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1	COMMITTEE ON WOMEN	2
2	APPEARANCES (CONTINUED)	
3	Elizabeth Krueger Senator of New York State	
4	Jacqueline Ebanks Executive Director of the Commission on Gender	
5	Equity Equity	
6	Letitia James Public Advocate for the city of New York	
7	_	
8	Marisa Nadas Attending Physician and Director of Women's	
9	Options in the Department of Obstetrics and Gynecology at Jacobi Medical Center	
10	Rebecca Donn	
11	Women's Health Nurse Practitioner and the Director of Quality Management at Planned	
12	Parenthood of New York City	
13	Ashley Gray State Advocacy Advisor at the Center for Reproductive Rights	
14	Heidi Sieck	
15	CEO and Co-Founder of Vote Pro Choice	
16	Garin Marschell Testified to his and his Wife's Story of	
17	Complicated Pregnancy	
18	Laura Riker Senior Program Manager at the Reproductive Heal	+ h
19	Access Project	CII
20	Emily Kadar Representing the National Institute for	
21	Reproductive Health	
22	Tashiana Diaz New York City Associate Program Director for Pe	er
23	Health Exchange	

Deputy Director at National Advocates for

24

25

Emily Gertz

Pregnant Women

1	COMMITTEE ON WOMEN 3
2	APPEARANCES (CONTINUED)
3	Cynthia Soohoo Co-Director of the Human Rights and Gender
4	Justice Clinic at CUNY Law School
5	Farah Diaz-Tello Senior Counsel Attorney for the SIA Legal Team
6	Justine Kahn
7	Special Assistant to the Executive Director at The Door Adolescent Health Center
8	Jessie Losch
9	Co-Chair of the Women's Health and Reproductive Rights Advocacy group of Get Organized Brooklyn,
10	WHARR
11	Andrea Salwen-Kopel Executive Director of National Council of Jewish
12	` women New York
13	Melissa Upreti Special Mandate Holder, Member of the United
14	Nations Working Group on Discrimination Against Women
15	Odile Schalit
16	Director of Brigid Alliance
17	Mirah Curzer Co-Chair of the Sex and Law Committee at the New
18	York City Bar Association
19	
20	
21	
22	

[gavel]

CHAIRPERSON ROSENTHAL: GOOD MOTHING
everyone. Good morning. I'm Council Member Helen
Rosenthal, Chair of the Committee on Women calling
this hearing to order. Today we will discuss abortion
and reproductive rights in New York State as well as
hear Resolution Number 84 sponsored by the public
advocate, the current public advocate Letitia James.
The Resolution urges the New York State Legislature
to pass and the Governor to sign the reproductive
health act which I'm going to refer to as HRA but
before we delve into the details of the HRA let's
review some New York State history as it relates to
abortion. An individual's right to choose an abortion
is an essential component of their personal health,
economic mobility, educational opportunities and
career aspirations. When New York State passed its
abortion law in 1970, it was taking the lead on
advancing women's rights and health. This had an
immediate effect. According to a study by the city's
own Department of Health, abortion was the leading
cause of maternal mortality before legalization.
Following legalization of abortion, maternal
mortality rates declined by 30 percent. In 1973 with

the decision of Roe v. wade and in subsequent Supreme
Court decisions further advances were made as such
New York State's law went from groundbreaking to
dated. For instance, under current New York State law
abortion is located in the criminal code rather than
the public health law. Self-induced abortion is
criminalized. Abortion is illegal after 24 weeks of
pregnancy unless the life of the pregnant person is
at risk meaning that the health of the pregnant
person is not an exception. Also, it is ambiguous
currently whether non-medical doctor health
professionals such as nurse practitioners or midwives
are permitted to perform an abortion. Now the
reproductive health act addresses each and every one
of those concerns, abortion will be regulated in the
public health code rather than in criminal law. Self-
induced abortion will no longer be criminalized, the
health of a pregnant person will be an exception to
late term abortion restrictions and it will be made
clear that nurse practitioners, physician assistants
and licensed midwives can perform abortions. I know
that many of the advocates that are set to testify
today, and welcome are only able to do so because the
state the senate the U.S. Senate judiciary

Committee has delayed it's vote on the nomination of
Brett Kavanaugh to the Supreme Court. If the senate
were to confirm Judge Kavanaugh to the Supreme Court,
there is a very real concern that Roe V. Wade would
be overturned. Were this to be the case we would find
the progress made to the right of a pregnant person
to access safe and legal abortion undone and all New
Yorkers would be especially vulnerable to the
negative consequences. I guess fortunately that both
has been delayed and I trust that U.S. Senators will
listen and believe in people who are testifying under
oath but that aside, also at present public programs
including Medicaid and Title X National Family the
National Family Planning Program are crucial to
providing women with access to affordable
contraceptive services and information. These too are
under attack from a Trump administration that is dead
set on undermining reproductive freedom. In sum, the
progress of the past several decades is under serious
and considerable threat and it is crucial that New
York State take the lead again on protecting the
right to choose. The reproductive health act would
address the flaws in the state's existing abortion
laws and it will signal that our state will protect

every New Yorker's right to access abortion amidst
the considerable threats coming from the federal
level. I look forward to having the public advocate
speak on her resolution in favor of the reproductive
health act as well as hearing testimony from State
Senator Kreuger who is the leading sponsor of the act
in the New York State Senate. I would like to thank
the staff of the Committee on Women including Council
Brenda McKinney, Policy Analyst Chloe Rivera, Legal
Fellow Raabia Qasim and Finance Analyst Dan Kroop for
all their help in preparing for this hearing as well
as my Legislative Director Sean Fitzpatrick and my
incoming Legislative Director Ned Terrace. I would
ask that this body be patient with our public
advocate Letitia James, she will be here just as
quickly as possible and when she is I will ask
everyone's patience by interrupting their testimony
in order to give her a chance to talk about the
resolution but for right now I'd like to call up to
the panel State Senator Liz Krueger from the East
Side and Jacqueline Ebanks who is our Executive
Director of the Commission on Gender Equity. I say
our, but I should say the Mayor's Commission on
Gender Equity but on which I proudly serve and I'm

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2 going to turn it over to my Legislative Direct...
3 Counsel to issue the oath.

COMMITTEE CLERK: If you can please raise your right hands. Do you affirm to tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth in your testimony before this committee and to respond honestly to Council Member questions?

CHAIRPERSON ROSENTHAL: So, I'm going to beg the indulgence of the public and this committee and ask... and the administration to ask that State Senator Krueger testify first given her very busy day today, so thank you and welcome.

testimony because I figure the bill you are discussing today, and everyone will be testifying is my testimony. I'll just say briefly why it is so critical and you... you know you read in your opening remarks pretty much all the reasons but on a personal level, so there's not that many grey haired people in this room so, in 1976 as a college student in the Midwest I trained with planned parenthood to do birth control counseling and they would give you like a, a suitcase, like a fuller brush man with all kinds of birth control in it and you would go out and you

would talk to people about access to birth control
and their options of reproductive health and because
it was only three years after Roe V. Wade and the
Midwest always things trickle down a little more
slowly, the concept of actual access to abortion as a
legal right was still not totally there and so I
would talk to women who had gone through illegal
abortion even after 1973 because they didn't know
they had a right to legal and I would hear the horror
stories from women who had to go to people who might
not be trained professionals, perhaps in a unsanitary
situation, perhaps ending up in the emergency room
because of botched procedures and I talk to young
people today about the importance of establishing the
state law because we may be losing all those rights
at the federal level and I just want to emphasize, a
lot of the younger people don't actually understand
what it would be to live in a country that didn't
give them access and the right to decide to end their
pregnancy for whatever reasons in a healthy, safe
place with medical providers. So, while I've carried
the bill that you are going your resolution supports
really since Eliot Spitzer was the Governor, so
that's going back a few years and the Assembly has

2	passed it multiple times and the Senate has yet to
3	pass it, when people say why now, I don't feel like I
4	have to explain that anymore, thank you Donald Trump
5	because we're at literally the door of losing our
6	right to reproductive health and safe abortion
7	opportunities and access and even access to birth
8	control in 2018 in New York State. So, I'm just
9	simply committing to everybody who's testifying here
10	today, help me get this across the finish line. If we
11	have a democratic senate in January, I know this
12	isn't a partisan council hearing but actually the
13	republicans in New York City are prochoice too, thank
14	you very much, so we need a democratic senate and we
15	will pass this bill and I am perfectly confident the
16	Governor will sign it and we will finally for the
17	first time actually have the protections we need in
18	New York State because I think that some people will
19	testify today that even though we've had a certain
20	law on the books and we've had Roe V. Wade, we
21	haven't had the right law on the books and
22	particularly for women who have to make decisions,
23	incredibly difficult decisions in the later term of
24	their pregnancy to need an abortion for health and
25	safety reasons, life reasons, the fact that their

1	COMMITTEE ON WOMEN
2	doctors have explained they're putting their lives a
3	risk, there is no viability to continue the
4	pregnancy, they have to leave New York State and find
5	health care in three other states far, far away at
6	enormous cost to themselves. So, this is critical
7	even if we weren't literally at the door of ending
8	access nationally, but we are and so we're actually
9	at the emergency responder moment, so I see the city
10	council and city elected officials working with the
11	state to pass a law that's literally a first
12	responder emergency action. So, thank you Helen and
13	your committee for, I know you will move this
14	Resolution after this hearing today and thank you fo
15	letting me testify.
16	CHAIRPERSON ROSENTHAL: Absolutely, I
17	actually do have one political but not political
18	question… [cross-talk]
19	ELIZABETH KRUEGER: Yes… [cross-talk]
20	CHAIRPERSON ROSENTHAL:a, a question of
21	fact
22	ELIZABETH KRUEGER: Yes
23	CHAIRPERSON ROSENTHAL:for you and then
24	we're going to hear from the public advocate. Now

could you explain to me today or this past year why

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you couldn't get the bill passed, you mentioned that
you have some republican senators who would vote for
it, what... why then hasn't been... it been able to pass,

5 is that not a descriptive question?

ELIZABETH KRUEGER: That's fine.

CHAIRPERSON ROSENTHAL: In the past few

years?

ELIZABETH KRUEGER: So, life in Albany is different than here in New York City and the City Council, the only way a bill comes to the floor of the senate for a vote is if the majority leader decides it can come for a vote. So, if you have ... you need 32 votes to pass a bill, there are bills that have 38 sponsors, my bill is not one of them, but you have bills with 38 sponsors that you cannot get to the floor for a vote because if Majority Leader John Flanagan decides it's not coming for a vote, it's not coming for a vote and there is nothing in the rules of the senate that actually can work to allow you to move a bill over the objection of the Majority Leader. If the democrats are in the majority come January, John Flanagan will not be reelected Majority Leader, I'm pretty sure that Andrea Stewart-Cousins will be elected Majority Leader with a democratic

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2	senate and she has been the number two co-sponsor of
3	this bill the entire time she has been in the senate
4	so I am very sure and I have asked her and anyone
5	else could, will she bring this floor this bill to
6	the floor for a vote, yes she will. If we're in the
7	majority, we will have 32 votes and I've been
8	checking very carefully and there's not one anti-
9	choice democrat in the senate or running for the
10	senate.
11	CHAIRPERSON ROSENTHAL: May I ask a
12	follow up question, the mood in the city has been
13	very uplifted by an anti-IDC vote so many if not all
14	of the anti-IDC, six of seven I think were… or five
15	of six were… [cross-talk]
16	ELIZABETH KRUEGER: Six of eight were
17	[cross-talk]
18	CHAIRPERSON ROSENTHAL: Thank you, six
19	of… [cross-talk]
20	ELIZABETH KRUEGER: Sure… [cross-talk]
21	CHAIRPERSON ROSENTHAL:eight were
22	elected, does that make a difference in terms of the
23	senate electing a democrat as its Majority Leader?
24	ELIZABETH KRUEGER: Excellent question

and complicated but yes, I believe it does because

2	over the last eight years at least half of the time
3	there was a democratic numerical majority and we
4	should and could have been the majority except for
5	the fact that the IDC members in exchange for
6	leadership titles and perks gave their allegiance to
7	John Flanagan to make sure that we didn't have the
8	votes to take back the majority or pass endless bills
9	that were important to us and that we won't have that
10	story line.
11	CHAIRPERSON ROSENTHAL: With apologies
12	[cross-talk]
13	ELIZABETH KRUEGER: Yes [cross-talk]
14	CHAIRPERSON ROSENTHAL:for interrupting
15	I'd like to really ask again [cross-talk]
16	ELIZABETH KRUEGER: Okay [cross-talk]
17	CHAIRPERSON ROSENTHAL: It's my
18	understanding that there's still a senator who would
19	even though he's elected as a democrat coccus with
20	the republicans
21	ELIZABETH KRUEGER: Simcha Felder
22	[cross-talk]
23	CHAIRPERSON ROSENTHAL: And so [cross-
24	talk]

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2 ELIZABETH KRUEGER: He was never an IDC 3 member.

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CHAIRPERSON ROSENTHAL: If Simcha Felder gets elected and continues to coccus with the republicans and there are no other changes in the state senate would you be able to elect a democratic senate leader? My understanding is no, which implies that there's more work to be done before this can happen, am I misunderstanding something... [cross-talk]

ELIZABETH KRUEGER: No, no, I, I can't... I said multiple times if we are in the majority in January, that requires we win more democratic seats in November so I wasn't counting Simcha Felder as one of the democrats because while he runs on the democratic line as well as the republican line the day he got to Albany he went into the republican conference room so I don't even think it's fair to label him a democratic on behalf of democrats so, yes, we need more democrats, you need 32 democrats. My optimistic self thinks we will have at least 34 or 35 democrats after the November election.

CHAIRPERSON ROSENTHAL: So, should people contact you offline in order... [cross-talk]

1	COMMITTEE ON WOMEN
2	ELIZABETH KRUEGER: Not in my government
3	office but yes, people can reach me in a lot of ways
4	and I'd be happy to coordinate them and direct them
5	to non-elect non-governmental work that they
6	[cross-talk]
7	CHAIRPERSON ROSENTHAL: Okay [cross-
8	talk]
9	ELIZABETH KRUEGER:might be interested
10	[cross-talk]
11	CHAIRPERSON ROSENTHAL: I just want
12	[cross-talk]
13	ELIZABETH KRUEGER:in [cross-talk]
14	CHAIRPERSON ROSENTHAL:to focus on that
15	at that hearing in this moment because it's not that
16	people can rest on their laurels, there is still work
17	to be done, is that correct?
18	ELIZABETH KRUEGER: Yes, ma'am.
19	CHAIRPERSON ROSENTHAL: Thank you, I
20	appreciate it, appreciate your time. We have the
21	Public Advocate here, we're going to hear from her,
22	thank you so much for stopping by today State
23	Senator.
24	ELIZABETH KRUEGER: Thank you very much

Council Member. 25

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CHAIRPERSON ROSENTHAL: Alright, Public Advocate Tish James who is the lead sponsor on this resolution, welcome and congratulations on a recent victory.

PUBLIC ADVOCATE JAMES: Thank you. I want to thank the Chair, Helen Rosenthal for holding this hearing today and for being a friend and for being an uncompromising and tireless fighter for the basic principles that women's rights are human rights and I cannot believe that in 2018 that we're still demanding freedom and protection to make personal choices about our bodies. It reminds me of a t-shirt that I saw recently that... well it uses a lot of foul language, but it basically says I can't believe that we're still fighting for this stuff. So, the right to make our own decisions about what happens to our own bodies is a fundamental human right and these decisions should be made between a woman, her doctor and her... and whatever god she chooses to pray to or even if she chooses not to pray to any gods, it's basically a personal decision. It's not a decision left up to this illegitimate president or to this illegitimate supreme court nominee who sought to prevent an unaccompanied minor, an immigrant form

obtaining a legal abortion and uses and use the law
twisted the law to basically come to that conclusion
or Neil Gorsuch, who believes corporations have a
religious right to prevent their employees from
lawfully obtaining contraception and not by any
gaggle of privileged men sitting comfortably in the
halls of power who know and care nothing of the
challenges of being a woman let alone being the
challenges of a woman of color. New York was once a
pioneer when it came to protecting reproductive
rights and we were one of the first states in the
nation to decriminalize abortion three years before
Roe versus Wade and yet as we sit here today New
Yorkers access to reproductive health care is in
great peril than any time in nearly 50 years. A man
who bragged about committing sexual assault occupies
the White House for now and he's trying to confirm
another man accused of assault to a lifetime
appointment to the highest court in the land and even
if these men were incredibly accused sexual violence
their public positions on personal autonomy and
reproductive rights are poisonous and in fact the
conduct they're that they are engaging in right now
and the process that they are engaging in denying a

woman the right to testify before the before the,
the State Senate the United State Senate is also
offensive and I hope that women stand up and as an
aside I recognize that there is a wave of blue coming
but I'm hoping that there's a wave of pink coming in
strong numbers. As it is the Trump administration is
already taking regressive steps to dismantle women's
reproductive rights. For example, with their proposed
rule changes to Title X, the federal family planning
program which I let pinned a letter on before my
life changed, and the proposed rule change will
prevent medical providers from giving complete
objective medical counseling which violates medical
ethics and disempowers women and girls from being
able to choose their desired family, their planning
method including abortion. And several weeks ago, I
joined with groups like Planned Parenthood of NYC and
submitted, submitted comments to the federal
government opposing this rule change and we recognize
this is just another tactic of the Trump
administration to roll back our rights. So, if they
get their way it is not a matter of if Roe versus
Wade is overturned but a matter of when and as a
state we are not prepared to protect the fundamental

right to abortion from federal assault, assault and
though therefore we've got to harden our laws and as
it currently stands unless a pregnancy is life
threatening it is against New York State law to
terminate a pregnancy, pregnancy after 24 weeks even
if it necessary to protect the woman's health or the
fetus is not viable and shockingly abortion remains
in the state penal code listed alongside homicide,
let me say that again, believe it or not in New York
State abortion remains in the state penal code and
it's listed alongside of homicide. New York remains
one of only seven states that has such a law and if I
get the opportunity to introduce state legislation
those are one of my bills that we will be introducing
in the first 100 days. For years we have seen the
reproductive health act stall in Albany because
people said there was no danger to New, New Yorkers
but now we have a present and real danger and our
fundamental rights are under assault and at genuine
risk. Last year 19 states adopted 63 different
restrictions on abortion rights and access and with
these new laws 58 percent of women in the United
States currently live in states that are either
hostile or extremely hostile to abortion rights and

when Anthony Kennedy announced his retirement I stood
with many elected officials and advocates who called
for the state senate republicans to return to Albany
to pass the reproductive health act, they did
nothing, they took no action, they decided it was
okay to leave New Yorkers at the Supreme Court mercy,
mercy and at President Trump's mercy and at the and
as the most important election of our lifetime
approaches I believe New Yorkers deserve to know
where their representatives stand on reproductive
rights because the time is the time to stand up and
be counted is long past due. And when the legislature
returns to Albany in January their first order of
business their first order of business must be to
pass the reproductive health act uncompromised,
undiluted just pass the damn law in, into pass the
bill into law and do it now, dammit and then we can
begin the multiyear process of codifying reproductive
rights into our state's constitutions and today we
lay down the marker, New York must once again lead by
example. We stand for reproductive rights, I will
stand for reproductive rights and I will do it with
every passion and with every fiber of my being
because I believe that what happens between you and

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your body is no one else's business but yours. Madame Chair I apologize for cursing but as someone who has had to lead a number of young girls into planned parenthood, take them by the hand, counsel them, hold them because they did not have stable families, this issue is personal and so I thank you for allowing me to say a few words and I thank you for allowing my bill to be heard. Thank you.

CHAIRPERSON ROSENTHAL: Thank you so much Public Advocate James. Do you have any questions for State Senator Krueger? Okay, thank you so much, we're going to turn now to the administration and hear from Commissioner Ebanks.

JACQUELINE EBANKS: Thank you. Good
morning Chair Rosenthal, good morning Public Advocate
James. I want to say a special thank you to Senator
Krueger and to Assembly Member Deborah Glick for
their leadership in shepherding this bill through the
New York State legislature. As you mentioned I am
Jacqueline Ebanks, Executive Director of the
Commission on Gender Equity. In this role I also
serve as an advisor to the Mayor and First Lady on
policies and issues impacting gender equity in New
York City. Established in 2015 and codified into law

in 2016, the Commission works with city agencies to
remove institutional barriers to equity and to
establish inclusive policies and practices which
ensure that all New Yorkers, regardless of gender
identity or expression have opportunities to be
economically secure, have access to quality and
affordable health care, have full autonomy over their
reproductive lives and live safely in their homes and
communities. I am pleased to represent the
administration today in support of Resolution 84
which urges the New York State Legislature to pass
and the Governor to sign the reproductive health act
in the upcoming legislative session. In a recently
filed amicus brief, in the United State Supreme Court
case of Whole Women's Health versus the Commissioner
the Texas Department of State Health Services, New
York City's leadership in the fight for reproductive
justice was described as follows: Before the
constitutional right to abortion was established, New
York City was one of the few places where women could
obtain safe and legal abortions. Hundreds of
thousands of women from all over the country,
including 3,400 from Texas, traveled to New York City
seeking access to abortion services. The brief fear

2	further states that, "before New York State became
3	one of the first jurisdictions to legalize abortions
4	New York City faced a public health crisis. An
5	estimated 50,000 women were having clandestine
6	abortions every year. As a consequence, abortion
7	related deaths and complications were commonplace.
8	That all changed in 1970 when New York State
9	liberalized its laws to allow abortions up to 24
10	weeks after conception, or at any time thereafter to
11	protect a woman's life", end quote. The De Blasio
12	administration remains committed to implementing
13	holistic and inclusionary reproductive justice
14	policies and services. And since 2014, the
15	administration has ensured that the city's 11
16	hospitals within its health and hospital network
17	provide expert prenatal care, labor and delivery
18	services, family planning, comprehensive
19	gynecological services, women's health and primary
20	care outpatient medical support for women at every
21	stage of life. Also since 2014, the administration
22	and this City Council through various legislative,
23	programmatic and advocacy actions; have increased
24	access to contraceptives, including emergency
25	contracontion, created the health Sovuel Health

Education Task Force to, to develop strategies for
implementing comprehensive sexual health education in
New York City public schools, with offered
comprehensive and confidential care for women,
including contraceptive counseling, management of
pregnancy loss and elective pregnancy termination in
a safe environment and as noted above, filed amicus
briefs to protect reproductive freedom whenever it is
threatened in the nation. So, while New York City
continues to expand and support comprehensive
reproductive health care, the Trump administration
continues its attack on reproductive health care
programs at the federal level. Such was the case on
June 1 st as already mentioned when the administration
proposed significant and detrimental changes to the
Title X Family Planning Program. In response to these
proposed changes, Mayor De Blasio, along with 79
mayors across the nation sent a letter expressing
vehement opposition to the implementation of a
domestic gag rule on the Title X Family Planning
Program. Additionally, New York City Deputy Mayor for
Health and Human Services, Dr. Herminia Palacio,
submitted the administration's detailed objections to
the proposed changes during the public comment. The

Mayor's letter and Dr. Palacio's comments are
attached to the testimony. In the wake of these
changes, New York City continues to advocate for
maintaining full appropriation to Title X funds.
Clearly, current trends place the nation on the
precipice of returning to an era when women's right
to make her own decisions, reproductive decision,
belonged to everyone else but her. These trends are
exacerbated by the complete and willful ignorance to
the reproductive rights of transgender and gender
non-conforming Americans. Given these sobering
realities, from the proposed changes to Title X
funding, to the possible appointment of another
Supreme Court justice opposed to Roe V. Wade, to the
fact that several states have enacted laws limiting
women's reproductive rights and to the denial of
reproductive rights and competent medical care for
transgender and gender nonconforming Americans, it is
incumbent upon the New York State legislature to
secure reproductive justice for all New Yorkers.
Therefore, it is with great urgency that the
Commission on Gender Equity supports the Reproductive
Health Act. The city has always supported the act in
the past years and again in 2018, submitted a

2	Memorandum of support to the legislature. As already
3	stated the act would bring New York State into
4	compliance with constitutional law, by providing by
5	providing a pregnant individual with the explicit
6	right to access the care necessary when their health
7	is at risk or the fetus is not viable. It also
8	prohibits the prosecution of health care
9	professionals that provide abortion services ensuring
10	that a fear of prosecution is not a barrier to care.
11	And finally, the act would remove the state abortion
12	law from the penal code and place it in the public
13	health law, sending an important signal to medical
14	providers that they need not fear criminal
15	prosecution for treating a patient whose pregnancy is
16	endangering their health. Again, the city's
17	memorandum of support is attached to this testimony.
18	I also want to note that the reproductive health act
19	underscores the importance of access to contraception
20	in securing reproductive rights for all New Yorkers.
21	It's really impressive that it asserts that it is the
22	public policy of the state of New York that every
23	individual has the fundamental right to choose or
24	refuse contraception. Therefore, passing and signing
25	the reproductive health act into law is essential to

ensuring the reproductive rights and economic			
wellbeing of New Yorkers. As Supreme Court Justice			
Associate Justice Ruth Bader Ginsberg writes, in her			
Hobby Lobby dissent, "the ability of women to			
participate equally in the economic and social life			
of the nation has been facilitated by their ability			
to control their reproductive lives." If New York			
State wants to remain a beacon of progressivism in			
this nation, and the globe, it must lead by providing			
New Yorkers full autonomy over their reproductive			
lives. As First Lady Chirlane McCray stated,			
"reproductive health is not a privilege, it is a			
right protected by the constitution." Resolution 84			
calls for New York State to assert its leadership for			
reproductive justice and to protect a women's right			
to choose. The administration applauds the City			
Council for considering this Resolution and supports			
its passage. Thank you.			

CHAIRPERSON ROSENTHAL: Thank you very much. I want to welcome Council Member Ayala who I believe congratulations are in order for a new birth. Yeah, very exciting, very exciting, that makes you a mother, right or no… [cross-talk]

COUNCIL MEMBER AYALA: Grandmother.

1	COMMITTEE ON WOMEN	
2	CHAIRPERSON ROSENTHAL: Oh, okay,	
3	grandmother, you're so… you're too young… [cross-	
4	talk]	
5	COUNCIL MEMBER AYALA: I know I [cross-	
6	talk]	
7	CHAIRPERSON ROSENTHAL:to be a	
8	grandmother, it's very cool, babies having babies but	
9	I'm all for it. So, Commissioner thanks so much for	
10	your testimony. I wanted to ask in your testimony you	
11	make this really important point at the end of page	
12	one where you said that an estimated 50,000 women	
13	were having clandestine abortions every year, I'm	
14	wondering if you have a sense, you know of old data	
15	or more recent data of what that number might be	
16	today?	
17	JACQUELINE EBANKS: I don't have an	
18	accurate sense at this time but I know that that	
19	information will be available from the Department of	
20	Health and Mental Hygiene and so we can get that to	
21	you at a later… [cross-talk]	
22	CHAIRPERSON ROSENTHAL: Great [cross-	

JACQUELINE EBANKS: ...in, in short order.

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1	COMMITTEE ON WOMEN	
2	CHAIRPERSON ROSENTHAL: And you know	
3	maybe a couple of questions around that [cross-talk]	
4	JACQUELINE EBANKS: Uh-huh [cross-talk]	
5	CHAIRPERSON ROSENTHAL:you know you	
6	know how many I would want to just in order to	
7	quantify the… [cross-talk]	
8	JACQUELINE EBANKS: Yes [cross-talk]	
9	CHAIRPERSON ROSENTHAL:risk I'd be	
10	interested in knowing, you know how many of the	
11	different contraceptive methods are provided by New	
12	York City Department of Health as well as H and H	
13	[cross-talk]	
14	JACQUELINE EBANKS: Health and	
15	absolutely, yes.	
16	CHAIRPERSON ROSENTHAL: Great, I'd think	
17	that'd be helpful. Let's see, I'm going to ask really	
18	quickly, do either of my colleagues have questions	
19	for the Commissioner? Okay, Commissioner this, this	
20	will be the last question, do you think that is New	

York City contemplating taking any... is, is, New York City planning or thinking about what might happen should Roe V. Wade be... Wade be overturned and New York State not fixing its own laws what the

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2 impact would be and what the city could do to help in 3 this situation?

JACQUELINE EBANKS: The city is committed to expanding access to reproductive care and providing comprehensive reproductive services, I think we have continued to do that certainly through the duration of this administration. When we do our work and the commission as, as you know we operate in three intersecting areas; economic mobility and opportunity, health and reproductive justice, and safety and we see them completely related and consequently the health and reproductive justice options for women, transgender, gender nonconforming individuals really impacts the totality of their life. New York City will continue within those values and principles and I think we will work with H and H and DOHMH to ensure that we continue to protect and stand for a women's right to choose and for individuals to have full autonomy over their reproductive lives.

CHAIRPERSON ROSENTHAL: One question I've always had is whether or not there's something we could codify here in New York City should these things come to pass and while the states has always

2	said we don't have to codify these things because we		
3	are protected by Roe, I wouldn't want the city to		
4	fall into the situation where the state is now where		
5	it's imperative… [cross-talk]		
6	JACQUELINE EBANKS: Right [cross-talk]		
7	CHAIRPERSON ROSENTHAL:that we pass the		
8	reproductive health act, is there anything that the		
9	city could be codifying now?		
10	JACQUELINE EBANKS: We're in full		
11	agreement with your sentiment, I'd have to say that		
12	we have not yet to the best of my knowledge done that		
13	work but it's definitely something we will take up in		
14	the Commission and in partnership with Health and		
15	Hospitals and Department of Health and Mental		
16	[cross-talk]		
17	CHAIRPERSON ROSENTHAL: I appreciate		
18	[cross-talk]		
19	JACQUELINE EBANKS:Hygiene [cross-		
2,0	talk]		
21	CHAIRPERSON ROSENTHAL:that, I		
22	appreciate… [cross-talk]		
23	JACQUELINE EBANKS: Thank you so much		
24	[cross-talk]		

1	COMMITTEE ON WOMEN
2	CHAIRPERSON ROSENTHAL:working with you
3	as we have over this [cross-talk]
4	JACQUELINE EBANKS: Yes [cross-talk]
5	CHAIRPERSON ROSENTHAL:past year and
6	you know I, I, I just want to clarify I ask that
7	question because I know you and the administration
8	are so supportive… [cross-talk]
9	JACQUELINE EBANKS: Yes [cross-talk]
LO	CHAIRPERSON ROSENTHAL:you never know
L1	who's going to be elected next as we all [cross-
L2	talk]
L3	JACQUELINE EBANKS: We never know, I
L 4	think… [cross-talk]
L5	CHAIRPERSON ROSENTHAL:have
L6	experienced… [cross-talk]
L7	JACQUELINE EBANKS: November 2016 has
L8	proven to us, but it also calls on us to have urgency
L9	and diligence as you're pointing out to identify gaps
20	and be the progressive city and state that we need to
21	be. I want to thank you for your partnership with the
22	Commission and the work that we have been doing and
23	also thank Majority Leader Cumbo and Ayala as well as

Council Member Rivera, so thank you all so much.

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CHAIRPERSON ROSENTHAL: Thank you very much and of course under the leadership of our Speaker Corey Johnson who gives us the bandwidth to do what's right here.

JACQUELINE EBANKS: Absolutely... [crosstalk]

CHAIRPERSON ROSENTHAL: So, thank you. I appreciate your time, thank you very much. We're going to call up a panel, our next panel if you could come forward; Planned... Rebecca Donn from Planned Parenthood of New York City; Marisa Nadas a... sorry, Doctor Nadas; Heidi Sieck from Vote Pro Choice and Ashley Gray from the Center for Reproductive Rights. And Heidi I apologize, I missed the hashtag, Heidi Sieck from hashtag Vote Pro Choice.

COUNCIL MEMBER LANDER: Madame Chair as the panel comes up could I... [cross-talk]

CHAIRPERSON ROSENTHAL: Oh, sorry and I'd like to welcome Council Member Lander who has joined us.

COUNCIL MEMBER LANDER: Thank you and I just want to say thank you for convening this important hearing, I'd like to sign on to the Resolution and I really appreciate you and the

Speaker taking leadership here just raising up the
voice of this body to make sure we get the right
thing done at the state level, we sure need it, thank

5 you.

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CHAIRPERSON ROSENTHAL: Thank you. So, we got Lander, someone checked him off, okay. Oh, sorry. Can we start with you just introduce yourself for the record, no one needs to be sworn in and we really appreciate your being here so we'll just move on down, thank you.

REBECCA DONN: Sure, hi... [cross-talk]

CHAIRPERSON ROSENTHAL: Oh, I'm so sorry, we happily have so many people here to testify today we are going to use a clock of... we're going to limit testimony... try to limit testimony to two minutes and do keep in mind that if you have written something and submitted it this will be on the record so if you want to summarize your thoughts for the purpose of your testimony today, your oral testimony feel welcome to do that but again thank you so much for coming.

REBECCA DONN: Sure. Hi, I'm Rebecca Donn from Planned Parenthood of New York City.

[off mic dialogue]

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REBECCA DONN: I think it's, it's on but I always think I'm so loud, so I'm surprised... you can't hear me.

[off mic dialogue]

REBECCA DONN: Absolutely. Okay, good morning. I am a women's health nurse practitioner and the Director of Quality Management at Planned Parenthood of New York City and I want to thank the Public Advocate Letitia James, Council Members Brannan, Rosenthal, Ayala, and Rivera for introducing this important Resolution to call on the New York State Legislature to pass and the Governor to sign the reproductive health act. Planned Parenthood of New York City has been a leading provider of sexual and reproductive health care for over 100 years in New York City and we're reaching approximately 85,000 New Yorkers annually both with our clinical services and our education programs. I have been a nurse practitioner for 18 years and working in this field I have seen firsthand the importance of reproductive health care to help people live their best lives and currently I'm the Director of Quality Management at Planned Parenthood of New York City and that means I help ensure the quality of our services and part of

that is helping to train other health care providers
to provide both reproductive health care and
medication abortion services so I also know firsthand
the competency of advanced practice clinicians in
providing those services. In my years of experience
as a provider and also just working in abortion care
as both a counselor and a, a volunteer for my entire
adult life I've seen firsthand the barriers that New
Yorkers face when accessing abortion and sexual and
reproductive health care, patients frequently
encounter protesters who physically block health
center entrances, they use harassment or intimidation
to, to deter, deter them from accessing the care that
they need and then crisis pregnant crisis pregnancy
centers like the one we have right across the street
from our Bronx health care center are masquerading as
legitimate health care providers and they deceive New
Yorkers who are trying to ask access care. So, in
the face of these other challenges it's critical that
we work to protect and expand access to abortion and
sexual reproductive health care services.

24 [cross-talk]

REBECCA DONN: Is that my... [cross-talk]

CHAIRPERSON ROSENTHAL: Thank you very...

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2 CHAIRPERSON ROSENTHAL: ...much... [cross-

3 talk]

REBECCA DONN: ...two minutes, okay.

CHAIRPERSON ROSENTHAL: Thank you and I want to welcome our Majority Leader Laurie Cumbo to the Committee as well and Council Member Carlina Rivera whose here as well, thank you and who is cosponsor of the Resolution as well. Please.

ASHLEY GRAY: Good morning, thank you Council Member Rosenthal for convening this hearing today and thank you Public Advocate James for introducing the Resolution before the Committee. My name is Ashley Gray, I'm the State Advocacy Advisor at the Center for Reproductive Rights. The Center for Reproductive Rights is a legal advocacy organization dedicated to protecting the rights of women to access safe and legal abortion and other reproductive health care services. For nearly 20 years we have successfully defended abortion access throughout the United States including winning the landmark case, Whole Women's Health V. Hellerstedt, in which the U.S. Supreme Court reaffirmed the constitution's robust protections for a woman's decision to have an abortion. The center strongly supports the RHA and

this Resolution. New York has led the country when it
comes to the pursuit of access to reproductive health
care. Now more than ever it needs to take steps to
protect and increase access to abortion. Roe V. Wade,
the landmark Supreme Court case establishing access
to abortion as a constitutional right has been
settled law for over 45 years yet remains under
constant attack. President Trump promised that he
will appoint Supreme Court Justices who will overturn
Roe V. Wade and with the nomination of Judge
Kavanaugh, we can assume that he made good on that
promise. We we now face the greatest threat to
reproductive rights in more than a generation. Many
provisions of the reproductive health act are even
more urgent and relevant in this landscape. The act
affirms the right to privacy in New York law, removes
outdated criminal penalties, including for self-
induction, and clarifies that advanced practice
clinicians like nurse practitioners and physician's
assistants can perform abortion care within their
scope of practice. These medical professionals fill a
critical gap in the rural area rural areas of the
state and would increase the number of providers to
assist with the potential influx of patients from

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other states if access federally should be gutted.

Removing abortion access from the critical... criminal

code is a critical step in recognizing that abortion

is health care and not a crime. Thank you.

CHAIRPERSON ROSENTHAL: Thank you very much. Okay, yep that...

MARISA NADAS: Good morning, my name is Marisa Nadas and... good morning, my name is Doctor Marisa Nadas. Thank you, Council Member Rosenthal, for, for convening this hearing today and thank you Public Advocate James for introducing the Resolution before the Committee. As an OBGYN and a fellow of Physicians for Reproductive Health who cares for New Yorkers every day, I am pleased to support Resolution Number 84. Access to reproductive health services including abortion care, is vital to a women's overall health and wellbeing as well as to the health of her family. Currently New York regulates abortion in the criminal code and this is a problem. It means that medical professionals can be deterred from providing medically indicated care. New York law does not include an explicit provision that allows for abortion care throughout pregnancy when a woman's health is at risk, as, as protected by Roe V. Wade

and the same goes for when a devastating fetal	
abnormality exists, which is a situation in whi	ch
abortion is an option under federal protections	•
Every pregnancy is different. At times patients	face
serious obstetric complications or life-threate	ning
illnesses later in pregnancy. In these devastat	ing
circumstances, abortion care may be the safest	path
forward. However, because current law deters do	ctors
from providing care, our patients are forced to	leave
the state to get the care they need even when t	heir
health is severely compromised. Traveling out o	f
state for care is an enormous additional burden	on
top of what, for many has already been a diffic	ult
experience. Let me give you an example. A patie	nt of
mine, I will call her Ashley, was pregnant with	her
third child and she also suffered from lupus. S	he
presented to the hospital in kidney failure and	
received outstanding care as a multidisciplinar	y team
worked to control her lupus and reverse her kid	ney
failure. However, the weeks passed, and her kid	neys
did not recover. Pregnancy is known to be hard	on the
kidneys, and it was determined by her medical t	eam
that her kidney function would not recover unti	l her
pregnancy ended. If this went on too long, it w	as

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possible she would never regain kidney function and
be on dialysis... [cross-talk]

CHAIRPERSON ROSENTHAL: Could you take your time and keep going.

MARISA NADAS: Okay.

CHAIRPERSON ROSENTHAL: Thank you.

MARISA NADAS: She chose to terminate her pregnancy and I was able to assist her with this during the second trimester and her kidney function did, did resolve. However, if this complication had presented later in the pregnancy or the course of the illness had been more insidious she could easily have surpassed the gestational age limit laid out in New York State law and as her provider I would not have been protected under state law to provide abortion care. This intrusion into the provider patient relationship is cruel and is dangerous. As health care providers we best serve our patients when we can act according to scientific evidence and with our best medical judgement. In cases of health risks and fetal conditions detected later in pregnancy, our patients, who are often struggling with complicated decisions need access to the best care for their individual circumstances. In the face of dire threats

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to abortion access on the federal level, it is absolutely crucial to protect New Yorker's health and rights and I urge the Committee to pass this resolution calling on New York State to pass this important legislation. Thank you.

CHAIRPERSON ROSENTHAL: Thank you Doctor,
I also want to welcome Council Member Kallos who
joined the committee.

HEIDI SIECK: Thank you. Thank you so much Council Member Rosenthal for having this hearing and I acknowledge the Public Advocate's amazing Resolution as the other... and as well as the other Council Members who are supporting this. My name is Heidi Sieck, I'm the CEO and Co-founder of Vote Pro Choice. We're a nationwide political engagement project that engages millions of pro-choice voters to... with the largest progressive pro-choice voter guide and we elect pro choice champions in every election where reproductive freedom is at stake. And let me be very, very clear; reproductive freedom is at stake right now. I'll summarize my testimony by making two points. I've been fighting for reproductive freedom for almost 30 years when I got my first job at Planned Parenthood in Lincoln,

Nebraska and that was a it's been a perilous three
decades of losses and wins but mostly losses. And we
are in a dire situation now. I come to you I came to
vote pro choice and New York as the former President
of the San Francisco Women's Political Committee
where we focused on creating a coalition then led
with District Attorney Kamala Harris where we created
a collaborative of elected officials, committee
reproductive rights organizations, women's
organizations, labor unions, and political leaders to
create gender equity and reproductive freedom in the
state into the city of San Francisco and according
to the National Institute of Reproductive Health
Local Index, we are one of the most pro choice cities
along with New York. There's a lot we can do and that
is I look forward to working with all of you to make
that a reality here because the second the second
thing I would like to highlight is, I was down in the
Senate Judiciary Committee two weeks ago, the first
person in the hearing, the fourth person to get
arrested, I looked into the eyes of Congressman or
Chairman Grassley and let me tell you these leaders
are determined to take away our rights, the threat is
real. If there are 13 bills that are going to be

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V. Wade and if they are gutted four states with trigger bans will actually prevent women from getting abortion care in those states. We must do whatever it takes to make sure that our state laws are shored up and providing access and real care to the women of America and it can start here in New York. Like we've led before, we can lead again. Thank you.

CHAIRPERSON ROSENTHAL: Thank you very much. Would any of my colleagues like to ask a question? No... sorry, Council Member Kallos? No, okay. So, thank you all for coming, I especially want to thank the doctor for coming because it's helpful to us to hear real life experiences, that's the part that, you know we don't hear as often, we think more in the abstract and while we can look at numbers or ... you know the data or quality we don't know what you're experiencing day to day and the example you gave of which is one where somebody should for her own health have access to an abortion but you even as somebody who believes that, you know abortion should be available would not feel comfortable doing it because of the New York State criminal penal law is a very powerful one. So, I appreciate your telling it,

1	COMMITTEE ON WOMEN
2	I've heard other similar stories as well. Thank you
3	very much, thank you for coming. I'm going to invite
4	up the next oh, I'm sorry, Majority oh my quick
5	question to our Public Advocate Tish James to be
6	followed by Majority Leader Laurie Cumbo.
7	PUBLIC ADVOCATE JAMES: Thank you. Miss
8	Sieck is that how you pronounce
9	HEIDI SIECK: Sieck.
LO	PUBLIC ADVOCATE JAMES: Sieck, I
L1	apologize. Are, are you working with the State
L2	Senate, have you identified some senatorial district
L3	in New York as part of your voter pro choice
L4	campaign?
L5	HEIDI SIECK: Yes.
L6	PUBLIC ADVOCATE JAMES: And what
L7	districts are you focusing on?
L8	HEIDI SIECK: [off mic audio]
L9	PUBLIC ADVOCATE JAMES: Your microphone
20	is off.
21	HEIDI SIECK: The voter guide focuses on
22	two it two parts; we endorse candidates and then w
23	also recommend candidates. So, the endorsed

candidates have been... we only... we endorsed eight

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candidates for the State Senate and those have been the folks that got elected against the IDC members.

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PUBLIC ADVOCATE JAMES: And so, going forward in the general have you identified any, any, any seat or districts that we can flip?

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7 HEIDI SIECK: We are going to be

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recommending the most pro-choice candidates in each

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of the districts, so we'll be evaluating those and be

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posting them at the beginning of October.

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PUBLIC ADVOCATE JAMES: Okay, thank you.

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HEIDI SIECK: Uh-huh.

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MAJORITY LEADER CUMBO: Hi, I wanted to

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.4 ask a question in regards to what we would consider

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abortions that take place later on in the process and

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so you spoke very eloquently about the issue around

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health related issues that might cause a woman to

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18 have... to terminate a pregnancy later on than

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going on a tour at Planned Parenthood and they spoke

anticipated because of health reasons but I remember

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about the fact that the reason why there may be women

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that are coming in the fourth and fifth and later on

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complications but a lot of it also has a lot to do

months could have something to do with health

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with women that are forced to travel from state to

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state because in their own hometown or their own state they can't have those services performed and so they actually discussed which was very heartbreaking the experience that many women have in terms of having to take off a day, two days, three days from work to be able to travel out of town to be able to stay there and then to travel back to go back to their hometown and the ability to actually come up with the money and the resources in order to take that journey, is that more often the reason or is it more often health related reasons that find a woman having to terminate a pregnancy later on? In the cycle?

MARISA NADAS: There are many contributing factors to why women may present later on and some of those reasons are related to a delay in access to care such as what you're describing and some of those are related to simply their health condition or the fetal anomaly being diagnosed later on. I can give you an example, a colleague of mine just this past week took care of a woman who had... her fetus had been diagnosed with a lethal anomaly and unfortunately due to our current law she wasn't able to access abortion care in our state and related to

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the delays that she incurred she ultimately had to travel out of state, out of New York to another state and was 30 weeks pregnant by the time she was able to actually access her abortion in another state and it's embarrassing to me that she was a patient... she was a woman of ours, of our state, she went to another state and they experienced her later on because of the delays she had experienced here in New York. Unfortunately, that story also involves the fact that she couldn't afford to access all of her care out of state, so she was forced to travel out of state to initiate her abortion care and then return to New York State to complete her care, so you can only imagine the experience that she had.

MAJORITY LEADER CUMBO: What is the experience that many women face that live in this state where they don't have access, what are we finding that they do if they do not actually travel outside of their state, what do illegal abortion options, illegal look like in a state and do we know the health outcomes for women that participate because they have no other choice?

MARISA NADAS: I think that's a great question, it's hard for me to speak to that

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specifically because I'm fortunate enough to be practicing here in New York so I'm not directly taking care of those women and I'm only hearing those stories from other colleagues.

MAJORITY LEADER CUMBO: Okay, thank you very much. Thank you for your service and thank you for the work that you do... oh, you wanted to speak to that, thank you.

ASHLEY GRAY: Yeah, I'm happy to try and I'm the State Advocacy Advisor for the Center for Reproductive Rights. So, we track and monitor restrictive and proactive legislation in all 50 states and what we're seeing in states like Texas is women crossing the border to get medication abortion in Mexico, we're also seeing a higher rate of selfinduction and the self-induction language especially in the, the New York Criminal Code right now is... disproportionately effects women of color and women of lower income backgrounds who, who don't have access or, or have financial barriers to seek the care they need and try to take matters into their own hands and so that's another aspect of why the reproductive health act is so important to New York women.

1	COMMITTEE ON WOMEN
2	MAJORITY LEADER CUMBO: And can you give
3	me that term again?
4	ASHLEY GRAY: Self-induction or
5	MAJORITY LEADER CUMBO: what does that
6	actually look like?
7	ASHLEY GRAY: It's self-managed abortion.
8	So, this day and age it's abortion pills, it's two
9	pills that you take. I'm sure the, the providers can
LO	explain more about the pills but it's we're, we're
L1	it's, it's women who take one pill to, to stop the
L2	pregnancy and then another to induce a miscarriage.
L3	MAJORITY LEADER CUMBO: And at what stage
L 4	of a pregnancy can you do that, and it be effective?
L5	ASHLEY GRAY: Before 12 weeks, before
L 6	around nine to ten weeks is when it's most safe, yes
L7	MAJORITY LEADER CUMBO: And are we
L 8	finding that people… or women are doing it after tha
L 9	time frame?
20	ASHLEY GRAY: I can't speak to that, but
21	I am happy to follow up with partners at the Marker
22	Institute who track things like this and I can
23	provide more information later.

MAJORITY LEADER CUMBO: I think... I, I appreciate that because I think that that would be...

1	COMMITTEE ON WOMEN
2	it's important for us to know what's happening also
3	in states where women don't have access so… [cross-
4	talk]
5	ASHLEY GRAY: Uh-huh [cross-talk]
6	MAJORITY LEADER CUMBO:that way we can
7	all speak more powerfully to what the issue is and
8	what it's going to mean and what it is meaning if on
9	the federal level these horrific archaic… [cross-
10	talk]
11	ASHLEY GRAY: Uh-huh [cross-talk]
12	MAJORITY LEADER CUMBO:laws see the
13	light of day we have to be able to push back with an
14	understanding of the impact that its going to have o
15	the lives of women particularly women in low income
16	communities and of color.
17	ASHLEY GRAY: Absolutely.
18	MAJORITY LEADER CUMBO: Thank you.
19	REBECCA DONN: And if I could chime in
20	just to be clear self-induction is also happening
21	here in New York, women in poor communities and who
22	don't maybe have language barriers and access
23	barriers are actually getting these pills from
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bodegas and other places where they're actually... we...

so, we sometimes do see women who've self-induced who

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are coming in for follow up care or who've had an unsuccessful abortion so this is something that does happen in New York State as well.

MAJORITY LEADER CUMBO: Thank you.

CHAIRPERSON ROSENTHAL: Council Member

Kallos did you have a question?

COUNCIL MEMBER KALLOS: Yes, thank you Council Member and Chair of the Women's Committee Helen Rosenthal as well as all of the sponsors of this amazing Resolution, our Speaker, our Public Advocate Tish James who we will miss dearly but we will have fighting for us on a higher level very soon, Council Member Rosenthal and Ayala and Rivera. I want to touch on the, the services here in New York City for family planning so when, when I was a, a young, younger man I, I found myself at planned parenthood more often than not in terms of doing things like getting tested with somebody that I might be dating and making sure that we're planning around whether or not we wanted a family and I can tell you at that time I was not interested and, and neither were they. What kind of access do public school students have in New York City, do college students have and do low income... do just every day New Yorkers

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regardless of income have to these services and are they being provided at school-based health centers and what kind of services are available in a school building versus a referral out and how does that whole process work?

REBECCA DONN: Well I can tell you in terms of planned parenthood of New York City, we are able to access Title X funds so for low income folks of all ages regardless of age we are able to provide service... reproductive... you know sexual and reproductive health care services to all New Yorkers regardless of income so... in terms of exactly what's happening at school based health clinics I'm not... I'm not sure but... you know we also have education programs, so we're really committed to teaching New Yorkers about reproductive and sexual health care.

Title X, you mentioned a word that used to make me feel warm and fuzzy under previous present, you said the word federal, if there is... and I'm not sure if this question was already asked but if there's a cut to federal Title X funds what does that look like at least in New York City and how much would the city council probably be more than glad to, to put in to

1	COMMITTEE ON WOMEN
2	make sure that you can continue the great work that
3	you do?
4	REBECCA DONN: I think the last statistic
5	I heard of Planned Parenthood of New York City is
6	about a quarter of our budget is coming from Title X
7	funds so it's very significant to us having those
8	funds available. We are committed to providing those
9	services to patients regardless of income, it's
10	really important to not just teenagers but there may
11	be you know in terms of protecting confidentiality
12	it's really important to young people who may have
13	their parent's insurance that they're able to access
14	health care on their own so we, we really need those
15	funds, it's really important to us to keeping New
16	Yorkers healthy.
17	COUNCIL MEMBER KALLOS: And, and so
18	what's that price tag?
19	REBECCA DONN: That I would I would have
20	to ask my, my non my non-health care provider
21	colleagues about that.
22	COUNCIL MEMBER KALLOS: No worries, thank
23	you.

CHAIRPERSON ROSENTHAL: Thank you, I know you had more questions, we're trying to wrap up

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because we have a beautiful child here and we're going to have his father come testify next and I, I know he needs to get a move on so thank you Councilman Kallos, thank you everyone for your testimony today. I'd like to now call up Mr. Marschall, I don't want... Grannon Marschall... Garin, thank you; Emily Kadar from the National Institute for Reproductive Health; Lauren Riker from Reproductive, Reproductive Health Access Project and Tashiana Diaz from Peer Health Exchange and Mr. Marschall I'd like you to go speak whenever you want to speak possibly first and don't feel you need to stay if you need to... if, if you get a little distracted. Alright, so just be sure to turn on the microphone, you'll see the red button and speak into the mic, thank you. If you could start Mr. Marschall.

GARIN MARSCHELL: Thank you and thank you for accommodating my little situation. I wanted to come today just to share my story and share a story of some other patients that my wife and I helped represent. Our story... my wife and I were 30 weeks into a fairly complicated pregnancy when we got very disturbing news about the pregnancy. We found out that there was a development that meant that the

baby if, if born would not be able to breath and
again this was discovered at 30 weeks when we got
this diagnosis so in that moment we were obviously
crushed, we were heartbroken, it was very much a
wanted pregnancy and it had been very difficult all
30 weeks through that pregnancy and when we got this
news we did what most people do when they get bad
news from a doctor, they sort of ask their doctor
okay well what do we do, you know what do we do now.
So, and, and that's, that's the moment that I want to
focus on because our doctor was not able to then
suggest a course of action that they could help us
with, they could not treat us. We found out that my
wife's health would also be threatened in this
situation, she had had a brain surgery the year
before and if she went into spontaneous labor she
could die. So, we were in a situation where we wanted
to sort of avoid undue suffering on the part of a
potential child who might live for moments and then
choke for air and die and also to avoid any risk to
my wife's health and ensure her fertility beyond that
and I'm glad we did that. So but that's when we
found out about New York State's law, that we were
past the cut off at 24 weeks, our only option was to

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travel out of state for care. There are three
providers in the country that will treat patients in
situations like ours that late in pregnancy and take
patients from out of state; they're in New Mexico,
Colorado and Bethesda. Our doctor had had good
outcomes with patients he had sent to Colorado, so we
went there. When we were arranging a course of care
we found out that normally the procedure costs around
25,000 dollars [cross-talk]

MAJORITY LEADER CUMBO: Oh, my god...

it up front out of pocket and that's because they...
insurance companies don't often reimburse people for
care and obviously you're forced out of network in
this situation and we simply didn't have the
resources for that. Due to my wife's specific
situation we were able to... like the patient... the
provider mentioned we got the first part of the
procedure in Colorado which is a shot and then flew
back and had the induction at Sinai which was a... you
know we flew back that night after terminating the
pregnancy and then my wife went through 36 hours of
labor... [cross-talk]

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2 MAJORITY LEADER CUMBO: Oh god... [cross-

3 talk]

GARIN MARSCHELL: ...on a labor and delivery ward at Sinai. So, that's, that's what we're asking patients to do a lot of times, the ones that can afford to get care. And then you're dealing with... you know everyone is seeing you pregnant, very pregnant, pregnancy's a very public thing and then all of the sudden you're having to explain your situation to people, explain why you had to leave for a week. Usually the procedure takes about a week when you fly into these places. So, just the cost of travel, the cost of the procedure itself which is again usually not reimbursed obviously ensures that many people would simply not be able to get care and are then forced to carry pregnancies that are either unhealthy to the point where their life is actually threatened or forced to carry pregnancies that, that are non-viable, you know through the point at which the pregnancy is, is finished. So, we... I, I also just want to share another story. My wife and I got involved and, and we found out about the reproductive health act and efforts by people like in our area to sort of fix this law in New York State and we've been

sharing our story as much as possible. We've talked
to plenty of people in Albany about this and after
about a year of doing this we met another couple from
Brooklyn that had to travel, they traveled in
December which meant that we had failed so I want to
read her story which has been submitted in testimony
as well. I was into the third trimester of a very
much wanted planned and healthy pregnancy when a
routine OB visit turned into our worst nightmare, a
scan had revealed that the fetus had not been
developing correctly and I was rushed to a specialist
for further examination. After a full and devastating
day of meeting with the top medical professionals in
their field our worst fears were confirmed. The fetus
if it made it to delivery had little chance for
survival and if so would lead an excruciatingly
painful and short life, my health too was now at
risk. What followed was a painful decision between my
doctors, my husband and I that terminating the
pregnancy was the best and necessary decision. After
the heartbreaking decision was made my doctors then
told me I would have to get on a plane and travel
across the country to receive the medical care that
we all agreed I needed. I was shocked to learn there

was a 24-week cut off in New York even when the
health of the mother is at risk or with a non-viable
fetus. It is often neglected to be discussed that
many problems occur in the third trimester of
pregnancy even though it is more uncommon. It was a
physically, emotionally and financially excruciating
experience to have been provided health care I needed
in my home state would have made a world of
difference. I'm also acutely aware that we were
incredibly lucky to be able to have the financial
resources and supportive medical team to make sure
that I was taken care of. Many women in New York are
not this lucky and that has to change. If not it's
not if this happens to another woman in New York
it's when and that's the point, this happens, you
know a year and a half after ours when we met them,
these efforts are continuing to fail due to inaction
in Albany and we have to fix this. So, I thank you
for taking this up today and listening to terrible
stories.

CHAIRPERSON ROSENTHAL: I'm going to use Chair's privilege just to thank you... [cross-talk]

MAJORITY LEADER CUMBO: Uh-huh... [cross-

25 talk]

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CHAIRPERSON ROSENTHAL: Every individual reacts to a tragedy their own way, you have it within you to share your story with others but really, you're just sharing the story of many other people, you're just able to come forward to let legislators and advocates know so thank you for that.

GARIN MARSCHELL: Thank you...

CHAIRPERSON ROSENTHAL: You're doing...

you're doing a mitzva for everyone else and you know

it's just so frustrating that legislators there are

those who can't hear what you're saying... [cross-talk]

GARIN MARSCHELL: Yeah... [cross-talk]

CHAIRPERSON ROSENTHAL: ...but there are so many of us who... while we've had other experiences have not had that type of hellacious experience and it's very easy for a legislator to say oh, something like that is rare or really doesn't happen so therefore we're just writing the language this way for another reason but we need people like you to come forward to make it clear that no, no, it does happen to people and there is a reason why you would put in the language for not just life of the mother but for the health of the mother.

GARIN MARSCHELL: Yes...

1	COMMITTEE ON WOMEN
2	CHAIRPERSON ROSENTHAL: So, thank you so
3	much for coming forward.
4	GARIN MARSCHELL: Thank you.
5	CHAIRPERSON ROSENTHAL: And whatever you
6	need to do.
7	GARIN MARSCHELL: Yeah.
8	CHAIRPERSON ROSENTHAL: Congratulations
9	on your… [cross-talk]
10	GARIN MARSCHELL: Thank you thank you
11	[cross-talk]
12	CHAIRPERSON ROSENTHAL:second full term
13	pregnancy. Please.
14	LAURA RIKER: Hello, thank you Council
15	Member Rosenthal for convening this hearing today and
16	thank you Public Advocate James for introducing this
17	important Resolution before the Committee. My name is
18	Laura Riker and I'm the Senior Program Manager at the
19	Reproductive Health Access Project. We are a national
20	nonprofit organization that trains and supports
21	primary care clinicians to integrate abortion,
22	contraception and miscarriage care into their
23	clinical settings. We're based in New York and

therefore we work very extensively throughout the

state. Because our work focuses on primary care and

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primary care clinics, we see firstnand now uneven
access to abortion is for folks in different parts of
the state. Primary care providers are the main
providers of health care in rural and medically
underserved parts of New York and I work with
providers in areas of the state where access to
specialized reproductive health care is severely
limited which forces many women across New York to
travel for hours in order to get the care that they
need and lack of abortion training for these
clinician populations directly impacts the ability of
women in these areas to access abortion care within
their own communities. Currently there are 34 family
medicine residency programs in the state, of these
only five provide comprehensive abortion training and
they're on all in Albany or New York City. None of
these residency programs are in state funded
universities or in public hospitals and for non-
physician clinicians' access is even more limited.
Things would only get worse if Roe were to fall and
we do pass the reproductive health act. We work to
fill in the training gaps for these post residency
clinicians. So, for example, last month we hosted a
medication abortion training in the city which drew a

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large, large audience of nurse practitioners, nurse midwives, students and family physicians who are fired up and committed to integrating medication abortion into their clinics. One woman shared that as a future family nurse practitioner coming to this training would help her protect the autonomy and self-determination of her patients, which makes her a better provider. We work towards a future where abortion care is mainstreaming to routine health care, available in community health centers and publicly funded clinics and being able to off same day in office abortion services to women across the state is critical not... for not only maintaining but improving access and the reproductive health act would help us to ensure that clinicians in our state are able to continue providing these services but also would expand access to training so that they can give their patients the care that they deserve. Thank you.

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CHAIRPERSON ROSENTHAL: Thank you.

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EMILY KADAR: Good morning, my name is

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Emily Kadar and I'm here today to represent the

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National Institute for Reproductive Health. Thank

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you, Council Member Rosenthal, Public Advocate James

and all the committee members for holding this
hearing today. As one of the organizations leading
the fight to decriminalize abortion in New York
State, NIRH strongly supports the resolution calling
upon our state legislature to finally pass the
Reproductive Health Act. The city council understands
that the Trump-Pence administration is determined to
institute draconian policies restricting access to
abortion and reproductive health care and that the
nomination of Brett Kavanaugh to the Supreme Court
threatens to undo any federal protection of abortion
rights. Given this immediate and very real risk, the
state legislature must take action to update New
York's abortion law by passing the RHA. Our state
still treats abortion like a crime rather than health
care, and there is too much at stake to maintain the
status quo for yet another legislative session.
Because our laws regulating abortion are so outdated,
pregnant individuals who have serios complications
later in pregnancy are sometimes forced to leave New
York in order to get the safe, legal abortion care
that they need as we just heard. I also want to draw
the council's attention to the fact that the New York
State law also contains a civil war era criminal

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prohibition on self-abortion, which we were talking about a bit earlier which means that women who end their own pregnancies can face potential arrests, prosecution and jail time. And as a result, women who have ended their own pregnancies in New York have been arrested and charged under New York's criminal abortion statute. No woman should fear arrest or jail for ending her own pregnancy and that is another provision in our law that the reproductive health act will fix. Finally, I also just want to reinforce that the RHA would ensure that qualified health care providers including advanced practice clinicians like nurse practitioners and physician assistants can provide abortion services within their expertise and training. Our law must reflect the reality of how care is being... is actually happening here in New York State right now. We need both houses of the legislature to pass this bill as soon as they begin session in January and it must be a top priority. Thank you.

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CHAIRPERSON ROSENTHAL: Thank you.

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TASHIANA DIAZ: Thank you Council Member

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Rosenthal for convening this hearing today and thank

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you Public Advocate James for introducing the

2	Resolution before the committee. My name is Tashiana
3	Diaz and I am the New York City Associate Program
4	Director for Peer Health Exchange. Peer Health
5	Exchange or PHE empowers young people with the
6	knowledge, skills and resources to make healthy
7	decisions. We do this by training college volunteers
8	to teach a skills-based health curriculum in public
9	schools focusing on sexual health, mental health and
10	substance misuse prevention. In addition to
11	addressing topics such as consent and refusal skills,
12	we also teach young people how to access their
13	school-based health center or local community clinic
14	for health care. After receiving our curriculum 86
15	percent of 9 th graders know how to access
16	contraception versus 65 percent that have received
17	PHE. The resolution before you calls on the New York
18	State legislator to pass the reproductive health act
19	legislation that would update and improve New York
20	States New York's antiquated laws around abortion. I
21	strongly support the RHA and this resolution. At 20
22	years old, while I was nearing the end of college I
23	got pregnant, it was a terrifying experience. Not
24	only was I in school and 100 percent incapable of
25	raising a child on my own but I was in an abusive

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relationship with the man who got me pregnant. Once I was sure I was pregnant however I was able to reluctantly get my mother involved and get an abortion at a hospital, hospital by applying for emergency Medicaid. Without that option I would have been stuck in an abusive partnership and definitely not be in the place I am today, 14 weeks pregnant in a happy, healthy marriage and at an organization that supports all people despite of race, ethnicity, gender identity. continued access to these resources will possibly give young women like myself the option to not be forced to stay with their abuser. Also having programs like Peer Health Exchange who educate young people on consent, an agency to make healthy decisions could also help in finding resources before it's too late. Thank you.

CHAIRPERSON ROSENTHAL: Thank you all for your testimony, one quick question, are you aware of any New York City district attorney filing criminal charges against an individual or health care provider under the current law?

EMILY KADAR: So, there was a case in which there were initial filed... charges filed in Manhattan a few years ago which were I think fairly

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2	quickly dropped once the DA sort of recognized the
3	possible ramifications of that where criminal
4	abortion was included as one of the charges but I
5	know that some of colleagues here are from the SIA
6	legal team and they'll be able to talk I think more
7	extensively about how self-managed abortion care, the
8	importance of making sure that it is legally
9	protected especially right now under the
10	circumstances that we're seeing federally.
11	CHAIRPERSON ROSENTHAL: I appreciate
12	that, thank you and I will count on your colleagues
13	to testify about that… [cross-talk]
14	EMILY KADAR: Yes… [cross-talk]
15	CHAIRPERSON ROSENTHAL:to make sure
16	that's all on the record.
17	EMILY KADAR: Yes… [cross-talk]
18	CHAIRPERSON ROSENTHAL: Thank you all
19	very much. I'm going to call up the next panel; we
20	have Emily Gertz from the National Advocates for
21	Pregnant Women, Professor Cynthia Soohoo, Soohoo from
22	the Human Rights Gender Justice Clinic, Farah Diaz-
23	Tello from the SIA Legal Team and Justine Kahn from
24	the Door, a Center of Alternatives, thank you. And if

I could ask that Emily Gertz begin. Thank you.

2	EMILY GERTZ: Thank you for having me
3	here today and for this important Resolution. The
4	National Advocates for Pregnant Women secures the
5	civil and human rights of all pregnant women whether
6	they choose to have an abortion, experience a
7	pregnancy loss or go to term. One of the perspectives
8	we can bring to the chamber today is to remind the
9	council and our allies that these archaic penal laws
. 0	impacts more than women who choose to have an
.1	abortion but also can impact women who have
.2	pregnancies that they want to bring to term. I can
.3	share this story quickly of Ms. Rinat Dray, who in
. 4	2010 was pregnant with her third child and desired to
.5	have VBAC, a vaginal birth after cesarean. She sought
. 6	a doctor in a hospital who supported her in her
.7	efforts but when she went into labor her chosen
.8	doctor was not on duty and the doctor who took care
. 9	of her did not share her desire for a VBAC. He
20	pressured her continuously to have the cesarean
21	surgery and when she consistently and continuously
22	refused he sought the support of his superiors and
23	hospital counsel to override her desires and forced
24	her to have a c-section. He wrote simply in her
25	medical record quote, "Ms this woman has decisional

capacity, I have chosen to override her refusal to
have a c-section. Ms. Dray was wheeled into the
operating room and surgery was performed upon her".
Since 1973 abortion opponents around the country have
worked tirelessly to restrict access to abortion by
giving rights to fertilize eggs, embryos and fetuses
and by performing an unconsented to surgery on Ms.
Dray that morning or day not only did they strip Ms.
Dray of her due process they also stripped her of her
fundamental rights including bodily integrity and
fundamental liberty. As she… as Ms. Dray has sought
redress for the violation she suffered through the
court system fetal rights have been used as the
hospitals continued argument for why they felt it
okay to perform this surgery on her. In fact, one
trial court judge stated New York quote, "recognizes
an interest in the protection of a viable fetus by
retaining the crimes of abortion and self-abortion".
Another words, because of these penal law's women do
lose their civil and human rights during pregnancy.
We urge the New York State legislature to pass the
reproductive health act so that all women have rights
not only those who choose abortion but those who also

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like Ms. Dray want to carry their pregnancies to term. Thank you.

CYNTHIA SOOHOO: Thank you, Council Member Rosenthal and Public Advocate James. My name is Cynthia Soohoo and I am the Co-director of the Human Rights and Gender Justice Clinic at CUNY Law School. Our clinic has documented laws used to criminally prosecute women for ending their own pregnancies in the U.S. and critiqued why such laws violate the human rights of women. As others have testified, New York was a trailblazer in recognizing women's right to access reproductive health care and New York City has also been a strong champion for women's human rights. However, the Supreme Court's recognition of the right to safe... however, after the Supreme Court's recognition of the right to safe and legal abortion in Roe versus Wade, New York State failed to update its laws to repeal criminal abortion provisions. As a result, we've relied on prosecutors to exercise restraint and recognize that criminally prosecuting women for abortion is unconstitutional and violates women's human rights. Unfortunately, as our clinic has documented in New York and other states, prosecutors continue to use pre-Roe laws like

those in New York to criminally prosecute women for
ending their own pregnancies, including in 2011, the
prosecution of a New York City woman for allegedly
drinking an herbal tea to induce an abortion. Given
current, current uncertainty about the direction of
the Supreme Court, it is imperative for New Yorkers
to ensure that our laws reflect our values and
commitment to reproductive rights and in particular
that no one should be arrested for or imprisoned for
ending their own pregnancy. Recognizing the
fundamental rights at stake, international human
rights experts condemn laws that criminalize women
for ending their pregnancies and consistently call on
countries to repealing such laws. Indeed, in 2017,
the United Nations Working Group on Discrimination
Against Women called on New York State to, to pass
the reproductive health act. The findings of
international human rights experts confirm what our
Supreme Court has said and what most New Yorkers
already know; the ability to decide whether or not to
end a pregnancy is central to the dignity the right
to dignity and bodily autonomy. Human rights experts
have also recognized that imposing criminal penalties
in abortion constitutes discrimination against women.

2	The experience of other countries with criminal
3	abortion laws is instructive. In countries like El
4	Salvador, emergency rooms and other medical settings
5	have become sites of arrest and interrogation
6	subjecting women suspected of ending their
7	pregnancies to mistreatment and prosecution including
8	women who have suffered spontaneous miscarriages and
9	stillbirths. The reproductive health act provides the
10	opportunity for New York to once again become a
11	leader in protecting the human rights of women. We
12	strongly support this resolution and encourage
13	passage of the act.
14	CHAIRPERSON ROSENTHAL: Alright, just one
15	quick question on that before I forget, the… you
16	mentioned the 2011 case… [cross-talk]
17	Cynthia: Uh-huh… [cross-talk]
18	CHAIRPERSON ROSENTHAL: Is that the one
19	that Miss Kadar reflected on a moment before with the
20	case that the DA later dropped?
21	CYNTHIA SOOHOO: I believe it was and I
22	think that my colleague Farah Diaz-Tello… [cross-
23	talk]
24	CHAIRPERSON ROSENTHAL: Oh, great

25 [cross-talk]

1	COMMITTEE ON WOMEN
2	CYNTHIA SOOHOO:is going to talk more
3	[cross-talk]
4	CHAIRPERSON ROSENTHAL:sorry [cross-
5	talk]
6	CYNTHIA SOOHOO:about that, yeah
7	[cross-talk]
8	CHAIRPERSON ROSENTHAL: Thank you very
9	much.
10	FARAH DIAZ-TELLO: Hi, good morning and
11	thank you for the opportunity to speak on this
12	important issue. My name is Farah Diaz-Tello and I'm
13	Senior Counsel for the SIA Legal Team which works to
14	transform the legal landscape so that people who end
15	their pregnancies outside of the formal medical
16	system can do so with dignity and without fear of
17	punishment. And I want to focus on the parts of New
18	York's law concerning abortion and put us firmly in
19	the back of the pack in the rest of the country. As
20	Public Advocate James mentioned earlier we're one of
21	only seven states that retains a law criminalizing
22	self-managed abortion and of those states we're one
23	of only four that still believes that their law is

enforceable the rest have been deemed unenforceable

by courts or by attorney generals. I notice that it

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seems to come as a bit of surprise for the committee
that self-managed abortion is something that still
happens and that it's not just a relic of pre-Roe
past and the truth is that self-managed abortion has
always existed and will always continue to exist for
a variety of reasons and those reasons might be
people who lack access or who have well founded
suspicions about the medical the medical system
because of histories of unconsented medical testing
to fears about being harassed by clinic protesters
but they may also may include reasons like wanting a
private more self-directed experience in the comfort
of their own home. You asked earlier how many people
are having self-managed abortions and the truth is we
can't really tell because they only come to our
attention either when something goes wrong or when,
when a criminal prosecution happens but we do know is
that research from the Texas Policy Evaluation
Project found that among Texas women, up to four
percent of women of reproductive age had attempted to
end a pregnancy on their own at some point and
research into google searches for terms related to
self-managed abortions found that in the course of
one month more than 210,000 searches in the United

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States for self-managed abortion had, had occurred. Lawmakers always ask me how many arrests there have been and I... the question I really wish that they would ask is how many more women have to suffer the humiliation of arrests and criminal interrogation before we recognize the folly and danger of treating a public health issue under the criminal code. The women who suffer are women like Yaribely Almonte, the Washington Heights woman who was arrested after drinking a tea allegedly to end a pregnancy. Women like domestic violence survivor Katrina Pierce who was arrested in West Monroe after allegedly taking a handful of, of over the counter pain medications in an unsuccessful bid to end a pregnancy and was still charged with a crime for it. The pattern that we see at the SIA Legal Team is that as long as there is a way for prosecutors to prosecute people for ending their pregnancies they're going to find a way to do it, the time is now to fix this problem in New York's law. Thank you.

JUSTINE KAHN: Good morning, thank you to the Council and Public Advocate James. My name is Justine Kahn and I'm representing the Door Adolescent Health Center. The Door's mission is to empower young

people to reach their full potential by providing
comprehensive youth development services in a diverse
and caring environment. Since 1872, the Door has
helped rapidly growing population of young people in
New York City gain the tools they need to become
successful in school, in work, and in life. Each
year, the Door serves 11,000 young people from all
over the city, with a wide range of services
including reproductive health care and education,
mental health counseling and crisis assistance, legal
assistance, career and education services, supportive
housing, sports and recreational activities, arts,
and nutritious meals all under one roof. The
resolution before you now calls on the New York State
legislature to pass the reproductive health act,
legislation which would update and improve New York's
antiquated laws around abortion. I strongly support
the RHA and this resolution. The Door agrees that in
passing the RHA and thereby moving our abortion law
from the criminal code to the health code, regulating
abortion as the medical procedure it is, New York
would be better protecting its residents. It would be
better protecting its health care providers from
prosecution, it would recognize and protect advanced

medical advanced practice providers who perform
abortions within their scope of practice, it would be
protecting individuals face, facing major health
complications late in pregnancy by creating an
exception to the ban on abortion after 24 weeks, it
would no longer criminalize women who self-manage
their abortions, it would protect women from having
to travel out of state for care or waiting until
their health was in jeopardy before having access to
an abortion all of which will be possible should the
Trump administration overturn Roe. The State Assembly
has passed this bill too many times, but it has been
blocked again and again by the New York State Senate
and by anti-choice leadership. With our rights under
attack at the federal level and states around the
country restricting abortion access, we cannot afford
to waste any more time. We need both houses of the
legislature to pass this act as soon as possible in
January. This must be a top priority. I thank the New
York City Council and Public Advocate James for
taking a stand and urging your colleagues in Albany
to pass this reproductive health act. Thank you.

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CHAIRPERSON ROSENTHAL: Thank you all so much. I have questions but I'm going to defer to the Public Advocate to begin.

PUBLIC ADVOCATE JAMES: I just have one question for Miss Farah Diaz-Tello. The cases that you cited are relatively recent cases based on decisions, were all of these cases prosecuted by local DAs or the office of the Attorney General?

FARAH DIAZ-TELLO: They were local DAs as

far as I know.

PUBLIC ADVOCATE JAMES: And in the case involving our Staten Island... the hospital, the Staten Island University Hospital, who... in that particular case who prosecuted that case?

FARAH DIAZ-TELLO: That wasn't a criminal prosecution, that was an active medical malpractice among other things so… [cross-talk]

PUBLIC ADVOCATE JAMES: It was a civil...
[cross-talk]

FARAH DIAZ-TELLO: ...so, it's a civil matter, yeah, so one of the arguments that the hospital has raised in that case is that they're justified in prevent... in preventing harm to a fetus

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by any means necessary including cutting into an
unwilling woman.

PUBLIC ADVOCATE JAMES: And in any of those cases did any elected official intervene and oppose?

FARAH DIAZ-TELLO: Not that I know of.

PUBLIC ADVOCATE JAMES: Thank you.

CHAIRPERSON ROSENTHAL: Thank you Public Advocate James. Many of you have focused on the importance of repealing the provisions related to abortion and the penal law additionally how can... is there an additional way that the city council can support the expansion of access to abortion?

CYNTHIA SOOHOO: I mean I, I think that the city council should be spearheading efforts to make sure that there's access to services, you know I, I think that also if we... Supreme Court... if some, something happens to Roe versus Wade I think what we're going to see is more people coming to New York and I think that that's going to underscore the need for us to expand the health services we provide to make sure that there are, are enough for New Yorkers and also for other women who might be forced to come to New York. I also wanted to add we're lucky

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actually that we have Melissa Upreti who is from the U.N. working group on Discrimination Against Women who will talk in more detail about why this is a human rights issue but I, I want to add that the experience that the man testified about earlier, denial of, of an abortion for a woman who needs an abortion for health or because the fetus is not viable that human rights bodies have said denial of, of... access to an abortion in those situations is cruel, cruel... it's a... it's a cruel and degrading treatment and could rise to torture.

EMILY GERTZ: I just wanted to add that the city council can continue to remind people that abortion and reproductive health care in general is simply health care. Estimates are that one in three or one in four women will have an abortion in their lifetime, we know that about 84 percent of women who have abortions are already mothers so people who have abortions are not a separate group of people, they are simply people who needed an abortion at one point in their life, maybe have a child before and may have children afterwards so... it's essential that we just consider this as part of the health care that 50

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percent of the population may need to access in their lifetime.

PUBLIC ADVOCATE JAMES: Madame Chair may

I just follow up with one simple question? On all the

cases that were cited did, did... do the women... did she

get legal counsel, is she entitled to legal counsel

anywhere, is... are there... are there legal services for

them individually and if so where?

FARAH DIAZ-TELLO: There should be, so
the for the most part these women who qualified for
indigent defense, as we see most time... most often
people who are self-managing their own abortions are
people who can't otherwise afford them, that's not
universally the case but it's often the case so they
may have access to a public defender, they are very
unlikely to have access to private counsel but those
are the circumstances that they're under. And I also...
I'd like to, to the earlier question underscore the
point that decriminalizing abortion... [cross-talk]

PUBLIC ADVOCATE JAMES: Right... [cross-

FARAH DIAZ-TELLO: ...finally delivering on Roe's promise, to decriminalize abortion is an access issue, the difference between a safe self-managed

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abortion and a dangerous one is whether the person has access to information and access to, to, to medical care and back up in case they need it and when people fear arrest for seeking help they're not going to seek help so this is... this is really a health access issue.

PUBLIC ADVOCATE JAMES: And I'm

particularly concerned about women outside of... I mean

New York City obviously there's a plethora of

resources but once you get outside of New York City

particularly upstate we've got a lot of work to do.

CHAIRPERSON ROSENTHAL: Thank you. And I do just want to thank you for talking about how this is a human rights issue and let you know that we did hear from Rinat Dray at our maternal mortality hearing back in June, so I appreciate your referencing her again. Thank you. I'm going to move on to the next panel; we have Jessie Losch from WHARR, Melissa Upreti, Upreti from the U.N. Working Group on Discrimination Against Women, we have Andrea Salwen Kopel from the National Council of Jewish Women in New York, thank you all for being here. And Jessie if you could begin.

JESSIE LOSCH: So, thank you all so much
and thank you everybody for testifying as well and I
know everybody knows how and why the RHA is vital so
I will skip that and really just say that New York
has a storied history as a haven for those who need
it most in so many ways and we need to be that again
and so, WHARR, the Women's Health and Reproductive
Rights group is a subgroup of get organized Brooklyn
so a thank you to Brad Lander for creating that
opportunity for all of us and I'm a Co-chair for
WHARR, I'm also a preschool teacher and an
interpreter for sex traffickers and so when I was
thinking of what to say and, and who's story I could
tell I realized that there were too many, there are
there are too many stories that, that over score the
importance of, of why we need this and, and so the
one that stood out is the one that's just the most
recent and that is the story of one of the women
whose children I have the pleasure of seeing every
day in my preschool, twin boys who are two and their
mom Rachel was pregnant again with another boy, her
husband was thrilled, I'm not so sure that three she
was thrilled with a third boy under the age of, of
two and everything was going well for the first five

months. Her twins came in every day with the story of
being a big brother, they were drawing pictures,
Rachel had a routine ultrasound about three months
ago and they found that the fetus that she was
carrying had no lymphatic or renal system which is
the reason that she wasn't showing so well and
because the fetus was actually relying on her own
systems to filter out the kidney the poisonous in
his own blood. So, the doctor said that should she
carry to term this was actually a considered a
viable fetus because he would live a few hours before
extensively suffocating in, in those poisons, dying
of blood poisoning so he gave her a choice to choose
to carry to term and then watch this happen, the
other choice was that she and her husband had one day
to make this decision because they were at the very
end of this time period where this was legal so they
had to basically do all this at once, they had to
grieve a very wanted pregnancy, they had to make
childcare decisions, they had to make appointments
and they had to explain to their boys that they would
not be becoming big brothers at least right away. We
have not caught up with science with the times and
with human rights. We have you know I saw my school

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go into emergency mode and take care of Rachel and of her boys and of her family and I trust that we in New York State will do that again but I don't trust that we will do that legally and so I know that the Assembly has passed this so many times and I'm asking that the Senate catch up and that we do this on behalf of Rachel and her boys and her family as well. So, I thank you very much for your fight.

ANDREA SALWEN-KOPEL: Hello, thank you Public Advocate James for introducing this Resolution before the committee and thank you Council Member Rosenthal for convening this hearing today. My name is Andrea Salwen-Kopel and I'm the Executive Director of National Council of Jewish Women New York, we're known as NCJW New York and we are a grass roots organization of volunteers and advocates who turn progressive ideas into action. We are inspired by our Jewish values to strive for social justice and improve the quality of life for women, children and families and to safeguard individual rights and freedoms and we think it's very important to be here today. We are a 125-year-old organization and I suspect that for that entire 125 years we've been working for reproductive rights and justice for women

as an integral part of women's equality. We think
that as a faith-based organization we have a special
role to play in this issue where as we all know anti-
choice advocates claim to have god and faith on their
side. Our official testimony in the record of course
echoes everything that people have said about the
importance of this legislation in updating New York
State's antiquated abortion laws, the reason why the
reasons why that's important and the ways in which it
does that so I won't repeat that here since my, my
colleagues and our coalition partners and lawyers and
professors and doctors have done that so very well
but I did just want to conclude by saying that NCJW
New York is committed to creating a world where all
people regardless of race, class, gender, sexuality,
ability, or immigration status have the right to
choose whether and when to have children, to build
their families and to live their lives with dignity.
Our Jewish values teach us that reproductive freedoms
are integrally bound to our religious liberty, we are
committed to advancing the goals of reproductive
justice such that all people can make their own moral
decisions about their bodies, their health, their
family informed by their own religious beliefs and

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their own faith and that is why we will continue to work with our coalition partners in this fight to finally see the reproductive health act passed and signed into law and once again we thank you.

CHAIRPERSON ROSENTHAL: Thank you. I think your mic... [cross-talk]

MELISSA UPRETI: Can you hear me now? Thank you very much. Good morning everyone and thank you Council Member Rosenthal and Public Advocate James. My name is Melissa Upreti and I am a Special Mandate Holder appointed by the United Nations to examine laws and practices that discriminate against women and I'm a member of the United Nations Working Group on Discrimination Against Women in law and in practice. In 2017, the working group sent a letter to the United States urging the passage of the reproductive health act in New York and as set forth in the letter which is available publicly and I shall send you a copy later, the working group expressed concern about measures taken by states that undermine women and girl's equal rights to health and specifically their right to reproductive health as well as their right to physical integrity. Such measures run contrary to international human right

standards and to the obligations undertaken by the
United States including through its ratification of
the international covenant on civil and political
rights also frequently referred to as the ICCPR. One
particularly troubling aspect of New York's current
law governing abortion is that it criminalizes women
who end their own pregnancies. Criminalization of
abortion and the failure to provide adequate access
for the safe termination of an unwanted pregnancy
constitute discrimination on the basis of sex and
contravention of Article two of the ICCPR. The
working group has called for protection of the right
to safe termination of pregnancy in the context of
the right to life enshrined in Article six of the
ICCPR. The criminalization of termination of
pregnancy as we can tell from the stories this
morning deters health officials from carrying out
safe abortion procedures thus increasing the number
of women resorting to unsafe methods of pregnancy
termination. Ultimately criminalization does grave
harm to women's health and human rights by
stigmatizing a safe and commonly needed medical
procedure. Also, such provisions deter women who have
had abortions outside of a clinical setting from

2	obtaining help if complications arise. The working
3	group is of the view that criminalizing the
4	termination of a pregnancy instrumentalizes women's
5	bodies, undercuts women's autonomy and unnecessarily
6	as well as unjustly puts their lives and health at
7	risk. As we have seen here and across the world, the
8	treatment of abortion as a criminal matter often
9	produces harmful collateral consequences including
10	the imprisonment of women who have had miscarriages.
11	Criminalization of self-induced abortion raises
12	concern about the impact on low income women who due
13	to limited means and reduced access to health care
14	are most likely to seek to terminate their own
15	pregnancies and consequently most likely to be harmed
16	by the current legislation. In the last few years a
17	number of human rights mechanisms have moved to
18	requiring decriminalization including as an immediate
19	obligation of states. Criminalization of abortion has
20	been deemed a form of gender-based violence that
21	depending on the circumstances may amount to torture
22	or cruel inhuman and degrading treatment. There is no
23	doubt that women's access to safe abortion is
24	critical to their ability to realize many other
25	fundamental human rights. The right to equality and

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2	the highest available standard of health care and the
3	right to nondiscrimination and access to health
4	services including those related to sexual and
5	reproductive health require specific protection.
6	Equality and the supply of health services requires a
7	differential approach to women and men in accordance
8	with their biological needs and the right to safe
9	termination of pregnancy is an equality right for
10	women. Punitive measures must not be enforced against
11	women seeking to make decisions about their health,
12	safety and wellbeing. On behalf of the working group
13	I would like to say that we do indeed welcome this
14	resolution and urge New York State to pass the bill
15	in order to ensure that women's most basic human
16	rights are guaranteed, and that abortion is
17	decriminalized, to do so would be consistent with
18	international human rights law. We are watching, and
19	the world is watching. Thank you.
20	CHAIRPERSON ROSENTHAL: Thank you very
21	much, do you have copies of your testimony.
22	MELISSA UPRETI: I do, and I shall email
23	the… [cross-talk]
24	CHAIRPERSON ROSENTHAL: Very good, thank

CHAIRPERSON ROSENTHAL: Very good, thank you I was... just wanted to make sure and I have a

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quick follow up question for you given your wider perspective obviously working with the U.N. In the U.S. according to researchers at the University of California San Francisco, American women who are denied an abortion struggle more financially than women who undergo the procedure, women denied the procedure are less likely to be working full time one year later and are more likely to be receiving public assistance and living below the federal poverty line than women able to obtain an abortion, can you tell us more about the connection between reproductive freedom and economic opportunity?

MELISSA UPRETI: Well I think the two are critically linked and that's why the rights of a woman to control her fertility, the number, spacing, timing of her children has been recognized as a human right and the denial of that has been recognized as discrimination which percolates into every aspect of her life; economic, political and otherwise and it is amply clear that women who are not able to control their fertility also are not able to avail of opportunities to participate in the workforce and aside from that there is the whole issue of unpaid care work, the fact that a lot of work that women do

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is simply not valued, there is no monetary value assigned to it, that doesn't mean that women are not working and their work is not of value it just means that we live in an economic system that has an androcentric bias that does not put... assign that kind of value so the link is clear, I think it's just that it has not been adequately established through research but you know that's something that needs to be addressed.

much, thank you all for your testimony. We're going to call up our last panel; we have Ann Danforth form Raising Women's Voices New York, Odile Schalit from the Brigid Alliance and Mirah Curzer from the New York City Bar Association, thank you if you could all give your testimony to the Sergeant At Arms and we will begin, thank you.

ODILE SCHALIT: Thank you Council Member
Rosenthal and thank you Public Advocate James. My
name is Odile Schalit and I offer testimony today in
support of resolution 84. I do so with many years of
experience working with individuals seeking abortion
care as a full spectrum Doula, as a social worker and
currently as the Director of the Brigid Alliance. The

Brigid Alliance is a support service that provides
assistance to people who are forced to travel to seek
abortion care. We help individuals cover the
considerable cost for transportation and housing,
provide funds for gas and tolls and refer people to
local practical support networks where they exist.
Over my career I have assisted countless numbers of
women in accessing abortion care and informed and
informing them and counseling many who were beyond
the gestational limits. This experience has shown me
the enormous barriers women face in accessing
abortion care in New York State. The law as it stands
has resulted in gross inequity for and inordinate
burden to New York State women. This is due to the
gestational limitation, the restrictions of who may
provide abortion services and the pervasive fear of
persecution. While it may seem unbelievable to many
of us here, though not in this room, in New York
City, many women in New York State live in hostile
environments where it is hard to identify and access
trustworthy supportive providers who offer a full
spectrum of care. Given these barriers the
reproductive destinies of these individuals vary
widely. Some of these women will pursue their care,

often taking long treks from upstate New York to New
York City, an often-unfamiliar voyage. They will
leave children, jobs, partners, dependents behind;
they will be forced to disclose their very personal
experience and needs to unsupportive individuals,
they will be burdened with the myriad financial costs
of travel; gas, tolls, parking, bus, train, plane
tickets, hotels, meals, medications, child care. All
of these additional burdens have the potential of
creating emotional stress for these women, which may
even force them to abandon their plans to find the
most appropriate care for themselves. All of which
could have been avoided if there existed safe,
supportive and expert care in their local area.
Because of the gestational limit others will have to
leave New York State and travel even further across
state lines as Mr. Marschell discussed. Many of these
individuals are faced with the deeply complicated
experience of grief that comes from discovering a
fetal anomaly or a health issue that complicates the
viability of a wanted pregnancy for the safety of a
mother. It is unnecessary and cruel to cause this
additional pain by forcing such a person to surmount
the even greater logistical challenges of traveling

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so far away. There's so much more but I'm out of time. Oh, yeah so just to finish and to say the Brigid Alliance is proud to provide this work but simply put, we shouldn't have to exist, so we need this revision to this law, thank you so much for hearing my testimony.

CHAIRPERSON ROSENTHAL: Thank you.

MIRAH CURZER: Good morning, thank you to the Council and to Public Advocate James. My name is Mirah Curzer and the Co-chair of the Sex and Law Committee at the New York City Bar Association. The city bar has a longstanding commitment to upholding the principles of individual liberty and supporting the constitutionally protected freedom to make public health care... private health care decisions and reproductive choices. We reaffirm this commitment by supporting city council resolution 84, urging the New York State legislature to pass and the Governor to sign the reproductive health act. Although the New York law enacted in 1970 includes an exception for a performance of an abortion after 24 weeks when a women's life is at risk, the law currently does not contain an exception for women's health or for cases of fetal non-viability. Accordingly, it fails to

comply with the United States Supreme Court
precedence requiring that statutes governing abortion
permit abortion at any time prior to fetal viability
or in cases where a women's health is at risk. As
others have testified this has resulted in a
significant obstacle for women who find themselves in
the tragic circumstances of needing an abortion later
in pregnancy due to a severe fetal anomaly or a risk
to their own health. On a personal note, I am
currently 27 weeks pregnant which puts me past New
York State's 24 week cut off which would leave me
with no recourse under the penal law should my
pregnancy become a danger to my health or should my
fetus become diagnosed with a fatal abnormality. In
addition, New York's continued criminalization of
self-abortion stands as an outlier in the nation at
common law even when abortion was considered a crime
it was not a crime that a woman could commit upon
herself. New York State is one of only seven states
that elected to break with that tradition and even
among those outliers the ninth circuit has ruled at
least one self-abortion ban unconstitutional, another
has been declared unenforceable by the state attorney
general and a third has been declared

unconstitutional by a federal district court. Of
further note, by only authorizing abortions performed
by a physician, New York law has placed an obstacle
in the path of advanced practice clinicians acting in
their lawful scope of practice in the provision of
early non-surgical abortion. There is no valid
medical justification for a physician only limitation
as leading medical associations have endorsed the
provision of abortion by appropriately trained APCs.
Clarifying this legal ambiguity is critical
particularly in rural areas of the state where
providers are few and far between. Finally, New
York's law contains archaic provisions that have
since become obsolete or been held unconstitutional
by subsequent Supreme Court decisions including the
criminal ban on the sale of contraceptives to minors
and the requirement that second trimester abortions
be performed in hospitals. The act conforms New
York's law to current jurisprudence by repealing
these obsolete provisions which are not currently
followed in practice. The New York City Bar praises
the city council for standing up for the reproductive
rights of all New Yorkers and joins in it's call for

1	COMMITTEE ON WOMEN
2	the legislature's swift passage of the reproductive
3	health act. Thank you.
4	CHAIRPERSON ROSENTHAL: Thank you, I know
5	the Public Advocate has a question.
6	PUBLIC ADVOCATE JAMES: Sure, in your
7	thank you Madame Chair. In your testimony you talked
8	about the outdated and harmful facets of New York's
9	abortion related penal laws and you made reference to
10	several cases where it was declared unconstitutional,
11	one by the ninth circuit, the second one by the
12	attorney general and the third by a federal district
13	court, can you just elaborate a little bit
14	particularly as it relates to what were the
15	circumstances by which they were determined to be
16	unconstitutional and particularly in that one example
17	that you cited involving the office of attorney
18	general?
19	MIRAH CURZER: I apologize I don't have
20	the, the details in front of me at the moment
21	[cross-talk]

PUBLIC ADVOCATE JAMES: Okay... [cross-

23 talk]

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MIRAH CURZER: ...but I... they are in part of the appendix to the testimony that we've submitted

PUBLIC ADVOCATE JAMES: Okay, thank you,

I appreciate that.

to the council.

CHAIRPERSON ROSENTHAL: Thank you so much current Public Advocate Tish James and with that I'm going to call this hearing to close but I thank everyone who came together today to educate this body about the work that they've been doing and I want to let you know on a personal note how much I appreciate the work that you are doing and urge you to be patient and not give up so we can... we can actually pass the reproductive health act. Thank you very much.

[gavel]

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

September 30, 2018