, Reform	Nay
116	AM Mark Walczyk	Republican, Conservative, Independence, Reform	Nay
112	AM Mary Beth Walsh	Republican, Conservative, Independence, Reform	Nay
49	AM Peter J. Abbate Jr.	Democratic, Independence	Yea
92	AM Thomas J. 'Tom' Abinanti	Democratic, Independence	Yea
84	AM Carmen E. Arroyo	Democratic, Liberal	Yea
35	AM Jeffrion L. Aubry	Democratic, Liberal	Yea

30	AM Brian Barnwell	Democratic	Yea
106	AM Didi Barrett	Democratic	Yea
82	AM Michael R. Benedetto	Democratic	Yea
42	AM Rodneyse Bichotte	Democratic, Working Families	Yea
79	AM Michael A. Blake	Democratic	Yea
26	AM Edward C. 'Ed' Braunstein	Democratic, Independence	Yea
138	AM Harry B. Bronson	Democratic, Working Families	Yea
93	AM David Buchwald	Democratic, Independence, Working Families	Yea
142	AM Patrick B. Burke	Democratic, Working Families, Reform	Yea
119	AM Marianne Buttenschon	Democratic, Independence	Yea
103	AM Kevin A. Cahill	Democratic	Yea
44	AM Robert C. Carroll	Democratic, Working Families	Yea
47	AM William Colton	Democratic, Working Families	Yea
32	AM Vivian E. Cook	Democratic, Liberal	Yea
85	AM Marcos A. Crespo	Democratic	Yea
39	AM Catalina Cruz	Democratic	Yea
63	AM Michael J. Cusick	Democratic	Yea
45	AM Steven H. Cymbrowitz	Democratic	Yea
53	AM Maritza Davila	Democratic	Yea
72	AM Carmen N. De La Rosa	Democratic	Yea
34	AM Michael G. DenDekker	Democratic	Yea
3	AM Joseph 'Joe' DeStefano	Republican, Conservative, Independence, Reform	Yea
70	AM Inez E. Dickens	Democratic	Yea
54	AM Erik Martin Dilan	Democratic	Yea

81	AM Jeffrey Dinowitz	Democratic	Yea
16	AM Anthony 'Tony' D'Urso	Democratic, Independence, Working Families, Women's Equality	Yea
48	AM Simcha Eichenstein	Democratic, Conservative	Yea
4	AM Steven C. 'Steve' Englebright	Democratic	Yea
74	AM Harvey Epstein	Democratic, Working Families	Yea
109	AM Patricia A. Fahy	Democratic, Independence, Working Families	Yea
61	AM Charles D. Fall	Democratic, Reform	Yea
80	AM Nathalia Fernandez	Democratic, Independence	Yea
46	AM Mathylde Frontus	Democratic	Yea
95	AM Sandra R. 'Sandy' Galef	Democratic	Yea
66	AM Deborah J. Glick	Democratic	Yea
150	AM Andrew W. 'Andy' Goodell	Republican, Conservative, Change Albany	Yea
75	AM Richard N. 'Dick' Gottfried	Democratic	Yea
21	AM Judy Griffin	Democratic, Working Families, Reform, Women's Equality	Yea
100	AM Aileen M. Gunther	Democratic	Yea
83	AM Carl E. Heastie	Democratic	Yea
28	AM Andrew D. Hevesi	Democratic	Yea
128	AM Pamela J. 'Pam' Hunter	Democratic	Yea
29	AM Alicia L. Hyndman	Democratic	Yea
104	AM Jonathan G. Jacobson	Democratic	Yea
97	AM Ellen C. Jaffee	Democratic	Yea
11	AM Kimberly Jean-Pierre	Democratic, Independence, Working Families	Yea

135	AM Mark C. Johns	Republican, Conservative	Yea
115	AM D. Billy Jones	Democratic, Working Families, Women's Equality	Yea
77	AM Latoya Joyner	Democratic, Working Families	Yea
40	AM Ron Kim	Democratic, Independence, Working Families	Yea
13	AM Charles D. Lavine	Democratic	Yea
50	AM Joseph R. Lentol	Democratic	Yea
125	AM Barbara S. Lifton	Democratic, Working Families	Yea
123	AM Donna A. Lupardo	Democratic	Yea
129	AM William B. 'Bill' Magnarelli	Democratic	Yea
108	AM John T. McDonald III	Democratic, Independence	Yea
146	AM Karen McMahon	Democratic, Working Families, Women's Equality	Yea
38	AM Michael G. Miller	Democratic	Yea
15	AM Michael A. Montesano	No Party Affiliation	Yea
65	AM Yuh-Line Niou	Democratic, Working Families	Yea
37	AM Catherine T. Nolan	Democratic	Yea
69	AM Daniel J. O'Donnell	Democratic	Yea
51	AM Felix W. Ortiz Jr.	Democratic	Yea
91	AM Steven Otis	Democratic, Independence, Working Families	Yea
2	AM Anthony Palumbo	Republican	Yea
88	AM Amy R. Paulin	Democratic	Yea
141	AM Crystal Davis Peoples-Stokes	Democratic, Working Families	Yea
58	AM N. 'Nick' Perry	Democratic	Yea
23	AM Stacey G. Pheffer Amato	Democratic, Working Families, Women's Equality	Yea

86	AM Victor M. Pichardo	Democratic, Working Families	Yea
89	AM James Gary Pretlow Sr.	Democratic	Yea
73	AM Dan Quart	Democratic	Yea
12	AM Andrew P. Raia	Republican, Conservative, Independence, Working Families	Yea
6	AM Philip R. 'Phil' Ramos	Democratic, Working Families	Yea
18	AM Taylor Raynor	Democratic, Working Families, Reform, Women's Equality	Yea
62	AM Michael Reilly	Republican	Yea
87	AM Karines Reyes	Democratic, Working Families	Yea
43	AM Diana C. Richardson	Working Families	Yea
78	AM Jose Rivera	Democratic, Working Families	Yea
68	AM Robert J. Rodriguez	Democratic	Yea
136 Worl	AM Jamie Romeo king Families, Women's Equality	Democratic, Independence,	Yea
27	AM Daniel A. Rosenthal	Democratic	Yea
67	AM Linda B. Rosenthal	Democratic	Yea
25	AM Nily D. Rozic	Democratic, Working Families	Yea
149	AM Sean M. Ryan	Democratic	Yea
111	AM Angelo L. Santabarbara	Democratic, Conservative, Independence, Working Families, Lower Taxes	Yea
90	AM Nader Sayegh	Democratic, Independence, Reform, Women's Equality	Yea
140	AM Robin L. Schimminger	Democratic	Yea
76	AM Rebecca Seawright	Democratic, Working Families	Yea
52	AM Jo Anne Simon	Democratic	Yea
36	AM Aravella Simotas	Democratic, Working Families	Yea

22	AM Michaelle C. 'Mickey' Solages	Democratic, Working Families	Yea
110	AM Phillip G. 'Phil' Steck	Democratic, Independence, Working Families	Yea
10	AM Steve Stern	Democratic, Independence, Working Families, Women's Equality	Yea
127	AM Albert A. 'Al' Stirpe	Democratic, Working Families	Yea
71	AM Alfred 'Al' Taylor	Democratic, Working Families	Yea
1	AM Fred W. Thiele Jr.	Democratic, Conservative, Independence, Working Families	Yea
31	AM Michele R. Titus	Democratic, Working Families, Liberal	Yea
33	AM Clyde Vanel	Democratic	Yea
55	AM Latrice Monique Walker	Democratic	Yea
143	AM Monica P. Wallace	Democratic, Working Families, Women's Equality, Working Families Party of New York	Yea
41	AM Helene E. Weinstein	Democratic, Liberal	Yea
24	AM David I. Weprin	Democratic	Yea
59	AM Jaime R. Williams	Democratic	Yea
113	AM Carrie Woerner	Democratic, Working Families	Yea
56	AM Tremaine S. Wright	Democratic, Working Families	Yea
96	AM Kenneth P. 'Ken' Zebrowski Jr.	Democratic	Yea

Senate vote record for the budget, sorted by vote³⁷

3	Sen. Monica R. Martinez	Democratic, Working Families, Women's Equality	Yea
5	Sen. James F. Gaughran	Democratic, Working Families, Women's Equality	Yea
6	Sen. Kevin Thomas	Democratic	Yea
7	Sen. Anna Monahemi Kaplan	Democratic, Working Families, Women's Equality	Yea
8	Sen. John E. Brooks	Democratic	Yea
9	Sen. Todd Kaminsky	Democratic	Yea
10	Sen. James Sanders Jr.	Democratic	Yea
11	Sen. John C. Liu	Democratic	Yea
12	Sen. Michael N. Gianaris	Democratic	Yea
13	Sen. Jessica Ramos	Democratic, Working Families	Yea
14	Sen. Leroy G. Comrie	Democratic	Yea
15	Sen. Joseph P. Addabbo Jr.	Democratic	Yea
16	Sen. Toby Ann Stavisky	Democratic	Yea
17	Sen. Simcha Felder	Democratic	Yea
18	Sen. Julia Salazar	Democratic	Yea
19	Sen. Roxanne Jacqueline Persaud	Democratic	Yea
20	Sen. Zellnor Myrie	Democratic, Working Families	Yea
21	Sen. Kevin S. Parker	Democratic, Working Families	Yea
22	Sen. Andrew S. Gounardes	Democratic	Yea
23	Sen. Diane J. Savino	Democratic, Working Families, Independence Party	Yea
25	Sen. Velmanette Montgomery	Democratic	Yea

³⁷ A 2000 - Establishes \$175.5 Billion Budget for FY 2019-2020 - Voting Record New York Senate. (2019, March 31). Retrieved from votesmart.org/bill/votes/66913

APPENDIX B: (CONTINUED) ASSEMBLY AND SENATE VOTING RECORDS Senate vote record for the budget, sorted by vote³⁷

Yea 26 Sen. Brian P. Kavanagh Democratic, Working Families Yea Sen. Brad M. Hoylman Democratic, Working Families 27 28 Sen. Liz Krueger Democratic, Working Families Yea Democratic, Working Families Yea 29 Sen, José M. Serrano Democratic Yea Sen. Brian Benjamin 30 Sen. Robert Jackson Democratic, Working Families Yea 31 Yea Sen. Luis R. Sepulveda Democratic 32 Yea Sen. Gustavo Rivera Democratic, Working Families 33 Yea Sen. Alessandra Biaggi Democratic, Working Families 34 Yea Sen. Andrea Stewart-Cousins Democratic, Working Families, 35 Independence Party Sen. Jamaal T. Bailey Democratic Yea 36 Yea Sen. Shelley B. Mayer Democratic 37 Sen, David S, 'Dave' Carlucci Democratic Yea 38 Sen. James G. Skoufis Democratic, Working Families, Reform, Yea 39 Women's Equality Sen, Peter B, Harckham Democratic Yea 40 Yea Sen. Jen Metzger Democratic, Working Families, 42 Women's Equality Sen, Neil D. Breslin Democratic, Working Families, Yea 44 Independence Party Democratic, Working Families Yea 53 Sen. Rachel May Sen. Timothy M. 'Tim' Kennedy Democratic, Working Families, Yea 63 Independence Party Sen, Kenneth P. LaValle Republican Nay 1 Republican, Conservative, Sen. John J. Flanagan Jr. Na...y 2 Independence Party

Senate vote record for the budget, sorted by vote³⁷

4	Sen. Philip M. 'Phil' Boyle	Republican	Nay
24	Sen. Andrew J. Lanza	Republican	Nay
41	Sen. Susan J. 'Sue' Serino	Republican, Conservative, Independence Party	Nay
43	Sen. Daphne Jordan	Republican, Conservative, Independence, Reform	Nay
45	Sen. Elizabeth O'Connor 'Betty' Little	Republican, Conservative, Independence Party	Nay
46	Sen. George A. Amedore Jr.	Republican, Conservative, Independence Party	Nay
47	Sen. Joseph A. Griffo	Republican, Conservative, Independence Party	Nay
48	Sen. Patricia A. 'Patty' Ritchie	Republican, Conservative, Independence Party	Nay
49	Sen. James Nicholas 'Jim' Tedisco	Republican, Conservative, Independence, Reform	Nay
50	Sen. Robert E. 'Bob' Antonacci II	Republican, Conservative, Independence Party	Nay
51	Sen. James L. Seward	Republican, Conservative, Independence Party	Nay
52	Sen. Frederick J. 'Fred' Akshar II	Republican, Conservative, Independence Party	Nay
54	Sen. Pamela A. 'Pam' Helming	Republican, Conservative, Independence Party	Nay
55	Sen. Rich Funke	Republican, Conservative, Independence Party	Nay
56	Sen. Joseph E. 'Joe' Robach	Republican, Conservative, Independence Party	Nay
58	Sen. Thomas F. O'Mara	Republican, Conservative, Independence Party	Nay
59	Sen. Patrick M. Gallivan	Republican, Conservative, Independence Party	Nay

Senate vote record for the budget, sorted by vote³⁷

60	Sen. Christopher L. 'Chris' Jacobs	Republican	Nay
61	Sen. Michael H. Ranzenhofer	Republican, Conservative, Independence Party	Nay
62	Sen. Robert G. 'Rob' Ortt	Republican, Conservative, Independence Party	Nay

Assembly vote record for the plastic bag ban prohibition, sorted by vote³⁸

99	AM Colin J. Schmitt	Republican, Conservative, Independence, Reform	Did Not Vote
112	AM Mary Beth Walsh	Republican, Conservative, Independence, Reform	Did Not Vote
4	AM Steven C. 'Steve' Englebright	Democratic	Nay
13	AM Charles D. Lavine	Democratic	Nay
27	AM Daniel A. Rosenthal	Democratic	Nay
29	AM Alicia L. Hyndman	Democratic	Nay
30	AM Brian Barnwell	Democratic	Nay
38	AM Michael G. Miller	Democratic	Nay
45	AM Steven H. Cymbrowitz	Democratic	Nay
46	AM Mathylde Frontus	Democratic	Nay
51	AM Felix W. Ortiz Jr.	Democratic	Nay
53	AM Maritza Davila	Democratic	Nay
54	AM Erik Martin Dilan	Democratic	Nay
67	AM Linda B. Rosenthal	Democratic	Nay
106	AM Didi Barrett	Democratic	Nay
111	AM Angelo L. Santabarbara	Democratic, Conservative, Independence, Working Families, Lower Taxes	Nay
80	AM Nathalia Fernandez	Democratic, Independence	Nay
108	AM John T. McDonald III	Democratic, Independence	Nay
90	AM Nader Sayegh	Democratic, Independence, Reform, Women's Equality	Nay
87	AM Karines Reyes	Democratic, Working Families	Nay
138	AM Harry B. Bronson	Democratic, Working Families	Nay
141	AM Crystal Davis Peoples-Stokes	Democratic, Working Families	Nay

³⁸ S 1508 - Prohibits Retail Stores from Using Plastic Bags. (2019, March 31). Retrieved from https://votesmart.org/bill/votes/66980

142	AM Patrick B. Burke	Democratic, Working Families, Reform	Nay
18	AM Taylor Raynor	Democratic, Working Families, Reform, Women's Equality	Nay
115	AM D. Billy Jones	Democratic, Working Families, Women's Equality	Nay
98	AM Karl A. Brabenec	Republican	Nay
120	AM William A. 'Will' Barclay	Republican	Nay
122	AM Clifford W. 'Cliff' Crouch	Republican	Nay
126	AM Gary D. Finch	Republican	Nay
131	AM Brian M. Kolb	Republican	Nay
117	AM Kenneth D. 'Ken' Blankenbus	h Republican, Conservative	Nay
135	AM Mark C. Johns	Republican, Conservative	Nay
147	AM David J. DiPietro	Republican, Conservative	Nay
150	AM Andrew W. 'Andy' Goodell	Republican, Conservative, Change Albany	Nay
8	AM Michael J. 'Mike' Fitzpatrick	Republican, Conservative, Independence	Nay
132	AM Philip A. 'Phil' Palmesano	Republican, Conservative, Independence	Nay
3	AM Joseph 'Joe' DeStefano	Republican, Conservative, Independence, Reform	Nay
5	AM Douglas M. 'Doug' Smith	Republican, Conservative, Independence, Reform	Nay
17	AM John K. Mikulin	Republican, Conservative, Independence, Reform	Nay
94	AM Kevin M. Byrne	Republican, Conservative, Independence, Reform	Nay
102	AM Christopher 'Chris' Tague	Republican, Conservative, Independence, Reform	Nay
130	AM Brian Manktelow	Republican, Conservative, Independence, Reform	Nay
20	AM Melissa L. 'Missy' Miller	Republican, Conservative, Reform	Nay

118	AM Robert J. Smullen	Republican, Conservative, Reform	Nay
101	AM Brian D. Miller	Republican, Independence	Nay
105	AM Kieran Michael Lalor	Republican, Independence	Nay
43	AM Diana C. Richardson	Working Families	Nay
14	AM David G. 'Dave' McDonough	Conservative	Yea
24	AM David I. Weprin	Democratic	Yea
28	AM Andrew D. Hevesi	Democratic	Yea
33	AM Clyde Vanel	Democratic	Yea
34	AM Michael G. DenDekker	Democratic	Yea
37	AM Catherine T. Nolan	Democratic	Yea
39	AM Catalina Cruz	Democratic	Yea
50	AM Joseph R. Lentol	Democratic	Yea
52	AM Jo Anne Simon	Democratic	Yea
55	AM Latrice Monique Walker	Democratic	Yea
57	AM Walter T. Mosley III	Democratic	Yea
58	AM N. 'Nick' Perry	Democratic	Yea
59	AM Jaime R. Williams	Democratic	Yea
60	AM Charles Barron	Democratic	Yea
63	AM Michael J. Cusick	Democratic	Yea
66	AM Deborah J. Glick	Democratic	Yea
68	AM Robert J. Rodriguez	Democratic	Yea
69	AM Daniel J. O'Donnell	Democratic	Yea
70	AM Inez E. Dickens	Democratic	Yea
72	AM Carmen N. De La Rosa	Democratic	Yea
73	AM Dan Quart	Democratic	Yea

75	AM Richard N. 'Dick' Gottfried	Democratic	Yea
79	AM Michael A. Blake	Democratic	Yea
81	AM Jeffrey Dinowitz	Democratic	Yea
82	AM Michael R. Benedetto	Democratic	Yea
83	AM Carl E. Heastie	Democratic	Yea
85	AM Marcos A. Crespo	Democratic	Yea
88	AM Amy R. Paulin	Democratic	Yea
89	AM James Gary Pretlow Sr.	Democratic	Yea
95	AM Sandra R. 'Sandy' Galef	Democratic	Yea
96	AM Kenneth P. 'Ken' Zebrowski Jr.	Democratic	Yea
97	AM Ellen C. Jaffee	Democratic	Yea
100	AM Aileen M. Gunther	Democratic	Yea
103	AM Kevin A. Cahill	Democratic	Yea
104	AM Jonathan G. Jacobson	Democratic	Yea
123	AM Donna A. Lupardo	Democratic	Yea
128	AM Pamela J. 'Pam' Hunter	Democratic	Yea
129	AM William B. 'Bill' Magnarelli	Democratic	Yea
137	AM David F. Gantt	Democratic	Yea
140	AM Robin L. Schimminger	Democratic	Yea
149	AM Sean M. Ryan	Democratic	Yea
48	AM Simcha Eichenstein	Democratic, Conservative	Yea
1	AM Fred W. Thiele Jr.	Democratic, Conservative, Independence, Working Families	Yea
26	AM Edward C. 'Ed' Braunstein	Democratic, Independence	Yea
49	AM Peter J. Abbate Jr.	Democratic, Independence	Yea

92	AM Thomas J. 'Tom' Abinanti	Democratic, Independence	Yea
119	AM Marianne Buttenschon	Democratic, Independence	Yea
11	AM Kimberly Jean-Pierre	Democratic, Independence, Working Families	Yea
40	AM Ron Kim	Democratic, Independence, Working Families	Yea
91	AM Steven Otis	Democratic, Independence, Working Families	Yea
93	AM David Buchwald	Democratic, Independence, Working Families	Yea
109	AM Patricia A. Fahy	Democratic, Independence, Working Families	Yea
110	AM Phillip G. 'Phil' Steck	Democratic, Independence, Working Families	Yea
10	AM Steve Stern	Democratic, Independence, Working Families, Women's Equality	Yea
16	AM Anthony 'Tony' D'Urso	Democratic, Independence, Working Families, Women's Equality	Yea
136	AM Jamie Romeo	Democratic, Independence, Working Families, Women's Equality	Yea
32	AM Vivian E. Cook	Democratic, Liberal	Yea
35	AM Jeffrion L. Aubry	Democratic, Liberal	Yea
41	AM Helene E. Weinstein	Democratic, Liberal	Yea
84	AM Carmen E. Arroyo	Democratic, Liberal	Yea
61	AM Charles D. Fall	Democratic, Reform	Yea
6	AM Philip R. 'Phil' Ramos	Democratic, Working Families	Yea
22	AM Michaelle C. 'Mickey' Solages	Democratic, Working Families	Yea
25	AM Nily D. Rozic	Democratic, Working Families	Yea
36	AM Aravella Simotas	Democratic, Working Families	Yea

42	AM Rodneyse Bichotte	Democratic, Working Families	Yea
44	AM Robert C. Carroll	Democratic, Working Families	Yea
47	AM William Colton	Democratic, Working Families	Yea
56	AM Tremaine S. Wright	Democratic, Working Families	Yea
65	AM Yuh-Line Niou	Democratic, Working Families	Yea
71	AM Alfred 'Al' Taylor	Democratic, Working Families	Yea
74	AM Harvey Epstein	Democratic, Working Families	Yea
76	AM Rebecca Seawright	Democratic, Working Families	Yea
77	AM Latoya Joyner	Democratic, Working Families	Yea
78	AM Jose Rivera	Democratic, Working Families	Yea
86	AM Victor M. Pichardo	Democratic, Working Families	Yea
113	AM Carrie Woerner	Democratic, Working Families	Yea
125	AM Barbara S. Lifton	Democratic, Working Families	Yea
127	AM Albert A. 'Al' Stirpe	Democratic, Working Families	Yea
31	AM Michele R. Titus	Democratic, Working Families, Liberal	Yea
21	AM Judy Griffin	Democratic, Working Families, Reform, Women's Equality	Yea
23	AM Stacey G. Pheffer Amato	Democratic, Working Families, Women's Equality	Yea
146	AM Karen McMahon	Democratic, Working Families, Women's Equality	Yea
143	AM Monica P. Wallace	Democratic, Working Families, Women's Equality, Working Families Party of New Yorl	Yea
15	AM Michael A. Montesano	No Party Affiliation	Yea
2	AM Anthony Palumbo	Republican	Yea
62	AM Michael Reilly	Republican	Yea
121	AM John J. Salka	Republican	Yea

124	AM Christopher S. 'Chris' Friend	Republican	Yea
133	AM Marjorie L. Byrnes	Republican, Conservative	Yea
7	AM Andrew R. Garbarino	Republican, Conservative, Independence	Yea
114	AM Daniel G. 'Dan' Stec	Republican, Conservative, Independence	Yea
134	AM Peter A. Lawrence	Republican, Conservative, Independence	Yea
139	AM Stephen M. 'Steve' Hawley	Republican, Conservative, Independence	Yea
148	AM Joseph M. 'Joe' Giglio	Republican, Conservative, Independence	Yea
107	AM Jacob C. 'Jake' Ashby	Republican, Conservative, Independence, Reform	Yea
116	AM Mark Walczyk	Republican, Conservative, Independence, Reform	Yea
145	AM Angelo J. Morinello	Republican, Conservative, Independence, Reform	Yea
19	AM Edward P. 'Ed' Ra	Republican, Conservative, Independence, Tax Revolt	Yea
12	AM Andrew P. Raia	Republican, Conservative, Independence, Working Families	Yea
9	AM Michael LiPetri	Republican, Conservative, Reform	Yea
64	AM Nicole Malliotakis	Republican, Conservative, Taxpayers	Yea
144	AM Michael J. Norris	Republican, Independence	Yea

Senate vote record for the plastic bag ban prohibition, sorted by vote³⁹

30	Sen. Bill Perkins	Democratic, Working Families	Did Not Vote
6	Sen. Kemp Hannon	Republican, Conservative, Independence Party	Did Not Vote
61	Sen. Michael H. Ranzenhofer	Republican, Conservative, Independence Party	Did Not Vote
1	Sen. Kenneth P. LaValle	Republican	Nay
2	Sen. John J. Flanagan Jr.	Republican, Conservative, Independence Party	Nay
4	Sen. Philip M. 'Phil' Boyle	Republican	Nay
24	Sen. Andrew J. Lanza	Republican	Nay
41	Sen. Susan J. 'Sue' Serino	Republican, Conservative, Independence Party	Nay
43	Sen. Daphne Jordan	Republican, Conservative, Independence, Reform	Nay
45	Sen. Elizabeth O'Connor 'Betty' Little	Republican, Conservative, Independence Party	Nay
46	Sen. George A. Amedore Jr.	Republican, Conservative, Independence Party	Nay
47	Sen. Joseph A. Griffo	Republican, Conservative, Independence Party	Nay
48	Sen. Patricia A. 'Patty' Ritchie	Republican, Conservative, Independence Party	Nay
49	Sen. James Nicholas 'Jim' Tedisco	Republican, Conservative, Independence, Reform	Nay
50	Sen. Robert E. 'Bob' Antonacci II	Republican, Conservative, Independence Party	Nay
51	Sen. James L. Seward	Republican, Conservative, Independence Party	Nay

³⁶ S 1508 - Prohibits Retail Stores from Using Plastic Bags. (2019, April 12). Retrieved from https://votesmart.org/bill/26326/66979/ prohibits-retail-stores-from-using-plastic-bags

52	Sen. Frederick J. 'Fred' Akshar II	Republican, Conservative, Independence Party	Nay
54	Sen. Pamela A. 'Pam' Helming	Republican, Conservative, Independence Party	Nay
55	Sen. Rich Funke	Republican, Conservative, Independence Party	Nay
56	Sen. Joseph E. 'Joe' Robach	Republican, Conservative, Independence Party	Nay
58	Sen. Thomas F. O'Mara	Republican, Conservative, Independence Party	Nay
59	Sen. Patrick M. Gallivan	Republican, Conservative, Independence Party	Nay
60	Sen. Christopher L. 'Chris' Jacobs	Republican	Nay
61	Sen. Michael H. Ranzenhofer	Republican, Conservative, Independence Party	Nay
62	Sen. Robert G. 'Rob' Ortt	Republican, Conservative, Independence Party	Nay
9	Sen. Todd Kaminsky	Democratic	Nay
10	Sen. James Sanders Jr.	Democratic	Nay
18	Sen. Martin Malave Dilan	Democratic	Nay
20	Sen. Jesse E. Hamilton	Democratic	Nay
25	Sen. Velmanette Montgomery	Democratic	Nay
31	Sen. Marisol L. Alcantara	Democratic	Nay
36	Sen. Jamaal T. Bailey	Democratic	Nay
37	Sen. George S. Latimer	Democratic	Nay
38	Sen. David S. 'Dave' Carlucci	Democratic	Nay
21	Sen. Kevin S. Parker	Democratic, Working Families	Nay
26	Sen. Daniel L. Squadron	Democratic, Working Families	Nay
27	Sen. Brad M. Hoylman	Democratic, Working Families	Nay

28	Sen. Liz Krueger	Democratic, Working Families	Nay
29	Sen. José M. Serrano	Democratic, Working Families	Nay
33	Sen. Gustavo Rivera	Democratic, Working Families	Nay
35	Sen. Andrea Stewart-Cousins	Democratic, Working Families, Independence Party	Nay
44	Sen. Neil D. Breslin	Democratic, Working Families, Independence Party	Nay
63	Sen. Timothy M. 'Tim' Kennedy	Democratic, Working Families, Independence Party	Nay
3	Sen. Monica R. Martinez	Democratic, Working Families, Women's Equality	Yea
5	Sen. James F. Gaughran	Democratic, Working Families, Women's Equality	Yea
6	Sen. Kevin Thomas	Democratic	Yea
7	Sen. Anna Monahemi Kaplan	Democratic, Working Families, Women's Equality	Yea
8	Sen. John E. Brooks	Democratic	Yea
9	Sen. Todd Kaminsky	Democratic	Yea
10	Sen. James Sanders Jr.	Democratic	Yea
11	Sen. John C. Liu	Democratic	Yea
12	Sen. Michael N. Gianaris	Democratic	Yea
13	Sen. Jessica Ramos	Democratic, Working Families	Yea
14	Sen. Leroy G. Comrie	Democratic	Yea
15	Sen. Joseph P. Addabbo Jr.	Democratic	Yea
16	Sen. Toby Ann Stavisky	Democratic	Yea
17	Sen. Simcha Felder	Democratic	Yea
18	Sen. Julia Salazar	Democratic	Yea
19	Sen. Roxanne Jacqueline Persau	d Democratic	Yea

20	Sen. Zellnor Myrie	Democratic, Working Families	Yea
21	Sen. Kevin S. Parker	Democratic, Working Families	Yea
22	Sen. Andrew S. Gounardes	Democratic	Yea
23	Sen. Diane J. Savino	Democratic, Working Families, Independence Party	Yea
25	Sen. Velmanette Montgomery	Democratic	Yea
26	Sen. Brian P. Kavanagh	Democratic, Working Families	Yea
27	Sen. Brad M. Hoylman	Democratic, Working Families	Yea
28	Sen. Liz Krueger	Democratic, Working Families	Yea
29	Sen. José M. Serrano	Democratic, Working Families	Yea
30	Sen. Brian Benjamin	Democratic	Yea
31	Sen. Robert Jackson	Democratic, Working Families	Yea
32	Sen. Luis R. Sepulveda	Democratic	Yea
33	Sen. Gustavo Rivera	Democratic, Working Families	Yea
34	Sen. Alessandra Biaggi	Democratic, Working Families	Yea
35	Sen. Andrea Stewart-Cousins	Democratic, Working Families, Independence Party	Yea
36	Sen. Jamaal T. Bailey	Democratic	Yea
37	Sen. Shelley B. Mayer	Democratic	Yea
38	Sen. David S. 'Dave' Carlucci	Democratic	Yea
39	Sen. James G. Skoufis	Democratic, Working Families, Reform, Women's Equality	Yea
40	Sen. Peter B. Harckham	Democratic	Yea
42	Sen. Jen Metzger	Democratic, Working Families, Women's Equality	Yea
44	Sen. Neil D. Breslin	Democratic, Working Families, Independence Party	Yea

53	Sen. Rachel May	Democratic, Working Families	Yea
63	Sen. Timothy M. 'Tim' Kennedy	Democratic, Working Families, Independence Party	Yea
8	Sen. John E. Brooks	Democratic	Yea
12	Sen. Michael N. Gianaris	Democratic	Yea
14	Sen. Leroy G. Comrie	Democratic	Yea
15	Sen. Joseph P. Addabbo Jr.	Democratic	Yea
16	Sen. Toby Ann Stavisky	Democratic	Yea
17	Sen. Simcha Felder	Democratic	Yea
19	Sen. Roxanne Jacqueline Persaud	Democratic	Yea
32	Sen. Ruben Diaz Sr.	Democratic	Yea
34	Sen. Jeffrey D. 'Jeff' Klein	Democratic	Yea
11	Sen. Tony Avella	Democratic, Independence Party	Yea
53	Sen. David J. 'Dave' Valesky	Democratic, Independence Party	Yea
13	Sen. José R. Peralta	Democratic, Working Families	Yea
23	Sen. Diane J. Savino	Democratic, Working Families, Independence Party	Yea
1	Sen. Kenneth P. LaValle	Republican	Yea
3	Sen. Thomas D. 'Tom' Croci	Republican	Yea
4	Sen. Philip M. 'Phil' Boyle	Republican	Yea
7	Sen. Elaine R. Phillips	Republican	Yea
24	Sen. Andrew J. Lanza	Republican	Yea
60	Sen. Christopher L. 'Chris' Jacobs	Republican	Yea
39	Sen. William J. 'Bill' Larkin Jr.	Republican, Conservative	Yea
40	Sen. Terrence Murphy	Republican, Conservative, Green Party, Independence Party, School Choice	Yea

2	Sen. John J. Flanagan Jr.	Republican, Conservative, Independence Party	Yea
5	Sen. Carl L. Marcellino	Republican, Conservative, Independence Party	Yea
22	Sen. Martin J. 'Marty' Golden	Republican, Conservative, Independence Party	Yea
41	Sen. Susan J. 'Sue' Serino	Republican, Conservative, Independence Party	Yea
42	Sen. John J. Bonacic	Republican, Conservative, Independence Party	Yea
43	Sen. Kathleen A. 'Kathy' Marchione	Republican, Conservative, Independence Party	Yea
45	Sen. Elizabeth O'Connor 'Betty' Little	Republican, Conservative, Independence Party	Yea
46	Sen. George A. Amedore Jr.	Republican, Conservative, Independence Party	Yea
47	Sen. Joseph A. Griffo	Republican, Conservative, Independence Party	Yea
48	Sen. Patricia A. 'Patty' Ritchie	Republican, Conservative, Independence Party	Yea
50	Sen. John A. DeFrancisco	Republican, Conservative, Independence Party	Yea
51	Sen. James L. Seward	Republican, Conservative, Independence Party	Yea
52	Sen. Frederick J. 'Fred' Akshar II	Republican, Conservative, Independence Party	Yea
54	Sen. Pamela A. 'Pam' Helming	Republican, Conservative, Independence Party	Yea
55	Sen. Rich Funke	Republican, Conservative, Independence Party	Yea
56	Sen. Joseph E. 'Joe' Robach	Republican, Conservative, Independence Party	Yea

57	Sen. Catharine M. 'Cathy' Young	Republican, Conservative, Independence Party	Yea
58	Sen. Thomas F. O'Mara	Republican, Conservative, Independence Party	Yea
59	Sen. Patrick M. Gallivan	Republican, Conservative, Independence Party	Yea
62	Sen. Robert G. 'Rob' Ortt	Republican, Conservative, Independence Party	Yea
49	Sen. James Nicholas 'Jim' Tedisco	Republican, Conservative, Independence, Reform	Yea





39 Broadway, Suite 1740 New York, NY 10006 212.871.6899

info@theblackinstitute.org www.theblackinstitute.org

f theblackin
@theblackinst
theblackinstitute

