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9		May 02, 2018
10		Start: 12:12 p.m. End: 2:12 p.m.
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12	HELD AT:	Council Chambers - City Hall
13	BEFORE:	COUNCIL MEMBER ESPINAL
14		
15	COUNCIL MEMBERS:	
16		Rory I. Lancman Andrew Cohen
17		Alan N. Maisel Deborah L. Rose
18		Eric A. Urich
19	APPEARANCES:	Casey Adams Chair for Consumer
		Affairs and Business Licensing and
20		the Justice System
21		Scott Levy Special Council to the Criminal Defense Practice
22		Sergio De La Pavo New York County
23		Defender Services
24		

1	COMMITTEE ON JUSTICE SYSTEM JOINT WITH COMMITTEE ON CONSUMER AFFAIRS AND BUSINESS LICENSING		
2	APPEARANCES (cont.)		
3	Catherine Gonzalez - Staff Attorney at Brooklyn Defender Services		
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5	Elizabeth Bender - Legal Aid Society's Decarceration Project		
6	VICTOR HARARA[SP?]		
7	Sin Min Wan - staff attorney at the Community Development Project of the Urban Justice Center		
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9	Amanda Perez		
10	Elena Weissmann - Director of the Bronx Freedom Fund		
11	Bianca Tylek - Director of the Corrections Accountability Project at the Urban Justice Center		
12	Meir Con - representing union Local 32BJ		
13	Alex Anthony - Director of Queens Operations at the Bronx Freedom Fund		
14	Nick Encalada-Malinowski - Vocal New York		
15 16	Peter Goldberg - Brooklyn bail fund		
17	Michelle Esquenazi		
18	Steven Zalewski - Vice President of the New York State Bail Bond Association		
19	June Rogers - Director for Victims Outreach through the alliance for safe communities		
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COUNCIL MEMBER ESPINAL: [Gavel] Good afternoon. My name is Rafael Espinal I am the Chair of the Consumer Affairs and Business Licensing Committee. want to thank my colleagues Chairman Lancman with the Justice System Committee for making this joint hearing possible. Today we'll be hearing INTRO 724 and INTRO 510A. 724 is a Local Law to amend the administrative code of the city of New York in relation to requiring the bail bond businesses make certain disclosures. Bail bond businesses are bad actors who have been known to exploit members of vulnerable and underprivileged communities. We call upon the state to make much needed amendment to the New York's Bail Bonds Laws but until then, the City Council is committed to doing what it can to combat the practices of these unscrupulous businesses. The use of commercial bail bond agents is a unique practice that only exists in the U.S. and the Philippines. Along with cash bail it is the most common form of securing release in New York City. While data is scarce it is estimated that approximately 11,000 New Yorkers use commercial bail bonds each year. When a judge orders a commercial bail bond as a form of bail, the defendant or someone

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acting on their behalf secures the bond payment by paying a nonrefundable fee to commercial bail agent and providing collateral which should be returned after the finalization of the case if the defendant has made all of their court appearances and compliant with any other condition of their bond. As a forprofit business bail bond companies charge a fee for securing the bond, but New York State Law limits the amount that agents can charge for this premium. Generally, around 10% of the bail amount. While state law specifically prohibits the charging of additional fees, many bail bond companies circumvent these laws and charge illegal fees. Recently, the Department of Consumer Affairs filed an action against bail bond agent Marvin Morgan and the company that employed him for using these illegal tactics. Marvin Morgan has been illegally charging extra fees designed to look like add on services. For example, he would charge up to \$1,000 for courier services, despite the law clearly prohibiting such fees. also often failed to return collateral to consumers. He did not provide consumers with copies of the bond paperwork and provided misleading or inaccurate receipts. While state law governs the use of bail,

COMMITTEE ON JUSTICE SYSTEM JOINT WITH COMMITTEE ON CONSUMER AFFAIRS AND BUSINESS LICENSING 1 2 there is more the City can do to protect consumers. Their pretrial experience is a particularly stressful 3 time for the defendant and their loved ones and 4 securing a bail bond can be especially burdensome. 5 They should do whatever necessary to secure the 6 7 release of the defendant and it makes these consumers particularly vulnerable to predatory and acceptive 8 practices from bail bond agents. This is why we're 9 hearing these bills today which will require bail 10 bond businesses to provide consumers with one, a bill 11 12 of rights. Two, proper contract and receipts and 13 three, other relevant information necessary to equip consumers to know their rights and make complaints if 14 15 necessary. We look forward to hearing from the 16 administration, industry reps, and advocates to learn more about the recommendations regarding INTRO's 510A 17 18 and 724. Before we begin, I would like to acknowledge the members of my Committee on Consumer 19 20 Affairs who have joined us. We have Councilman Peter Koo from Queens and we also have Council Member 21 2.2 Debbie Rose from Staten Island who's in Rory 23 Lancman's committee and he will be joining us in a few minutes to give testimony on the bills as well, 24

but I believe we can begin with DCA.

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CITY CLERK: Please raise your right hands. Do you affirm to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth before this committee and answer Council Member questions honestly?

CASEY ADAMS: Good morning Chair Espinal and members of the committees on Consumer Affairs and Business Licensing and the Justice System. My name is Casey Adams and I am the Director of City Legislative Affairs for the New York City Department of Consumer Affairs. I am joined today on this panel by our Deputy General Counsel Michael Tiger and by Staff Counsel Glenna Goldis. We would like to thank you for inviting DCA to testify about Introductions 510A and 724. Both of which relate to the regulation of the for-profit bail bond industry in New York City. DCA supports both of these bills and we commend their sponsors, Speaker Johnson as well as Chairs Lancman and Espinal as well as the members of both committees for focusing on an issue that has a crucial impact on the lives of vulnerable New Yorkers. Today, I will offer brief comments about possible adjustments that we think would strengthen these proposals and enhance DCA's ability to ensure that consumers are armed with the information they

COMMITTEE ON JUSTICE SYSTEM JOINT WITH COMMITTEE ON CONSUMER AFFAIRS AND BUSINESS LICENSING 1 2 need to protect themselves and to hold businesses that wrong them accountable. New Yorkers are forced 3 to turn to the for-profit bail bond industry at 4 moments of desperation. When a loved one is behind 5 bars and counting on them for help getting home. 6 7 Bail can run into thousands of dollars often requiring far more money then the average New Yorker 8 can produce unexpectedly and at a moments notice. 9 According to recent reports, the for-profit bail bond 10 industry has grown to a size of \$14 billion 11 12 nationally by offering these people in need the 13 opportunity to bring their loved one's home in 14 exchange for a percentage of the bail amount and 15 temporary posting of collateral by the consumer. 16 Large insurance companies called Surety's issue the 17 bonds posted in court. They control bail bond agents 18 through webs of contracted managers. Bail bonds agents do the work of actually arranging transactions 19 20 with desperate consumers. It is these low-level bail bond agencies which often operate out of neighborhood 21 2.2 store fronts clustered around court houses that are 23 the most visible part of the for-profit bail bond industry. Unfortunately, the services provided by 24

this industry have all to often been accompanied by

COMMITTEE ON JUSTICE SYSTEM JOINT WITH COMMITTEE ON CONSUMER AFFAIRS AND BUSINESS LICENSING 1 2 deceit, deception, and abuse of those who come for help when they are at their most vulnerable. 3 Surety's and bail bond agents must be licensed by the 4 New York State Department of Financial Services more 5 commonly known as DFS. State Law imposes a number of 6 7 requirements on bail bond agents, the most important of which is the limit on the premium or compensation 8 that maybe charged for posting a bond or property as 9 bail. According to data obtained from DFS data base, 10 there are currently 20 business entities licensed as 11 12 bail bond agents operating a total of 29 offices 13 around New York City. In addition, there are 84 14 individuals licensed as bail bond agents in our city. 15 These entities and individuals work with 25 Surety's 16 registered with DFS. All but four of those Surety's 17 are headquartered states other than New York. 18 Because bail bond agents are the individuals and companies that consumers interact with directly and 19 20 trust with their collateral and pay premiums in compensation to at exchange for services, they are 21 2.2 the source of many of the complaints about 23 unacceptable practices in the industry. Unlike DFS, DCA does not have broad regulatory authority over the 24

for-profit bail bond industry. However, companies

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involved in this industry like all businesses that engage in consumer transactions in New York City are covered by the cities consumer protection law. CPL which DCA enforces prohibits deceptive or unconscionable trade practices. In February DCA invoked this authority to bring an action in New York State Supreme Court against bail bond agent Marvin Morgan as well as the Surety's and management companies that worked with him for engaging in deceptive and unlawful trade practices. In our complaint DCA alleges numerous violations of the CPL including repeatedly and persistently deceiving consumers by charging illegal fees in access of the compensation cap failing to refund collateral to consumers after bail had been discharged, refusing to provide consumers with the required documentation of transactions and providing incomplete or misleading information on receipts. We are asking the court to award almost \$60,000 in fines and restitution for 16 consumers and to establish a restitution fund for affected consumers who may come forward in the future. While we only will able to discuss this case in general terms today because the litigation is still pending, DCA is proud of this action.

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filing of this case puts all corporate insurance companies, management companies, and bail bond agents on notice that illegal and exploitative behavior will not be tolerated by DCA. I will now turn to Introductions 510A and 724 which would arm consumers with information about their rights and the legal responsibilities of entities engaged in a for-profit bail bond industry and give DCA new tools to ensure the consumers are educated and informed. Introduction 510A sponsored by Chairs Lancman and Espinal, require the bail bond businesses to post a disclosure informing consumers of the premium and compensation limit imposed by state law. addition, it requires DCA to establish a complaint mechanism for consumers to report violations of this law and refer any complaints received to the New York's Police Department for investigation. DCA strongly supports this effort to give consumers the information they need to protect themselves and guide complaints to the agency and power to take action when consumer harm occurs. We would like to offer the Council a few brief suggestions that we think will clarify and strengthen the proposal. First, we think the bill would benefit from giving DCA greater

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flexibility to specify the content of the required disclosure by rule. Currently, the bill includes language that must be included on the disclosure and cannot be modified except by law. Revising the bills language to specify the substantive points the disclosure must cover a minimum and allowing DCA to update or add information by rule would give the department the flexibility to ensure that this disclosure stays up to date with changes in state laws and rules. This approach is already taken in similar disclosures requiring other industries and we believe this change would make the law more responsive to any future changes in the legal landscape. Next, DCA supports the development of robust complaint mechanisms. In deed this is something we do for all of the laws we enforce, and we want to make sure the consumers are directed to the government agency that is best equipped to help them in the first instance. It is all too easy for a consumer who has passed between different agencies at different levels of government to become discouraged and just give up on getting help because DFS is the entity charged by state law with licensing bail bond agents, they are better positioned then DCA to

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respond to complaints on a routine basis. We believe that the Council shares these understandings and these goals. As the other bill, Introduction 724 mandates that DCA's Consumer Bill of Rights directs consumers to file complaints with the appropriate city and state agencies. Under both bills, DCA would continue to refer any and all complaints that fall outside our jurisdiction to the correct agency. Of course, if DCA were to discover particularly egregious cases of deceptive practices. We would also conduct our own investigation and evaluate all appropriate remedies as we have done in the past and in the case, we've mentioned earlier. DCA looks forward to working with the Council on our suggestions and others we will hear from advocates today as INTRO 510A moves through the legislative process. I will now turn to the second bill Introduction 724. INTRO 724 sponsored by Speaker Johnson provides consumers of the for-profit bail bond industry with information regarding their rights and basic information about the businesses and individuals to whom they turn for help bringing a loved one home. Specifically, the bill requires bail bond businesses and those that refer consumers to

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these businesses for a fee depose and distribute to customers a Bill of Rights to be developed by DCA. In addition, the bill requires covered entities to provide consumers with a copy of all documents they sign. As with INTRO 510A we strongly support this effort and will offer suggestions on strengthening the bill for the Councils consideration. First, we are glad to see that the bill requires bail bond agents to provide a detailed receipt at the time of the transaction. During the investigation that led to our February case, DCA attorneys found that some bail bond agents either refused to provide receipts all together or provide receipts with incomplete or inaccurate information. Without detailed and accurate records of a transaction, it is very difficult for consumers to hold bail bond agents accountable. We think that this provision could be strengthened by requiring more specific information about a transaction. For example, the amount of a bond, the name of the Surety that issued the bond, a description of collateral, a security and a clear statement of any money paid to a third party and the purpose for that payment. This change could be accomplished either by amending the bills language or COMMITTEE ON JUSTICE SYSTEM JOINT WITH COMMITTEE ON CONSUMER AFFAIRS AND BUSINESS LICENSING giving DCA the authority to specify additional

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required information by rule. Requiring bail bond agents to provide detailed receipts will help consumers both to protect themselves from harm in the first place and to seek effective redress when they are harmed. Second, we suggest that bail bond businesses be required to retain an initialed copy of each consumer Bill of Rights. Requiring an initialed copy of the Consumer Bill of Rights be retained as is done in other industries with these types of documents like paid income tax preparers and secondhand car dealers, will help ensure that each consumer is given the chance to review the document and give DCA an important tool for holding businesses accountable if a consumer later complains. Similarly, we believe that businesses should be required to keep detailed records of transaction documents and receipts for a period of years and make them available to the department upon request. While these entities are already required to keep certain records as well as produce receipts as I described earlier under DFS rules, these mandates are not currently enforceable by DCA. Codifying robust

recordkeeping and receipt provisions in local law

COMMITTEE ON JUSTICE SYSTEM JOINT WITH COMMITTEE ON CONSUMER AFFAIRS AND BUSINESS LICENSING will help DCA investigate and remedy consumer harm as well as monitor compliance with new requirements. DCA would like to thank both committees for the opportunity to testify before this joint hearing. Through our recent investigation we saw first hand how certain players within the for-profit bail bond industry prey on vulnerable New Yorkers desperate to help bring their loved ones' home. Speaker Johnson and Chairs Lancman and Espinal should be commended for shining a spotlight on this complex and important issue. We support the attentive Introductions 510A and 724 and appreciate the chance to offer suggestions on how they could be clarified and strengthened. We look forward to discussing these suggestions and other minor technical amendments in

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COUNCIL MEMBER ESPINAL: Thank you. Before we move forward, I just want to acknowledge that we've been joined by Brand Lander from Brooklyn, Margaret Chin from Manhattan, Karen Koslowitz from Queens and Rory Lancman has some words to say on his bill.

greater detail with the Council. Thank you very much

and I will be happy to take all your questions.

COUNCIL MEMBER LANCMAN: Now I'll ask a couple questions if that's alright.

COUNCIL MEMBER ESPINAL: Okay.

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COUNCIL MEMBER LANCMEN: Good. Thank you very much for your testimony and I appreciate the ideas that you have for improving the bill. They are good ideas. I look forward to working with you. One aspect of the recommendation that you make though is that complaints should be directed to DFS and I understand their role in regulating. Can you just tell me in what circumstances would Department of Consumer Affairs intervene where the bail bondsman was not doing what they were supposed to do and when would DFS handle it? So, we can understand that, and I would like to get your assessment on how you think DFS is doing regulating this industry because that would inform my willingness to direct people to complain to them.

CASEY ADAMS: Sure, so as a matter of regulatory authority as it stands now and then I will speak to what it would look like if these bills were to become law. As it stands now, the only regulatory authority that DCA has here is under the Consumer Protection Law. So, if something that a bail bondsman is doing rises to the level of a deceptive practice under that law, we can begin an investigation and build a case

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to bring an action and that's something that we've done as we described in the Marvin Morgan case but as you eluded to the state DFS is the licensing entity So, the enforcement of particular provisions of state law is entirely within their authority. these bills were to become law, the new requirements local are something that we would enforce, and we would definitely want to get complaints on. So, if someone were to fail to post a Consumer Bill of Rights, if they were to not post a sign with the information about their business that would be required, that's something that DCA could issue a violation against that agent for and that's something that we could enforce by means of our patrol inspectors who go out to store fronts and check for compliance with Local Laws and Regulations. think the balance would shift and where these bills to become law and I think its important to know that we find in other areas that if there is noncompliance with requirements like posting a sign or a disclosure, we often find that there are deeper problems with that business. And so, I think that we will come by information that is very useful to our enforcement of the Consumer Protection Law through

COMMITTEE ON JUSTICE SYSTEM JOINT WITH COMMITTEE ON 1 CONSUMER AFFAIRS AND BUSINESS LICENSING 2 the enforcement of the requirements that your bills 3 would add. COUNCIL MEMBER LANCMEN: Your assessment of how 4 well DFS is responding to complaints? 5 CASEY ADAMS: So, I can't speak to DFS. I think 6 7 we're focused on what these bills would add in terms of benefits for consumers and protection for 8 consumers. I will note that in the Marvin Morgan 9 case that we brought, the DFS did revoke that agents 10 11 license before our action was filed. 12 COUNCIL MEMBER LANCMEN: So, my Chief of Staff 13 and Council whose much smarter than I am reminded me 14 that in the controllers report it seems to be DFS's 15 position is that if a bail bondsman is operating 16 without a license that DFS no longer has jurisdiction 17 over them to well you know, pull their license that 18 they don't have. Does that sound right to you? Are you familiar with that from Controller Stringers 19 20 Report? 21 CASEY ADAMS: So, we have reviewed Controller 2.2 Stringers report. 23 COUNCIL MEMBER LANCMEN: Wait what? Have.

CASEY ADAMS: We have reviewed it, yes.

COUNCIL MEMBER LANCMEN: Okay.

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CASEY ADAMS: Along with several other reports that were submitted to us by advocates. On that particular question about DFS's interpretation of its legal authority in the case that a business is operating unlicensed, I'm not in a position to weigh in on that but we can follow up with you about that afterward.

COUNCIL MEMBER LANCMEN: So, I do look forward to trying to work this out and I appreciate the openness that you bring to the issue but for me, for us, I think that's going to be kind of something that we really need to dive into and what is DFS supposed to do versus what you're supposed to do and making sure that people don't get lost in the crack there. My last question, you know I was in the state legislature as Chair Espinal was and when you come to the Council you realize there are limitations on your jurisdiction. You have to get creative. Has anyone thought about recognizing as a deceptive practice any violation or any substantial violation of the substance of rules and regulations that govern what a bail bondsman can do? Another words, that over charging beyond the statutory guidelines or charging a fee that is not supposed to be charged, do those

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all count — isn't every violation of the State

Statute, the State Regulations, DFS's Regulations,

isn't it a deceptive practice also and can we use

that deceptive practice concept to get more oversight

of the bail bonds industry?

CASEY ADAMS: So, I'd like to be careful because as I noted earlier we have a pending case under the Consumer Protection Law, which is the deceptive practices provision that your referencing and I think that it would be helpful if we shared with you the complaint in that case to understand some the legal theories that we're using under our Consumer Protection Law to get at some of these practices but at a broad level, I think that there are avenues that we're actively exploring that area. We're happy to detail them for you after this hearing.

COUNCIL MEMBER LANCMEN: Good, I look forward to that, thank you.

COUNCIL MEMBER ESPINAL: Thank you. Margaret.

COUNCIL MEMBER CHIN: Thank you. You know in my district I have because we're at the courts and so there are these bail bond agencies advertising.

That's what they do. So, the DCA right now, do you send undercover inspectors to these bail bond

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businesses to see if they are engaging foreign practice such as requiring additional charges for services?

CASEY ADAMS: So, I think noted earlier Council
Member under the current legal regime DCA doesn't
have direct regulatory authority of these businesses
outside of just the general consumer protection law
and so we will — if we are alerted to or learn of in
our investigations just potential deceptive
practices, we'll pursue those by appropriate
investigative methods and if we believe that there is
a strong case we'll bring an action but right now, we
don't use patrol inspectors for these businesses
because the only tool at our disposal is the Consumer
Protection Law which really requires time intensive
attorney driven actions.

COUNCIL MEMBER CHIN: So, if a consumer has a complaint, if they were taken advantage of and they go to DCA and file a complaint then you would go and investigate?

CASEY ADAMS: Yes, we do initial screening of all complaints through our consumer services division and if they felt it was appropriate to refer that to an attorney in the General Counsel's office, that

COMMITTEE ON JUSTICE SYSTEM JOINT WITH COMMITTEE ON CONSUMER AFFAIRS AND BUSINESS LICENSING attorney would then look further into the matter and evaluate appropriate remedies. So, the answer is yes.

COUNCIL MEMBER CHIN: Okay, so if an individual or a family right now DCA would be the only agency that they would contact if they feel like their being taken advantage of?

CASEY ADAMS: No, they could contact the State

Department of Financial Services and in fact the

legal authority and jurisdiction of the DFS is much

greater than DCA in this area because they are the

licensing entity and we do know that many consumers

direct their complaints there because they have legal

powers that are not within our grasp.

COUNCIL MEMBER CHIN: But how would they find that out? I mean there's no signage or whatever right now being posted at these bail bond place?

CASEY ADAMS: There are certain requirements under State Regulations about what documentation needs to be provided to a consumer, as I noted in my testimony. We can follow up with you about what exactly those are and what exactly a consumer sees pursuant to State Laws and Rules right now.

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COUNCIL MEMBER CHIN: And also, do they receive that in different languages?

CASEY ADAMS: I don't know the answer to that question off the top of my head as it's a State Regulation, but we'll find out for you but to your broader point, I think that the reason we agree with what you're getting at here which is that the consumer needs more information then they currently have and that's why we're supporting both these bills.

COUNCIL MEMBER CHIN: Thank you. Yeah, because they're getting people at a most vulnerable moment that they would just do whatever they can to try to help their family and that's when they get taken advantage of and I think with the legislation that my colleagues you know, providing that would definitely give the consumer more protection and information in terms of what they can do. Thank you Chair.

COUNCIL MEMBER ESPINAL: On average how many complaints does DCA receive regarding bond bill agents?

CASEY ADAMS: At the moment we don't break out our complaints for this industry because it comes in as a general consumer protection law complaint, so we

don't have that information available but were these bills to become law we would obviously reconfigure our complaint system to key it to specific violations that are being added.

COUNCIL MEMBER ESPINAL: Are there any trends or specific violations that you see are common when you receive a complaint?

CASEY ADAMS: Our entry into the space is relatively recent as I noted the case that we're working on now in Supreme Court was only brought in February, but we found a number of what we will leave our deceptive practices in that case and we're happy to share that information with you to get a better sense of what we found in our investigation.

COUNCIL MEMBER ESPINAL: But so, the agency doesn't believe that more needs to be done to protect consumers and there is an issue across the industry?

CASEY ADAMS: We do believe that more needs to be done to protect consumers and that's why we're supporting both bills.

COUNCIL MEMBER ESPINAL: Alright, thank you. Thank you, your free to go. [LAUGHTER]

CASEY ADAMS: Thank you.

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COUNCIL MEMBER ESPINAL: Alright, next panel we have Elizabeth Bender, Sergio De La Pava, Scott Levy, Catherine Gonzalez. We're going to ask for three minutes on the clock. Can we get three minutes on the clock? And you may begin.

SCOTT LEVY: Thank you. My name is Scott Levy, I am Special Council to the Criminal Defense Practice at the Bronx Defenders. Thank you to both committees for the opportunity to testify today. For decades, New York's bail system has been dominated by the forprofit commercial bail bond industry. In moments of intense crisis when a loved one has been arrested and is threatened with pre-trial incarceration, people are forced to navigate a predatory system designed to exploit their anxiety and their desperation to obtain liberty for friends and family members. Bail bond companies operate largely in the shadows with no transparency, accountability, or meaningful recourse for their frequent violations of the law. impunity with which they operate inevitability leaves to abuses, charging legal fees, improperly retaining collateral and causing unnecessary delays of detention by delaying the posting of bonds and even when they operate within the law. Bail bondman

COMMITTEE ON JUSTICE SYSTEM JOINT WITH COMMITTEE ON CONSUMER AFFAIRS AND BUSINESS LICENSING extract millions of dollars from vulnerable New York City families, overwhelming from low income communities of color every year. This tax on freedom is both immoral and unnecessary. We applaud the Council for attempting to bring some transparency and accountability to a system that for too long has taken advantage of our clients, their families and our communities and that is why we are proud to support the two bills before the council today. these proposals highlight the accesses of the commercial bail bond industry however, they can not resolve the fundamental tension inherent in the system. A profit driven industry should have no role in determining any one's liberty or freedom. Every day, the Bronx defenders hear stories from our clients and their families about their experiences with the commercial bail bond industry. They're almost uniformly negative. People must navigate a confusing and opaque system, an opaque system with little or no assistance. There are no guides or rating systems to help people figure out which companies are trust worthy, responsive, or ethical. In deed the process seems designed to keep people in

the dark. The offices of most bail bondsman provide

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little or no information about the bond process or the rights of family members seeking those bonds. Frequently, prospective Surety's are not even given copies of the contracts they are required to sign nor are they given explanations of the [inaudible 29:24] illegal fees that are added to their bills. Bail bond agents regularly operate under multiple business names with various phone numbers all leading to the same office making comparison shopping virtually impossible. This lack of a transparency encourages Though the law provides that premiums abuses. charged by a bail bondsman may not exceed certain statutory limits inclusive of any additional fees. Bail bond companies regularly charge extra fees in violation of state insurance law. Because our clients, families, and friends are desperate to get their loved ones out of jail and because consumer rights information is overwhelmingly absent or hidden from view they often have no realistic option but to pay these fees. We regularly hear stories of bail bond companies illegally retaining collateral after a case is over. Refusing to return phone calls until our clients, families, and friends simply give up on trying to recover their money or property. Delays in

3 regular occurrence. Leading to many unnecessary days

the posting of commercial bail bonds are also a

4 in jail. In one Bronx defenders case, the family of

a 16-year-old client paid a bail bond company but the

6 bond agent never posted the bond with the court.

After a number of days passed without any action or response, the Bronx Freedom Fund agreed to post the

9 bail.

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COUNCIL MEMBER ESPINAL: I'm sorry, we do have to keep as close to the clock as possible.

SCOTT LEVY: Yes, I will end just by saying that this industry is completely unnecessary under existing state law. The bail laws of the state already provide multiple alternative forms of bail that would make this industry obsolete and we encourage the council to support efforts to increase the use of alternative forms of bail until

SERGIO DE LA PAVA: Thank you. My name is

Sergio De La Pava with New York County Defender

Services. I agree that it's an unnecessary industry

but its one that has gained just tremendous

prominence through kind of just force of habit. So,

the situation New York County Defender Services

comprehensive bill reform is passed. Thank you.

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obviously we're in Manhattan and we represent a great many indigent people yearly and in the overwhelming majority when our clients go in front of a judge for a bail determination, the judge is setting bail in only one of two forms, either cash or these commercial bail bonds. Now obviously the vast majority of our clients do not have a great ability to post cash. So, what has happened whats developed, and whats becoming trenched is an incredible reliance on this industry and this balance of power has been noticed by them and is right for abuse and that's the situation we're in right now. So, clearly, we applaud both of the proposals as a means of bringing to light a great many of the abuses that my client's families constantly are bringing to me and our attorneys. Things like as has been pointed out, a delay in posting the bond for no good reason. Posting the bond or not posting the bond because the client has a hold, that means they're not going to be released but yet still not keeping the fee even though you have in no way risk losing anything since the client was never released and obviously would of necessity have been there for the next court date.

It all stems from this intrench practice by judges

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and maybe other stakeholders are to blame for not pushing the many other alternate forms of bail that are out there. But I've been coming to testify before you all for a couple years where we have tried to stress that there are these other forms of bail and I've seen no appreciable improvement in terms of utilizing these other forms of bail and I think that our efforts to educate the judiciary to educate the other stakeholders while laudable has not had the tangible effect I would have hoped. One solution would be to eliminate the industry all together, and that's what I'm in favor of but in the alternative at a minimum, the statute our state statute and I understand that's not the providence necessary to this hearing, should be amended to require that judges put forth three forms of bail. That would ensure that things like unsecured bonds and partially secured bonds start to be used in meaningful in This would cause essentially competition for senses. the commercial bail bond industry. That's balance of power that I spoke of earlier would become a little bit less aggravated and that would in essence result in them either providing a genuine service to our client communities or just going out of existence

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because nobody is using them. So, I applaud the Council for both of these measures. I just think something deeper is going to be required at the state level to truly remove this injustice. Thank you.

CATHERINE GONZALEZ: Good afternoon. My name is Catherine Gonzalez, I'm a Staff Attorney at Brooklyn Defender Services. I'm in both the Criminal Defense Unit and the -

COUNCIL MEMBER ESPINAL: Is your mic on?

CATHERINE GONZALEZ: Can you hear me now?

COUNCIL MEMBER ESPINAL: That's it.

CATHERINE GONZALEZ: Okay. Thank you for the opportunity to testify before you with regards to the harm that's brought by commercial bail bonds to our clients and their families. PDS urges the Council to pass both of these provisions, 510 and 724 to mitigate some of the harm that has been brought forth before the committee today and to increase transparency for clients and families. In our testimony, we do detail some key amendments that we believe are necessary to achieve the Council's goals. Importantly, I do want to highlight that we believe there is no legitimate justification for commercial bail and we believe it is a twisted and predatory

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financial transaction that is prohibited in nearly every other country and that's for a very good reason. Today I want to focus on stories of the people that we represent. I want to tell you about Ms. Jay, she is the mother of one of our clients. She went to previously mentioned Marvin Morgan bail bonds to get her son bailed out of Rikers. She was very nervous for him because this was his first There was a bond that was set at \$1,000 but arrest. according to state law, that company was allowed to charge her \$100 in premium work or compensation and that money was money that she new she would not get back. Regardless of what happened with the case, but the company charged her \$300 instead. They said, \$100 for the premium and \$200 in what they called career fees to have the paperwork delivered. courier in the case was Lightning Courier Services and they were registered with the reprimand state at the same address as the bail bonds Marvin bond and we have had other clients that have paid as much as \$1,000 in courier fees as well to the same courier. So, in this case the Marvin's company didn't bail our client out until about five days later. We have spoken with DFS and the regulator in charge of

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overseeing bail bonds businesses said that, they're position is that there is no charge for overseeing bail bonds - there is no statutory requirement that bail bonds agent actually bail anybody out and there is certainly no deadline by which they have to bail somebody out and the day before Ms. Jay's son, our client was supposed to appear in court was when he was actually bailed out. We also have another case where Ms. W. went to ABC Bail Bonds to get her son out of Rikers, he suffered from serious mental health issues and addiction and she paid a lot of money up front and with that case, briefly if I can just tell you he ended up being, after he was released, taken to a psychiatric institution and he was hospitalized and the bail bondman company went to the hospital, had him brought back to court, exonerated the bail and kept a lot of money that his mom had put together with the help of her community to bail him out. Siting these other courier fees and other fees that they are allowed to do under the current law. So, we do support both of the Introductions. We do have some amendments that we would like you to consider in our testimony. Thank you for the opportunity to testify today.

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ELIZABETH BENDER: Good afternoon. My name is Elizabeth Bender, I'm an attorney with the Legal Aid Society's Decarceration Project and I thank both committees for having us here today. First, I think its important that we acknowledge that the context in which these bills arise. Despite months of high profile talk about bail reform happening in Albany, New York State steel jails presumptively innocent people who cannot pay for their freedom and that is our states humanitarian crisis right now. The advocates that your hearing from today will not rest until meaningful bail reform is a reality, not just a talking point or a bargaining chip. But as long as there is cash bail in New York, its our job to make sure that it is fair and that it is transparent, and the bail bond industry is neither of these things. That's why its so important for this Council to not just adopt whats in these bills but to make their provisions even stronger. The purposed bills to a lot to educate customers and create meaningful mechanisms for complaints when bond agents break the law. These are huge steps towards stemming the massive transfer of wealth from communities of color to the pockets of commercial bond agents but both

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bills need to be strengthened to more completely informed consumers and to create more meaningful enforcement mechanisms. Two concrete suggestions I want to talk about now are to - The first one is to INTRO 510A, we think it should be expanded so that investigations are not just referred to the NYPD. When bond agents steal collateral, their committing a crime and crimes are already under the NYPD jurisdiction. Requiring a referral only to the police doesn't create any additional capacity or duty to investigate something. The Attorney General, DFS, DCA, are equally well suited if not more so to handle certain instances of consumer fraud. Like the ones we see happening at the hands of these bond agents. So, we think that they should receive those referrals to and that the language of the bill should be expanded to say that referrals be made to all applicable state and city agencies. The bill should also include a reporting requirement to make sure that this council is aware of how many referrals are being made and whats being done about them. Second, if a bond agent violates either the rules and these bills, or any other state or city laws, that agent should be required to post that information along

with the flyer required by INTRO 724. If a New York restaurant has to disclose a failed health inspection because of an unclean kitchen before selling me a slice of pizza, a bond agent should have to announce that he has unclean hands before taking thousands of dollars from New Yorkers who are trying to get their loved ones out of jail. My last request to echo my colleagues is that this Council use its considerable platform to address the judiciaries role in the bail bond industry. There is no legal preference for commercial bail bonds over what have become to be called alternative forms of bail that are bail paid directly to the court. They serve the same purpose as commercial bail bonds. They motivate an accused person to return to court or risk losing the full bond amount, but they eliminate the costly predatory middle man. Judges could end the reliance on the bail bond industry today by simply setting bail in a slightly different form and this Council should encourage them to do that. Thank you.

COUNCIL MEMBER ESPINAL: Thank you very much in particular for looking at the bill carefully with those recommendations.

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ELIZABETH BENDER: And there is more in the written testimony from I think many of us to.

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COUNCIL MEMBER ESPINAL: Good, well I appreciate Well, the Council staff and certainly my staff it. will follow up and maybe include you in the conversation, well certainly include you in the conversations we have with DCA because those are some good suggestions. First, let me just make sure that you know, and the public knows. We are as frustrated as you are when it comes to moving the judiciary. God bless them to use all of the tools that are at their disposal and so right now as a result of Council funding FERA[SP?] is doing a pilot project in the Bronx and Queens where they are providing judges with more information about the defendant's ability to deploy or use or vail themselves of the other mechanisms of bail. So, we are doing that and hopefully we'll get some good feedback from that pilot program and then expand that as well. You know we're all kind of chipping away at this monster of cash bail with the tools that we have. seems promising so stay tuned. I don't think it just you to maybe rattle off some of the kinds of excessive and impermissible fees and scams that you

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have seen your clients have to deal with. I keep hearing about the infamous courier fee, are there other things like that? Its like you go to a car dealership and at the end you look at what your paying for and its always things you really have no idea what they are. What are some of the things that you're seeing?

to return collateral which isn't even a hidden fee.

Once the case is over, I have a former client who was acquitted a year ago next week in a jury trial and has not seen a penny of the collateral that his wife put up after he spent four days on the boat waiting for her to contract with a bond agent. So, that's one type of abuse.

CATHERINE GONZALEZ: We've also seen conversion or transformation of some of the fees into non-refundable fees so in one of the cases I was talking about with ABC bond where they apprehended our client from the hospital and then got the bill exonerated, they charged mom an apprehension fee. So, they charged her \$5,000 that was supposed to be returned to her and said, this is money that we are now using to I guess, pay the bounty hunter that went to get

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him at the hospital and again, in that instance they should have just called mom who was the person who posted the bail to find out that he was at the hospital and that was the reason why he didn't check in with them.

I will tell you one thing I SCOTT LEVY: personally experienced will be a bondsman posting the bond and then immediately inventing new conditions that was not discussed with the customer. example, an ankle monitor and when there is any kind of objection to this new condition that was again, never discussed prior to taking the fee, they will go in front of the judge and say, withdrawal the bond, client goes back, they keep the fee. This all happening in the space of less than a week. They've taken no genuine risks, they've invented out of whole cloth a new condition and then when the customer, lets call it, objects they go in front of the judge and the client gets returned to jail and they keep the fee and at least in their view broken the law in any way but its an abuse. Its an abuse of power and its in bad faith in my opinion.

SERGIO DE LA PAVA: I would echo at what my colleagues have said and just highlight that the

CONSUMER AFFAIRS AND BUSINESS LICENSING

taking of collateral and the retention of collateral,

the wrongful retention of collateral is a problem

that we see all the time, but the taking of large

amounts of collateral also provides an incentive to

COMMITTEE ON JUSTICE SYSTEM JOINT WITH COMMITTEE ON

7 either hyperregulate our clients in that course and

the bail bondsman to during the course of a case,

8 convert collateral into fees. So, when there is

9 collateral taken, there is a huge incentive to sort

10 of manufacture reasons to then take that collateral

11 at the end of the case.

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SCOTT LEVY: Its their way around the limitation on what they can charge. They just call it collateral and its just another round around the limitation on their fees.

COUNCIL MEMBER ESPINAL: Thank you. Oh sorry, let me just mention we've been joined by Council Members Maisel, Powers and Lander — oh Lander's been here. [LAUGHTER] Just very quickly can someone just walk us through the process of what an individual needs to go through in order to secure bail through one of the bond industries for those who are watching and don't understand? So, the judge sets bail for \$20,000. The individual doesn't have the money to put up — cash to pay the \$20,000? What do they do?

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ELIZABETH BENDER: So, let's start with the accused person isn't the one that's contracting directing with the bond agent at that point, its their family right and very frequently its mothers. So, the mother let's say in this example, goes to a bond agents office and says, my relative is in jail you know, my child is in jail, here is what the bail is, and the bond agent reviews the case. They pull up information from publicly available websites. They you know, listen to the details that the mom can provide and then they present her with a contract and there's this you know premium, this fee that's regulated by the insurance law to graduated equation that dictates the cap on all fees that can be charged. Again, you can call it whatever you want. Courier fee, apprehension fee, it is capped by these insurance laws. That's going to be owed to the bond agent. That's their fee for undertaking the risk for doing the work that's not refundable. Then there is the collateral on top of that that also has to be paid that is refundable at the end of the case. bond agent collects that money and draws up a contract, mom signs it. Then it's up to the bond agent. They have to go to court, get the bond signed

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and then depending on how they work, either they go directly you know to post the bond and have the client be released or they're going to send a courier and I know Scott, you mentioned these delays and sort of posting. You want to talk about how that happens?

SCOTT LEVY: Sure, and before I do that I would note that the actual experience of posting a bond often you know, our clients and their families have no quide about which bond business maybe ethical or not. They are generally walking down a sidewalk and picking a store front and when they go into those store fronts, there's often nothing on the wall. There's no information, there is a plexiglass window and the transaction between the person and the person behind the plexiglass window is completely opaque and bewildering to most people and the requirements for an individual person in an individual case are never really properly explained to our client's families. Then, once the bond has been - the contract has been signed, again as we heard, there is no regulation about when that bond then must be posted. The bond agent must go before a court to post the bond, but there is no - often there's no sense of urgency there at least on the side of the bail bond company whereas

COMMITTEE ON JUSTICE SYSTEM JOINT WITH COMMITTEE ON CONSUMER AFFAIRS AND BUSINESS LICENSING

on our client's family side, there is always a sense of urgency and we have seen time after time, days pass between the signing of the contract and the posting of the bond. And clients, very young clients are an example that I provided, the 16-year-old client sat on Rikers for close to a week without any information coming back from the bond company until the family actually had to rely on a nonprofit bail fund to do the work that they had actually paid the

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bond company to do.

COUNCIL MEMBER ESPINAL: So, what we're also seeing is that they're also tapping into the collateral aside from regulated fees and charges.

SCOTT LEVY: Yes, and so they'll take that collateral and then throughout the course of the case will find opportunities to charge the clients family for sort of arbitrary things that come up or that they manufacture during the course of a case.

COUNCIL MEMBER ESPINAL: Alright, thank you.

ELIZABETH BENDER: Can I just add that an important part of that conversation when a contract is actually executed, is that — or more importantly not part of a conversation, is that the contract may include terms like check ins, curfews, phone

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appointments, things like that that serve on at first bash serve a rational purpose, but you know, in 2011 The Times interviewed several bond agents who admitted that you know the criminal procedure law as it currently stands, allows a bond agent to forfeit, to surrender the person that they've secured release for. For any reason, there's not even a good cause requirement. Tennessee for example, has a good cause requirement, we don't. Its arbitrary and its capricious and these two bond agents that The Times interviewed said, yeah, exploitation happens, and they said you know, we feel bad about it but if our boss says surrender that person, we have to do it and its these terms that act as a trip wire for that, for our clients many times. Where they miss curfew one day because maybe of an excellent reason, but the bond agent says, you know what, I'm tired of underwriting this bond. I'm gonna surrender you and they end up back at Rikers and you know, if and when they get the collateral back maybe the family can post another bond but that's not always the case.

COUNCIL MEMBER ESPINAL: Well, thank you for all the work you do on behalf of all these families. I appreciate it. Well we have more questions. Brad.

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COUNCIL MEMBER LANDER: Thank you to both Chairs here and especially thanks to you guys for the work that you do everyday and for shining a light on this and then bringing it for us. You know, I hope you hear that while we are considering these two bills, which obviously I certainly support, and I appreciate Rory and the Speaker bringing them. The horror of the broader industry of wealth-based attention is whatever - we share your outrage about it. I want to just make sure I understand this issue of even without reforming the state law and even where judges are still setting bail, what you spoke about at the end that they could be doing to prevent exploitation within the - if you could just elaborate on that a little it would help.

ELIZABETH BENDER: Sure, so Massachusetts

provides a pretty straight forward template for this.

Starting in the 1980's it was sort of starting to be

well chronical there. That that the bond industry

was incredibly abusive and the judges in

Massachusetts, just as a group, stopped setting bail

bond or really what specifically they did was never

set cash bail that was more expensive then the

collateral a bond agent would require. So, there was

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no longer an incentive to go to the bond agents and they essentially went out of business and now they're outlawed but for 30 years, it was just sort of a de facto practice on the ground. New York State Law provides for nine forms of bail. Commercial bonds are only one. No one form has any preference over another. There's nothing stopping judges from never setting a commercial bail bond again. They could set cash in a partially secured bond which serves the exact same purpose. It takes a small deposit from the accused or their family and the loss of which and the liability for the larger bond is a big motivator to come back to court and they don't lose the nonrefundable fee. You take out this middle man.

COUNCIL MEMBER LANDER: Who writes those partially secured bonds? How do you get those?

ELIZABETH BENDER: They're a contract directly between the Surety who's generally going to be a family member of the accused person and the court.

So, its all executed in court by a judge or a clerk.

Everything is out in the open, the contract terms are clear, and regulated very clearly by the Criminal Procedure Law and again, our law requires judges to set two forms. It is just custom and practice that

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causes them to set cash bail and bond and you know,

Council Member Lancman mentioned the Vera Institute,

they did a study last year on these alternative forms

of bail which is the term I reject. There is nothing

alternative about them except that people have acted

like they didn't exist since 1970 but they could be

used far more expansively you know, what Vera is

great as far as raising the profile doing really

important studies to provide good hard data, but

these are just as effective at bringing people back

to court as insurance company bail bonds.

COUNCIL MEMBER LANDER: Are those partially secured — is that happening anywhere in the New York system right now?

ELIZABETH BENDER: I hear anecdotally its not practiced day to day in the Bronx. I hear anecdotally that Bronx judges are setting them with a lot more regularity then they used to. So, I think they are gaining traction, but it is a slow uphill battle.

COUNCIL MEMBER LANDER: That's true although the Vera Institute actually did a three-month study of alternative forms of bail across the city. The Bronx is the place where they are most commonly used but in

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that three-month period I believe the number of partially secured and unsecured bonds that were issued were about 54. City wide in that three-month period, there were only 99 of them. So, while there has been movement we're talking from nothing to a drop in the bucket. You know one of the major hurdles. There's two sorts of major hurdles to the use of these alternative forms of bail. One is just a culture that has built up around the commercial bail bond industry and the other is just logistical. It has to do with the paperwork that the court clerks are required to do when the court itself is taking the bond rather then the bail bond industry. Largely, what has happened is that the courts have externalized the cost of the paperwork to the bail bond industry and the light on the bail bond industry to do the paperwork but all at the expense of our clients and their families, right. There are all of these other costs that come with that that we're here today to highlight.

CATHERINE GONZALEZ: And I just want to quickly add if I can, its my experience that we ask for Council be known as alternative forms of bail, all the time. When I'm in arraignments, I ask for them

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al the time and I try to prearrange with my client's family all of the paperwork and fill out as much as I can to provide incentive to the court. Like look, this is really, really easy and it can happen right now, but I have myself heard multiple judge's kind of justify the not granting of these other forms of bail because they don't know them, or they don't understand them as well and I have heard judges say, this is the business of bail bondsman, like just go to bail bondsman, they know what their doing. We as a court, don't know what their doing. This business is better equipped to handle this then the court and that's a misconception that should be tackled.

COUNCIL MEMBER LANDER: And remember that when we're saying two forms of bail, we're really speaking about one because nobody who can afford to pay the cash would go to a bail bondsman. So, its really one — they have a monopoly and its on our client communities in terms if you want to see your son be released from Rikers, you must deal with us.

COUNCIL MEMBER ESPINAL: Mr. Chair, I wonder if we could think about and I don't know if we've ever done a resolution into judges as opposed to other forms of you know, executives or legislatures, but

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maybe we could look in this instance at doing an accompanying resolution to these pieces of legislation you know, asking judges to consider these alternative forms and communicating that to them. Obviously, that's not the power that we need in to make this reform, but it might be an addition step worth looking at in addition to this package of very good legislation. My last question Scott is for you because in the course of this hearing and its slightly off topic, but in the course of this hearing someone called my attention to this thread that you guys tweeted the other day about a client of yours that you were posting bail for and this problem of people being held longer then blocked from your access even though there is a Council law that supposed to not let corrections hold people in transit and that's not being followed by correction. So, since you guys are here and since that's our law, if you can cast light any of you on what that issue is and what attention we should be paying to it, it would be helpful.

COUNCIL MEMBER LANDER: Sure, I can briefly cover that. You know this Council passed a package of bills designed to address some of the issues

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around bail payment and release and I think it is safe to say that progress has been uneven in making those bills a reality. It is true that it often takes hours, many, many hours for someone to be released once bail is paid or the bond is posted. There are delays really at every point during that process and it has been highlighted, corrections often rely on fax machines to do a lot of it work. So, there are delays inherent in the system and those delays and the cost associated with them always fall on the backs of our clients often through hours of unnecessary detention. Thank you. Thanks Mr. Chair.

SPEAKER LANCMAN: Alright, thank you very much.

Let me mention we've been joined by Council Member

Ulrich from Queens and our next panel Victor

Harara[SP?] from Just Leadership, Sin Min Wan[SP?],

from the Justice Center, Amanda Perez, Bail bond

afford accountability coalition. Thank you and as my

co-Chair Council Member Espinal returns, I have to

excuse myself there is a budget negotiating team

meeting that is starting five minutes ago, and I got

to be there if I want to fight for all these good

criminal justice reform projects. Thank you all very

much. Chair Espinal.

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COUNCIL MEMBER ESPINAL: Thank you. You may begin. State your name for the testimony.

VICTOR HARARA[SP?]: Hi, my name is Victor Harara and today I provide testimonies that directly impact the individual who has experienced the abuses with the bill industry and the criminal justice system. An incredible marking platform that allows predatory discriminatory practices of this private industry to go unchecked. I'm a member of Just Leadership USA and to close Rikers and Free New York Campaign to transform our criminal justice systems. Our priority is to decarcerate the jails that are filled with people who have been subjected to discriminatory policies and penal provisions. jails are filled with young adults and adults alike who are majority black and Hispanic. Closing Rikers and reducing jail populations with fair judicial process is what Just Leadership demands. Leadership is an organization of directly and indirectly to impacted people who peacefully campaign and organize to expose the discriminatory and predatory criminal justice policies that treat people of certain classes differently. If we are to accomplish the closer such barbaric jails such as

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Rikers and reduce the jail and prison population, many city and state level policies must be reformed to constitute the right to the consumption of innocence must be stored and pretrial detention much be eliminated. We must ensure a decent and humane approach of treatment of the poor vulnerable communities. We treat our citizens as if they are cattle or a commodity to serve the money-making purposes of corporations. A clear message must be sent by the City Council that New Yorkers will not be treated as a product for profit making purposes, but rather our citizens to be treated equally and fairly in all our affairs as a United States. To accomplish our efforts here nationwide we as a city should demonstrate the importance of this effort by raining in and controlling the practices that permit for jail population to grow under the predatory bail industry and we must overhaul the bail industry by providing regulatory oversite and consumer protection. Bail is a serious factor considered in issue stages of criminal process and more importantly the presumption of innocence is seriously undermined when bail is set at levels that cannot be met by poor and minority men and women of color. We must mobilize at all levels

of government to end the practice of making people

3 pay for their freedom and end cash bail entirely.

INTRO's 510 and 724 are good starts that over time

5 and consideration could lay a good foundation for

further reforms and protection for all people fairly

7 and equally. Thank you.

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SIN MIN WAN: Good Afternoon. My name is Sin Min Wan and I'm a staff attorney at the Community Development Project of the Urban Justice Center. consumer justice practice group of CDP represent low income consumers who have face of issues such as unscrupulous dept collectors and fraudulent business practices. While others have testified to reasons why the commercial bail bond system is unnecessary evil, we as consumer advocates who focus on the burden and injustice inflicted upon bail bond customers and their communities. Who are these bail bond customers? They are innocent New York City residents operating as consumers in the bail bond marketplace. They are the ones who knowing that their loved one are behind bars seek out bail bond agents to assist in obtaining their loved one's freedom. At this stressful time, these consumers are extremely vulnerable to the tactics that unscrupulous

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bail bond agents use to freeze them of the limited resources. All these tactics are illegal, and it has made it impossible to bring unethical bail bond justice agents in court, because almost none of these bail bond transactions are properly recorded. bail bond agents often request multiple signatures on multiple documents from consumers, the consumers are invariably denied a copy of whatever documents that executed. As a result, the consumer often has no proof of the amount of money they paid, what their money paid for, what they are intitled to in return, what they will be responsible for if they are accused of just to have jumped bail or who is the entity responsible for returning the collateral when a case Typically, because there's no paper proof, any of the above it has made it impossible for love ones to obtain any relief from the court of law when they have been taken advantage of by bail bond agents. However, bail bond agents often miraculously produce these documents when they sue a consumer in Civil Courts if a defendant is charged to have jumped bail. DFS has said that because these are contracts therefore, they cannot regulate them. We are here today because we believe the New York City Council

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can help fix this issue. Moreover, we believe that the New York City Council has a responsibility to fix this issue. For far too long bail bond agents in this city has gone largely unregulated and they have taken this vacuum of office site to prey on consumers of impunity. The New York City Council can start by passing INTRO 510A and 724. Making sure that there is clear signage in each and every bail bonds office to let consumers know what their rights are when obtaining a bail bond and where they can seek assistance when and if those rights are violated. They can ensure that every consumer who walks out of a bail bonds office with a bail bond for their loved ones, also walks out with written contract fully detailing the responsibilities of both parties in a language that the consumer can actually understand. INTRO 510A and 724 mostly aims at disclosure of Consumer Rights from bail bond agents. If the bail bond agents are not following their laws, they have nothing to hide. I'm sure you're aware the overwhelming majority of criminal defendants in New York City are members of the low-income committees of colors. So, to are their loved ones. The consumers who try to obtain their freedom to commercial bail

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While the [inaudible 1:05:01] calls to these communities is astronomical. The damages caused to this communities in the forms of innocent people in jail because they cannot afford bail bonds. In the form of families not being able to afford rent or basic necessities because large amount of money has gone to unscrupulous bail bond agents. These damages are integrable. We ask that you not to wait for [inaudible 1:05:20] to decide on bail bond reforms that may or may not happen. We ask you not to assume that the state laws and regulation in place of being followed or enforced at the state level and we ask you to start reversing damages caused to low income communities of colors by this industry in New York City today. Thank you.

AMANDA PEREZ: Thank you for the opportunity to even share the experience that I went through with my brother. My name is Amanda Perez, I work as a real estate agent in the Bronx. My brother Dillon is 20, although I am his sister, I could raise him like a son. In July of 2017, my little brother Dillon was arrested on a gun possession charge. A gun possession charge was being held at Rikers Island. His bill was \$40,000 an amount my family could not

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afford and so we signed the contract with the bail bonds company in the Bronx. They agreed to post his bail and in turn we have to pay a \$2,600 fee and then give them \$3000 for collateral. I do not make a lot of money and so I have to use all of my savings and I also borrowed from loved ones to scrape together the \$3,000 plus and other fines to pay. According to our contract with the bail bonds agent, I would be returned the collateral if my brother voluntarily returned to court for his hearings. From early July to late September of 2017, my brother was out on bond. During this time, he made all of his appearances and check in with the bail bonds every In September, my brother made a mistake. was not mentally healthy, he was depressed, and he panicked easily. When he came for one of his hearings he saw the detectives that had arrested him initially and thought that they were going to take him back to Rikers. He got scared and ran away. I immediately called the company to explain and they assured me that they would do everything to make sure that Dillon stayed out on bond as long as I got him back to court. I frantically called my brother and once he realized his mistake, he returned to court a

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few hours later. The part was closed for the day, so the bail bonds representative said that we could come back the next day. Dillon agreed, and he and I went to court together the next day to appear before the judge, but as soon as he walked into the court house, Dillon was ambushed by two bounty hunters in the elevator who were waiting for him in the court. A few days later at his bond reinstatement hearing, the judge offered to reinstate the bond, but the bonds representative said no. They were no longer willing to post his bond and wanted it exonerated. instead he went back to Rikers. From the beginning of the process, representatives of the bail bonds company lied to me. First, I was told to contact someone who allegedly worked for a nonprofit agency that would be able to help me as an attorney in securing my brothers release. That was not true. The person the company recommended I speak with was in fact a bounty hunter who threatened to garnish my wages and have my real estate license suspended if I do not do what the company told me to do. Second, rather then help reinstate my brothers bail, as they promised, the bail bonds company hired bounty hunters to apprehend him. When the judge on my brothers

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hearing offered to reinstate the bill, the bail bonds company refused and instead requested that the bail be exonerated. Companies like this do not help families in need. They capitalize on the people's vulnerabilities for monetary gain. After my brother's bail was exonerated, and he was taken into police custody, the bail bond agent refused to over turn my collateral that I provided even though my brother voluntarily returned to court for his hearing. The bail bond agent claimed that the collateral would be kept as compensation for his expenditures related to apprehending my brother, but the bail bond agent was fully aware that there were no expenditures needed to apprehend my brother. bounty hunters that apprehended my brother did so in the court house after my brother voluntarily appeared for his hearing. The bail bond agent even stated in court that my brother had voluntarily returned. approached the bond company at a very vulnerable time for me and my family. I was pregnant, terrified of the legal and financial consequences I was facing and worried for my brother's safety. The company took advantage of my position and preyed on my insecurities. The \$3,000 that the bond refuses to

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return is a significant amount of money for me and my family. More than that, my brother who trusts me more than anything in this world came to believe that I betrayed him as a result of how the bail bonds company behaved. What the bail bonds company got away with and continues to get away with is simply

unfair and unjust. [APPLAUSE]

COUNCIL MEMBER [?] Ms. Perez, I see the DCA assistant commissioner is still here. Can she file a complaint with DCA and can DCA investigate that case to help her get some of that money back? Yeah, I think that would great — Have you filed a complaint with anyone Ms. Perez?

AMANDA PEREZ: Its something that I'm working on. Its something that I am working on.

COUNCIL MEMBER [?] Okay, so maybe you could talk to the commissioner of DCA and see if DCA can also help investigate the case.

AMANDA PEREZ: Okay, thank you.

COUNCIL MEMBER ESPINAL: Well, thank you for sharing your story and I'm sure its not easy and your information will be very helpful to guide us on how to best move forward. So, thank you I appreciate it.

AMANDA PEREZ: Thank you.

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COUNCIL MEMBER ESPINAL: I want to call up the next panel, we have Elena Weissmann, Bianca Tylek, Meir Con, Alex Anthony, and Nick Encalada-Malinowski. You may begin.

ELENA WEISSMANN: Good afternoon. Thank you to both committees for the opportunity to testify here. My name is Alana, I'm the Director of the Bronx Freedom Fund. We are a community bail fund which since 2007 has paid thousands of bails and fought for an end to the system that requires us to exist. We're the first licensed charitable bail organization in New York. We would be required and thrilled to comply with both of these bills. I'm going to speak specifically about 510A. Our work as a stop gap measure. We're focused on harm reduction so, we're paying bail for people who are incarcerated for their poverty and we're working to restore the presumption of innocence by helping people fight their cases from the outside. We work to end a system that allows finances to determine freedom and, in the meantime, we are committed to seeing this and other similar regulatory bills pass so that no person is exploited by abusive practices. Because of the role that we play as a community resource and the knowledge that

COMMITTEE ON JUSTICE SYSTEM JOINT WITH COMMITTEE ON CONSUMER AFFAIRS AND BUSINESS LICENSING 2 our staff has since we're all licensed bail bond agents. We are well positioned to equip community 3 members with knowledge of their rights when they do 4 need to approach bail bond companies to free their 5 loved ones when a lessor form or bail is not set. 6 7 do not charge our clients and we do not pay bonds, just cash bail but when our clients or their 8 neighbors cannot afford to pay a full cash amount and 9 they have no alternative but to engage with a 10 bondsman, we always provide information about maximum 11 12 premium amounts, which we will continue to do. as long as the system of wealth-based detention 13 14 exits, we will fight it and we will serve as a watch 15 dog for bail bond companies to comply with these 16 regulations until we're out of business. Given our 17 insider knowledge of the bail system, we do recommend 18 several changes to the legislation that can aid in its impact and its implementation. These changes are 19 20 outlined and are written testimony and they'll feel in the gaps that we've identified based on our 21 2.2 experience and I just want to highlight a few of 23 those changes here. First, is like my colleague said before, this conversation needs to be underscored by 24

a vision of systemic change that makes full use of

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New York States Bail Statute. Relying on most restrictive forms of bail and doing away with a system that these exploited or financial relationships are necessitated by in the first place. Second, we employ the committee to adopt a more rigorous accountability metric in the bail text. Bail bond companies in New York City extract almost \$30 million every single year in nonrefundable fees and the vast majority of their operations are underwritten by just nine multinational multibillion dollar corporations. So, a \$250 fine really amounts to less than a slap on the wrist. Especially at a time when our republican legislature is cutting consumer protections at the federal level. New York really should be leading the fight in consumer protections and against abusive industry practices and third, this is an opportunity to engage in some form of restorative justice. Any fees that are collected should be ear marked for reinvestment into the communities which have long been exploited by unregulated bail bond company practices and dedicated to racial and socioeconomic justice. So, thank you once again for your commitment to fair regulations and for the opportunity to testify. As an

COMMITTEE ON JUSTICE SYSTEM JOINT WITH COMMITTEE ON CONSUMER AFFAIRS AND BUSINESS LICENSING organization with both staff and clients who are directly impacted by this industry, we hope that our

4 testimony is taken seriously and that the committee

5 continues to push for true reform.

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BIANCA TYLEK: Good afternoon. My name is Bianca Tylek and I'm the Director of the Corrections Accountability Project at the Urban Justice Center. We are a nonprofit criminal justice advocacy organization committing to eliminating the influence of commercial interests on the criminal legal system and ending the exploitation of all those that it touches. I want to thank Chair Espinal and fellow members of both committees for the opportunity to speak with you today in favor of your efforts to regulate the commercial bail bonds industry and to strongly urge that you encourage our state legislatures to eliminate the commercial bail bonds industry and eventually money bail all together. Passing INTRO's 510A and 724 is an important step toward regulating the commercial bail bonds industry and curbing its predatory practices. Like many other industries that intentionally exploit the low-income and minority communities targeted by our criminal The commercial bail bonds industry is legal system.

COMMITTEE ON JUSTICE SYSTEM JOINT WITH COMMITTEE ON CONSUMER AFFAIRS AND BUSINESS LICENSING 1 2 long gone without oversite. It is refreshing to see New York City take interest in increasing the 3 accountability of the industry with these two bills. 4 But quite frankly these reforms are not enough. 5 Beyond the abuse of practices and illegally assessed 6 7 fees addressed by these bills is an irreparably immoral business model that draws on the limited 8 resources of economically distressed communities. 9 The only way that we will ever end massive 10 incarceration in our city or more broadly is by 11 12 routing out the industry relying on it. Money bail puts a price tag on freedom and in doing so, it 13 creates an exploitative opportunity for for-profit 14 15 driven bail bonds companies that barter with peoples 16 lives. In short, they capitalize on poverty in selling freedom at a discount but never the less, at 17 18 a detrimental cost to communities devastated by the injustice of our criminal legal system. New York 19 20 City must protect those most vulnerable low-income communities of color from these predatory companies. 21 2.2 In closing I want to share a recent experience that 23 helps put this discussion to greater perspective. Last weekend I traveled to Montgomery Alabama for the 24

opening of the National Memorial for Peace and

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Justice in the Legacy Museum of Slavery to Mass Incarceration. I was reminded that commodifying black and brown bodies is an age-old practice that goes back to our countries racist roots. Just as companies in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> Centuries sold insurance on enslaved Africans to enslavers. The commercial bail bonds industry is part of a broader effort to extract resources, wealth, and dignity from black and brown people in our community. Let us work to ensure that we are not extending the legacy of slavery with our acceptance of the commercial bail bonds industry but instead liberating our communities with its abolishment to. I urge the committee members to pass INTRO's 510A and 724 but to also look further and begin paving a road towards Albany that ends the commercial bail bonds industry throughout New York State. Thank you.

MEIR CON: Good afternoon. My name is Meir Con.

I'm representing my union Local 32BJ in this matter.

I want to thank the New York City Council and the

Committee on Consumer Affairs and Business Licensing

for holding today's hearing. On behalf of myself and

our members at Local 32BJ, we urge you to join us by

supporting two bills to reform the commercial bail

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industry. INTRO number 724 and INTRO number 510. These basic consumer protections purposed in these bills will defend ordinary New Yorkers from the predatory practices of the commercial bail bond industry. A sector that perpetuates the social and economic inequities that we as a union fight so hard to end. As cities and states work to create a more equitable and human criminal justice system, reforming the cash bail system and bail bond industry are two areas where reform is desperately needed. We're honored to be a part of this critical conversation in New York City and New York State and urge the Council to stand with us on the right side of history. As a union we are 163,000 members strong. Here in New York City we represent 85,000 building service workers who keep our cities residential buildings, schools, offices, stadiums, and airports clean and safe. We proudly fight for the rights of all of our members who are working class and people of color to live safe and help live lives with dignity and respect. According to a report by the prison policy initiative, there are nearly 650,000 people populating our local jails and 70% of those are being held pretrial. Because we

have a cash bail system here in the United States, if one can't afford to pay the sum, a person can either remain in jail until trial or use the services of a commercial bail bondsman to be able to await trial at home. When a person is at their most vulnerable and facing the possibility of awaiting trial in jail, they turn to a commercial bond company for support and help. Wealthy individuals however, do not face the same hardship. They're able to pay their bond and await trial at home. It is for these reasons that its critical for New York City to place stricter regulations on this industry. We need to ensure that in their moment of crisis, already vulnerable lowincome New Yorkers are not forced to pay unreasonably high premiums on their bonds that pushes them further into debt. Additionally, New Yorkers need to be fully informed of their own rights and whether or not the bail bond company they need to use is credible and reliable. When New Yorkers are most susceptible to exploitation, that is when we need to do everything in our power to ensure that they're not taken advantage of. Thank you for the time this afternoon.

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ALEX ANTHONY: Good afternoon. My name is Alex Anthony, I'm the Director of Queens Operations at the Bronx Freedom Fund. A nonprofit that provides cash bail assistance of \$2,000 or less to New Yorkers accused of misdemeanors who cannot afford to buy their freedom. We restore the presumption of innocence by allowing our clients to return to their jobs, families, and communities, and fight their cases from a position of freedom rather than going to jail for their poverty. Thank you for considering our testimony today. Each year, tens of thousands of New Yorkers are held in city jails simply because they cannot afford to pay bail. For many families the only way to buy a loved one's release is through the for-profit commercial bail bond industry. Commercial bail bonds now account for more than half of all bail postings in New York City. Despite the fact that New York law allows judges to set bail in nine different forms including credit card as well as unsecured and partially secured bonds, where individuals sign affidavits and post refundable fees as collateral directly with the courts, alternative aka less financially restrictive forms of bail are rarely used, and bail is almost exclusively set in

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two of the most financially burdensome forms, cash or commercial bail bond. The Bronx Freedom Fund strongly supports these bills as the powerful forprofit industry requires meaningful oversite and regulation. However, to achieve true bail reform, judges need to set the least restrictive forms of bail by utilizing these forms currently authorized under New York law. No one deserves to languish in the hellish conditions of Rikers Island or the Boat simply because they cannot afford to pay bail, especially when they are legally presumed innocent. New York judges can end the reliance on cash bail and commercial bail bonds right now. Thank you again to the Council for inviting us and for your careful consideration of our testimony.

NICK ENCALADA-MALINOWSKI: Hi my name is Nick Encalada-Malinowski. I am here today representing Vocal New York. In my work at Vocal and previously with Brooklyn Defender Services, I met with dozens of consumers who have had problems with commercial bail bonds companies. These companies have been allowed to operate virtually unregulated predatory and exploitative businesses due to a total lack of oversite and attention by every level of government.

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These consumers are left without any protections negotiating complicated, lengthy, legal contracts at a moment of acute stress while their loved one is stuck on Rikers Island and the only way to get them out is to pay money that the family does not have. If you heard already, you know the commercial bail bond industry exits in only two countries the United States and the Philippines. The rest of the world as well as several states and localities within the US has banned the industry because the profit motive is a direct conflict with aspects of liberty and equity their supposed to underpin judicial systems. According to the New York City Comp Patroller commercial bail bonds at one of the most costly and punitive aspects of the criminal legal system in New York City and yet in 2017 more than \$12,300 private bail bonds were posted in New York City Courts with a total bond value of \$268 million. The number of commercial bonds has grown 12% over the last year or last two years and the value of bonds has gone up In 1985, there was almost no commercial bonds posted in New York City Court, so it's a relatively new phenomenon that has grown recently. As we've heard the industry operates with almost no

COMMITTEE ON JUSTICE SYSTEM JOINT WITH COMMITTEE ON 1 CONSUMER AFFAIRS AND BUSINESS LICENSING 2 regulation. When you get into the back of a taxi cab in New York City, you know who your driver is. You 3 know what their license number is. You know what 4 5 your rights are. You know what their rights are. You know what number to call to make a complaint. 6 7 Same thing when you go to a grocery store and instead for a commercial bail bond industry, there is 8 literally nothing. You walk into the office, there 9 maybe the name of the company, but nothing else. 10 People routinely ask to pay legal fees, have their 11 12 collateral withheld, are given the run around when 13 their trying to get money back, often wait days and sometimes weeks after paying for a loved one to be 14 15 released from jail and then are often rearrested by 16 bail bondsman for specious violations of the contract and returned to custody while the bondsman keeps 17 18 their money. Dozens of store fronts throughout the city operate without licenses, others hide behind 19 20 different DBA's which confuses customers and as we've talked to regulators, it actually confuses the 21 2.2 regulators as well. We've had multiple - we met 23 multiple times with state regulators, the Department of Financial Services, with the Attorney General's 24

office, with state legislatures, with City Council

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members and with Department of Consumer Affairs over the past two years but the status quote largely remains. Most of the agencies particularly the state agencies, I know there was a question about DFS before, they basically told us that they don't have the capacity or the authority to regulate the industry in the way that we've asked them to. Speaking specifically of DFS, in the few instances when somebody actually knows that they can make a complaint to the state agency which you would not know really in any other way. They often will take action about a license, so maybe it's a bondsman who has a license in Virginia who's now operating in New York or something like that, but they will do almost nothing to help somebody get restitution or to get money back that's owed to them and we've also heard from them - I know you asked a question initially about unlicensed bondsman and we've gotten letters from them that basically said, this bondsman does not have a license. I cannot help you with your claim. As you heard Marvin Morgan's Bail Bonds was shut down, which is a result of advocacy from these groups, which is a very positive result but last month, I actually received a complaint from a

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consumer who had done business with a new tenant that has now replaced Marvin Morgan in that store front. Which is basically the same complaint that people were having about Marvin, so we have the same problem with just a different bondsman name attached to it. So, I guess the point of that is to say removing one bad actor did not actually practices and did not reduce the problems that we see across the industry, even if the industry was working entirely within the law, it would still be needlessly extracting millions and millions of dollars from predominantly low-income communities of color and there is really no place for the industry to exit. I'll go really quick, but just as it relates to Rikers Island, I know it's the cities policy now to close Rikers Island. All 12,300 people or almost all the 12,300 people that use the commercial bail bond last year spent some time at Rikers Island had they used an unsecured bond to be used. None of those people would have to gone to Rikers Island so it would have reduced admissions by 12,000 which would have been pretty positive. Again, the comptroller estimates about \$27 million extracted through legally allowable premiums and then we know that millions on top of that of illegal fees, ankle

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monitors, things like that and then one last suggestion is that while we support the bill and I have some recommendations for amendments. We would also recommend a resolution supporting the New York state bill. The senate bill SA146 which would ban industry throughout New York and I think its important to as we've acknowledged throughout the day, acknowledge the limitations that the City Council has in actually regulating an industry and say, we've done everything that we can. We really need the state to come in and bring some more teeth to that.

COUNCIL MEMBER ESPINAL: Alright, thank you.

Thank you for your testimony and for your insight.

Is there any public outreach that you're aware of that's being done to inform consumers about the inscrutable practices as some of these bail bond companies are doing? Is there anyone [inaudible 1:27:44] or trying to get in the front lines before they go and visit a bail bond agent?

NICK ENCALADA-MALINOWSKI: I know the Brooklyn

Community Bail Fund created a like a little pamphlet,

a booklet that does go to consumers but again as some

of the public defenders mentioned you know it's the

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people who are negotiating with the commercial bail bond people. Commercial bail bond businesses are not defendants in criminal court. So, you know even if you gave out these flyers in court, that's not necessarily going to get to the mother, the grandma who's posting the bail, so that's a challenge.

ALEX ANTHONY: Yeah, I think the other thing though with that is that's almost too late. Once the judiciary issues like cash and bail bond, that's their only option. So, even telling people and families or the accused about the abuses, you know when you let an industry out there dominate a particular field and that's the only option for freedom, your asking people to essentially be abused in that sense and a flyer is not going to help that.

NICK ENCALADA-MALINOWSKI: Yeah, and I would add also like even in the cases where we've been able to go you know with a consumer to a bail bond company and help them advocate and tell them what their rights are, people will say like my option is like leave my son on Rikers Island or get taken advantage of and they'll choose to pay the extra \$5,000 you know to get their kid out.

COUNCIL MEMBER ESPINAL: Keith.

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COUNCIL MEMBER POWERS: Thank you. I think a couple questions and thank you all for the testimony and generally the work that your doing in this area. I think I've been here for a few panels and the sort of recurring theme seems to be ability to use nine different forms of bail, practices using two, cash and commercial and I know some groups and two others have been trying to - I read their report about the other forms. Is there an effort at Criminal Court in Manhattan or anywhere else to work with the judges to look at I mean I think the challenge it sounded like on an earlier panel was the actual execution of using other forms and what might be included in terms of work load and things like that? Is that the loan challenge to looking at other forms or - and then the second question is what are the ongoing efforts to actually work with the judges that are sitting in the courts today to encourage or not inquire but encourage them to use other forms?

ALEX ANTHONY: So, I know that the Vera

Institute Pilot that was just referenced, I'm pretty
sure they did another pilot in the 90's to educate
judges about these lessor forms of bail and we're
still in the same place that we're at right now. So,

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I think as much as great as outreach is and as important as education and knowledge are, ultimately this represent a big culture shift and so, since there's not an oversight panel for judges, we're relying on a pilot program that is making a recommendation which is a good thing, but its not being followed and so — I've sat in court and watched them make recommendations on the record that are really strong and impactful and powerful but not ultimately taken into consideration.

COUNCIL MEMBER POWERS: Meaning they've asked for an alternative and the judge said -

ALEX ANTHONY: Yes, and for cash in an amount that someone can afford using a metric that they -

COUNCIL MEMBER POWERS: Like a form that they use that yeah, okay. So, but you don't know of any ongoing effort — I mean it sounds like there's been some past efforts to try to change that. What are the obstacles for them using the other forms? I mean it sounds like the last panel had made it sound like it was a paperwork issue. Are there other reasons they wouldn't want to use —

ALEX ANTHONY: Yeah, there's push back from the clerks, both in the court room and outside where

COMMITTEE ON JUSTICE SYSTEM JOINT WITH COMMITTEE ON CONSUMER AFFAIRS AND BUSINESS LICENSING people pay bail saying that they don't know how to

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fill out that paperwork or its too burdensome and that they need to have resources to do that.

NICK ENCALADA-MALINOWSKI: I think the main barrier though is culture and that judges get trained by the judge who they had before them and they just do things that way because that's the way that things have been done. There is also a lot of advocacy from the industry. You know the industry support Bar associations and works on political campaigns and things like that, so I think its just in the fabric of the system and that's what we have. But there have been I mean decades of work to train judges to not do it and its not been effective.

COUNCIL MEMBER POWERS: Got it.

ALEX ANTHONY: Yeah, I think that culture piece is massive as really the thing because its not just about not knowing how to feel out that paperwork or the paperwork somehow creating a tax on the system but also their just lack of even understanding how those other [inaudible 1:32:35] work. I mean I practice public defense in Massachusetts where there was no bail bond industry and the amount of cash bails is a fraction of what it is here.

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COUNCIL MEMBER POWERS: Got it. There's no bail bond — there's no commercial in Massachusetts today?

ALEX ANTHONY: Nope.

think Bronx stream fund. You had a comment in your testimony I wanted to ask which is that the disclosure statement purposed by a bill should indicated that consumers have a choice in what type they pay and other forms available to them, but if the judge is setting the form of bail, does that have meaning to — I was questioning whether — or to clarify if they can pay another form of bail if the judge has already set their commercial or cash or — what is that disclosure help with?

ALEX ANTHONY: For people to understand that they have a choice. I think where — like I said, like we're not paying bonds but we'll have some people call us or come to our office and say, you know my sons cash bail amount is \$2,000 when really their choices are like a \$20,000 bond or a \$10,000 cash bail and what I intended to convey in that part of the testimony was that if we're creating a disclosure that is going to be public facing, it should indicate that since two forms are bail are

COMMITTEE ON JUSTICE SYSTEM JOINT WITH COMMITTEE ON CONSUMER AFFAIRS AND BUSINESS LICENSING

required to be set, it should indicate how to find out what your options are by looking at the DOC website and looking up your loved one or whoever it may be.

COUNCIL MEMBER POWERS: Gotcha and then the other suggestion is to ensure that they know that there are refundable and nonrefundable parts of that deal.

ALEX ANTHONY: Yes.

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COUNCIL MEMBER POWERS: And then just a little bit more — sorry to — for Nick, you had some numbers, could you repeat those numbers to me about how many you said 12,300?

NICK ENCALADA-MALINOWSKI: Yeah and a lot of that is pulled from the comptroller's report on this, it came out in January. It was 12,300 bonds in 2017, so that's like the number of piece of paper that went into court.

COUNCIL MEMBER POWERS: Yeah and then what percentage of the overall — like what is that percentage wise represent?

NICK ENCALADA-MALINOWSKI: Of people who are paying bail?

COUNCIL MEMBER POWERS: Yeah.

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NICK ENCALADA-MALINOWSKI: I think it's a little over 50% now. Cash versus bail bonds.

COUNCIL MEMBER POWERS: Right, okay gotcha. And when you said the point about they all go to Rikers and they wouldn't, could you explain that point to me?

NICK ENCALADA-MALINOWSKI: So, one of the other forms of bails of unsecured bond which is basically the person is in court and says, I don't have any money on me. You know, my wallets at the police precinct. I make \$400 a week. I get paid in 10 days, if I don't show up to court — you know the judge can write a bond that says, don't give me any money today. If you don't come to court, you owe me \$2,000 and then that person just goes home. When you use a commercial bail bond, what happens is you got to call grandma, you got to get together the money, you got to go to the business which is close to the courthouse often but not in the courthouse.

COUNCIL MEMBER POWERS: Your sitting in Rikers Island until.

COUNCIL MEMBER POWERS: The family gets the money.

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NICK ENCALADA-MALINOWSKI: And the bondsman goes to court and pays, that kind of thing so some people go to Rikers Island for two days while that happens. Some people it takes a year to raise the money and do that.

COUNCIL MEMBER POWERS: And presumably the sentiment you raise is true. I would rather not be at home and have my family member at home and not be sitting —

NICK ENCALADA-MALINOWSKI: Yeah.

council Member Powers: The last question is — on a Friday there was an announcement around implementing some version on line bail payment. Just any feedback on that. I mean I've heard varying degrees of receptiveness to it. I think its up to 2,500. Any sort of quick reactions to that announcement?

ALEX ANTHONY: But there's a fee.

COUNCIL MEMBER POWERS: Like a transaction fee?

ALEX ANTHONY: So, in order for someone to qualify for online bail payment, the judge has to have credit card bail on their case which is very

COMMITTEE ON JUSTICE SYSTEM JOINT WITH COMMITTEE ON CONSUMER AFFAIRS AND BUSINESS LICENSING 1 2 rare. That's like one of the alternative forms available that we're talking about. So, we've tried 3 to pay online bail many times since its come out and 4 so far, there's been one person who we could do it 5 for. So, its not a widely implemented system. 6 COUNCIL MEMBER POWERS: So, for it to work the 7 judge would have to set credit card bail and it would 8 have to be only up to a certain amount? 9 ALEX ANTHONY: Less than \$2,500 and then there 10 is still that extra fee that's now being -11 12 COUNCIL MEMBER POWERS: And it's a fee of 2.25? ALEX ANTHONY: Almost 2.4%. 13 14 COUNCIL MEMBER POWERS: So, the extra money on 15 top of your bail. Okay, thank you for - thank you. 16 COUNCIL MEMBER ESPINAL: Thank you all 17 appreciate it. We have the last panel. Peter 18 Goldberg, Michelle Esquenazi, June Rodgers and Steven Zalewski. You may begin whenever your ready. 19 20 ever wants to go first. 21 PETER GOLDBERG: I'll go first because I think 2.2 this is a little awkward. I may work for the 23 Brooklyn bail fund. We're a nonprofit -COUNCIL MEMBER ESPINAL: Oh, so you should have 24

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been in the other panels.

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PETER GOLDBERG: Yeah, but it's cool. could be interesting. Yeah, so I gave written testimony about why we support these bails. I think you've heard from numerous advocates about deceptive practices, about a lack of regulation, in part because this is incredibly awkward, maybe what I'll talk about is even if we assume there are no deceptive practices and even if we you know, take the people sitting next to me, only charge the amounts that they're allowed to and are totally above board, commercial bail still punishes poor people right, and it always will. As Nick from Vocal mentioned around anywhere from \$16 to \$27 million dollars is being siphoned from low income communities to for-profit actors. The average bail in Brooklyn is around \$10,000. The legal fee that can be charged on \$10,000 bail is \$860. I just call out for this group that most New Yorkers do not have liquid cash for \$860 to pay incase of an emergency. That's simply beyond reach. So, to say we need to regulate the industry, absolutely. To say that bad actors should be punished, absolutely. But there is no way to have this industry operate that does not punish people. So as Nick mentioned, and I very much agree with, the

Council is somewhat limited in what it can do around commercial bail. I appreciate that you all are taking these steps. I think it would be incredibly powerful for you all to pass resolution supporting the state bail calling for the elimination of the industry. I understand that means people lose jobs. People to my right would. I would lose my job to. We should all be comfortable with the fact that this industry shouldn't exist, so thank you very much for your time.

COUNCIL MEMBER ESPINAL: You may begin, next.

MICHELLE ESQUIENAZI: Yes, good morning Mr.

14 | Speaker — is this on?

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COUNCIL MEMBER ESPINAL: I hit the right button but -

MICHELLE ESQUENAZI: Can you hear me? Good morning sir. My name is Michelle Esquenazi, I'm a lifelong New Yorker born and raised in Brooklyn New York. I am a Cuban American Immigrant. Proud to be Latina American and I am the owner of Empire Bail Bonds and I'm also the President of the New York State Bail Bondsman Association. I'm also a domestic violence survivor and a crime victim and I've always been a single mother. A consumer complaint in our

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industry is handled expeditiously by the regulators the New York State Department of Financial - DFS. Once received rather in writing or online, the DFS will immediately generate an inquiry letter asking the bail agent for supporting documents and various details about the pending matter. It is common for the DFS to have all such documents within a 15 day turn around time. Once reviewed the regulator will either ask for more information or call on the agent for questioning. As the owner of Empire Bail Bonds, its not uncommon for me to work around the clock. Moms and dads call us in the middle of the night scared and afraid and it's a big part of my job to explain the bail process from arraignment going forward. I'm very proud of the fact that judges and district attorneys and department of corrections respect who we are as an industry and as a company. One of the biggest issues that I have with bail reform as a Latino American and I would hope that people in the New York City Council would also have a very big issue with it and I've heard it a lot here today, is calling people one of my children is a biracial child, you've harkened back to calling people by the color of their skin. So, I hear a lot

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Mr. Goldberg and a lot of his friends calling people black and brown. I find that to be incredibly archaic and as a proud New Yorker, I just think it should be removed from your branded rhetoric. might want to remove that from the rhetoric. This bill that you have in front of you, we don't really have a problem with - we are above board operators and we absolutely would seek to help with a consumer bill of rights. That's never a problem so, the only part of the bill that obviously we would have a problem with is the other part referring us out as criminal offenders to the police department. We are not criminal offenders. We are insurance agents, we charge a one time premium and that premium covers that person's liberty through the final disposition of his case and in the state of New York it takes about two years to get rid of a felony case and that has nothing to do with the bail industry. everything to do with legal aid and their adjournments and all these defender organizations and their constant adjournment of cases. That has nothing to do with the bail industry whatsoever. High bails are the result of judges setting high bails. My company provides a service and it's

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important to have choices when a loved one is incarcerated. I understand that there have been actions by some unsavory characters in our industry and the fact of the matter is that there are bad actors in almost every industry. If you take a look at the legislature, if you take a look at the catholic church, you don't put the catholic church out of business because the priest does something inappropriate. The fact of the matter is there are bad operators from time to time. We as an industry do not reflect one bad operator. We have been operating in the City of New York for decades. individuals although there should be choices in bail, no question about it, we don't believe that an indigent person should linger in incarceration. help people in the city of New York every single day. Its inherent part of what we do at my company. employ tons of people from all different backgrounds and the attack on our industry today is really unfounded. The fact of the matter is sir with all do respect to your panel here today, I heard some of the people here today say that they've been testifying here for years. Well, you've never met with us and we are mom and pop shop nation and we would like to

COMMITTEE ON JUSTICE SYSTEM JOINT WITH COMMITTEE ON CONSUMER AFFAIRS AND BUSINESS LICENSING continue a dialogue with you in this regard and all others going forward.

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STEVEN ZALEWSKI: My name is Steven Zalewski. I'm the Vice President of the New York State Bail Bond Association. I also own one of the largest bail bond companies in the state Affordable Bails. We not only have offices in New York City and Long Island but throughout the state. I think its important for us to understand something that keeps being talked about here. The punitive nature of paying bail and that bail costs money. Its unfair that people presumed innocent for some reason have bail set that cost them money because they're not quilty at their presumed innocent and you have to look at that and say to yourself, do we have prophylactic punishment in the state of New York for people accused of crimes before their convicted and I can give you two instances that happen every day that we do. Someone's charged with a DWI, we take their license and their car. That's a prophylactic punishment before conviction and it's a certainly economic punishment. Domestic violence, we issue orders of protection preclude people out of their homes without any type of hearing. It happens every day. So, to

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suggest that an insurance company and that's what we are. We provide and insurance product, its nefarious for us to be paid for our services is disingenuous because everyone in this room has testified that works for a defender agency gets paid for their services in defending someone. As do most of these defender agencies are tied now to charitable bail organizations who get private funding but also use the facilities of these agencies that are paid by the city. You know the truth about the number of people who sit in jail every day, they can't afford low bails is interesting because there are studies that show numbers very different then your hearing today. In 2012, the criminal justice agency did a study and pointed out the following facts that I think you should know. 74% of the people who are arraigned, are arraigned of misdemeanors and 16% are arraigned on felonies. 50% of those people arraigned are automatically released. That number now according to controller Stringer is up to 90% in misdemeanors. takes about 48 hours for people to get bailed out for the most part. Their correct about that but you know what the problem is? That's not the bail bond industry. That's the court system. For the city

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that never sleeps, we go to sleep after the courts If a family comes to me at 11:00 at night closed. and says my son was arrested. I just found out. I got off my 3 to 11 shift, I want to bail him out. can't go bail them out in New York City. If I was in Buffalo, my agent could bail him out then. We have to use the courts to bail them out. The statutes and the law allow for bail to be posted at the jail by commercial bail bondsman. She's been in New York City, we don't do that. So, this delay in time and the number of people realistically is because of the inability for us to post bail 24 hours a day. I'm going to leave you with some important statistics. \$500 or less if you take an actual snapshot, an actual snapshot in one day in Rikers Island, the number of people on bail is \$500 and less is 71. The number of people on \$1,000 bail or less is another 133. That's 200 people out of 9,000 that are actually in jail. What no one talks about is why? Do they have a hold? Are there other restrictions? The reality is no one wants to talk about that part and I'll leave you with this one thought that no one's mentioned today. All of these other forms of bail, the other nine that you asked about should be

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utilized. The problem is people don't return. they mention Pennsylvania their talking about Philadelphia. You swear to pay - you put up 10% or you sign for 10% and you leave. The failure to appear rate went up to 45%. Ultimately over ten years it was a \$16 billion deficit for people who didn't pay when they failed to appear. In that same state with the limited number of bail that was done, there was 100% return of people in court and that's the thing no one's talked about today. Who's going to bear the cost of returning people to court who don't appear? Its estimated that if you remove commercial bail by Townsend University, that did a study, its \$287 million in the first year and \$200 million after that. That's the question that has to be asked. Who's going to be responsible to make sure people return to court? Well, they never answer that question because they assume the police department will do it or the tax payer will pay for it to be That's the question that needs to be asked the most. Charitable bail should exist. Its important for really indigent people. These initiatives, I commend you for these initiatives. There important. We do that every day. You want us to put it on paper

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and post it on a wall, absolutely. So that when a complaint is made, we can have documents signed that say see, we showed them this. Because if you don't think complaints are made by people that are untrue, of course you know they are, I applaud that. But more regulation, every time an agent does something wrong, they are brought before the Department of Financial Services and their license is taken. fact, the lady that was here that talked about the money that she didn't get back, the \$3,000 on the Bronx bail, I walked outside and told her go to the website right now. Put in a complaint, and I guarantee you within 15 days the Department of Financial Services will contact you and if you can support your claim, then what will happen is they'll compel that agent to return the money. That's the truth in how the system works.

COUNCIL MEMBER ESPINAL: Thank you.

JUNE ROGERS: Good afternoon. My name is June Rogers and I am the Director for Victims Outreach through the alliance for safe communities. Well, when I first heard of this meeting, in my mind I was coming to say I oppose anything that has to do with bail reform but listening to some of the testimony, I

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agree that the industry does need some regulations and some of the things, most of the things that you were saying were fair, but my thing is I'm speaking for the communities that you all are supposed to represent. My son was killed by a guy that was let out with no bond or anything and they said he was low-risk or whatever and three days later they and you know, he killed my son. My thing is that we do need the bail industry. I'm hearing a lot of testimony where people are saying, oh there's no need for it, but yes there is because if someone is required to pay a bond, the bond industry does a service for us, for our community. They keep tabs on these people. A lot of them their saying, oh we're too poor. We can't afford bail and we need to get out of jail. Well this is what this guy said three days before he killed my son and they let him out. They sympathized with him saying okay, your poor. Let's be honest, there are a lot of people who really if not belong in jail, they need to be supervised by these people. The bond industry will go and pick them up if their out there committing more crimes and things in that nature. Where I'm from the police agencies, the police departments are so fed up with

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this because its like catch and release. Your arresting him for nothing because then there's the turn around that their right back out and are committing more crimes and no one is speaking about this. My thing is, is okay fine, if you guys want to regulate the bond industry and say okay, there's rules and things that they should follow, okay fine but I'm saying please, whenever you guys meet on the subject, do not as a warning, do not eliminate the bond industry all together, because they do provide a valuable service to us and our community. See we don't feel safe where I am now because I live in New Jersey, I'm sorry. I live in New Jersey and they have eliminated the cash bail and the bail bond industry, and that kind of thing and our state is a complete mess. We're not safe, these people are running ramped just like the gentleman said, oh well, 12,300 people would not have been arrested. would not have went to Rikers. Where are these people going? They're coming back to us, to our communities and its not right. Everyone talks about money, money, money. Well how much can you put on a person's life? My son is dead because people are talking about money and you know, people being in

COMMITTEE ON JUSTICE SYSTEM JOINT WITH COMMITTEE ON 1 CONSUMER AFFAIRS AND BUSINESS LICENSING 2 jail and the bail bondsman their taking advantage. Well, listen my thing is, if you guys are going to 3 stipulate that okay, there's guidelines that the bail 4 5 industry needs to follow, its fine. I don't have a problem with that but please consider releasing these 6 7 people back into our communities with no accountability, no supervision. Its not fair to us 8 and that's what I came to say. I just want you guys 9 to consider us, the community that your supposed to 10 help when your making these decisions. You know and 11 12 I'm getting a little emotional, I'm sorry. Thank you 13 so much. 14 COUNCIL MEMBER ESPINAL: Thank you. I quess 15 for the industry, would you say that there are people 16 being ripped off by bond bail agents? 17 STEVEN ZALEWSKI: No question. There's not a 18 question in my mind that people are charged fees that shouldn't be. The question becomes how do you answer 19 20 this one? So, a weekend bail comes, you can't post it and now the transcript needs to be gotten so the 21 2.2 bail can be posted. 23 COUNCIL MEMBER ESPINAL: Do you believe there

should be some sort of bail reform up in Albany?

JUNE ROGERS: No, we don't.

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COUNCIL MEMBER ESPINAL: No, you don't. Just no, why?

JUNE ROGERS: Well is that what this hearing is really about?

COUNCIL MEMBER ESPINAL: I just want to hear your thoughts. I mean some of you have said things that had nothing to do with this hearing, so I just -

STEVEN ZALEWSKI: The only format is it's in the current statues that their purposing. Well, all of those statues purpose the elimination of commercial bail completely. None of them call for a blend.

None of them call for some of the things that are suggested here. Everyone of those bills says the commercial bail industry should be extinguished, so yeah. If they want to completely extinguish the industry, sure.

JUNE ROGERS: Right.

STEVEN ZALEWSKI: As a bondsman and a member of the as a licensed bondsman and a representative of the community, I would say the problem here is you all have a financial incentive.

JUNE ROGERS: How much money do you make a year?

[MANY TALKING AT ONCE]

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COUNCIL MEMBER ESPINAL: Were not going to do any cross questioning. I mean at some point you did bring up his name, so I'm going to repeat our chances to respond.

STEVEN ZALEWSKI: Yeah, so to the point of should there or should there not be reform. money you all make and the money I make, exists because of this industry and it shouldn't. There shouldn't be a financial incentive and to the point of and I'm so sorry for your loss. We shouldn't be advocating responsibility to for-profit actors to be keeping communities safe, right. As far as I understand a bondsman can employ bounty hunters and the contracts you all sign with people can allow the bond entities to enter someone's home without a warrant, right. We are allowing this industry to do things we do not allow police officers to do, right. So, it is - again, I am so sorry, but people are not kept safe because of this industry and if what we need to do is -

JUNE ROGERS: I beg to differ -

STEVEN ZALEWSKI: If what we need to do is ensure that people come back to court then we do that through the courts and when we say tax payers will

COMMITTEE ON JUSTICE SYSTEM JOINT WITH COMMITTEE ON CONSUMER AFFAIRS AND BUSINESS LICENSING have to foot the bill, they already are. They are

just poor tax payers, right. So, its respectfully

4 would say they disagree and this really is us taking

5 an important function like ensuring someone comes

6 back to court and selling it out to an industry that

7 | shouldn't be responsible for that.

are we going to rely on?

JUNE ROGERS: But the bail reform issue is not just whether or not someone returns to court. Its what there doing when you bleeding hearts are letting them out for free and their running ramped through our communities and with you saying, sir that its not the bail industry, the bail bond industries responsibility shouldn't be for keeping us safe, who

COUNCIL MEMBER ESPINAL: So, we can have that conversation after the hearing. With that said, this hearing is adjourned. Thank you. [GAVEL]

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World Wide Dictation certifies that the foregoing transcript is a true and accurate record of the proceedings. We further certify that there is no relation to any of the parties to this action by blood or marriage, and that there is interest in the outcome of this matter.



Date April 1, 2018