

SUNLIGHT POLICY CENTER —— OF NEW JERSEY ——

A SPIDER WEB OF POLITICAL POWER AND INFLUENCE:

HOW A VAST NETWORK OF ALLIES HELPS THE NJEA DOMINATE NEW JERSEY POLITICS

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INTRODUCTION

Meet Deborah Cornavaca.

Cornavaca is currently Governor Murphy's Deputy Chief of Staff for Outreach. Cornavaca is also the living embodiment of a vast, interconnected network of public sector unions, progressive advocacy groups and other allies that reaches every corner of New Jersey – a veritable spider web of political power and influence. At the center of this spider web sits the **New Jersey Education Association (NJEA)**, the largest and most powerful public sector union – and special interest - in the state. It was from the NJEA – where Cornavaca ran the NJEA's Members4Murphy campaign – that Cornavaca jumped to Murphy's staff.

As Deputy Chief of Staff, Cornavaca was famously caught on tape rallying the members of the progressive activist group **Action Together New Jersey** to push back on Senate president Steve Sweeney's "Path for Progress" plan to address the New Jersey's massive unfunded pension liabilities. On the call, Cornavaca was identified as a "longtime member" of Action Together who was "speaking to fellow activists and organizers." Of note, despite her government appointment to serve of the citizens of New Jersey, Cornavaca made clear where her true loyalties lie: "[I] shouldn't hide that I'm a unionist through and through."¹ Exactly as hoped by the NJEA, we can be sure.

True to her words, Cornavaca's career is a case study of NJEA-backed political organizing in New Jersey. Appropriately recognized as an "organizing expert" by the governors' office,² Cornavaca's political skills have been employed across the spectrum of the organizations and coalitions that make up the NJEA's network of allies. Along the way, she has progressed from field organizer to leadership positions to executive office roles, always in the service of the NJEA's agenda: fighting charter schools with **Save Our Schools**, resisting school choice in Newark, organizing against PARCC in Montclair and ensuring maximum NJEA member support for Murphy. It was a logical next step to progress from the NJEA to the governor's staff.

¹ Brent Johnson, "Murphy official rallies liberal activists to attack governor's chief Democratic rival," NJ Advance Media for NJ.com, January 24, 2019, <u>https://www.nj.com/politics/2019/01/top-murphy-aide-tells-activists-how-to-fight-steve-sweeneys-economic-plan-it-wont-help-top-dems-relationship.html</u>.

² State of New Jersey, Office of the Governor, "Senior Staff," nj.gov, https://nj.gov/governor/admin/staff/.

In 2011 and 2012, Cornavaca was a political organizer for **Save Our Schools**, the grassroots parents' group with strong ties to the NJEA and a leading voice against charter schools in the state.³ In 2013, she joined the leadership of the **Badass Teachers Association** – a more militant wing of the teachers union movement - even though she was not a teacher. By 2014, Cornavaca joined the NJEA-funded **Working Families Alliance**, where she was the campaign coordinator for the **Better Choices for New Jersey** coalition and on the Steering Committee of the **Healthy Schools Now** campaign.⁴ The NJEA supports both organizations. She eventually became Legislative Director for Working Families Alliance.

Notably, while working for Working Families Alliance, Cornavaca provided a glimpse into how Working Families Alliance operates with allied groups. In 2014, Cornavaca was involved in the **Newark Education Organizing** movement, in which the NJEA also participated. Cornavaca, the professional political organizer, acted as a spokesperson for the NPS Boycott4Freedom movement, which was boycotting Superintendent Cami Anderson's One Newark plan. Described as a "Newark parent" in news accounts, which she was not, Cornavaca spoke for the parents' group as if she actually were a Newark parent: "*We* have decided to escalate *our* actions to a boycott because *we* cannot continue to let the state and the superintendent disregard *our* lived experience and endanger the lives of *our* children [emphasis added]."₅ She also appeared to be working with Newark parents' group **People Unified for Local School Education** (another NJEA-backed group) by coordinating food supplies to support the boycott.₆

About the same time in 2014, Cornavaca was listed as a member of **Montclair Cares About Schools (MCAS)**, an anti-standardized testing (PARCC) "parents' group" in Montclair - along with at least two other Newark political organizers.⁷ Of course, as in Newark, she was not a Montclair parent and her involvement in MCAS was surely as a political organizer.

By 2015, Cornavaca had joined the **NJEA** as a political organizer where she remained until she went to work on the governor's staff. Apparently while at NJEA, Cornavaca

⁴ The Bloomfield Board of Education, "A Town Hall Forum for Parents," Bloomfield Township Board of Education, March 27, 2014, <u>http://www.brookdalehsa.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/03/A-Town-Hall-Forum-for-Parents-March-27.pdf</u>.

⁵ Cornavaca is a long-time resident of East Brunswick and there is no evidence she has lived anywhere else in New Jersey. Julianne Hing, Parents Announce Boycott of Newark Schools Over School Reform Plan," Colorlines, August 27, 2014, <u>https://www.colorlines.com/articles/paretns-announce-boycott-newark-schools-over-school-reform-plan</u>.

https://mtcschoolswatch.wordpress.com/2014/07/03/mcass-local-support-national-professional-activists-and-union-organizers-from-around-the-country/.

³ John Mooney, "OSA Continues to Be a Lightning Rod for Controversy," NJ Spotlight, November 21, 2011, <u>https://njspotlight.com/2011/11/11-1121-0248/</u>.

⁶ Bob Braun, Comments to "Boycott the cruel 'One Newark' plan," Bob Braun's Ledger, August 27, 2014, <u>https://www.bobbraunsledger.com/boycott-the-cruel-one-newark-plan/</u>.

⁷ Daryn Martin, an NPS boycott leader, and Kaleena Berryman, Executive Director of the Abbott Leadership Institute. Montclair Schools Watch, "MCAS's 'Local' Support: National Professional Activists and Union Organizers from Around the Country," *mtcschoolswatch.wordpress.com*, July 3, 2014,

served as Treasurer and Steering Committee member for the NJEA-supported **Latino Action Network**.⁸ Importantly, in 2017, Cornavaca ran the NJEA's "Members4Murphy" campaign to organize its members to support Murphy for governor. The NJEA was "all-in" for Murphy, and Cornavaca's role there no doubt catapulted her on to Murphy's staff: a win for Murphy, a win for the NJEA and a win for Cornavaca.

For Cornavaca, that makes a total of nine of the 47 organizations covered in this report (and another two education-related groups that were not included). Every one of these nine organizations is connected to the NJEA. And that's only one, high-profile person. How many Deborah Cornavacas are out there surreptitiously organizing allies for the NJEA?

The Network of Allies

"The progressive infrastructure of this country, from think tanks to advocacy organizations ... depends on the resources and engagement of workers and their unions ..."

Naomi Walker, assistant to AFSCME president Lee Saunders9

And so it is in New Jersey. The NJEA₁₀ and its fellow public sector unions – the **American Federation of Teachers (AFT)**₁₁, **Communications Workers of America (CWA), Service Employees International Union (SEIU)** and the **American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME)** – are the life-blood of a vast and interconnected network of allies. These allies span the spectrum from think-tanks and litigation experts, to political action and community organizing groups, to a multitude of coalitions for collective political action. Some are funded by the NJEA and the unions, some are true political allies, and some simply have shared interests. In total, from 2009 to 2016, the NJEA alone has spent over \$33 million₁₂ on the wide variety of non-profits₁₃ and political action groups₁₄ mentioned in this report, and in many cases is a major source of funding for these groups. When added to the funding provided by its fellow public sector unions, this massive amount of

⁹ Larry Sand, "Will Janus open the right-to-work door?" California Policy Center, June 13, 2017, https://californiapolicycenter.org/will-janus-open-right-work-door/.

⁸ Latino Action Network, Press Release, "Latino Action Network Announces Election Results New Steering Committee to Take Office in January," Latino Coalition of New Jersey, *Facebook*, December 22, 2015, <u>https://www.facebook.com/notes/latino-coalition-of-new-jersey/latino-action-network-announces-election-results-new-steering-committee-to-take-/976910579053008/</u>.

¹⁰ "NJEA" includes its Super PAC, Garden State Forward.

¹¹ "AFT" includes the Newark Teachers Union (NTU), the Newark affiliate of the state AFT.

¹² Includes some 2017 and 2018 data where available. See Section II, footnote 85. 2009 to 2016 data from New Jersey Education Association, IRS Form 990 "Parent" filings.

¹³ Defined as organizations registered under Section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code.

¹⁴ Defined as organizations registered under Sections 501(c)(4) and 527 of the Internal Revenue Code.

money is the animating force behind an unrivalled network of progressive and public sector union-backed organizations that reaches every corner of the state.

These organizations include a wide variety of civic and political action groups - some directly connected to the NJEA and its fellow unions, some indirectly - but the one characteristic they have in common is that they all assist the NJEA and the public sector unions in their unceasing efforts to shape New Jersey's political order. Importantly, they help the unions form coalitions that give the unions more political reach and weight. Ultimately, not only do they ensure the continued domination of state politics by deep-pocketed special interests but they help to disguise it as well.

Many of these efforts involve advocating for union-friendly legislation. As Stanford professor Terry Moe describes it: "In the legislative process ... [the teachers unions] enhance their own power – and attract support for their education objectives – by broadening their network of interest group allies and taking a lead role in the liberal policy coalition ... In return, teachers unions can expect liberal allies to come to their aid in education."₁₅

Not only do these allies help in the legislative process, they help on the ground, providing for the political organizing of much larger groups of people than simply the members of the unions, themselves. This creates the appearance of a broad front of support when often it is narrower, special interests that are at stake. This also provides armies of foot soldiers to support endorsed candidates' campaigns and assist in get-out-the-vote (GOTV) efforts. Whether at rallies, demonstrations, protests or knocking on doors, the NJEA and its fellow unions can count on their network of allies to enlarge crowds, influence lawmakers and beef up election campaigns.

The NJEA's Role

As the largest and most powerful of the public sector unions - and of New Jersey special interests in general - the NJEA sits at the center of this network of allies and is the primary focus of this report.

The NJEA's network of allies is essential to its political organizing, which has become the main mission of the NJEA.¹⁶ The NJEA uses its unmatched political organizing capabilities to build and enhance its network of allies, and then uses those allies to further its own political organizing. Accordingly, the NJEA is very deliberate about its use of allies and its coalition-building, and devotes a great deal of planning, effort and money to this network.

¹⁵ Terry Moe, "Special Interest," Washington, D.C., The Brookings Institution, 2011.

¹⁶ In 2013, the leadership of UniServ, the NJEA division dedicated to organizing and assisting local affiliates, moved into the Executive Office as part of an explicit shift in the NJEA's Executive Office to a thoroughly political orientation. Presently, the Executive Director is a career political organizer, and six of the other ten occupied positions in the Executive Office are filled by political organizers. See SPCNJ's report "NJEA: New Jersey's Political Machine" for a full discussion of this shift. With regard to working with allies and coalition-building, the Organizational Development arm of the Executive Office is given specific political organizing tasks, including: "Develops and enhances relationships with various organizations throughout New Jersey to advocate for members' interests and form partnerships with groups that have common interests. Such work includes uncompensated service of officers and Executive Office staff on boards of many organizations to articulate NJEA positions and build collaborative relationships."¹⁷ Likewise, the Communications Division has an associate director dedicated to "organizing and coalition building."¹⁸

Working with allies not only enhances the NJEA's political clout, it also helps the NJEA obscure its own role and influence to give the impression of a broader base of popular support than simply the NJEA acting in its own self-interest. Whether it is using an allied think-tank to provide favorable academic support for a policy, or litigation experts to bring lawsuits to gain sought-after results, or trained political organizers to mobilize parents or communities behind a favored cause, the NJEA's money and influence spreads far and wide across the state.

New Jersey citizens need to understand how this deliberately opaque system works. They need to understand that their property tax dollars are being used to fund and support a vast network of allies that bolsters the NJEA's agenda. They need to understand that when these allies pursue their own agendas, there is likely the invisible but real hand of the NJEA at work, often coordinating their actions with other allies. So when Working Families Alliance launches a loud protest at a senate hearing and claims to be speaking for the people of New Jersey, New Jersey citizens need to understand that they are really speaking for their NJEA patrons.

The purpose of this report is to shine a light on who these groups are and how they are connected to each other and to the NJEA and its public sector union allies.

About this report:

This report is not a comprehensive survey of all the organizations that make up the network of progressive and public sector union allies. There are many others that are not included due to limitations on space. The largest groups are included, as are others that are active in the various coalitions and those that represent a cross-section of the types of groups that exist. *Not every group presented has a direct connection to or is a full political ally of the NJEA, but all are at least indirectly connected and at the least share common interests*. The inclusion of such groups helps to provide a fuller sense of the scope and diversity of the network of allies.

The network of allies is divided into four categories: non-profits, political action groups, alliances, and campaigns/coalitions. Each of these categories is represented by a graph where the featured category serves as the anchor for connections to other groups in the

17 Ibid.

¹⁸ Dawn Hiltner. New Jersey Education Association, "NJEA Staff," NJEA Review 93, no. 5 (December 2019): 6.

network of allies. Each category is represented by a different color, as indicated by the legend at the top of each graph. The lines between the groups represent connections that include funding, partnerships and collective actions, memberships or affiliations, and those by way of boards and officers. Each graph is followed by a section that contains the supporting data and information for the depicted connections:

Section I: 501(c)(3) Non-Profits. Color: Orange. The graph shows the connections of non-profits to other organizations in the network of allies. The corresponding section lists the NJEA-funded organizations first followed by other non-profits listed alphabetically.

Section II: 501(c)(4) and 527 Political Action Groups. Color: Blue. The graph shows the connections of political action groups to other organizations in the network of allies. The corresponding section lists the NJEA-funded organizations first followed by other political action groups listed alphabetically.

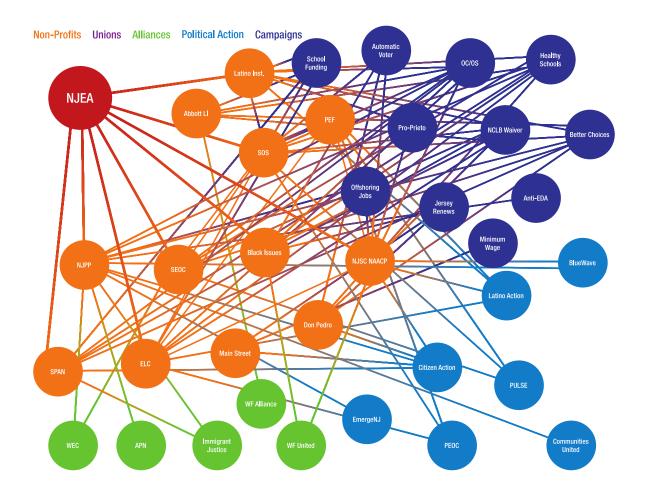
Section III: Alliances. Color: Green. Alliances are defined as quasi-permanent membership organizations that exist beyond a specific campaign. The graph shows the connections of the alliances to other organizations in the network of allies. The corresponding section lists the NJEA-funded organizations first followed by other alliances listed alphabetically.

Section IV: Campaigns/Coalitions. Color: Purple. These groupings are built around campaigns or efforts to advocate for a specific policy, or are ad hoc coalitions that form briefly to effect a specific action. The graph shows the connections of the campaigns and coalitions to other organizations in the network of allies. The corresponding section lists longer-lasting and more formal campaigns first, followed by shorter-lived campaigns and then ad hoc coalitions.

Sections I-IV also have a list of the NJEA's donations to groups in that section as well as a brief description of each of the organizations within that section along with the shortened name that is used to identify that organization in the graphs. There are also two Appendices, A and B, that provide the sourcing for the composition of the various alliances, campaigns and ad hoc coalitions discussed in this report.

THE NJEA'S SPIDER WEB: OVERARCHING THEMES

1. 501(c)(3) Non-Profit Groups - ORANGE



The Many Roles of the 501(c)(3) Non-Profits

Non-profits do not have to disclose their donors and provide tax-exemptions for their donations. They are not permitted to engage in political action on behalf of a candidate or party. But they can and do support political action in other ways by providing research, litigation, parent and community organizing, and by joining coalitions that address issues of concern they share with the public sector unions and their allies.

The NJEA has been very sophisticated in its support of non-profits, and they in turn have provided valuable support to the NJEA.

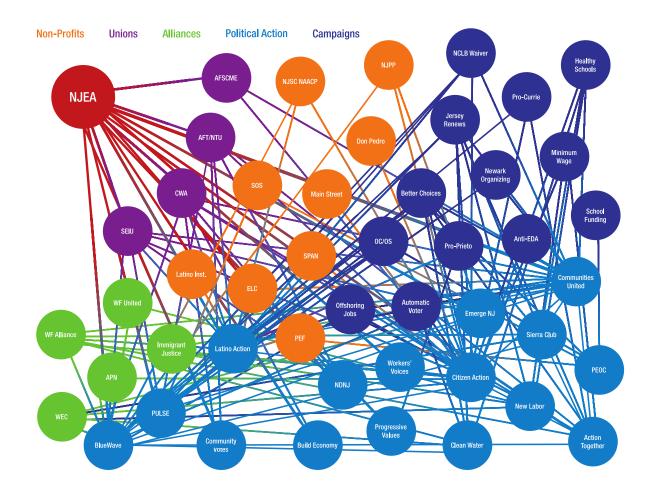
Academic Research. Providing academic research support for NJEA policy positions is a key element of the NJEA's political modus operandi, much like the **Economic Policy Institute** (also a NJEA grantee) provides at the national level. Official goals for the NJEA's budget include "Research ... for state policies that will sustainably increase state revenue [raise taxes] to adequately fund public education and public employee compensation, health benefits, and pension obligations. In furtherance of these goals, support and coordinate with state policy researchers and advocacy organizations and coalitions, including **New Jersey Policy Perspective ...**"₁₉

Accordingly, the NJEA has provided generous funding for New Jersey Policy Perspective (NJPP), which in turn has provided the NJEA with a supposedly neutral, third-party source for research in support of its agenda. NJPP has close ties to many of the groups in the network, including board affiliations with **BlueWaveNJ**, **Work Environment Council**, and **Alliance for Immigrant Justice** and a founding-member relationship with the **Anti-Poverty Network**. NJPP participates in many of the coalitions and campaigns that the NJEA supports. (See Section I).

Litigation. The **Education Law Center** (ELC) has received an enormous amount of financial support from the NJEA – over \$3 million from 2009 to 2016. Known for its success in the *Abbott* line of New Jersey Supreme Court rulings that mandated increased state funding for poorer school districts, ELC has often provided a judicial avenue for the NJEA's policy agenda. As with its legal representation of the NJEA's Latino and urban allies, ELC provides a ready resource for the NJEA or its allies to sue for judicial remedies either in place of or in augmentation of the NJEA's broader political efforts. As might be expected, the NJEA has a prominent position on ELC's board. ELC also has been active in the various **Newark Education Organizing** campaigns as well as in several of the other NJEA-backed coalitions, especially those regarding school funding. (See Section I).

Political Organizing. The NJEA organizes allies around issues like charter schools, standardized testing and local control of public schools. Several of the NJEA's parent-organizing allies are non-profits, including **Save Our Schools New Jersey (SOS)**, **Statewide Education Organizing Committee (SEOC)** and **The Latino Institute**, all of which are discussed in Section I. Although not directly funded by NJEA, the **Abbott Leadership Institute**, which is affiliated with Rutgers-Newark, is a non-profit that trains political organizers to support traditional Newark public schools in collaboration with groups like **Working Family Alliance** and **Parents Unified for Local School Education (PULSE)**. Abbott Leadership Institute also participates in several of the NJEA-backed coalitions. (See Section I).

¹⁹ New Jersey Education Association, "Reports to the Delegate Assembly, Report of the Budget Committee to the Delegate Assembly," May 19, 2018. Hard copy.



2. 501(c)(4) and 527 Political Action Groups - BLUE

Super PACS

These 527 and 501(c)(4) organizations are called "Super" political action committees (PACs) because they can spend unlimited amounts in support of a candidate - so long as they are independent expenditures (IE), which cannot be coordinated with the candidate's campaign. "Dark money" groups are registered under Section 501(c)(4) of the Internal Revenue Code. They can spend unlimited amounts in IEs (subject to certain qualifications) and are not required to disclose their donors, hence the phrase "dark money." Groups organized under Section 527 of the Internal Revenue Code do have to disclose their donors, but oftentimes this is delayed until the various government agencies release their reports.

Super PACs are an integral part of the NJEA's political spending. Indeed, they constitute the top eight political action recipients of the NJEA's funds (See Section II). This makes sense, as Super PACs permit the NJEA to spend unlimited amounts of money via IEs in support of its preferred candidates.

NJEA: The King of Dark Money. Dark money groups make up an important part of the NJEA's stable of Super PACs. Indeed, the NJEA has spent at least \$7,450,000 on two of New Jersey's most notorious dark money groups.

The tale of New Direction New Jersey (NDNJ) is by now well known. Exposed by SPCNJ, Politico and the *Bergen Record*, NDNJ had to come clean about the \$4.5 million of teachers' dues the **NJEA** pumped into it, which was about 70 percent of NDNJ's funding. **CWA**, **SEIU**, **and AFSCME** were also major donors. ²² But not as well known is that before NDNJ, there was **One New Jersey**.

During the 2013 gubernatorial election between Governor Chris Christie and State Senator Barbara Buono, One New Jersey ran TV ads attacking Christie. All told, One New Jersey spent \$2.8 million, which was "dark money" because One New Jersey refused to disclose its donors.₂₃ Through the end of the election, voters never knew the source of One New Jersey's funding.

Perhaps it is no surprise, but SPCNJ can now report that it was the **NJEA** that funded the entire One New Jersey effort, secretly donating \$2.95 million.₂₄

In addition to both being dark money groups funded by the NJEA, there is another significant overlap between NDNJ and One New Jersey: the two political operatives who ran One New Jersey,₂₅ Steve DiMicco and Brad Lawrence, are the same two political operatives who run NDNJ.₂₆

DiMicco and Lawrence are apparently masters of the dark arts of "dark money:" the One New Jersey dark-money financing vehicle proved to be too good to pass up for another teachers union that wanted to hide its political spending. At the same time New Jersey had a gubernatorial race, Boston had a mayoral race. Late in that race, a mysterious Super PAC named One Boston popped up and spent \$500,000 on TV ads supporting Democrat Marty Walsh. One Boston's ads were produced by DiMicco and Lawrence's firm and its sole disclosed donor was the DeMicco/Lawrence-run One New Jersey, which of course did not disclose its donors, leaving Boston voters in the dark about who was supporting Walsh. Only after Walsh's victory did the **AFT** admit that it had underwritten the TV ads.²⁷ Massachusetts' Office of Campaign and Political Finance

²² Public sector unions provide about 85 percent of NDNJ's funding. InsiderNJ, "New Direction NJ Releases Full Donor List," *insidernj.com*, <u>https://www.insidernj.com/new-direction-nj-releases-full-donor-list/</u>.
 ²³ Geoff Mulvahill, "Outside Money Looms Large in NJ Governor's Race," Associated Press, May 31, 2013, <u>https://www.nbcphiladelphia.com/news/local/Outside-Money-Looms-Large-in-NJ-Governors-Race--</u>209723981.html.

https://illinoisreview.typepad.com/illinoisreview/2014/08/can-you-say-dark-money-super-pac.html.

²⁶ David Wildstein, "Phil Murphy's Inside/Outside Call," New Jersey Globe, July 12, 2019, <u>https://newjerseyglobe.com/governor/phil-murphys-inside-outside-call/</u>.

²⁷ William Digges, "Can you say 'dark money super PAC'?" Illinois Review, August 24, 2014, <u>https://illinoisreview.typepad.com/illinoisreview/2014/08/can-you-say-dark-money-super-pac.html</u>.

²⁴ New Jersey Education Association, IRS Form 990 "Parent" filing 2014.

²⁵ William Digges, "Can you say 'dark money super PAC'?" Illinois Review, August 24, 2014,

found that One Boston and One New Jersey had violated campaign finance laws and the Super PACs ultimately paid a \$30,000 fine.28

It was recently discovered that NDNJ also served as a secret conduit for the NJEA to send money to **Working Families Alliance**, another NJEA political ally that does not fully disclose its donors. With the NJEA providing about 70 percent of NDNJ's funding, any such money is largely NJEA money. In the end, it took probing from Politico to get Working Families to admit that NDNJ had given Working Families \$100,000.29 So here is another application for the dark arts of dark money: NDNJ serves the NJEA by providing it with covert channel to distribute money to its political allies in New Jersey.

The bottom line is that NDNJ is not something new in New Jersey politics. In fact, it is a tried-and-true financing method that helps the NJEA, AFT and other deep-pocketed special interests hide their tracks until the relevant government agencies publish their reports. As we now know, NDNJ and One New Jersey were the same kind of dark money financing vehicles, run by the same political operators, and funded largely by the NJEA.

That's a total of at least \$7,450,000 in dark money. The NJEA is truly the king of dark money in New Jersey politics.

527s. With regard to non-dark money Super PACs (that is, 527s), by far the most important Super PAC for the NJEA is its own 527, **Garden State Forward** (which in the graphs is subsumed into the NJEA). Garden State Forward does its own IEs, such as the \$4.8 million spent in 2017 in Legislative District 3 to try to unseat Senate President Sweeney. But Garden State Forward also gives money to other Super PACs as well as to groups like **Working Families Alliance** to provide foot soldiers for GOTV efforts. Garden State Forward was also the conduit for the \$4.5 million of teachers' dues for "dark money" group **New Direction New Jersey**. The importance of Garden State Forward to the NJEA's political agenda can be measured by how much money NJEA funnels into Garden State Forward: \$24,235,500 from 2009 to 2016, or 54 percent of all NJEA grants and donations during that period.₃₀

The largest total donations by the NJEA to an outside Super PAC is \$9,170,000 in 2014 and 2016 to the **General Majority PAC**,₃₁ a nationwide Democratic 527 that supports Democrat candidates for state-level seats, such as the assembly, the state senate or mayoral offices in New Jersey. In New Jersey, General Majority is associated with George Norcross.₃₂ 2014 and 2016 were apparently happier days for the NJEA and

²⁹ Matt Friedman, New Jersey Playbook, Politico, November 20, 2019,

https://www.politico.com/newsletters/newjerseyplaybook.

²⁸ Peter C. Cook, "Dark Money Duplicity," *medium.com*, September 14, 2017, <u>https://medium.com/education-reform/dark-money-duplicity-6d2d24ed16db</u>.

³⁰ New Jersey Education Association, IRS Form 990, "Parent" filings, 2009-2016.

³¹ Previously known as the Fund for Jobs, Growth and Security.

³² Matt Friedman, "How a group of Norcross associates help fund Sweeney's reelection," Politico, April 26, 2018, <u>https://www.politico.com/states/new-jersey/story/2018/04/26/how-a-group-of-norcross-associates-helped-fund-sweeneys-reelection-380412</u>.

Norcross: they were on opposite sides in the 2017 state senate election mentioned above as well as the current fight over the Economic Development Authority.

Another 527 of note is **Emerge New Jersey**, which seeks to elect Democratic women to office. NJEA president Marie Blistan is on the board.

Garden State Forward	\$24,235,500
General Majority PAC	9,170,000
New Direction New Jersey	4,500,000
One New Jersey	2,950,000
New Jersey Workers' Voices	500,000
Progressive Values Committee	325,000
Our Community Votes	50,000
Emerge New Jersey	43,300
TOTAL ₃₄	\$27,278,800

NJEA Donations to 501(c)(4) and 527 Super PACs 2009-2016:33

Source: New Jersey Education Association, IRS Form 990 "Parent" filings.

Foot Soldiers for Hire

The NJEA is famous for the legions of foot soldiers it can bring to any campaign or political activity. Indeed, this ability to provide field workers and canvassers to get out the vote is considered to be one of the NJEA's greatest political strengths. NJEA members frequently "volunteer" to work directly for NJEA-endorsed candidates' campaigns or work for the NJEA in coordination with them. But it always helps to have more foot soldiers, especially in communities where local knowledge and familiarity are assets for a GOTV effort. In such cases, it makes sense for the NJEA to out-source for additional foot soldiers, particularly if they are from the same communities as are being targeted for GOTV efforts.

Enter **Working Families Alliance (WF Alliance)**, a 501(c)(4) alliance, which can supply foot soldiers to get out the vote who are not NJEA members. As an example, WF Alliance was recently paid \$50,000 by Garden State Forward for "GOTV/Field/Literature" in the 2019 fall elections.₃₅

Beyond being paid GOTV workers for the NJEA, WF Alliance is a key part of the NJEA's political organizing efforts and is generously funded by NJEA grants. WF Alliance is specifically mentioned in the NJEA's Budget Committee's report to the Delegate Assembly as part of its tax-hiking goals for the 2018-2019 budget: "... advocate for state

³³ Committee to Build the Economy and Progressive Values Committee include data from 2017 and 2018, as reported by the Center for Responsive Politics, <u>https://www.opensecrets.org</u>. Additional data for New Direction New Jersey from InsiderNJ, "New Direction NJ Releases Full Donor List," *insidernj.com*, <u>https://www.insidernj.com/new-direction-nj-releases-full-donor-list/</u>.

 ³⁴ Garden State Forward donations to outside Super PACs are excluded to avoid double-counting.
 ³⁵ New Jersey Election Law Enforcement Commission, "Garden State Forward, Report of Independent Expenditures, Form IND," October 7, 2019.

policies that will sustainably increase state revenues [raise taxes] in order to adequately fund public education and public employee compensation, health benefits, and pension obligations." In furtherance of this goal, the NJEA will "support and coordinate with ... advocacy organizations and coalitions, including ... **New Jersey Working Families Alliance**."₃₆ Indeed, WF Alliance runs the NJEA-backed **Better Choices for New Jersey (Better Choices)** coalition, which seeks state budget funds for the coalition's priorities. WF Alliance also provides political organizers (see Deborah Cornavaca above) and training for activists for progressive movements in the state. And, as exemplified by the removal of state director Sue Altman from a recent state senate hearing, WF Alliance is ever-ready with crowds of protesters to push the NJEA's agenda. (See "ALLIANCES" graph on page 16 and in Section III for a depiction of WF Alliance's connections to other organizations in the network of allies).

The NJEA also funds **New Jersey Citizen Action** (**Citizen Action**), another statewide progressive political action group that provides campaign volunteers and GOTV personnel. For example, Citizen Action provided paid canvassers to get out the vote in the 2014 general elections in Montclair and Trenton.₃₇ Citizen Action works closely with the NJEA and its union allies, as well as with other progressive and union-backed groups in election campaigns. The Executive Director of Citizen Action sits on **BlueWaveNJ's** board. Citizen Action participates in a very broad array of NJEA-aligned campaigns and coalitions. (See Section II).

While not directly NJEA-funded, **Action Together New Jersey (Action Together)**, an affiliate of the national Action Together Network, appears to play a similar role to Citizen Action, working in collaboration with other progressive and union-backed groups to organize political action and GOTV. (See Section II). Working with **Working Families Alliance** and **BlueWave**, Action Together trains activists for political action. Action Together was famously on the call with Deputy Chief of Staff Cornavaca when she urged them to protest against Senator Sweeney's Path to Progress.

New Jersey Communities United (Communities United) plays a key role in the NJEA's urban and minority political organizing efforts. In the Executive Director's report to the Delegate Assembly on the NJEA's political organizing efforts, the NJEA describes forming a "partnership" with Communities United "to assist organizing efforts regarding income inequality and the expansion of corporate entities eroding the public workforce [presumably charter schools and/or Economic Development Authority grants]."₃₈ Communities United is also closely tied to a number of the NJEA's union allies as well as to the **ELC**, which serves on Communities United's board. Communities United participates in a broad array of NJEA/union-aligned campaigns and coalitions. (See Section II).

³⁶ New Jersey Education Association, "Reports to the Delegate Assembly, Budget Committee Report to the Delegate Assembly," May 19, 2018. Hard copy.

³⁷ New Jersey Election Law Enforcement Commission, "New Jersey Citizen Action Education Fund, Report of Independent Expenditures, Form IND," November 3, 2014.

³⁸ New Jersey Education Association, "Reports to the Delegate Assembly, Executive Director's Report to the Delegate Assembly," May 19, 2018. Hard copy.

Regarding political action in the Latino community, **The Latino Action Network** (Latino Action) is a statewide coalition of Latino groups that advocates for progressive policies and has aligned with the NJEA on key issues. Working with ELC, Latino Action has been a litigant in an anti-standardized testing lawsuit. Latino Action has also spoken out against charter schools and its affiliate, Latino Coalition, has been a litigant in an anti-charter school lawsuit. A **CWA** officer is its president and Deputy Chief of Staff Cornavaca was its Treasurer when she was with the NJEA. Latino Action works closely with the unions, including as a member of **Working Families United**, and participates in a broad array of NJEA/union-aligned campaigns and coalitions. New Labor New Jersey is political organizing group that primarily focuses on Latino workers. New Labor's president is on the board of the New Jersey Work Environment Council and it participates in numerous NJEA/union-backed coalitions (See Section II).

Finally, there is **BlueWaveNJ**, an all-purpose progressive group that uses political action to mobilize voters for progressive candidates and lobby for progressive causes. BlueWave and **Working Families Alliance** work with **Action Together** to train activists for political action. BlueWave president Marcia Marley is also Chair of the Board of **NJ Policy Perspective**. BlueWave is closely tied to **Citizen Action**, **Working Families Alliance** and **SEIU**, who sit on BlueWave's board, and partners with a large number of unions, including those in **Working Families United**, as well as political action groups listed in this section. BlueWave participates in a broad array of NJEA/union-aligned campaigns and coalitions. (See Section II).

Organizing Parents

For a teachers union like the NJEA, parents are an important constituency. At the local district level, parents play an important role in schools and are often integral in their success as institutions of public education. But parents also play a political role, and since virtually everything a public-sector union like NJEA or AFT does is political, each has a strong interest in the organizing, mobilizing and directing of parents groups. Moreover, parents present a powerful and valued constituency for any elected or aspiring politician. When parents speak as a group, politicians listen.

Therefore, the NJEA is heavily invested in parent organizing. As a statewide political organization, it takes a multi-faceted approach to parent organizing. The interests and concerns of suburban parents may differ significantly from those of urban or rural parents. In addition, as one of the most diverse states in the nation, New Jersey has a wide variety and distribution of ethnic groups. Accordingly, an efficient parent political organizing effort must have a similar variety of organizing groups to capture the interest and commitment from the varied communities of parents that exist.

The NJEA does this exceptionally well. As might be expected where its political power is at stake, the NJEA has a large, statewide network of overlapping and mutually reinforcing parents groups, bolstered by political organizing professionals trained by the NJEA and its allies.

The NJEA explicitly supports the political organizing of a variety of groups. The NJEA funds the **Statewide Education Organizing Committee (SEOC**). SEOC plays a significant role in the NJEA's political organizing plans, which is mentioned by name in the NJEA Executive Director's report on political organizing to the Delegate Assembly for SEOC's role in the **Healthy Schools Now** campaign. SEOC also works cooperatively with other parent organizing groups like **SOS** and **PULSE**, and participates in various campaigns and coalitions aligned with NJEA and the public sector unions. (See Section I).

NJEA also supports **Save Our Schools (SOS)**, another statewide parents group that works closely with the NJEA and its allies on various issues, and like SEOC participates in a large number of NJEA-aligned campaigns and coalitions. SOS is the main organizing vehicle for many suburban parents. (See Section I).

With regard to urban parent organizing, the NJEA and its allies support **Parents Unified for Local School Education (PULSE)**, which plays a large role in the **Newark Education Organizing** movement (see Sections II and IV). PULSE was an integral part of the resistance to the One Newark plan and led the related school boycott movement, working closely with the NJEA, Abbott Leadership Institute, Working Families Alliance, AFT/NTU, Communities United, SOS and SEIU. Professional political organizers like Deborah Cornavaca – then with **Working Families Alliance** – added organizing muscle to PULSE during the boycott. And, indeed, one of the co-founders of PULSE is a union-trained political organizer (and formerly a lead organizer for **SEOC**).₃₉

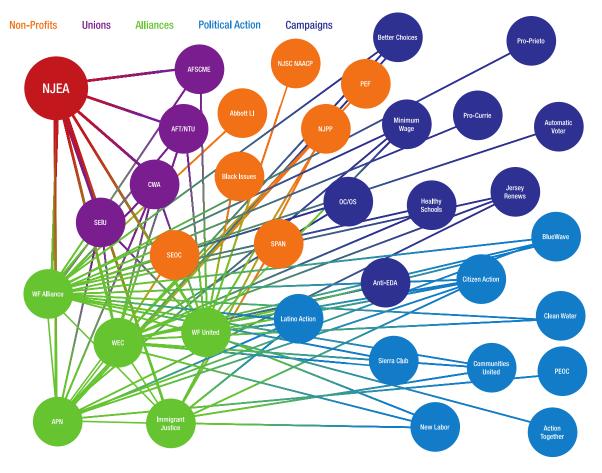
Also involved in urban parent organizing is the **Parent Education Organizing Council (PEOC)**. PEOC works closely with the **Paterson Education Fund**. While not funded directly by NJEA, PEOC participates in several of the same campaigns and coalitions as other parent organizing groups. (See Section II).

Another parent-oriented group funded by the NJEA is **The Latino Institute**, which received an eye-opening \$1,140,000 in NJEA grants from 2009 to 2016. The Latino Institute is structured somewhat differently from other parent groups and runs conferences for Latino parents that cover a wide variety of education-related topics. These conferences are run in conjunction with local NJEA affiliates and are funded by NJEA PRIDE and FAST grants. The Latino Institute also works with other NJEA allies - especially with the closely tied **Latino Action Network** - and participates in many of the same NJEA/union-aligned campaigns and coalitions as the other parent organizing groups. Indeed, Latino Institute president William Colon serves on the board of the statewide parent-organizing group **SOS**. (See Section I).

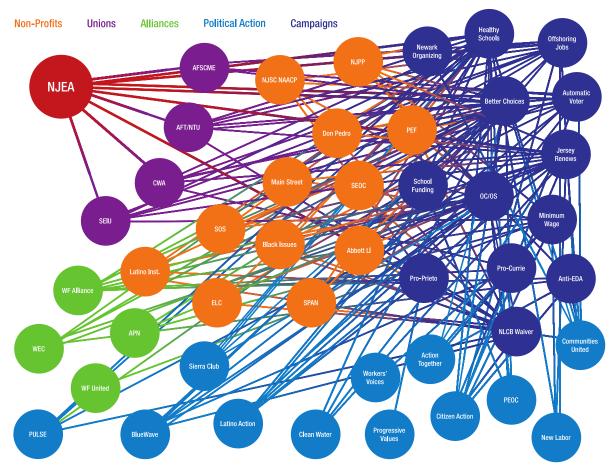
³⁹ Johnnie Lattner was trained at the Midwest Academy, a union-backed training center for political organizing. Steven Rodas, "Johnnie Lattner, A 'Fighter' for Newark School Children," Tap into Newark, October 21, 2019, <u>https://www.tapinto.net/towns/newark/sections/education/articles/johnnie-lattner-a-fighter-for-newark-school-children</u>. For Midwest Academy, see <u>http://www.midwestacademy.com</u>.

3. Alliances and Campaigns/Coalitions:

ALLIANCES: GREEN







A Coalition for Everything

One of the striking features of union-supported, progressive politics is the number of campaigns and coalitions that have been organized. As Moe describes, when lobbying legislatures, it makes a lot of sense to build coalitions and broaden both the actual as well as the perceived support for a given policy. It is one thing for an education-related campaign to have teachers-union backing, which in many cases could be regarded as a special interest looking out for itself, but quite another when the union is part of a coalition with parent, ethnic, community or other groups.

The NJEA takes coalition-building very seriously, with well planned, deliberate strategies that include many of its divisions. In his report to the Delegate Assembly, the NJEA's executive director laid out the blueprint for the NJEA's use of coalitions to further its agenda. The Communications Division is tasked with supporting "the development of coalition partners," and has an associate director dedicated to coalition-building. The Research and Economic Services Division is tasked with supporting "the activities of a revenue [that is, tax-raising] coalition of progressive state advocacy and

policy organizations having similar goals of reforming state tax structures, economic development policies and corporate subsidies."40

The tasks for the Organizational Development arm of the Executive Office include: "Builds diverse coalitions around NJEA members' priority issues and that work collectively towards shared goals while building state-level relationships."₄₁ The Organizational Development arm has formed partnerships with "[o]ther organizations around social justice issues, including the issue of income inequality."₄₂

Official goals for the NJEA's budget include "Research and advocate for state policies that will sustainably increase state revenue [raise taxes] to adequately fund public education and public employee compensation, health benefits, and pension obligations. In furtherance of these goals, support and coordinate with state policy researchers and advocacy organizations and coalitions, including ... **Better Choices New Jersey Coalition**, and the **Anti-Poverty Network**."₄₃

There is thus a coalition for just about every major policy issue that confronts the NJEA. For the state budget – and increased taxes and government spending – there's the **Better Choices for New Jersey** coalition, which is specifically mentioned in the NJEA's budget planning. For increased school facilities spending, there is **Healthy Schools Now**, also mentioned in the NJEA's budget planning. For support of traditional public schools and their funding, there's **Our Children/Our Schools**. (For all of the above, see Section IV).

The same is true for various progressive causes. For bringing "Green New Deal"–type policies to New Jersey, there's **Jersey Renews**. (See Section IV). For pro-immigrant policies, there's the **Alliance for Immigrant Justice**. (See Section III). To fight poverty and income inequality, there's the **Anti-Poverty Network**, which is also specifically mentioned in the NJEA's budget planning. (See Section III). There's even a small business coalition, **Main Street Alliance**, which is sponsored by **Citizen Action** and has worked with **Working Family Alliance** and other progressive groups to elect progressive candidates and lobby for policies like the **Minimum Wage**. (See Section I).

There are also coalitions formed for campaigns on specific issues, often with many of the same players as in the broader policy coalitions. There have been multiple coalitions to conduct the various **Minimum Wage** campaigns. There have also been multiple coalitions formed to support the various **Newark Education Organizing** campaigns that pushed back against the One Newark plan, called for limitations on charter schools, pushed for local control of the schools, and rallied against standardized tests (like

⁴⁰ New Jersey Education Association, "Reports to the Delegate Assembly, Executive Director's Report to the Delegate Assembly," May 19, 2018. Hard copy.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ New Jersey Education Association, "Reports to the Delegate Assembly, Report of the Budget Committee to the Delegate Assembly," May 19, 2018. Hard copy.

PARCC). There was a coalition for legislation to fight **Offshoring Jobs** held by unionized workers, and another to lobby for **Automatic Voter Registration** legislation. (See Section IV).

Finally, there are informal coalitions that form to support individuals or causes as they occur, such as the **Pro-Prieto** ad hoc coalition that sought to keep Assemblyman Vincent Prieto as Speaker of the Assembly and the **Pro-Currie** ad hoc coalition that supports keeping John Currie as state Democratic Party chair. There was an ad hoc coalition that worked to **Suspend New Jersey's No Child Left Behind Waiver**. Currently, there is an **Anti-Economic Development Authority** ad hoc coalition calling for the abolishment of New Jersey's corporate incentives program so that the tax revenues can be used for the coalition's priorities. Again, the groups that combine together in these informal arrangements are many of the same participants in the more formal coalitions. (See Section IV).

The NJEA-Environmental Axis

Per Moe's point about coalition building under the liberal policy umbrella, the NJEA and its public sector union allies have built strong connections to the environmental movement. Most notable among these is the **New Jersey Work Environment Council (WEC)**. Part of the nationwide Blue/Green (blue = labor, green = environmental) coalition, WEC is an alliance of labor, community, and environmental organizations working for safe, secure jobs, and a healthy, sustainable environment. WEC links workers, communities, and environmentalists through training, technical assistance, grassroots organizing, and public policy campaigns to promote collaboration and joint action.⁴⁴ WEC's board is dominated by public sector unions, including the NJEA, along with environmental groups. (See "ALLIANCES" graph on page 16 and in Section III for WEC's connections to other organizations in the network of allies).

WEC is the linchpin for the NJEA's environmentally oriented activities. Per NJEA directive, WEC contracts with NJEA local affiliates dealing with health and safety issues.⁴⁵ The NJEA funds the **Healthy Schools Now** (Healthy Schools) campaign, which is led by WEC. Healthy Schools includes unions, progressive activists, environmental groups, community organizers and parent groups. The coalition supports increased funding for the Schools Development Authority to address new construction and renovation projects, increased school security, and classroom environment factors such as temperature and air quality .⁴⁶ Healthy Schools represents a nexus of education, labor and environmental interests: more money for school facilities, security and environments, and facilities work for labor unions.

⁴⁴ "Mission," *Work Environment Council*, New Jersey Work Environment Council, <u>https://njwec.org/about/#mission</u>.

⁴⁵ New Jersey Education Association, "Reports to the Delegate Assembly, Executive Director's Report to the Delegate Assembly," May 19, 2018. Hard copy.

⁴⁶ "Campaigns," *Work Environment Council*, New Jersey Work Environment Council, <u>https://njwec.org/take-action/campaigns/healthy-schools-now/</u>.

WEC also runs the **Jersey Renews** campaign, which includes unions, progressive activists, environmental groups, and community organizing groups. The campaign seeks to make New Jersey a national leader in state-based climate policy by advocating for environmental justice, renewable energy, reduction in emissions, retrofitting buildings, protecting existing jobs and the creation of 100,000 new, unionized jobs.₄₇ Jersey Renews is essentially the "Green New Deal" brought to New Jersey. Jersey Renews represents an expansion of the labor-environment nexus beyond education and schools to include the state's economy and job market.

But WEC's relationship with the NJEA goes well beyond even these expanded laboreducation concerns: WEC is a key component of the NJEA's political organizing efforts as well.

With regard to political organizing, the Organizational Development section of the NJEA Executive Office formed partnerships with WEC and **NJ Communities United** "to assist organizing efforts regarding income inequity and the expansion of corporate entities eroding the public workforce."₄₈ Organizational Development also works with the WEC to implement an NJEA-funded "educational program on 'Runaway Inequality' ... in order to build a movement of organizations and individuals ready to confront persistent attempts to underfund and privatize public education."₄₉ Here, the labor-environment nexus expands even further to include progressive policy issues like income inequality, and brings an environmental group into the political fight over charter schools, vouchers and outsourcing. Similarly, WEC has joined the public sector unions in the high-profile political fight against the Economic Development Authority as well as the fight against offshoring unionized jobs.

And, indeed, WEC is an ally of political activist groups like **Working Families United, Citizen Action** and **New Labor**, and participates in coalitions like **Better Choices** and **Our Children/Our Schools**. (For a full presentation of WEC's connections to other organizations, see Section III).

WEC may have the word "environment" in its corporate name but its activities extend well beyond simply environmental concerns and encompass a broad range of political activities.

⁴⁷ "About Us," Jersey Renews, Jersey Renews, http://jerseyrenews.org/about-us/.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

A CASE STUDY OF THE NETWORK IN ACTION: THE ELECTION OF GOVERNOR MURPHY

NJEA and Its Network: "All-In" for Phil Murphy

The NJEA said it all: "NJEA has been all-in for Phil Murphy from day one, gearing up a massive organizing campaign to mobilize our members through the primary and general elections."₅₀

"All-in" included creating "Members4Murphy," an unprecedented, 13-month campaign to mobilize members in the effort, which was run by current Murphy Deputy Chief of Staff Deborah Cornavaca. First, the NJEA delivered 6,800 signatures to get Murphy on the Democratic primary ballot. Then during the general election campaign, the NJEA encouraged and facilitated pro-Murphy political action via text, the NJEA's Facebook page, and a direct link for volunteering on Murphy's election campaign.⁵¹ All told, Members4Murphy operated 20 phone banks, made 230,000 calls and conducted doorto-door canvasses.⁵² The NJEA also deployed its Summers Fellows⁵³ to contact members. Near election day, members from all 21 counties "went door-to-door, made phone calls, mailed postcards, and organized events to encourage members to support Murphy and other endorsed candidates."⁵⁴

The NJEA also pumped money into the Super PAC arm of its network. Utilizing its own Super PAC, **Garden State Forward**, the NJEA directed \$2,000,000 to the Super PAC **Committee to Build the Economy**, ⁵⁵ which spent a total of \$6,572,755 in independent expenditures on TV and digital ads, mailers and canvassing in support of Murphy. **CWA** chipped in with another \$275,000.⁵⁶

501(c)(3) non-profits are prohibited from supporting political candidates but all the political action heavyweights in the network were also "all-in" for Murphy. All the

⁵⁰ New Jersey Education Association, "NJEA Report: Phil Murphy elected governor of New Jersey," *NJEA Review* 91, no. 5 (December 2017): 12.

⁵¹ New Jersey Education Association, "How can I help elect Phil Murphy?," *NJEA Review* 91, no. 7 (February 2018): 15.

⁵² New Jersey Education Association, "NJEA Report: Phil Murphy elected governor of New Jersey," *NJEA Review* 91, no. 5 (December 2017): 12.

⁵³ These Summer Fellows were part of the Summer Fellows Program (SFP), a "bold and unprecedented move to organize members" in political action. The SFP was part of the NJEA's shift from a "services model" to an "organizing model" in 2016, and claimed it turned 45,000 members into political activists. Katie Quinn, "NJEA Summer Fellows Program Boosts Member-Driven Advocacy," *NJEA Review* 90, no. 3 (November 2016): 24-26.

⁵⁴ New Jersey Education Association, "As Gov. Murphy takes office, NJEA members anticipate a new era," *NJEA Review* 91, no. 7 (February 2018): 50.

⁵⁵ New Jersey Election Law Enforcement Commission, News Release, "Top 25 Special Interest Groups Spent More Than \$74 Million in 2017," September 12, 2018.

⁵⁶ New Jersey Election Law Enforcement Commission, Committee to Build the Economy, Form R1, July 14, 2017 and October 13, 2017.

public sector unions in the network endorsed Murphy: **CWA**, **AFT**, **AFSCME** and **SEIU**. So did the major non-union political action groups: **Working Families Alliance**, **Citizen Action**, **Action Together** and **BlueWave**. Environmental groups **Clean Water Action** and **Sierra Club** also endorsed Murphy.

And once they endorsed Murphy, their impressive electioneering machines kicked into gear. **CWA** ran phone banks and canvassed across the state,⁵⁷ even paying members for "Get-Out-the-Vote labor walks."⁵⁸ **AFT** coordinated labor walks and ran phone banks.⁵⁹ **SEIU** conducted voter registration and helped with GOTV.⁶⁰ **BlueWave** held fundraisers and ran phone banks, claiming to have made 60,000 calls in support of Murphy and Democrats.⁶¹ **Action Together** recruited and organized volunteers to support Murphy.⁶²

Consistent with the network's modus operandi, there was also a great deal of collaboration between the political action groups. Examples include: **BlueWave** teaming up with **Working Families Alliance** and **Action Together** to run the "Blue 40" Town Hall Series in support of Democrats across the state;₆₃ **Action Together**, **Working Families Alliance**, **Latino Action Network**, **Make the Road**, **Citizen Action**, **BlueWave** and **Sierra Club** all participating in a public rally against Murphy's opponent, Kim Guadagno;₆₄ and **BlueWave**, **Working Families Alliance**, and **Action Together** teaming up with local progressive groups to run training sessions on GOTV and other election tactics.₆₅

These combined efforts by the network's political action groups made for a massive statewide GOTV effort for Murphy, who won easily.

"All-in" has continued since Murphy became governor. As the NJEA stated: "NJEA members worked very hard to elect Gov. Murphy. Now, we must work even harder to

⁵⁹ American Federation of Teachers, "Murphy for Governor, Labor Candidates and State Legislative Endorsements, *aftnj.org*, June 28, 2017, <u>http://aftnj.org/topics/cope/2017/murphy-for-governor-labor-candidates-and-state-legislative-endorsements-njsenatepres-philmurphynj/</u>.

⁶⁰ InsiderNJ, Press Release, "Nation's Largest Union Local, 1199SEIU, Launches Get-Out-the-Vote Campaign for Phil Murphy," *insidernj.com*, September 23, 2017, <u>https://www.insidernj.com/press-release/nations-largest-union-local-1199seiu-launches-get-vote-campaign-phil-murphy/</u>.

⁶¹ Mara Silvers, "For Phil Murphy, Getting Out the Vote May Be Key to Governor's Race," WNYC News, November 3, 2017, <u>https://www.nyc.org/story/race-nj-governor-getting-out-vote-may-be-key/</u>.

⁶⁵ Blue Wave New Jersey, "Get Out the Vote," *bluewavenj.org*, June 17, 2017, https://bluewavenj.org/electiontraining.

⁵⁷ Communications Workers of America, "I'll Be There to Get Out the Vote for Phil Murphy," *cwalocal1033.com*, no date given, <u>https://cwalocal1033/news/page/11/</u>.

⁵⁸ Communications Workers of America, "Get Out the Vote for Phil Murphy," *cwa1037.org*, no date given, <u>https://www.cwa1037.org/get-out-the-vote-for-phil-murphy/</u>.

⁶² Action Together New Jersey, "Volunteer for Phil Murphy," *atnj.org*, July 26, 2017, <u>https://atnj.org/volunteer-phil-murphy/</u>.

⁶³ See, e.g., Blue Wave New Jersey, "LD5 Blue 50 Town Hall Series," *bluewavenj.org*, October 10, 2017, <u>https://www.bluewavenj.org/ld5_blue_40_town_hall_series</u>.

⁶⁴ Action Together New Jersey, "End racist scapegoating in New Jersey!" *atnj.org*, October 12, 2017, <u>https://atnj.org/end-racist-scapegoating-new-jersey/</u>.

help his administration transform his ideas into action."₆₆ Putting its money where its mouth is, the **NJEA**, **CWA**, **AFSCME** and **SEIU** have helped Murphy by secretly donating \$5,510,000 to **New Direction New Jersey** (**NDNJ**), a Super PAC supporting Murphy's agenda, which closely aligns with their own agendas. (See Section II).

The network's efforts to elect their chosen candidate have certainly paid off.

Governor Murphy: the NJEA's "Puppet with a Smile Painted On It"

That's how the Star-Ledger's Tom Moran likened the NJEA's influence over Governor Murphy. $_{\rm 67}$

One can understand why. Substantiating Moran's description, Murphy has been surprisingly candid about the extent of the NJEA's influence. He has stated publically that he coordinates with the NJEA on the **NDNJ** ad campaigns and routinely consults with the NJEA on policy, going so far as to say he has "spoken to the NJEA constantly" over the last five years, "including around **New Direction**, *but far more often on policy* [emphasis added].68

This influence has manifested itself in favorable personnel choices and real policy gains for the NJEA and its network. Below is a checklist of Murphy's efforts and successes in pushing for the network's agenda.

Personnel Appointments

NJEA President Marie Blistan was named co-chair of Murphy's education transition team. Representatives from **CWA** and **SEIU** – as well as from the **Anti-Poverty Network** and the **Alliance for Immigrant Justice** – were also on Murphy's transition team.₆₉ Deborah Cornavaca, the NJEA political operative who ran the Members4Murphy campaign, is a Deputy Chief of Staff in the governor's office.₇₀ Joel

⁶⁶ New Jersey Education Association, "Final Exam: Governor Murphy: his agenda, our realities," *NJEA Review* 91, no. 1 (September 2017): 23.

⁶⁷ In this case, on Murphy's charter school policies. Tom Moran, "Murphy's troubling failure to defend charter school success," Newark Star-Ledger, April 7, 2019, <u>https://www.nj.com/opinion/2019/04/murphys-troubling-failure-to-defend-charter-school-success-moran.html</u>.

⁶⁸ Observer Politics Team, "NJ Politics Digest: Where Does Murphy Actually Stand on Dark Money?" *Observer.com*, June 3, 2019, <u>https://observer.com/2019/06/nj-politics-digest-where-does-murphy-actually-stand-on-dark-money/</u>.

⁶⁹ Nancy Solomon, "Phil Murphy Appoints Chief of Staff," WNYC News, November 14, 2017, <u>https://www.wnyc.org/story/murphy-appoints-chief-staff/</u>.

⁷⁰ Deborah Cornavaca currently serves on Governor Murphy's senior staff as Deputy Chief of Staff of Outreach. Office of the Governor, "Senior Staff," <u>https://nj.gov/governor/admin/staff/</u>. For role with Members4Murphy see, New Jersey Education Association, "NJEA Delegate Assembly. Minutes of November 11, 2017.," *NJEA Review* 91, no. 8 (March 2018): 52 Weisblatt, "who was supported by NJEA and other unions," was appointed chair of the important Public Employment Relations Commission, the state agency that oversees labor relations between public employers and public employees, such as teachers.⁷¹ Lamont Repollet, Murphy's choice for Commissioner of Education – obviously another key appointment for the NJEA - also pleased the NJEA.⁷²

In a particularly brazen exercise of its power, the NJEA was able to veto Murphy's appointment of Paula White as Assistant Commissioner in the Department of Education – *after she had been unanimously confirmed by the State Board of Education*. White had been state director for pro-charter Democrats for Education Reform, and that was unacceptable to the NJEA, regardless of White's sterling credentials. According to the Star-Ledger's Moran, Murphy complied as if the NJEA had "a brass ring firmly hooked into the new governor's nose." 73

Box emphatically checked on personnel appointments.

The Network's Legislative and Regulatory Agenda

Governor Murphy has been very responsive to the NJEA and its allies' legislative and regulatory priorities.

For the NJEA, these included: so-called "Chapter 78 relief" that would reduce members' healthcare contributions, limiting school districts' ability to outsource Education Support Personnel (ESPs), blocking any attempts to reduce pensions and benefits (a position shared with **CWA**), and eliminating the PARCC test once and for all.₇₄ The NJEA also called for a moratorium on charter school approvals and expansions₇₅ as well as a millionaire's tax to increase revenues and permit greater spending on schools and teachers.₇₆

The network's shared policy goals included raising the minimum wage, automatic voter registration, full funding of the School Funding Reform Act, ending the Economic Development Authority's corporate incentive program (see Section IV for the coalitions

⁷¹ New Jersey Education Association, "NJEA Delegate Assembly, Minutes of March 10, 2018," *NJEA Review* 92, no. 6 (January 2019): 43.

⁷² New Jersey Education Association, "Blistan lauds nomination of Dr. Lamont Repollet as ed commissioner," *NJEA Review* 92, no. 7 (February 2019): 16.

⁷³ Tom Moran, "Hired, then fired, hours later. Under Murphy, teachers' union gets veto power," Newark Star-Ledger, January 30, 2019,

https://www.nj.com/opinion/2018/02/hired_then_fired_hours_later_why_did_murphy_give_t.html ⁷⁴ New Jersey Education Association, "Get ready it's going to be an action-packed year," *NJEA Review* 92, no. 1 (September 2018): 7.

⁷⁵ New Jersey Education Association, "NJEA: Charter moratorium urgently needed," *njea.org*, April 1, 2019, <u>https://www.njea.org/njea-charter-school-moratorium-urgently-needed/</u>.

⁷⁶ New Jersey Education Association, "Report: NJ schools again ranked second in nation," May 20, 2019, https://www.njea.org/report-nj-schools-again-ranked-second-in-nation/.

representing these positions) and the millionaire's tax (a key plank of the **Better Choices** coalition also in Section IV).

On each of these priorities, Murphy has delivered for the NJEA and its allies.

Chapter 78 Relief and Outsourcing ESPs. During the campaign, Murphy voiced opposition to the outsourcing of ESPs₇₇ and as governor has called on the legislature "to provide relief to … educators … from some of the most harmful effects of Chapter 78."₇₈ Indeed, Murphy's staff has coordinated with the NJEA on legislative strategy: "because of strategic conversations with the governor's office staff, NJEA is moving forward with a direct legislative campaign to seek relief for members from Chapter 78."₇₉ Accordingly, the NJEA is engaging a major campaign to gain passage of bills granting Chapter 78 relief as well as protection from outsourcing for ESPs. The NJEA "has been vigorously advocating" for the bills with lobby days, 116,000 petitions delivered to the Statehouse, and a member mobilization campaign. ⁸⁰ So far, the assembly has passed the bills but Senate President Sweeney has refused to post them. Should they pass, the NJEA is confident in Murphy's continued support: "We now have a governor who would sign those bills, which are once again moving through the Senate and Assembly."⁸¹

Box checked for Murphy's efforts on Chapter 78 and ESPs.

Pensions and Benefits. With his "Path to Progress" plan, Senator Sweeney has proposed sweeping changes to New Jersey's public worker pension and benefit plans, which are severely underfunded and threaten the solvency of the state.⁸² True to its pledge never to discuss benefit cuts for its members, the NJEA rejected the plan.⁸³ Murphy has maintained the unions' position: any changes to workers' pensions or health care benefits should be negotiated at the bargaining table and not through legislation.⁸⁴ He has also publically questioned the conclusions of the plan⁸⁵ and did not incorporate any of its recommendations in his budget. In addition, his Deputy Chief of

⁸² See Part III of the AEI series "Job Number One."

⁷⁷ New Jersey Education Association, "A steel backbone: Meet Phil Murphy, NJEA PAC-endorsed candidate for governor," October 1, 2017, <u>https://www.njea.org/steel-backbone-meet-phil-murphy-njea-pac-endorsed-</u>candidate-governor/.

⁷⁸ New Jersey Education Association, "Murphy endorses Chapter 78 relief," September 18, 2018, <u>https://www.njea.org/murphy-endorses-ch-78-relief/</u>.

⁷⁹ New Jersey Education Association, "NJEA Delegate Assembly, Minutes of March 10, 2018," *NJEA Review* 92, no. 6 (January 2019): 42.

⁸⁰ New Jersey Education Association, "NJEA members continue to fight for job justice, great public schools," *NJEA Review* 92, no. 8 (March 2019): 20.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸³ John Reitmeyer, "Sweeney seizes mic, holds his own in town halls, but where's Murphy?," *NJSpotlight*, February 19, 2019.

⁸⁴ Katherine Landergan, "Sweeney ready to move forward with pension, health benefits overhaul," Politico, March 1, 2019, <u>https://www.politico.com/states/new-jersey/story/2019/03/01/sweeney-ready-to-move-forward-with-pension-health-benefits-overhaul-881180</u>.

⁸⁵ Julie Duario, "Murphy questions Sweeney's math on health benefit savings," NJTV News, April 5, 2019.

Staff was caught suggesting ways for progressive advocacy groups to push back against the plan, calling it a "false narrative" against public unions.86

As promised, Murphy has also substantially increased the state's pension contributions and has committed to reach the full funding requirement by FY2023.

At the NJEA's urging, Murphy also vetoed a bill that would have moved higher education employees to the State Health Benefits Plan from the union-dominated School Employees Health Benefits Program.87

Boxes checked for Murphy's efforts to keep pensions and benefits unreformed.

PARCC. On the campaign trail, Murphy promised to "scrap PARCC Day 1," and as governor, he followed through by asking Education Commissioner Repollet to "end the failed experiment that has been PARCC testing."⁸⁸ Repollet proposed to the State Board of Education (SBOE) to eliminate four of the six PARCC tests for high school students, but got push-back from the SBOE.⁸⁹ As it stands now, the SBOE has indeed scrapped PARCC – at least in name – by renaming it the New Jersey Student Learning Assessment. The SBOE also voted to eliminate two tests.

Box checked for Murphy's efforts to eliminate PARCC.

In addition, the **ELC** has played its customary role by seeking judicial and regulatory remedies against PARCC. The **ELC** joined with the **Latino Action Network**, the **Latino Coalition**, the **Paterson Education Fund** and the **New Jersey State Conference of the NAACP** to block PARCC-based high school graduation requirements and then negotiated a follow-on agreement on graduation pathways with the New Jersey Department of Education (NJDOE).₉₀

Charter Schools. While Murphy was running for governor in 2017, the NJEA called for "a moratorium on the approval and expansion of charter schools and a thorough review and revision of the entire charter school law."₉₁ On cue, Murphy's new Education Commissioner promptly embarked on a full review of the state's charter school system. More importantly, the Murphy administration has "clearly slowed down new approvals

⁸⁶ Brent Johnson, "Murphy official rallies activists to attack governor's chief Democratic rival," *NJ.com*, January 24, 2019.

⁸⁷ NJEA members sent Murphy 4,000 emails calling for such a veto and lobbied the legislature against it. New Jersey Education Association, "Murphy vetoes bill that would have subverted collective bargaining," *NJEA Review* 92, no. 7 (February 2019): 18.

⁸⁸ Tom Davis, "Big PARCC Decision: NJ Votes to Kill Two Standardized Tests," Patch, October 22, 2019, <u>https://patch.com/new-jersey/pointpleasant/big-parcc-decision-nj-votes-kill-2-standardized-tests</u>.

⁸⁹ Adam Clark, "The PARCC tests were just spared a death sentence," *NJ.com*, October 3, 2018.

⁹⁰ Latino Action Network, "Court Agreement Provides New Jersey Juniors and Seniors with Clear Pathways to High School Graduation," *latinoaction.blogspot.com*, February 19, 2019, <u>http://latinoaction.blogspot.com/2019/02/</u>.

⁹¹ New Jersey Education Association, "NJEA: Charter moratorium urgently needed," *njea.org*, April 1, 2019, <u>https://www.njea.org/njea-charter-school-moratorium-urgently-needed/</u>.

and expansions."₉₂ In a tell-tale sign, NJEA-ally **Save Our Schools NJ** publically applauded Murphy's tougher stance against charters.₉₃

It was in this context that Tom Moran of the Star-Ledger so poignantly captured the NJEA's influence over Murphy: "If the NJEA had a puppet with a smile painted on it, it could hardly do better."₉₄

Box checked for the governor's efforts on charter schools.

In addition, again true to its role, the **ELC** has attacked charter schools via the courts. After the Christie administration approved the expansion of seven Newark charter schools, the **ELC** sued, claiming that these high-performing charters increased segregation and drained district funds. The appellate court ruled against the **ELC**, but the **ELC** is now appealing to the state Supreme Court.₉₅

The **ELC** also called for the Murphy administration's charter review to make "significant changes" to the charter school system and rein in expansion.₉₆ And the **ELC** has called for the NJDOE to end charter school pre-K programs in Abbott districts.₉₇

Millionaire's Tax. In his first budget, Murphy went to the mat for a millionaire's tax, even threatening a government shut-down. Murphy got his tax but was forced by the legislature to compromise on its scope. In his FY2020 budget, Murphy again called for an expanded tax. He appeared in NDNJ's TV ads calling for such a tax and again threatened to shut down the state government if the legislature did not comply,98 but the legislature thwarted his best efforts.

Box checked for Murphy's efforts on the millionaire's tax.

State Budget. A favorable state budget is of course a perennial legislative priority for the NJEA and its allies, and Murphy delivered here as well. His first proposed budget pleased the NJEA for its pension contribution, increase in state education aid and

⁹² John Mooney, "Charter Schools: Where Does Murphy Administration Really Stand?" NJ Spotlight, October 10, 2018, <u>https://www.njspotlight.com/2018/10/18-10-09-charter-schools-where-does-the-murphy-administration-really-stand/</u>.

 ⁹⁴ Tom Moran, "Murphy's troubling failure to defend charter school success," Newark Star-Ledger, April 7, 2019, <u>https://www.nj.com/opinion/2019/04/murphys-troubling-failure-to-defend-charter-school-success-moran.html</u>.
 ⁹⁵ Laura Waters, "Education Law Center and NJEA Are Not Celebrating National Charter Schools Week," NJ Left Behind, May 15, 2019, <u>https://njleftbehind.org/2019/05/education-law-center-and-njea-are-not-celebrating-national-charter-schools-week-heres-why/</u>.

⁹⁶ Education Law Center, "New Jersey Must Rein In Improper Charter Growth," *edlawcenter.org*, December 6, 2018, <u>https://edlawcenter.org/news/archives/nj-charter-schools/new-jersey-must-rein-in-improper-charter-growth.html</u>.

⁹⁷ Education Law Center, "ELC Calls for End to Separate Charter School Pre-K Programs in Abbott Districts," *edlawcenter.org*, December 9, 2019, <u>https://edlawcenter.org/news/archives/preschool/elc-calls-for-end-to-separate-charter-school-pre-k-programs-in-abbott-districts.html</u>.

⁹⁸ Insider NJ, "New Direction NJ Launching \$1M Ad Campaign for Murphy Budget, Millionaire's Tax, May 23, 2019, https://www.insidernj.com/new-direction-nj-launching-1m-ad-campaign-murphy-budget-millionaires-tax/

⁹³ Ibid.

higher taxes: "Thanks to the relentless advocacy of NJEA members and staff, the Fiscal 2019 state budget is a huge victory for public education and public school employees."₉₉ The **Better Choices Coalition**, which represents the budget priorities of a large group of network allies, also endorsed first Murphy's budget₁₀₀ and praised his proposed FY2020 budget for including a millionaire's tax, increased education funding and reform of the Economic Development Authority.¹⁰¹

With regard to school funding specifically, in his first budget, Murphy was able to win a \$351 million increase in state aid to K-12 schools, a substantial 4.3 percent increase over Governor Christie's last budget.¹⁰² In his FY2020 budget, Murphy proposed "record levels" of state education aid, including increases of \$206 million in state aid for K-12 and \$68 million for pre-K.¹⁰³ The final budget increased K-12 state aid by \$191 million, a 2.3 percent increase, and \$68 million for pre-K.¹⁰⁴

Boxes checked for Murphy's efforts on the state budget and school funding.

Automatic Voter Registration. In April 2018, Governor Murphy signed into law automatic voter registration, making New Jersey the 12th state to do so. Box checked.

Minimum Wage. In February 2019, Governor Murphy signed into law a \$15 minimum wage, making New Jersey the 4th state to do so. Box checked.

Economic Development Authority (EDA). As long called for by the NJEA and its allies, Murphy has made reforming the EDA a top priority. Murphy's comptroller issued a scathing audit of the incentive program and a Murphy-appointed task force found fault with how the programs were administered. Due to Murphy's resistance, the two existing tax-incentive programs were allowed to expire in 2019 and a replacement program remains in limbo. Disbursements of prior commitments have also been slowed down due to increased scrutiny of the grants.¹⁰⁵

https://www.nj.gov/governor/news/news/562019/approved/20190308a.shtml.

¹⁰⁴ David Sciarra, "New Jersey on Slow Road Back to Fair School Funding," Education Law Center, July 17, 2019, <u>https://edlawcenter.org/news/archives/school-funding/new-jersey-on-slow-road-back-to-fair-school-funding.html</u>.

⁹⁹ New Jersey Education Association, "Relentless NJEA advocacy helps deliver pro-public education state budget," *NJEA Review* 92, no. 1 (September 2018): 23.

¹⁰⁰ New Jersey State Democratic Committee, Press Release, "NJSDC: More Than 65 Progressive Organizations Have Endorsed Governor Murphy's Budget," InsiderNJ, June 28, 2018, <u>https://www.insidernj.com/press-release/njsdc-65-progressive-organizations-endorsed-governor-murphys-budget/</u>.

¹⁰¹ Better Choices for New Jersey Coalition, Press Release, "Better Choices for New Jersey Coalition Statement on Gov. Murphy's Budget Address," InsiderNJ, March 5, 2019, <u>https://www.insidernj.com/press-release/better-choices-new-jersey-coalition-statement-gov-murphys-budget-address/</u>.

¹⁰² Mike Catalini, "Murphy unveils details of 4.3 percent increase in school aid," Associated Press, July 14, 2018, <u>https://6abc.com/education/murphy-unveils-details-of-43-percent-increase-in-school-aid/3762252/</u>.

¹⁰³ State of New Jersey, Governor Phil Murphy, "Governor Murphy Announces Historic Levels of School Funding as High Graduation Rate Reaches Record High," *nj.gov*, March 8, 2019,

¹⁰⁵ David Levinsky, "No payouts while NJ EDA reviews tax incentive compliance," Burlington County Times, July 29, 2019, <u>https://www.burlingtoncountytimes.com/news/20190729/official-no-payouts--while-nj-eda-reviews-tax-incentive-compliance</u>.

Amid the controversy, the **Better Choices coalition** called for the resignation of the EDA board,¹⁰⁶ and shortly thereafter, Murphy complied and called for the resignation of the appointed board. The **Working Families/Better Choices** spokesman captured the sequencing well: "Last week the board heard from [Better Choices coalition]. Now they have heard from their governor. It's time for them to step down ..."¹⁰⁷ Which they promptly did. One of Murphy's selections to replace them was none other than Marcia Marley, president of **BlueWave** and board chair of **NJ Policy Perspective**.¹⁰⁸

NJEA-ally **Working Families Alliance** has played a very public role attacking the EDA, with state director Sue Altman famously being removed from a state senate hearing.

Box checked regarding Murphy's efforts to curb the EDA tax-incentive programs.

That's quite a haul of checked boxes for the NJEA and its network of allies. Their vigorous and coordinated support for Murphy's election was apparently money very well spent.

CONCLUSION

One look at the graphs in this report reveals that the NJEA's network of allies resembles a spider web: a spider web of special-interest power and influence that is unmatched by any other political force in the state. At the center of the spider web sits the most powerful special interest of them all, the NJEA. The NJEA has shrewdly dedicated planning, resources and personnel, as well as tens of millions of dollars, to developing this network: our property tax dollars at work for a very special interest.

As a result, there is no political issue of interest to the NJEA that is not backed one or more of these allied groups. And there is no political cause that cannot be instantly rallied to with armies of activists and supporters.

As intended, this web of special interest power and influence gets results. Its allied groups were a major factor in Murphy's election to the governors' office. As governor, Murphy has repaid their efforts in full, pushing for and often succeeding in gaining their main policy priorities. He's even appeared as spokesman in their TV ads. Moran's description of a puppet with a smiley face is right on target.

¹⁰⁶ New Jersey Citizen Action, Press Release, "50+ Organizations Call for Resignation of NJ Economic Development Board in Response to Whistleblower Allegations, Audit," InsiderNJ, April 9, 2019, https://njcitizenaction.org/news/cfr405.html.

¹⁰⁷ Dustin Racioppi, "Murphy seeks resignations of board members in charge of NJ tax incentives," NorthJersey.com, April 16, 2019, <u>https://www.northjersey.com/story/news/new-jersey/2019/04/16/nj-gov-phil-murphy-seeks-resignation-eda-board-members-over-tax-breaks/3490683002/</u>.

¹⁰⁸ InsiderNJ, "Murphy Names His New Picks for the EDA Board," *insidernj.com*, December 17, 2017, <u>https://www.insidernj.com/murphy-name-new-picks-eda-board/</u>.

The success of this web of allies ensures that New Jersey's political system will remain dominated by special interests, and especially by the largest and most powerful special interest, the NJEA. When measuring the political clout of the NJEA, this vast network of allies must be taken into account. When all is added up, there is simply no other political force in New Jersey that even comes close.

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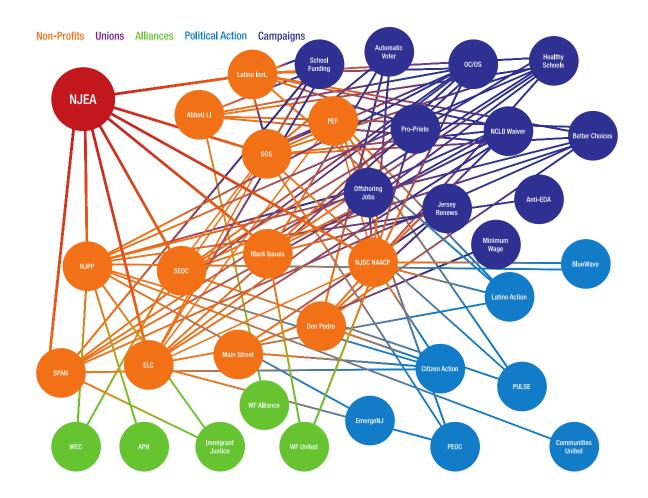
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SECTION I: CHARITABLE NON-PROFIT GROUPS (501(c)(3)) -ORANGE



NJEA Donations to 501(c)(3) Non-profits 2009-2016:

Education Law Center	\$3,202,000
The Latino Institute	1,140,000
NJ Policy Perspective	510,000
Statewide Education Organizing	105,000
Committee	
NJ Black Issues Convention	83,000
New Jersey State Chapter NAACP	76,000
Statewide Parents Advocacy Network	23,500
Save Our Schools	5,000
TOTAL	\$5,039,500

Source: New Jersey Education Association, IRS Form 990 "Parent" filings.

1. Education Law Center (ELC)

ELC promotes educational equity through coalition building, litigation support, policy development, communications, and action-focused research.¹⁰⁹ The ELC was the lead litigator in the *Abbott* line of New Jersey Supreme Court rulings that mandated increased state funding for poorer school districts. ELC continues to take the lead in school funding litigation. As with its legal representation of the NJEA's Latino and urban allies, ELC also provides a ready resource for the NJEA or its allies to sue for judicial remedies either in place of or in augmentation of the NJEA's broader political efforts. As might be expected, the NJEA has a prominent position on ELC's board. ELC also has been active in the various **Newark Education Organizing** campaigns as well as in several of the other NJEA-aligned coalitions, especially those regarding school funding.

NJEA:

Both the current and previous NJEA executive directors sit on the ELC Board if Trustees. The NJEA's parent, the National Education Association, also funds ELC.

NJEA donations: \$3,202,000 from 2010-2016

Allies:

AFT is a funder of ELC.110

ELC represented the **Latino Action Network, Latino Coalition, Paterson Education Fund** and **NJSC NAACP** in a successful action against the NJ Department of Education. The ELC also negotiated a follow-on agreement with NJDOE on behalf of the plaintiffs.¹¹¹

Alliances, Campaigns and Coalitions:

ELC participated in the following campaigns and ad hoc coalitions: **Our Children/Our Schools, Healthy Schools Now, Newark Education Organizing, Suspend NCLB Waiver**, and **School Funding**. See Appendix B.

¹⁰⁹ "Mission and History," ELC Education Law Center, Education Law Center,

https://edlawcenter.org/about/mission-history.html.

¹¹⁰ "Supporters," *ELC Education Law Center*, Education Law Center, https://edlawcenter.org/about/supporters.html.

¹¹¹ Latino Action Network, "Court Agreement Provides New Jersey Juniors and Seniors with Clear Pathways to High School Graduation," *latinoaction.blogspot.com*, February 19, 2019, <u>http://latinoaction.blogspot.com/2019/02/</u>.

2. The Latino Institute (Latino Institute)

The Latino Institute is an educational entity that serves as a bridge between the Latino community, and the educational, cultural, governmental, social and economic institutions of society.¹¹²

Curiously, the current Guidestar profile of The Latino Institute states that "This organization's exempt status was automatically revoked by the IRS for failure to file a Form 990 ... for 3 consecutive years. Further investigation and due diligence are warranted."¹¹³

NJEA:

The Latino Institute's main activity appears to be running parent education conferences in collaboration with the local NJEA affiliates using NJEA PRIDE/FAST funds.¹¹⁴

NJEA donations: \$1,140,000 from 2009-2016.

Allies:

Latino Institute president William Colon is on the board of **Save Our Schools Community Organizing**¹¹⁵ and is a member of the Steering Committee of the Latino Action Network.¹¹⁶

The Latino Institute collaborated in the hosting of the Latino Action Network's 2019 legislative conference (along with the **Latino Coalition**).¹¹⁷

Alliances, Campaigns and Coalitions:

The Latino Institute participates in the following campaigns: **Our Children/Our Schools, Healthy Schools Now, Better Choices**. It also joined the **Pro-Prieto** ad hoc coalition. See Appendix B.

3. New Jersey Policy Perspective (NJPP)

NJPP is a think-tank that advocates for progressive policies to advance economic justice and prosperity for all New Jerseyans through research, analysis and advocacy.¹¹⁸

¹¹² "Home," *The Latino Institute*, The Latino Institute, <u>http://thelatinoinstitute.com</u>.

¹¹³ Guidestar, "Latino Institute, Inc.," guidestar.org, <u>https://guidestar.org/profile/20-1516874</u>.

¹¹⁴ "Events," *The Latino Institute*, The Latino Institute, <u>http://thelatinoinstitute.com/parent-conferences-are-available-in-collaboration-with-local-education-associations/.</u>

¹¹⁵ "Board of Directors," *Save Our Schools NJ*, Save Our Schools NJ, <u>http://www.saveourschoolsnj.org/sosnjco-board-of-directors/</u>.

 ¹¹⁶ "About," Latino Action Network, Latino Action Network, <u>http://latinoaction.blogspot.com/p/about-lan.html</u>.
 ¹¹⁷ "2019 Legislative Conference," Latino Action Network, Latino Action Network, http://latinoaction.blogspot.com/p/blog-page.html.

¹¹⁸ "About," *NJPP New Jersey Policy Perspective*, New Jersey Policy Perspective, <u>https://www.njpp.org/about</u>.

NJEA:

NJPP is a key part of the NJEA's policy agenda. In the Report of the Budget Committee to the NJEA Delegate Assembly, among the goals for the 2018-2019 budget are research and advocacy for state funding for the NJEA's priorities. To achieve this, the NJEA will "support and coordinate with state policy researchers and advocacy organizations and coalitions, including **New Jersey Policy Perspective**, **New Jersey Working Families Alliance**, **Better Choices for New Jersey Coalition** and the **Anti-Poverty Network**."¹¹⁹

NJEA donations: \$510,000 from 2013-2016.

Allies:

NJPP's chairman of the board is Marcia Marley, founder and president of **BlueWave**.

NJPP is listed as an "affiliate" and is on the Board of Trustees of Citizen Action.120

NJPP Board Chair Marley sits on the board of EmergeNJ.121

NJPP was an "agitator sponsor" for Community United's 2017 Solidarity Awards.122

Alliances, Campaigns and Coalitions:

NJPP president Brandon McKoy sits on the board of the **Work Environment Council**, and the NJPP is on the executive committee of **Alliance for Immigrant Justice**. NJPP was a founding member of the **Anti-Poverty Network**. See Appendix A.

NJPP participated in the following campaigns and ad hoc coalitions: **Healthy Schools**, **Better Choices**, **OC/OS**, **Anti-EDA**, **Jersey Renews** and **Offshoring Jobs**. See Appendix B.

¹¹⁹ New Jersey Education Association, "Reports to the Delegate Assembly, Budget Committee Report to the Delegate Assembly," May 19, 2018. Hard copy.

¹²⁰ "NJCA Affiliates & Allies," *New Jersey Citizen Action*, New Jersey Citizen Action,

https://njcitizenaction.org/?page_id=178.

¹²¹ "Board of Directors," *Emerge New Jersey*, Emerge America, <u>https://nj.emergeamerica.org/about/board-of-directors/</u>.

¹²² New Jersey Communities United, *Facebook*, March 15, 2017,

https://www.facebook.com/NjCommunitiesUnited/photos/a.269968216442030/1115833985188778/?type=3&th eater.

4. Statewide Education Organizing Committee (SEOC)

SEOC seeks to improve educational outcomes for children by organizing public school parents, family members, and community members to advocate, take action together, and contribute to educational equality in struggling school districts.¹²³ SEOC opposes school choice, charter schools and "corporate" education (reform) policies,¹²⁴ as well as standardized testing (see **SOS** connection below).

NJEA:

SEOC plays a significant role in the NJEA's political organizing plans. Given their relationship to public schools and their omnipresence in the state, organizing parents to support the NJEA's initiatives is a top consideration for NJEA's organizers. Unsurprisingly, SEOC is mentioned by name in the NJEA Executive Director's report to the Delegate Assembly concerning its political organizing arm for SEOC's role in the **Healthy Schools Now** campaign.¹²⁵

NJEA donations: \$105,000 in 2013 and 2015.

Allies:

A SEOC Facebook post urges followers to fight legislation (S3381) requiring standardized testing for high school graduation and links to **SOS**'s website to lobby the governor and the legislature.¹²⁶

SEOC sponsored a 2017 "#WeChoose" (anti-school-choice) Town Hall in Elizabeth, NJ along with **SOS** and **PULSE**.₁₂₇

Alliances, Campaigns and Coalitions:

SEOC participated in the **Better Choices**, **Our Children/Our Schools**, **Healthy Schools Now**, and **Newark Education Organizing** campaigns, as well the **Suspend NCLB Waiver** ad hoc coalition. See Appendix B.

¹²³ Statewide Education Organizing Committee, Facebook, no date,

¹²⁴ Statewide Education Organizing Committee, *Facebook*, September 19, 2017,

https://www.facebook.com/SEOCNJ/photos/rpp.209567315750927/1781535261887450/?type=3&theater.

¹²⁶ "The legislature is again playing with our children's future! Let's take action right now!" Statewide Education Organizing Committee, *Facebook*, January 28, 2019, <u>https://www.facebook.com/SEOCNJ/</u>. SOS link:

https://actionnetwork.org/letters/nj-senate-is-making-it-harder-to-graduate-from-high-school?fbclid=IwAR3-Mlux_DU5cSp_FAko0zJpsIyIXgWtSgAE6BvNUhrNtFK4CYmlfblu04Q.

¹²⁷ Statewide Education Organizing Committee, *Facebook*, September 19, 2017, https://www.facebook.com/SEOCNJ/photos/rpp.209567315750927/1781535261887450/?type=3&theater.

https://www.facebook.com/pg/SEOCNJ/about/?ref=page_internal.

¹²⁵ New Jersey Education Association, "Reports to the Delegate Assembly, Executive Director's Report to the Delegate Assembly," May 19, 2018. Hard copy.

5. New Jersey Black Issues Convention (Black Issues)

Black Issues convenes an annual statewide convention on issues affecting the black community. It also seeks to establish a network among all black organizations in New Jersey and mobilize public opinion in the black community.¹²⁸

NJEA donations: \$83,000 from 2010-2015

Alliances, Campaigns and Coalitions:

Black Issues is listed as a "partner organization" for **Working Families United**. See Appendix A.

Black Issues is listed as a "member" of **Our Children/Our Schools** campaign, a "campaign partner" of the **Healthy Schools Now** campaign, and a "partner" of the **Jersey Renews** campaign. It also participated in several ad hoc coalitions: **Automatic Voter Registration, Suspension of the NCLB Waiver** and **Offshoring Jobs**. See Appendix B.

6. New Jersey State Conference NAACP (NJSC NAACP)

NJSC NAACP the New Jersey affiliate of the NAACP, the nation's oldest, largest and most widely recognized grassroots—based civil rights organization. The NAACP members advocate for civil rights in their communities, conducting voter mobilization and monitoring equal opportunity in the public and private sectors.¹²⁹ Its Newark affiliate is active in **Newark Education Organizing**. (See Appendix B).

NJEA donations: \$76,000 from 2010-2015.

Allies:

NJSC NAACP was a co-plaintiff with the **Latino Action Network** and the **Latino Coalition** in a suit against the state Department of Education (NJDOE) and the State Board of Education over segregation in New Jersey public schools and in charter schools.₁₃₀

BlueWaveNJ lists NJSC NAACP as an "issue partner" on its website.131

 ¹²⁸ "Mission," *njbic.org*, New Jersey Black Issues Convention, <u>http://www.njbic.org/mission/</u>.
 ¹²⁹ "History," *NAACP New Jersey State Conference*, New Jersey State Conference NAACP, <u>http://www.njscnaacp.org/history/</u>.

¹³⁰ Complaint filed with the Superior Court of New Jersey Law Division: Mercer County, <u>https://www.gnjumc.org/content/uploads/2018/05/COMPLAINT.pdf</u>.

¹³¹ "Issue Partners," *BlueWaveNJ*, Blue Wave NJ, <u>https://www.bluewavenj.org/issuepartners</u>.

Richard Smith, president of NJSC NAACP, is on the Board of Directors and the NJSC NAACP is listed as an "affiliate" of **New Jersey Citizen Action**.₁₃₂

The **Election Law Center** (along with the American Civil Liberties Union) reached an agreement with the NJDOE on behalf of the **Latino Action Network**, the **Latino Coalition**, the **Paterson Education Fund** and the NJSC NAACP on high school graduation requirements.₁₃₃

Alliances, Campaigns and Coalitions:

NJSC NAACP is listed as a "partner organization" of **Working Families United.** See Appendix A.

NJSC NAACP is a member of **Our Children/Our Schools** campaign. It was also a member of several ad hoc coalitions: **Automatic Voter Registration**, **Pro-Prieto** and **Suspension of the NCLB Waiver.** See Appendix B.

7. Statewide Parent Advocacy Network (SPAN)

SPAN is an advocacy group that supports parents of children with disabilities, in poverty, subject to discrimination or with other disadvantages.₁₃₄

NJEA donations: \$23,500 from 2012-2016.

Allies:

SPAN is listed as an "affiliate" of Citizen Action.135

Alliances, Campaigns and Coalitions:

SPAN is a "member" of Alliance for Immigrant Justice. See Appendix A.

SPAN is a was a participant in the following campaigns and ad hoc coalitions: **Better Choices**, **Our Children/Our Schools**, and **Suspension of NCLB Waiver**. See Appendix B.

¹³² "NJCA Board" and "NJCA Affiliates & Allies," *New Jersey Citizen Action*, New Jersey Citizen Action, <u>https://njcitizenaction.org/?page_id=554</u> and <u>https://njcitizenaction.org/?page_id=178</u>.

 ¹³³ Latino Action Network, "Court Agreement Provides New Jersey Juniors and Seniors with Clear Pathways to High School Graduation," *latinoaction.blogspot.com*, February 19, 2019, <u>http://latinoaction.blogspot.com/2019/02/</u>.
 ¹³⁴ "Home," *SPAN Parent Advocacy Network*, Statewide Parent Advocacy Network, <u>https://spanadvocacy.org</u>.
 ¹³⁵ "NJCA Affiliates & Allies," *New Jersey Citizen Action*, New Jersey Citizen Action, https://njcitizenaction.org/?page_id=178.

8. Save Our Schools NJ (SOS)

SOS is a statewide, grassroots organization of parents and other public education supporters that advocates for full funding of public schools and control by local communities.¹³⁶ As such, it is against charter schools.¹³⁷ SOS is also anti-PARCC and "high-stakes testing," and played a prominent role in the opt-out movement.¹³⁸ Note: SOS includes SOS Community Organizing, the funding arm of SOS NJ, as well as SOS March.

NJEA:

The **NJEA**'s website linked to SOS and asked NJEA members to support SOS's efforts to block testing-related legislation.₁₃₉ SOS Community Organizing Executive Director Susan Cauldwell and **NJEA** President Wendell Steinhauer co-wrote an anti-PARCC oped in 2015.₁₄₀

NJEA Donations: \$5,000 in 2015

Allies:

SOS Board of Directors includes William Colon of **The Latino Institute**, Rosie Grant of **Paterson Education Fund** and Stan Karp of **ELC**.₁₄₁

SOS joined with **AFT/NTU**, **NJ Communities United**, and **NJEA-member** Marie Corfield in a 2014 Town Hall Meeting conducted by the Newark Parents Union in opposition to Superintendent Cami Anderson's One Newark plan.₁₄₂

SOS sponsored a 2017 "#WeChoose" (anti-school choice) Town Hall in Elizabeth, NJ along with SEOC and PULSE. $_{\rm 143}$

¹³⁸ Andrew Ujifusa, "Opt-Out Activists Aim to Build Momentum in States," Education Week, January 14, 2016, <u>https://www.edweek.org/ew/articles/2016/01/14/opt-out-activists-aim-to-build-on-momentum.html?cmp=eml-enl-eu-news1-RM</u>.

¹³⁶ "Home," Save Our Schools NJ, Save Our Schools NJ, <u>http://www.saveourschoolsnj.org</u>.

 ¹³⁷ Susan Cauldwell, "Hold Charter Schools to Same Standards as District Schools," NJSpotlight, November 24,
 2015, <u>https://www.njspotlight.com/2015/11/15-11-23-op-ed-hold-charter-schools-to-same-standards-as-district-schools/#</u>.

¹³⁹ New Jersey Education Association, "Stand With Parents and Students," *njea.org*, February 21, 2019, <u>https://njea.org/stand-with-parents-and-students/</u>.

¹⁴⁰ Susan Cauldwell and Wendell Steinhauer, "Early results of PARCC testing in NJ? Widespread misery," Newark Star-Ledger, January 26, 2015, <u>https://nj.com/opinion/2015/01/post_111.html</u>.

¹⁴¹ "Board of Directors," *Save Our Schools NJ*, Save Our Schools NJ, <u>http://www.saveourschoolsnj.org/sosnjco-board-of-directors/</u>.

 ¹⁴² Marie Corfield, "NPU Parents & NSU Students concur: Superintendent Cami Anderson is destroying Newark's schools," *mcorfield.blogspot.com*, <u>http://mcorfield.blogspot.com/2014/04/npu-parents-nsu-students-concur.html</u>.
 ¹⁴³ Statewide Education Organizing Committee, *Facebook*, September 19, 2017,

https://www.facebook.com/SEOCNJ/photos/a.681893328518321/1781535261887450/?type=3&theater.

Alliances, Campaigns and Coalitions:

SOS is a "partner organization" in the **Better Choices for NJ** coalition, a member of the **Our Children/Our Schools** campaign, and a "campaign partner" in the **Healthy Schools Now** campaign. SOS also participated in the following ad hoc coalitions: **Automatic Voter Registration, Suspend NCLB Waiver** and **School Funding.** See Appendix B.

9. Abbott Leadership Institute (Abbott LI)

Part of Rutgers-Newark, Abbott LI trains parents, educators, students and communities to be advocates for the Newark Public School system.¹⁴⁴ In general, it is anti-school choice and pro-local control (see below).

Allies:

Abbott LI hosted an Education Town Hall in Newark against the One Newark plan with **Working Families Alliance** that also involved **PULSE**.₁₄₅

Alliances, Campaigns and Coalitions:

Abbott LI participates in the **Better Choices**, **Our Children/Our Schools**, and **Newark Education Organizing** campaigns, and the **School Funding** and **Suspend NCLB Waiver** ad hoc coalitions. See Appendix B.

10. La Casa de Don Pedro (Don Pedro)

Don Pedro is an activist, community-based, grassroots organization committed to empowering Newark communities. Don Pedro provides early childhood and adult education; health, housing and energy-conservation counselling; immigration services; and community engagement and organizing.¹⁴⁶

Allies:

Don Pedro is an "affiliate" and on the Board of Directors of Citizen Action.147

¹⁴⁴ "Home," ALI, Abbott Leadership Institute, <u>http://abbottleadership.org</u>

¹⁴⁵ Education Town Hall Forum, "Parents Boycott Newark Schools," *Education Town Hall*, September 5, 2014, <u>https://educationtownhall.org/2014/09/05/newark-schools-boycott/</u>.

 ¹⁴⁶ "Home," La Casa de Don Pedro, La Casa de Don Pedro, <u>http://www.lacasanwk.org</u>.
 ¹⁴⁷ "NJCA Affiliates & Allies," New Jersey Citizen Action, New Jersey Citizen Action, https://njcitizenaction.org/?page_id=178.

Alliances, Campaigns and Coalitions:

Don Pedro is a participant in the **Jersey Renews**, **Healthy Schools Now** and **Better Choices** campaigns, and the **Automatic Voter Registration** ad hoc coalition. See Appendix B.

11. Paterson Education Fund (PEF)

PEF supports community action to support Paterson Public Schools. PEF builds civic capacity to support, monitor and advocate for education reform, and provides a forum for the community to participate in the decision-making processes concerning education. PEF brokers relationships between the Paterson school district and private sector entities interested in public education in Paterson.¹⁴⁸

PEF has cooperated with other organizations to present anti-charter school, antistandardized testing, anti-suspension, and pro-local control speakers and agendas.¹⁴⁹

Allies:

PEF's "key statewide partners" include: **Parents Education Organizing Committee** (PEOC), ELC, SOS, Our Children/Our Schools. PEF works with ELC, PEOC and SOS to reform school funding.₁₅₀

The **ELC** (along with the ACLU) reached an agreement with the NJDOE on behalf of PEF, **Latino Action Network**, **Latino Coalition**, and **NJSC NAACP** on high school graduation requirements.¹⁵¹

Alliances, Campaigns and Coalitions:

PEF is a participant in the **Better Choices**, **Our Children/Our Schools** and **Healthy School Now** campaigns, and the **School Funding** and **Suspension of NCLB Waiver** ad hoc coalitions. See Appendix B.

¹⁴⁹ Paterson Education Fund, *Facebook*, August 7, 2017,

https://www.facebook.com/PatersonEducation/photos/a.120476451337689/1537375982981055/?type=3&theat er.

¹⁴⁸ "About," *PEF Paterson Education Fund*, Paterson Education Fund, <u>http://paterson-education.org/about-paterson-education-fund/</u>.

¹⁵⁰ "Our Statewide and National Advocacy Partners," *PEF Paterson Education Fund*, Paterson Education Fund, <u>http://paterson-education.org/for-advocates/key-partners/</u>, and "School Funding," *PEF Paterson Education Fund*, Paterson Education Fund, <u>http://paterson-education.org/school-funding/</u>.

¹⁵¹ Latino Action Network, "Court Agreement Provides New Jersey Juniors and Seniors with Clear Pathways to High School Graduation," *latinoaction.blogspot.com*, February 19, 2019, <u>http://latinoaction.blogspot.com/2019/02/</u>.

12. The Main Street Alliance (Main Street)

Main Street is a coalition of small businesses that advocates for progressive policies. The coalition supports fair taxes that support the infrastructure for communities and families, and looks beyond short-term profits and exploitative business practices to focus on making investments that create sustainable workplaces and prosperous economies.¹⁵² Main Street essentially provides ostensible small-business support for progressive policies.

Main Street is sponsored by Citizen Action, which provides staff and support for the coalition. $_{153}$

Allies:

Main Street is listed as an "affiliate" and is on the Board of Trustees of **Citizen** Action.₁₅₄

Main Street was recognized by **Working Families Alliance** for its contributions to the Democrat "blue wave" in New Jersey in the 2018 midterm elections.

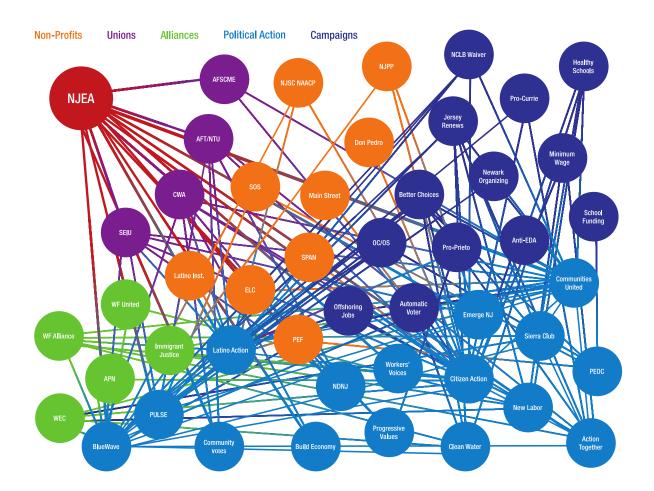
Alliances, Campaigns and Coalitions:

Main Street participates in the **Jersey Renews** campaign and the **Minimum Wage** ad hoc coalition. See Appendix B.

¹⁵² "Home," *The Main Street Alliance*, The Main Street Alliance, <u>https://www.mainstreetalliance.org</u>.
 ¹⁵³ "New Jersey," *The Main Street Alliance*, The Main Street Alliance, <u>https://www.mainstreetalliance.org/new jersey</u>.
 ⁵⁴ "Next Alliance Alliance of the Alliance of th

¹⁵⁴ "NJCA Affiliates & Allies," *New Jersey Citizen Action*, New Jersey Citizen Action, <u>https://njcitizenaction.org/?page_id=178</u>.

SECTION II: 501(c)(4) and 527 POLITICAL ACTION GROUPS -BLUE



NJEA Donations to 501(c)(4) and 527 Political Action Groups 2009-2016:155

General Majority PAC	\$9,170,000
New Direction New Jersey PAC	4,500,000
One New Jersey PAC	2,950,000
Committee to Build the Economy PAC	2,150,000
New Jersey Workers' Voices PAC	500,000
Progressive Values Committee PAC	325,000
Our Community Votes PAC	50,000
Emerge New Jersey PAC	43,300
New Jersey Citizen Action	35,000

¹⁵⁵ Committee to Build the Economy and Progressive Values Committee include data from 2017 and 2018, as reported by the Center for Responsive Politics, <u>https://www.opensecrets.org</u>. Additional data for New Direction New Jersey from InsiderNJ, "New Direction NJ Releases Full Donor List," *insidernj.com*, <u>https://www.insidernj.com/new-direction-nj-releases-full-donor-list/</u>.

BlueWaveNJ	10,000
Latino Action Network	5,000
Parents Unified for Local School	5,000
Education	
TOTAL	\$19,743,300

Source: New Jersey Education Association, IRS Form 990 "Parent" filings.

1. New Direction New Jersey (NDNJ)

NDNJ is a Super PAC that promotes the NJEA's and Governor Murphy's agenda. **CWA, SEIU, AFSCME** also donated to NDNJ.₁₅₆

NJEA donations: \$4,500,000 in 2018 and 2019.

NDNJ gave \$100,000 to Working Families Alliance.157

2. One New Jersey

One New Jersey was a Super PAC active in the 2013 gubernatorial election in support of Democratic State Senator Barbara Buono. Entirely funded by the NJEA, One New Jersey did not disclose its donors at the time and thus was one of the first "dark money" groups active in the state. Run by the same Democratic political operatives as the "dark money" group New Direction New Jersey, One New Jersey also served as a secret conduit for \$500,000 from the **AFT** for the Boston mayoral election and was forced to pay a fine by the Massachusetts elections watchdog. (See "King of Dark Money" theme #2 above for citations.)

NJEA donations: \$2,950,000 in 2013.

3. Committee to Build the Economy (Build Economy)

Build Economy is a progressive Super PAC that supported Democrat Phil Murphy in the 2017 gubernatorial election₁₅₈ and Democrat Senator Bob Menendez in 2018. **CWA** also donated to Build Economy.₁₅₉

NJEA donations: \$2,150,000 in 2017 and 2018.

¹⁵⁶ Matt Friedman, "Pro-Murphy 'dark money' group releases donors after nearly two years of secrecy," Politico, September 12, 2019, <u>https://www.politico.com/states/new-jersey/story/2019/09/12/pro-murphy-dark-money-group-releases-donors-after-nearly-two-years-of-secrecy-1185854.</u>

¹⁵⁷ Matt Friedman, New Jersey Playbook, Politico, November 20, 2019, <u>https://www.politico.com/newsletters/newjerseyplaybook</u>.

¹⁵⁸ Matt Friedman, "Newly formed super PAC raises \$1 M from unions to aid Murphy," Politico, August 8, 2017, <u>https://www.politico.com/states/new-jersey/story/2017/08/08/new-nj-super-pac-quietly-raises-1m-to-aid-murphy-113844</u>.

¹⁵⁹ Federal Election Commission, "Committee to Build the Economy," *fec.gov*, December 5, 2018, https://docquery.fec.gov/pdf/180/201812059134154180/201812059134154180.pdf#navpanes=0.

4. New Jersey Workers' Voices (Workers Voices)

Workers Voices is a Super PAC that supported Ras Baraka for mayor of Newark in 2014, Barbara Buono for governor, and the **Minimum Wage** ballot initiative in 2013.¹⁶⁰

NJEA donations: \$500,000 in 2014.

Alliances, Campaigns and Coalitions:

Workers Voices participated in the Minimum Wage campaign.

5. Progressive Values Committee (Progressive Values)

Progressive Values is a Super PAC that spent \$410,000 in 2017 against normally safe Republican assembly districts in order to try to elect new Democrats to the assembly and maintain Vince Prieto as speaker.¹⁶¹ Progressive Values supported the election of Andre Sayegh for mayor of Paterson in 2018.¹⁶²

NJEA donations: \$325,000 in 2017 and 2018.

Alliances, Campaigns and Coalitions:

Progressive Values participated in the **Pro-Prieto** ad hoc coalition.

6. Our Community Votes (Community Votes)

Community Votes is a Super PAC that promotes voter turnout for progressive issues and supported Democrat Senator Bob Menendez's election in 2006 and 2012.₁₆₃ **AFT** and **CWA** also donated to Our Community Votes.₁₆₄

NJEA donations: \$50,000 in 2012.

¹⁶⁴ Center for Responsive Politics, "Our Community Votes," *opensecrets.org*, 2012, https://www.opensecrets.org/outside-spending/political-nonprofits/receipts?id=205339299.

¹⁶⁰ International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Local 94, "N.J. Unions Form 'NJ Workers' Voices," *ibew94.org*, June 13, 2013, <u>https://ibew94.org/node/2373</u>; and ELEC reports for NJ Workers' Voices.

¹⁶¹ Matt Friedman, "New super PAC drops more than \$400K against normally safe North Jersey Republicans," Politico, November 3, 2017, <u>https://www.politico.com/states/new-jersey/story/2017/11/03/new-super-pac-drops-400k-against-normally-safe-north-jersey-republicans-115469</u>.

¹⁶² Jayed Rahman, "Super PAC spent almost \$138,000 to aid Sayegh in Paterson mayoral race," Paterson Times, July 23, 2018, <u>http://patersontimes.com/2018/07/23/super-pac-spent-almost-138000-to-aid-sayegh-in-paterson-mayoral-race/</u>.

¹⁶³ John Reitmeyer, "Advocacy groups sidestep N.J. disclosure rules as non-profits," Newark Star-Ledger, June 11, 2010, <u>https://www.nj.com/news/2010/06/lobbyist_groups_sidestep_pay-.html</u>.

7. Emerge New Jersey (EmergeNJ)

EmergeNJ is a Super PAC that seeks to elect Democratic women to public office by identifying, training and then supporting them in their races.¹⁶⁵

NJEA Donations: \$43,300 from 2014 to 2016.

Allies:

NJEA president Marie Blistan, formerly **SEIU** Lizette Delgado-Polanco, and Marcia Marley, president of **BlueWaveNJ** and board chair of **NJ Policy Perspective** sit on EmergeNJ's board.¹⁶⁶

8. New Jersey Citizen Action (Citizen Action)

Citizen Action is one of New Jersey's major progressive grassroots organizations. Citizen Action advocates for for social, racial and economic justice. Citizen Action provides counselling to lower-income people on housing, healthcare, finances, energy and other issues. Citizen Action also engages in advocacy for progressive policies and actively supports progressive candidates for public office.¹⁶⁷

NJEA donations: \$35,000 from 2010 to 2015.

Allies:

Citizen Action's Board of Directors includes representatives from NJEA, CWA, NJSC NAACP, BlueWave/NJ Policy Perspective, SEIU, AFSCME, and La Casa de Don Pedro.¹⁶⁸

Board of Trustees includes representatives from: SEIU, AFT, CWA, Latino Action Network, NJ Policy Perspective and Main Street.¹⁶⁹

Affiliates include: AFSCME, AFT, Alliance for Immigrant Justice, Anti-Poverty Network, BlueWave, CWA, La Casa de Don Pedro, Latino Action Network, Main Street Alliance, NJEA, NJ Policy Perspective, NJSC NAACP, Work Environment Council, SEIU, SPAN.₁₇₀

¹⁷⁰ "Affiliates and Allies," *New Jersey Citizen Action*, New Jersey Citizen Action, https://njcitizenaction.org/?page_id=178.

 ¹⁶⁵ "About Us," *Emerge New Jersey*, Emerge America, <u>https://nj.emergeamerica.org/about/about-us/</u>.
 ¹⁶⁶ "Board of Directors," *Emerge New Jersey*, Emerge America, <u>https://nj.emergeamerica.org/about/board-of-</u> directors/.

¹⁶⁷ "Home," New Jersey Citizen Action, New Jersey Citizen Action, https://njcitizenaction.org.

 ¹⁶⁸ "NJCA Board," New Jersey Citizen Action, New Jersey Citizen Action, <u>https://njcitizenaction.org/?page_id=554</u>.
 ¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

Allies include: Working Families Alliance.171

The Executive Director of Citizen Action sits on the board of **BlueWave**.172

Alliances, Campaigns and Coalitions:

Citizens Action is a member of the following alliances: **Working Families Alliance**, **Working Families United, Work Environment Council, Alliance for Immigrant Justice, Anti-Poverty Network**. See Appendix A.

Citizen Action participates in the Jersey Renews, Better Choices, Minimum Wage and Offshoring Jobs campaigns, and the Automatic Voter Registration, Anti-EDA, Suspension of NCLB Waiver, and Pro-Currie ad hoc coalitions. See Appendix B.

9. BlueWaveNJ (BlueWave)

BlueWave is another of the major progressive organizations in New Jersey. BlueWave uses working groups, conferences, marches and special events to mobilize voters and coalitions to lobby for progressive policies. BlueWave also trains volunteers who help elect progressive candidates in local and national races.₁₇₃

NJEA donations: \$10,000 in 2015 and 2016.

Allies:

BlueWave president Marcia Marley is Chair of the Board of NJ Policy Perspective.

Representatives from **Citizen Action**, **Working Families Alliance** and **SEIU** sit on BlueWave's board.₁₇₄

BlueWave's "issue partners" include: Citizen Action, Working Families Alliance, NJSC NAACP, SEIU, Action Together, Sierra Club, CWA, NJEA, Clean Water, Anti-Poverty Network, NJ Policy Perspective, Work Environment Council.₁₇₅

¹⁷¹ Ibid.
¹⁷² "Executive Committee and Board," *BlueWaveNJ*, BlueWaveNJ, https://www.bluewavenj.org/executive_committee_and_board.

¹⁷³ "About," *Blue Wave NJ*, Blue Wave NJ, <u>https://www.bluewavenj.org/about</u>.
¹⁷⁴ "Executive Committee and Board," *Blue Wave NJ*, Blue Wave NJ, <u>https://www.bluewavenj.org/executive committee and board</u>.

¹⁷⁵ "Issue Partners," *BlueWave NJ*, BlueWave NJ, <u>https://www.bluewavenj.org/issuepartners</u>.

BlueWave and **Working Families Alliance** are **Action Together**'s partners in training and supporting progressive activists to participate in political activities.¹⁷⁶

Alliances, Campaigns and Coalitions:

BlueWave is a member of the **Working Families Alliance** and **Working Families United** alliances. See Appendix A.

BlueWave participates in the Jersey Renews, Better Choices, Our Children/Our Schools and Offshoring Jobs campaigns, and Automatic Voter Registration, Suspend NCLB Waiver, Anti-EDA and Pro-Currie ad hoc coalitions. See Appendix B.

10. Latino Action Network (Latino Action)

Latino Action is a progressive, statewide coalition of Latino organizations that advocates on the issues of Immigrant Rights, Education, Healthcare, Affordable Housing, Criminal Justice Reform, Voting Rights, and Civil Rights. Latino Action supports the existing public education system and has spoken out against charter schools and vouchers.¹⁷⁷

NJEA donations: \$5,000 in 2015.

The Latino Coalition:

The Latino Coalition is a Monmouth County affiliate of the Latino Action Network.¹⁷⁸ Latino Coalition director Frank Argote-Freyre was a previous president of the Latino Action Network and is an **AFT** delegate for the Kean University AFT local.¹⁷⁹

Latino Coalition led the effort to prevent the expansion of the Red Bank Charter School and sued the New Jersey State Board of Education and Department of Education to block it.180

¹⁷⁶ "Resources and Training," *ATNJ Action Together New Jersey*, Action Together New Jersey, <u>https://atnj.org/resources-training/</u>.

¹⁷⁷ "About LAN," *Latino Action Network*, Latino Action Network, <u>http://latinoaction.blogspot.com/p/about-lan.html</u>.

 ¹⁷⁸ "About," *The Latino Coalition*, The Latino Coalition, <u>http://www.lcnj.org/about/about.htm</u>.
 ¹⁷⁹ American Federation of Teachers New Jersey, "Hero: Dr. Frank Argote-Freyre," *aftnj*, http://aftnj.org/topics/news/aftnj-news/2018/hero-dr-frank-argote-freyre/.

¹⁸⁰ Jay Cook, "State Upholds Red Bank Charter School Extension," The Two River Times, May 8, 2018, <u>https://tworivertimes.com/state-upholds-red-bank-charter-school-extension/</u>.

Allies:

Latino Action president Christian Estevez is a **CWA** vice-president₁₈₁ and serves on the Board of Trustees for **Citizen Action**. Executive Secretary Cuqui Rivera is a vice president of the **Anti-Poverty Network**.₁₈₂ Former president Frank Argote-Freyre is director of the **Latin Coalition** and an **AFT** delegate for Kean University.₁₈₃

Latino Action Steering Committee member Renee Koubiadis is the Executive Director of the **Anti-Poverty Network** and serves on the board of **Alliance for Immigrant Justice**, and member William Colon is president of **The Latino Institute**.¹⁸⁴

Former **Working Families Alliance** Legislative Director and **NJEA** political organizer Deborah Cornavaca was Treasurer of Latino Action. **Working Families Alliance** was on the Steering Committee.₁₈₅

Latino Action Network was recognized by **Working Families Alliance** for its contributions to the Democrat "blue wave" in New Jersey in the 2018 midterm elections.

The **ELC** (along with the ACLU) reached an agreement with the NJDOE on behalf of Latino Action Network, **Latino Coalition**, **Paterson Education Fund**, and **NJSC NAACP** on high school graduation requirements.¹⁸⁶

Latino Action was a co-plaintiff with the **NJSC NAACP** and the **Latino Coalition** in a suit against the state Department of Education (NJDOE) and the State Board of Education over segregation in New Jersey public schools and in charter schools.¹⁸⁷

Latino Action organized a Newark Housing Crisis forum with NJ Communities United, NAACP -Newark, CWA, and SEIU.188

 ¹⁸¹ "About," Latino Action Network, Latino Action Network, <u>http://latinoaction.blogspot.com/p/about-lan.html</u>.
 ¹⁸² Ibid.

¹⁸³ American Federation of Teachers New Jersey, "Hero: Dr. Frank Argote-Freyre," *aftnj*, http://aftnj.org/topics/news/aftnj-news/2018/hero-dr-frank-argote-freyre/.

 ¹⁸⁴ "About," Latino Action Network, Latino Action Network, <u>http://latinoaction.blogspot.com/p/about-lan.html</u>.
 ¹⁸⁵ Latino Coalition, Facebook, December 22, 2015, <u>https://www.facebook.com/notes/latino-coalition-of-new-jersey/latino-action-network-announces-election-results-new-steering-committee-to-take-/976910579053008/.
</u>

 ¹⁸⁶ Latino Action Network, "Court Agreement Provides New Jersey Juniors and Seniors with Clear Pathways to High School Graduation," *latinoaction.blogspot.com*, February 19, 2019, <u>http://latinoaction.blogspot.com/2019/02/</u>.
 ¹⁸⁷ Complaint filed with the Superior Court of New Jersey Law Division: Mercer County, https://www.gnjumc.org/content/uploads/2018/05/COMPLAINT.pdf.

¹⁸⁸ Latino Action Network, "Newark Housing Crisis Forum," *Latino Action Network*, July 16, 2015, http://latinoaction.blogspot.com/2015/07/.

Alliances, Campaigns and Coalitions:

Latino Action is a member of the **Working Families United** and **Alliance for Immigrant Justice** alliances. See Appendix A.

Latino Action participated in the **Better Choices**, **Our Children/Our Schools**, Jersey Renews and Minimum Wage campaigns, and the Automatic Voter Registration, Suspension of NCLB Waiver, Anti-EDA, and Pro-Prieto ad hoc coalitions. See Appendix B.

11. Parents Unified for Local School Education (PULSE)

PULSE is a parent-led grassroots organization that organizes, mobilizes and trains parents to advocate for public schools and be involved in the decision-making about public schools. PULSE is a member of the national organization Journey4Justice, whose #WeChoose campaign is anti-charter school, anti-standardized testing, antisuspension and pro-local control of schools. PULSE was a leader of the 2014 Newark public schools boycott movement against Superintendent Cami Anderson's One Newark plan.₁₈₉

NJEA donations: \$5,000 in 2014.

Allies:

In the 2014 effort to fight the One Newark plan, PULSE worked with **Abbott LI** and **Working Families Alliance**,190 **AFT/NTU** and **NJ Communities United**,191 **SOS**,192 and **NJEA** and **SEIU**.193

¹⁸⁹ Parents Unified for Local School Education, *Facebook*, August 27, 2014, https://myemail.constantcontact.com/Press-Release---National-Week-of-Action----Newark-speaks-on-Boycott.html?soid=1110968675099&aid=HHUDVltcVEQ&fbclid=IwAR1-5XkPuXOS4OOjJZmhXDp2GO7Dgy35GPvokY2UfceDQMnVUL7zzgSDbUs. ¹⁹⁰ Education Town Hall Forum, "Parents Boycott Newark Schools," *Education Town Hall*, September 5, 2014, https://educationtownhall.org/2014/09/05/newark-schools-boycott/. ¹⁹¹ Parents Unified for Local School Education, *Facebook*, October 12, 2014, https://www.facebook.com/223724404333909/photos/a.446746288698385/846997455339931/?type=3&theater ¹⁹² Marie Corfield, "NPU Parents & NSU Students concur: Superintendent Cami Anderson is destroying Newark's schools," mcorfield.blogspot.com, http://mcorfield.blogspot.com/2014/04/npu-parents-nsu-students-concur.html. ¹⁹³ NJ Communities United, Facebook, June 5, 2014, https://www.facebook.com/NjCommunitiesUnited/photos/bc.Abps0aBtaYFgHJVH8Svg4tYDaDQbCKodhC40xeBfmz 0klpM-rEqJeMBdjV8UJYWhgtcBnN zLa6xScUeF52YHZ630Qfk15ssVsMF1GR-09DhpR88QRF3p5pk6HpNPx4nGatAFYiSXup3ilgNm9xIdV4uFjGaQwWHZN4rjQSBZVuAw/524175954354587/?type=1&opaqueCursor=AbppuF8TsvNuY8o9qB rxJtVXQ4IuB92uqPxYD-AOvkmgW_QLVbNMOtQwBelPnAzXP_O0FJA4bkfJsIvkWv9Qe4MLvCxVXHagxVOgleZxbvaCyq11ctGy9yhJOZiojeiZaYkrMx9ZkuaKxr0EcrGquQQ3H7KpxESbq6ZdOvvI139B VCam-

Q1YDYJKmRPDbpr7cGMIn2b78tKCLa8wa8vrpBR8a5La0R6yqMKxa_4v0C13oT-

7udtgAq9AldcnAMwOFAamQFUJi5Y8xvE8BtqU-

PULSE also collaborated with **NJ Communities United**, **CWA** and **NPS Alliance** in the 2016 #TakeBackNewark march on City Hall.₁₉₄

PULSE sponsored a 2017 "#WeChoose" Town Hall in Elizabeth, NJ along with ${\bf SOS}$ and ${\bf SEOC.}_{195}$

Alliances, Campaigns and Coalitions:

PULSE participates in the **Newark Education Organizing**, **Better Choices**, and **Our Children/Our Schools** campaigns; and the **Suspend NCLB Waiver** ad hoc coalition. See Appendix B.

12. Action Together New Jersey (Action Together)

Action Together is the New Jersey affiliate of the national Action Together Network, a grassroots group that advocates for progressive policies and works to elect progressive candidates. Action Together organizes rallies and get-out-the-vote efforts, often in collaboration with other progressive groups.¹⁹⁶

Allies:

Action Together gave a "Collaboration in Action Award" to Marcia Marley of **BlueWave/NJ Policy Perspective** and to the executive director of **Working Families Alliance**.₁₉₇

BlueWave and **Working Families Alliance** are also Action Together's partners in training and supporting progressive activists to participate in its activities.¹⁹⁸

vM2wnnKS0Cs2XIHvChm7XFEdorBB1n6GFhMwSguCyU0iI08flBUjgjmZPdvWesEJHboE9QBoBilynn7V9stPF-

<u>q91RsRchOtNbZJylLoXmKDQnNyqSmyvrbO8gAPX5gs3ju6C3RePccqcWG</u>17yBI4NeNyM5fyzFs0MBQa2gJwDmzYYb vko-

Lz66xe_kYrQyFtifmNVR8xBk97ozJITurYzLVdD1vJyly3zcL7T4_gZzsN8XD7Nbz1KOaSqlDFoYlJHrdYVh_8O3tbfOWJG70 35at0Hd5Wfbm5mSN-MJ7llyqNrZXa3ga113M_BEjiso&theater

¹⁹⁴ NJ Communities United, Facebook, March 31, 2016,

https://www.facebook.com/NjCommunitiesUnited/photos/pcb.809341669171346/809341579171355/?type=3&t heater

¹⁹⁵ Statewide Education Organizing Committee, *Facebook*, September 19, 2017,

https://www.facebook.com/SEOCNJ/photos/a.681893328518321/1781535261887450/?type=3&theater.

¹⁹⁶ "What We Do," *ATNJ Action Together New Jersey*, Action Together New Jersey, <u>https://atnj.org/about-action-together-nj/what-we-do/</u>.

¹⁹⁷ "Press Releases," *ATNJ Action Together New Jersey* Action Together New Jersey, <u>https://atnj.org/bluewave-nj-and-new-jersey-working-families-alliance-leaders-to-get-the-collaboration-in-action-award/</u>.

¹⁹⁸ "Resources and Training," *ATNJ Action Together New Jersey*, Action Together New Jersey, <u>https://atnj.org/resources-training/</u>.

Action Together was a sponsor of a 2017 Earth Day march along with NJEA, AFT, CWA and Sierra Club.¹⁹⁹

Action Together was recognized by **Working Families Alliance** for its contributions to the Democrat "blue wave" in New Jersey in the 2018 midterm elections.

Alliances, Campaigns and Coalitions:

Action Together participates in the **Jersey Renews** and **Better Choices** campaigns, and the **Minimum Wage, Anti-EDA,** and **Pro-Currie** ad hoc coalitions. See Appendix B.

13. New Jersey Clean Water Action (Clean Water)

Clean Water is the New Jersey affiliate of the national Clean Water Action. Clean Water advocates for the protection of the environment by organizing grassroots groups and coalitions and by campaigning to elect environmental candidates. In New Jersey, Clean Water advocates for protection of drinking water and for green infrastructure spending.²⁰⁰

Alliances, Campaigns and Coalitions:

Clean Water is a member of **Working Families Alliance** and **Work Environment Council**. See Appendix A.

Clean Water participates in the **Jersey Renews**, **Better Choices** and **Healthy Schools Now** campaigns, and the **Automatic Voter Registration** and **Anti-EDA** ad hoc coalitions. See Appendix B.

14. New Jersey Communities United (Communities United)

Communities United is a community organizing group that advocates for lowincome, working-class communities and communities of color in New Jersey. Communities United supports campaigns through political organizing, committee building and leadership development. Communities United engages in antiforeclosure, student debt relief and healthcare cost relief campaigns, and is pro-union, pro-Minimum Wage, anti-charter school, and pro-local control.²⁰¹

²⁰⁰ "New Jersey Campaigns," *Clean Water Action*, Clean Water Action, https://www.cleanwateraction.org/states/new-jersey/campaigns.

¹⁹⁹ "Press Releases," *ATNJ Action Together New Jersey*, Action Together New Jersey, <u>https://atnj.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/04/MarchForScience Flyer 1600px-2.jpg</u>.

²⁰¹ "Home," *NJ Communities United*, New Jersey Communities United, <u>http://unitednj.nationbuilder.com</u>.

NJEA:

Communities United plays a prominent role in the NJEA's political organizing plans. In the Executive Director's report to the Delegate Assembly on the NJEA's political organizing efforts, the NJEA describes forming a "partnership" with Communities United "to assist organizing efforts regarding income inequality and the expansion of corporate entities eroding the public workforce [presumably charter schools and/or Economic Development Authority grants]." ²⁰² Communities United gives the NJEA a political organizing capability in typically urban, lower-income, minority communities, and strong backing for its anti-charter school efforts in those communities.

Allies:

Communities United's board includes representatives from **CWA**, **ELC** and **SEIU**₂₀₃ and the organization was a labor organizing partner of **CWA**.₂₀₄

NJEA was selected as "2019 Comrade of the Year" by Communities United.₂₀₅ NJEA, AFT, and CWA were sponsors for Communities United 2018 Solidarity Awards.₂₀₆

Alliances, Campaigns and Coalitions:

Communities United is a member of the **Working Families Alliance** and the **Alliance for Immigrant Justice**. See Appendix A.

Communities United participates in the Newark Education Organizing, Jersey Renews, Better Choices, Our Children/Our Schools, Healthy Schools Now and Offshoring Jobs campaigns, and the Automatic Voter Registration, Anti-EDA, and Suspension of NCLB Waiver ad hoc coalitions. See Appendix B.

15. New Labor New Jersey (New Labor)

New Labor advocates for workers' rights primarily by political organizing with a particular focus on the Latino community. Most of the staff are political organizers in Newark, New Brunswick and Lakewood. New Labor also provides work safety and English language education services.²⁰⁷

²⁰² New Jersey Education Association, "Reports to the Delegate Assembly, Executive Director's Report to the Delegate Assembly," May 19, 2018. Hard copy.

²⁰³ "About NJCU," *NJ Communities United*, New Jersey Communities United, http://unitednj.nationbuilder.com/about.

²⁰⁴ "Home," *NJ Communities United*, New Jersey Communities United, <u>http://unitednj.nationbuilder.com</u>.
 ²⁰⁵ New Jersey Communities United, *Facebook*, February 19, 2019,

https://www.facebook.com/NjCommunitiesUnited/photos/a.269968216442030/1928307370608098/?type=3&th eater.

²⁰⁶ New Jersey Communities United, *Facebook*, March 12, 2018,

https://www.facebook.com/NjCommunitiesUnited/photos/a.412213318884185/1496730047099168/?type=3&th eater.

²⁰⁷ "Our Staff," New Labor New Jersey, New Labor New Jersey, https://newlabor.org/staff-photos-and-bios/.

Alliances, Campaigns and Coalitions:

New Labor Executive Director Lou Kimmel is on the board of **Work Environment Council**, and New Labor is a member of the **Alliance for Immigrant Justice** and the **Work Environment Council**.²⁰⁸ See Appendix A.

New Labor participates in **Jersey Renews**, **Healthy Schools Now**, **Minimum Wage** and **Offshoring Jobs** campaigns. See Appendix B.

16. Parent Education Organizing Council (PEOC)

PEOC organizes public school parents and community members in low-income cities with struggling school districts to work together in campaigns for necessary improvements.²⁰⁹

Allies:

PEOC works closely with the **Paterson Education Fund**. PEOC and PEF are a joint member of Journey4Justice Alliance.²¹⁰

Alliances, Campaigns and Coalitions:

PEOC participates in the **Better Choices**, **Healthy Schools Now** and **Our Children/Our Schools** campaigns, and the **School Funding** ad hoc coalition. See Appendix B.

17. Sierra Club of New Jersey (Sierra Club)

Sierra Club is the New Jersey chapter of the national Sierra Club. Sierra Club is a member-supported environmental organization, which seeks to influence public policy in both Washington and the state capitals through public education and grass-roots political action, including electing environmental candidates to public office. https://www.sierraclub.org/new-jersey

²⁰⁸ "Our Affiliations and Memberships," *New Labor New Jersey*, New Labor New Jersey, <u>https://newlabor.org/affiliations-and-memberships/</u>.

²⁰⁹ Parent Education Organizing Committee, *Facebook*, no date, <u>https://www.facebook.com/pg/Parent-Education-Organizing-Council-164854916921712/about/?ref=page_internal</u>.

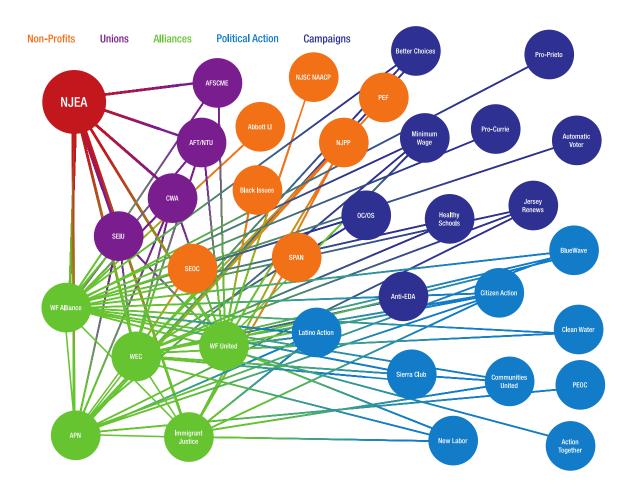
²¹⁰ "Allies," J4J Journey for Justice Alliance, Journey for Justice Alliance <u>https://j4jalliance.com/organization/</u>.

Alliances, Campaigns and Coalitions:

Sierra Club is a member of **Working Families Alliance** and **Work Environment Council**. See Appendix A.

Sierra Club participates in the **Jersey Renews**, **Better Choices** and **Healthy Schools Now** campaigns, and the **Automatic Voter Registration** ad hoc coalition. See Appendix B.

SECTION III: ALLIANCES - GREEN



NJEA Donations to Alliances 2009-2016:

New Jersey Working Families Alliance	\$845,600211
Working Families United for New Jersey	295,000
New Jersey Work Environment Council	156,000
Anti-Poverty Network of New Jersey	10,000
TOTAL	\$1,256,600

Source: New Jersey Education Association, IRS Form 990 "Parent" filings.

1. New Jersey Working Families Alliance (WF Alliance)

WF Alliance is part of the national Working Families organization, a grassroots political organization that advocates for government policies that address the needs and values of working families. In New Jersey, WF Alliance is one of the major political organizations

²¹¹ Includes \$50,000 paid by Garden State Forward to Working Families Alliance for GOTV efforts in 2019.

and works to elect progressive candidates and organize campaigns to advance progressive policies for economic and social justice.²¹²

NJEA:

WFA is a key part of the NJEA's political organizing efforts. WFA is specifically mentioned in the NJEA's Budget Committee's report to the Delegate Assembly as part of its tax-raising goals for the 2018-2019 budget: "... advocate for state policies that will sustainably increase state revenues [raise taxes] in order to adequately fund public education and public employee compensation, health benefits, and pension obligations." In furtherance of this goal, the NJEA will "support and coordinate with ... advocacy organizations and coalitions, including ... **New Jersey Working Families Alliance**."²¹³

The NJEA paid WF Alliance \$50,000 for GOTV assistance in the 2019 fall elections. 214

NJEA donations: \$845,600 from 2012 to 2016 and 2019,215 and \$100,000 from **New Direction New Jersey**, which receives 70 percent of its funds from NJEA.

Allies:

Former **NJEA** political organizer and current Deputy Chief of Staff Deborah Cornavaca was the WFA Legislative Director and coordinator for the **Better Choices** coalition before she joined **NJEA**. ²¹⁶

WFA affiliates include: NJEA, AFSCME, AFT, BlueWave, CWA, Citizen Action, Clean Water Action, Communities United, Sierra Club and SEIU.²¹⁷ Kevin Brown of SEIU is co-chair of WFA's political action committee.²¹⁸

WFA and **BlueWave** are **Action Together**'s partners in training and supporting progressive activists to participate in political activities.²¹⁹

²¹² "New Jersey Working Families Alliance," *Working Families*, Working Families Organization, <u>https://workingfamilies.org/states/new-jersey/</u>.

²¹³ New Jersey Education Association, "Reports to the Delegate Assembly, Budget Committee Report to the Delegate Assembly," May 19, 2018. Hard copy.

²¹⁴ New Jersey Election Law Enforcement Commission, "Garden State Forward, Report of Independent Expenditures, Form IND," October 7, 2019.

²¹⁵ Includes \$50,000 paid by Garden State Forward to Working Families Alliance for GOTV efforts in 2019. ²¹⁶ New Jersey Working Families Alliance, "Budget Out of Balance," *workingfamilies.org*, April 17, 2015, <u>https://workingfamilies.org/2015/04/budget-balance/</u>.

²¹⁷ "New Jersey Working Families Alliance," *Working Families*, Working Families Organization, <u>https://workingfamilies.org/states/new-jersey/</u>.

 ²¹⁸ Service Employees International Union, Kevin Brown, *seiu32bj.org*, <u>https://www.seiu32bj.org/kevin-brown/</u>.
 ²¹⁹ "Resources and Training," *ATNJ Action Together New Jersey*, Action Together New Jersey, <u>https://atnj.org/resources-training/</u>.

WFA recognized its political organizing partners who helped bring about a "blue wave" in New Jersey in the 2018 congressional midterm elections: Latino Action Network, CWA, Main Street Alliance, Citizen Action, and Action Together.

Alliances, Campaigns and Coalitions:

WFA is a member of the Alliance for Immigrant Justice. See Appendix A.

WFA coordinates the Better Choices campaign.

WFA participates in the **Minimum Wage**, **Jersey Renews**, **Healthy Schools Now**, **Our Children/Our Schools** and **Offshoring Jobs** campaigns, and the **Pro-Prieto**, **Pro-Currie**, and **Automatic Voter Registration** ad hoc coalitions. See Appendix B.

2. Working Families United for New Jersey (WF United)

WF United was formed by NJEA, AFL-CIO and other unions in 2011.220 WF United is grassroots, progressive coalition consisting of labor, community, civil rights, progressive, religious, and women's groups that engages in the electoral process and advocates for policies that promote economic and social justice. WF United supports a living wage, green jobs, quality affordable health care, workers' rights, affordable education, and a state budget which reflects progressive economic priorities.221

NJEA donations: \$295,000 from 2010 to 2013.

Allies:

Partner organizations include: NJEA, AFT, AFSCME, CWA, SEIU, BlueWave, Latino Action Network, NJSC NAACP, Black Issues Convention, Citizen Action, New Labor, NJ Policy Perspective, and Work Environment Council.222

3. New Jersey Work Environment Council (WEC)

WEC is at the nexus of New Jersey's labor-environmental movement and part of the nationwide Blue/Green coalition. WEC is an alliance of labor, community, and environmental organizations working together for safe, secure jobs, and a healthy, sustainable environment. WEC links workers, communities, and environmentalists

https://www.nj.com/news/2011/03/nj_unions_start_advocacy_group.html.

²²⁰ Associated Press, "N.J. unions start advocacy group free of cash caps to fight Christie's efforts to restrict collective bargaining," *nj*.com, March 25, 2011,

²²¹ "About Us," *Working Families United for New Jersey*, Working Families United for New Jersey, <u>http://www.wfunj.org/about</u>.

²²² "Partner Organizations," *Working Families United for New Jersey*, Working Families United for New Jersey, http://www.wfunj.org/partner_organizations.

through training, technical assistance, grassroots organizing, and public policy campaigns to promote collaboration and joint action.²²³

NJEA:

Per NJEA directive, WEC contracts with NJEA local affiliates dealing with health and safety issues.²²⁴ NJEA also funds the **Healthy Schools Now** coalition, which is led by WEC.

Well beyond environmental concerns, WEC is a key component of the NJEA's organizing and member advocacy efforts.

With regard to political organizing, the Organizational Development section of the Executive Office formed partnerships with WEC and **NJ Communities United** "to assist organizing efforts regarding income inequity and the expansion of corporate entities eroding the public workforce."₂₂₅ Organizational Development also works with the WEC to implement an NJEA-funded "educational program on 'Runaway Inequality' ... in order to build a movement of organizations and individuals ready to confront persistent attempts to underfund and privatize public education."₂₂₆

NJEA donations: \$156,000 from 2009 to 2018.227

Board:

WEC board includes representatives from NJEA, CWA, SEOC, Clean Water Action, New Labor, Alliance for Immigrant Justice, NJ Policy Perspective, Better Choices Coalition, Anti-Poverty Network, and Sierra Club.228

Allies:

WEC's members include: NJEA, AFT, CWA, Citizen Action, SEIU, Anti-Poverty Network, Clean Water Action, New Labor, Sierra Club.229

²²³ "Mission," Work Environment Council, New Jersey Work Environment Council,

https://njwec.org/about/#mission.

²²⁴ New Jersey Education Association, "Reports to the Delegate Assembly, Executive Director's Report to the Delegate Assembly," May 19, 2018. Hard copy.

²²⁵ Ibid. ²²⁶ Ibid.

 ²²⁷ Includes \$80,000 in 2018 for expansion of the "Runaway Inequality campaign conducted in partnership with the Work Environment Council." New Jersey Education Association, "Reports to the Delegate Assembly, Report of the Budget Committee to the Delegate Assembly," "Budget Transfers for 2017-2018," May 19, 2018. Hard copy.
 ²²⁸ "Board," *Work Environment Council*, New Jersey Work Environment Council, <u>https://njwec.org/about/board/</u>.
 ²²⁹ "Affiliations," *Work Environment Council*, New Jersey Work Environment Council, <u>https://njwec.org/about/board/</u>.

Alliances, Campaigns and Coalitions:

WEC is a partner of **Working Families United** and a member of the **Anti-Poverty Network**. See Appendix A.

WEC leads the **Healthy Schools Now** and **Jersey Renews** campaigns. It participates in the **Better Choices** and **Our Children/Our Schools** campaigns and the **Anti-EDA** and **Offshoring Jobs** ad hoc coalitions. See Appendix B.

4. Anti-Poverty Network of New Jersey (Anti-Poverty)

Anti-Poverty is focused on preventing, reducing, and ending poverty in New Jersey by empowering partners, educating the community, and advocating for solutions. Through focus on empowerment of all anti-poverty stakeholders, from individuals to organizations, the network focuses on systemic change that can advance the fight against poverty.₂₃₀

NJEA:

Anti-Poverty is specifically mentioned by the NJEA in its budget planning as a coalition partner and advocate for the NJEA's state budget priorities. The official goals for the NJEA's budget include: "Research and advocate for state policies that will sustainably increase state revenue [increase taxes] to adequately fund public education and public employee compensation, health benefits, and pension obligations. In furtherance of these goals, support and coordinate with state policy researchers and advocacy organizations and coalitions, including ... the **Anti-Poverty Network**."₂₃₁

NJEA donations: \$10,000 in 2016.

Allies:

Board trustees include the Director of the **Alliance for Immigrant Justice** and the Secretary to the Steering Committee of the **Latino Action Network**.₂₃₂

Founding members: **CWA**, **NJ Policy Perspective**. Charter members: **NJEA**, **Citizen Action**, **SEIU**. Organizational members: **Paterson Education Fund**, **PEOC**, **Work Environment Council**.²³³

²³⁰ "About Us," *APN Anti-Poverty Network of New Jersey*, Anti-Poverty Network of New Jersey, <u>http://www.antipovertynetwork.org/page-1607642</u>.

²³¹ New Jersey Education Association, "Reports to the Delegate Assembly, Report of the Budget Committee to the Delegate Assembly," May 19, 2018. Hard copy.

²³² "Who We Are," *APN Anti-Poverty Network of New Jersey*, Anti-Poverty Network of New Jersey, <u>http://www.antipovertynetwork.org/page-1611718</u>.

²³³ "Organizational Members," *APN Anti-Poverty Network of New Jersey*, Anti-Poverty Network of New Jersey, <u>http://www.antipovertynetwork.org/page-1607642</u>.

Anti-Poverty is an "issue partner" with **BlueWave**₂₃₄ and an "affiliate" of **Citizen Action**.₂₃₅

Alliances, Campaigns and Coalitions:

APN is a member of the following alliances: **Work Environment Council, Alliance for Immigrant Justice**. See Appendix A.

APN participates in the **Jersey Ren**ews and **Better Choices**, and **Minimum Wage** campaigns. See Appendix B.

5. New Jersey Alliance for Immigrant Justice (Immigrant Justice)

Immigrant Justice is a coalition that advocates for policies that support documented and undocumented immigrants to become rooted economically, politically and socially in New Jersey. Immigrant Justice and its member organizations work to ensure access to services, prevent deportation and family separation, and develop policies that provide opportunities for immigrants.²³⁶

Allies:

Immigrant Justice's Executive Committee includes: SEIU, Latino Action Network, NJ Communities United, NJ Policy Perspective, New Labor and Working Families Alliance.

Members include: Citizen Action, Statewide Parent Advocacy Network and the Anti-Poverty Network.237

Alliances, Campaigns and Coalitions:

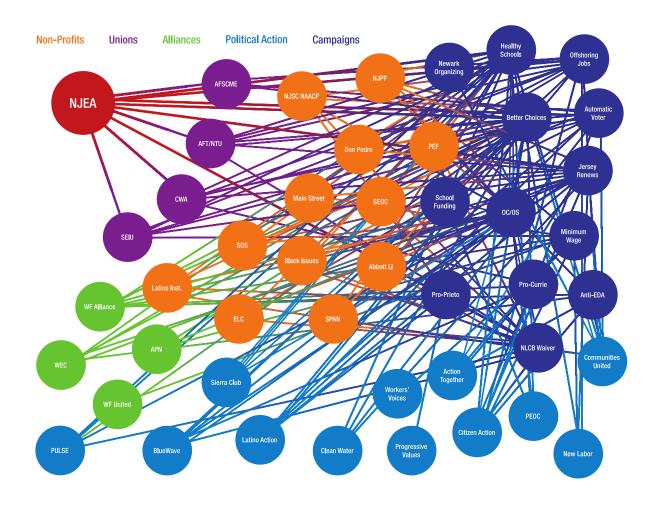
AIJ is a member of the Anti-Poverty Network. See Appendix A.

²³⁴ "Issue Partners," *BlueWaveNJ*, BlueWaveNJ, <u>https://www.bluewavenj.org/issuepartners</u>.

²³⁵ "Affiliates and Allies," *New Jersey Citizen Action*, New Jersey Citizen Action, https://njcitizenaction.org/?page_id=178.

²³⁶ "Home," *New Jersey Alliance for Immigrant Justice*, New Jersey Alliance for Immigrant Justice, <u>https://www.njimmigrantjustice.org</u>.

SECTION IV: CAMPAIGNS/COALITIONS - PURPLE



1. Better Choices for New Jersey (Better Choices)

Better Choices is run by Working Families Alliance.

Better Choices is a coalition of union, environmental and progressive advocates that promotes higher government spending on public schools, communities, the workforce, green energy and infrastructure.²³⁸ Better Choices also supports progressive candidates for office. It is particularly vocal during the annual state budget negotiations. The coalition generally supports raising taxes to fund its spending priorities, including: the millionaire's tax, a corporate surcharge (tax), and against a repeal of the estate tax and the reduction in the sales tax, and against tax incentives for businesses locating in New Jersey.²³⁹

²³⁸ New Jersey Working Families Alliance, "Better Choices for NJ Statement: True Millionaire's Tax Is Simply Common Sense," *workingfamilies*.org, March 5, 2019, <u>https://www.workingfamilies.org/2019/03/better-choices-for-nj-statement-true-millionaires-tax-is-simply-commom-sense/</u>

²³⁹ Samantha Marcus, "Raise taxes on rich and reject budget cuts, N.J. groups urge Trenton," Nj Advance Media for nj.com, May 20, 2016,

Better Choices includes (see Appendix B):

Abbott LI Action Together AFSCME AFT Anti-Poverty Network of NJ **BlueWaveNJ Citizen** Action **Clean Water Action** CWA La Casa de Don Pedro Latino Action Network Latino Institute Make the Road NJ NJ Communities United NJ Policy Perspective NJEA Our Children/Our Schools Paterson Education Fund Parents Education Organizing Council Parents Unified for Local School Education Save Our Schools SEIU Sierra Club NJ Statewide Education Organizing Committee Statewide Parents Advocacy Network Work Environment Council

2. Healthy Schools Now (Healthy Schools)

Healthy Schools is run by the Work Environment Council.

Healthy Schools is a campaign that includes unions, progressive activists, environmental groups, community organizing groups and parent groups. Healthy Schools supports more funding for

the Schools Development Authority to address new construction and renovation projects, increased school security, enforced state indoor air quality standards, and proper temperature control in schools.240

²⁴⁰ "Campaigns," *Work Environment Council*, New Jersey Work Environment Council, <u>https://njwec.org/take-action/campaigns/healthy-schools-now/</u>.

https://www.nj.com/politics/2016/05/raise taxes on the rich and reject budget cuts nj groups urge trenton .html.

Healthy Schools includes (see Appendix B):

AFT/NTU **Black Issues Convention Clean Water Action** CWA **Education Law Center** Latino Action Network Latino Institute New Labor NJ Communities United NJ Policy Perspective NJEA Our Children/Our Schools Parent Education Organizing Council Paterson Education Fund Save Our Schools Statewide Education Organizing Committee Working Families Alliance

3. Jersey Renews (Jersey Renews)

Jersey Renews is run by the **Work Environment Council**.

Jersey Renews is a campaign that includes unions, progressive activists, environmental groups, and community organizing groups. The campaign seeks to make New Jersey a national leader in state-based climate policy by advocating for environmental justice, renewable energy, reduction in emissions, retrofitting buildings, protecting existing jobs and the creation of 100,000 new, unionized jobs.²⁴¹ Jersey Renews is essentially the "Green New Deal" brought to New Jersey.

The Jersey Renews campaign includes (see Appendix B):

Action Together AFT Anti-Poverty Network Black Issues Convention BlueWaveNJ Citizen Action Clean Water Action CWA La Casa de Don Pedro Latino Action Network Main Street Alliance

²⁴¹ "About Us," Jersey Renews, Jersey Renews, <u>http://jerseyrenews.org/about-us/</u>.

Make the Road NJ New Labor NJ NJ Communities United NJ Policy Perspective NJEA SEIU Sierra Club Working Families Alliance

4. Minimum Wage campaigns (Minimum Wage)

The 2019 "RaiseNJ" campaign was run by **Working Families Alliance**, and succeeded in getting legislation passed to raise New Jersey's minimum wage to \$15/hr.²⁴²

SEIU was one of the organizers of the 2017 "Fight for \$15," a union-backed, national campaign for a $15/hour minimum wage._{243}$

The successful 2013 constitutional amendment referendum campaign "Raise the Wage" was run by **Working Families United**.²⁴⁴ There was also a 2008 "Raise the Wage" campaign (see Appendix B).

The Minimum Wage campaigns included (see Appendix B):

Action Together Anti-Poverty Network Citizen Action Latino Action Network Main Street Alliance Make the Road NJ New Labor NJEA NJ Policy Perspective SEIU Working Families Alliance Working Families United

https://www.facebook.com/raisethewagenj2013/photos/a.154476014742984/185191491671436/?type=3&theat er.

²⁴² RaiseNJ, Press Release, "RaiseNJ Coalition Advocates Testify in Support of Senate Bill to Raise Nearly 1 Million Workers to \$15/Hour," InsiderNJ, January 28, 2019, <u>https://www.insidernj.com/press-release/raisenj-coalition-advocates-testify-support-senate-bill-raise-nearly-1-million-workers-15-hour/</u>.

²⁴³ Eric Kiefer, "Newark Labor Day Rally Will Support 'Fight For \$15,'" Newark Patch, September 2, 2017, https://njcitizenaction.org/news/mw032.html.

²⁴⁴ A Raise the Wage Campaign poster indicates that it was paid for by Working Families United. Raise the Wage Campaign, *Facebook*, November 5, 2013,

5. Newark Education Organizing campaigns (Newark Organizing)

The Newark education organizing campaigns and ad hoc coalitions involved unions, parents and community organizing groups. They were generally in opposition to Superintendent Cami Anderson's One Newark plan that attempted to bring school choice to Newark. In addition, they are generally anti-charter school expansion and for local control of Newark public schools. The two named coalitions involved in Newark education organizing were Alliance for Newark Public Schools (ANPS) and Coalition for Effective Newark Public Schools (CENPS). ANPS supported local control of public schools, a moratorium on charter school expansion, and full state funding of Newark schools.²⁴⁵ CENPS was part of ANPS and supported local control of public schools, deemphasis on standardized testing, upgrading facilities and new discipline standards.²⁴⁶ Both coalitions fought the One Newark plan.

The groups involved in Newark Education Organizing include (see Appendix B):

Abbott LI AFT/NTU CWA ELC NJ Communities United NJEA PULSE SEIU Working Families Alliance

6. Our Children/Our Schools (OC/OS)

OC/OS is an education advocacy network that includes unions, progressive activists, community organizing groups, environmental groups, parent groups and civil rights organizations.²⁴⁷ OC/OS engages in public advocacy and lobbying for full school funding; and union, parent and community input in decisions about public schools. OC/OS is anti-charter school and vouchers, pro-state-funded pre-school, anti-

https://www.nj.com/essex/2014/05/activists release alternative education plan to one newark.html. ²⁴⁷ "Who We Are," *Our Children/Our Schools*, Our Children/Our Schools, http://www.ourchildrenourschools.org/who-we-are/.

²⁴⁵ Trina Scordo, "What Has Happened to the Mayor Ras Baraka We Put into Office?" NJ Spotlight, March 3, 2016, <u>https://www.njspotlight.com/2016/03/16-03-03-op-ed-what-has-happened-to-the-mayor-ras-baraka-we-put-into-office/</u>.

²⁴⁶ Naomi Mix, "Activists release alternative education plan to 'One Newark," NJ Advance Media for nj.com, May 17, 2014,

standardized testing, pro-facilities spending, pro-special needs funding, and pro-local control. OC/OS works together with the **Better Choices** coalition.₂₄₈

OC/OS includes (see Appendix B):

Abbott Leadership Institute **Black Issues Convention BlueWaveNJ Education Law Center** Latino Action Network Latino Institute NJ Communities United NJ Policy Perspective NJSC NAACP Parent Education Organizing Council Parents Unified for Local School Education Paterson Education Fund Save Our Schools NJ Statewide Education Organizing Committee Statewide Parent Advocacy Network Work Environment Council Working Families Alliance

7. Automatic Voter Registration coalition (Automatic Voter)

The Automatic Voter coalition advocated for 2015 legislation that would allow for easier early voting and automatic registration to vote at Motor Vehicle Commission sites. Governor Christie vetoed the measure.²⁴⁹ More broadly, many unions and progressive groups sought automatic voter registration because they believed it would increase the number of voters who might otherwise not register, and who could then support union-backed and progressive candidates.

The Automatic Voter coalition included (see Appendix B):

AFSCME AFT Black Issues Convention BlueWaveNJ Citizen Action Clean Water Action CWA

²⁴⁸ "Our Mission," *Our Children/Our Schools*, Our Children/Our Schools, <u>http://www.ourchildrenourschools.org/our-mission/</u>.

²⁴⁹ Brent Johnson, "Coalition urges Christie to sign N.J. voting overhaul," NJ Advance Media for nj.com, August 4, 2015, <u>https://www.nj.com/politics/2015/08/coalition_urges_christie_to_sign_nj_voting_overhau.html</u>.

La Casa de Don Pedro Latino Action Network Make the Road NJ NJ Communities United NJEA NJSC NAACP Save Our Schools SEIU Sierra Club Working Families Alliance

8. No Tax Break for Offshoring Jobs coalition (Offshoring Jobs)

The Offshoring Jobs coalition supported the passage of the "Save New Jersey Call Center Jobs Act" of 2012, which denied tax breaks to companies that offshore call center jobs, which were generally unionized jobs.²⁵⁰

The Offshoring Jobs coalition included (see Appendix B):

AFSCME AFT BlueWave Citizen Action CWA Latino Action Network New Labor NJ Communities United NJ Policy Perspective NJEA NJSC NAACP SEIU Work Environment Council Working Families Alliance

9. Suspension of NCLB Waiver ad hoc coalition (NCLB Waiver)

In 2012, an ad hoc coalition of unions, progressive activists, parents' groups, civil rights groups and community organizing groups wrote a letter to Secretary of Education Arne Duncan asking him to suspend a waiver from the requirements of the No Child Left Behind Act that the Department of Education had granted to New Jersey. The coalition objected to the use of standardized tests, graduation rates and achievement gaps to

²⁵⁰ CWA New Jersey, "New Report Shows New Jersey Has Lost Thousands Of Call Center Jobs; Senate Hears Testimony on 'Save NJ Call Center Jobs Act," *njcitizenaction.org*, June 14, 2012, <u>https://njcitizenaction.org/news/jan005.html</u>.

identify struggling schools that needed state intervention. The coalition claimed that New Jersey's plan discriminated against poor and minority schools and communities and did not seek their input.₂₅₁

Groups signing the letter to Secretary Duncan included (see Appendix B):

Abbott Leadership Institute AFT **Black Issues Convention BlueWaveNJ Citizen Action Education Law Center** Latino Action Network Latino Institute NJ Communities United NJ Policy Perspective NJEA Camden, Trenton and Jersey City Locals NJSC NAACP Our Children/Our Schools Parents Unified for Local School Education Paterson Education Fund Save Our Schools NJ Statewide Education Organizing Committee Statewide Parent Advocacy Network

10. Anti-Economic Development Authority ad hoc coalition (Anti-EDA)

The Anti-EDA coalition arose out of the 2018-2019 controversy surrounding the EDA. Governor Murphy is seeking to overhaul the EDA and conditionally vetoed an extension of the program. Progressive groups have long decried the use of tax incentives to attract businesses to New Jersey, preferring to use the foregone tax revenues for their own priorities like increased school funding.²⁵²

The Anti-EDA coalition includes (see Appendix B):

Action Together Better Choices coalition

²⁵¹ Save Our Schools New Jersey, "NJ Advocates to Secretary Duncan: NJ's NCLB Waiver Will Harm Schools Serving Our Neediest Children," *saveourschoolsnj.org*, October 15, 2012,

http://www.saveourschoolsnj.org/2012/10/15/nj-advocates-to-secretary-duncan-njs-nclb-waiver-will-harm-schools-serving-our-neediest-children/.

²⁵² John Reitmeyer, "Liberal groups call for reform of state tax incentives now, not later," NJ Spotlight, September 19, 2019, <u>https://www.njspotlight.com/2019/09/19-09-18-liberal-groups-call-for-reform-of-state-tax-incentives-now-not-later/.</u>

BlueWave Citizen Action Clean Water Action CWA Latino Action Network NJEA NJ Communities United NJ Policy Perspective SEIU Work Environment Council Working Families Alliance

11. Pro-Currie ad hoc coalition (Pro-Currie)

In 2018, the Pro-Currie ad hoc coalition released a public statement in support of state Democratic Party Chair John Currie in response to efforts to unseat him. $_{253}$

The signers of the Pro-Currie statement included (see Appendix B):

Action Together BlueWaveNJ Citizen Action CWA Working Families Alliance

12. Pro-Prieto ad hoc coalition (Pro-Prieto)

In 2017, then-Assembly Speaker Vince Prieto was on the cusp of being removed as Speaker. In an effort to keep Prieto as Speaker, the Pro-Prieto ad hoc coalition gave public support to Prieto.²⁵⁴ All of the members of the ad hoc coalition receive **NJEA** funding. At the same time, the **Progressive Values Committee**, a Super PAC also funded by the **NJEA**, ran ads attacking Republicans in safe seats in an effort to elect new Democrats who would vote for Prieto.²⁵⁵ Ultimately, Prieto was replaced by Assemblyman Craig Coughlin.

²⁵³ InsiderNJ, "Progressive Grassroots Alliance Backs Currie for Democratic State Party Chair," *insidernj.com*, December 21, 2018, <u>https://www.insidernj.com/progressive-grassroots-alliance-backs-currie-democratic-state-party-chair/</u>

²⁵⁴ New Jersey Education Aid, "Minority, Liberal Groups Defense of Prieto Shows NJEA Power," *njeducationaid.blogspot.com*, May 30, 2017, <u>http://njeducationaid.blogspot.com/2017/05/minority-liberal-groups-</u> <u>defense-of.html</u>

²⁵⁵ Matt Friedman, "New super PAC drops more than \$400k against normally safe North Jersey Republicans," Politico, November 3, 2017, <u>https://www.politico.com/states/new-jersey/story/2017/11/03/new-super-pac-drops-</u> <u>400k-against-normally-safe-north-jersey-republicans-115469</u>.

The Pro-Prieto ad hoc coalition included (see Appendix B):

Latino Action Network Working Families Alliance NJSC NAACP Latino Institute Progressive Values Committee

13. School Funding ad hoc coalition (School Funding)

The school funding coalition advocates for adequate state funding for schools, facilities and special needs students in Paterson, Jersey City and Newark. The **Paterson Education Fund** joined with other advocacy and organizing groups to organize around these issues both in their local communities and at the state level.²⁵⁶

The School Funding ad hoc coalition includes (see Appendix B):

Abbott Leadership Institute Education Law Center Our Children/Our Schools Parent Education Organizing Council Paterson Education Fund Save Our Schools

APPENDIX A

ALLIANCE MEMBERSHIP

1. New Jersey Working Families Alliance

Affiliates:

AFSCME AFT BlueWaveNJ Citizen Action Clean Water Action CWA NJ Communities United NJEA SEIU Sierra Club New Jersey

Source: https://workingfamilies.org/states/new-jersey/

2. Working Families United for New Jersey

Partner organizations:

AFL-CIO AFSME AFT Black Issues Convention BlueWaveNJ Citizen Action CWA Latino Action Network NJEA NJSC NAACP SEIU Work Environment Council

Source: http://www.wfunj.org/partner_organizations

3. New Jersey Work Environment Council

Board:

Vice President – Sean Spiller, NJEA Treasurer – Elizabeth Smith, Statewide Education Organizing Committee General Counsel – David Tykulsker, AFL-CIO, Clean Water Action Amy Goldsmith – Clean Water Action Lou Kimmel – New Labor NJ, NJ Alliance for Immigrant Justice Adam Liebtag – CWA Brandon McKoy – NJ Policy Perspective Doug O'Malley – Better Choices for NJ, Anti-Poverty Network John Shinn – AFL-CIO Jeff Tittel – Sierra Club

Source: https://njwec.org/about/board/

Organizational members:

AFL-CIO AFT Anti-Poverty Network of NJ Citizen Action Clean Water Action of NJ CWA New Labor NJ NJEA SEIU Sierra Club NJ

Source: https://njwec.org/about/affiliations/

4. Anti-Poverty Network of New Jersey

Founding members:

CWA NJ Policy Perspective

Charter members:

Citizen Action NJEA SEIU

Organizational members:

Alliance for Immigrant Justice Parent Education Organizing Council Paterson Education Fund Work Environment Council

Source: http://www.antipovertynetwork.org/Organizational-Members

5. New Jersey Alliance for Immigrant Justice

Executive Committee:

Latino Action Network Make the Road NJ NJ Communities United NJ Policy Perspective SEIU Working Families Alliance

Members:

Anti-Poverty Network of NJ Citizen Action Statewide Parent Advocacy Network

Source: https://www.njimmigrantjustice.org

APPENDIX B

CAMPAIGN/COALITION PARTICIPATION

1. Better Choices for New Jersey Coalition

Campaign Organizer:

NJ Working Families Alliance

Organizers:

Citizen Action Clean Water Action CWA NJ Policy Perspective NJEA SEIU

Partner Organizations:

Action Together NJ AFSCME AFT Anti-Poverty Network of NJ BlueWaveNJ La Casa de Don Pedro Latino Action Network Make the Road NJ Save Our Schools March Sierra Club NJ Work Environment Council

Source: https://www.insidernj.com/press-release/better-choices-new-jerseycoalition-gathers-trenton-call-millionaires-tax/

Additional signers of 2015 letter to legislators:

Abbott Leadership Institute NJ Communities United Our Children/Our Schools Parents Unified for Local School Education The Latino Institute

Source: https://workingfamilies.org/2015/06/working-families-budget-nj/

Additional signers of 2014 letter to legislators:

Parent Education Organizing Council Paterson Education Fund Statewide Education Organizing Committee Statewide Parents Advocacy Network

Source: https://www.workingfamilies.org/2014/05/40-nj-groups-call-millionairestax/

2. Healthy Schools Now

Campaign Organizer:

Work Environment Council

Campaign Partners:

AFT/NTU **Black Issues Convention Clean Water Action** CWA **Education Law Center** Latino Action Network New Labor NJ NJ Communities United NJ Policy Perspective NJEA Our Children/Our Schools Parent Education Organizing Council Paterson Education Fund Save Our Schools NJ Statewide Education Organizing Committee The Latino Institute Working Families Alliance

Source: https://njwec.org/take-action/campaigns/healthy-schools-now/

3. Jersey Renews

Campaign Organizer:

NJ Work Environment Council

Partners:

Action Together NJ AFT Anti-Poverty Network of NJ **Black Issues Convention** BlueWaveNJ **Citizen** Action **Clean Water Action** CWA La Casa de Don Pedro Latino Action Network Make the Road NJ New Labor NJ NJ Communities United NJ Policy Perspective NJEA SEIU Sierra Club NJ Working Families Alliance

Endorser:

Main Street Alliance

Source: http://jerseyrenews.org/about-us/

4. Minimum Wage Campaigns

In 2019, the NJEA was involved in a coalition to raise the state's minimum wage to \$15/hour.

New Jersey Education Association, "NJEA Delegate Assembly, Minutes of Jan. 5, 2019," NJEA Review 93, no. 5 (December 2019): 50.

2019 RaiseNJ Campaign:

Action Together NJ Anti-Poverty Network of NJ Main Street Alliance New Labor NJ SEIU **Source:** https://www.insidernj.com/press-release/raisenj-coalition-advocates-testify-support-senate-bill-raise-nearly-1-million-workers-15-hour/

Citizen Action Latino Action Network

https://www.insidernj.com/press-release/raisenj-coalition-supports-a15-lifts-nearly-1-million-workers/

2017 "Fight For \$15" Campaign:

Anti-Poverty Network Make the Road NJ New Labor SEIU Working Families Alliance

Source: https://njcitizenaction.org/news/mw032.html

2013 Raise the Wage constitutional referendum campaign:

AFL-CIO Working Families United

Source:

https://www.facebook.com/raisethewagenj2013/photos/a.154476014742984/18519149 1671436/?type=3&theater.

2008 Raise the Wage Campaign:

AFL-CIO Anti-Poverty Network Citizen Action NJ Policy Perspective New Labor

Source: http://www.workingpoorfamilies.org/pdfs/NJ_minwage.pdf

5. Newark Education Organizing Campaigns and Coalitions (Newark Organizing)

Alliance for Newark Public Schools

Abbott LI AFT/NTU Coalition for Effective Public Schools NAACP – Newark NJ Communities United Parents Unified for Local School Education (PULSE) SEIU

Source: Coalition for Effective Newark Public Schools, *Facebook*, January 21, 2015, https://www.facebook.com/search/top/?q=coalition%20for%20effective%20newark%2 opublic%20schools&epa=SEARCH_BOX.

Coalition for Effective Newark Public Schools

Abbott LI AFT/NTU ELC NAACP – Newark NJ Communities United PULSE SEIU

Source: Coalition for Effective Public Schools, *Facebook*, no date, https://www.facebook.com/groups/c4enps/.

Education Town Hall against One Newark plan – September 13, 2014.

Abbott LI Working Families Alliance

Education Town Hall Forum, "Parents Boycott Newark Schools," *Education Town Hall*, September 5, 2014, https://educationtownhall.org/2014/09/05/newark-schools-boycott/.

Community meeting against One Newark plan – January 9, 2014

Abbott LI AFT/NTU NJ Communities United PULSE SEIU Working Families Alliance

Parents Unified for Local School Education, *Facebook*, January 7, 2014, https://www.facebook.com/223724404333909/photos/a.446746288698385/69871652 0168026/?type=3&theater.

#TakeBackNewark Campaign march to City Hall to protest corporate greed and charter schools – April 1, 2016

AFT/NTU CWA NJ Communities United NPS Alliance PULSE

New Jersey Communities United, *Facebook*, March 31, 2016, https://www.facebook.com/NjCommunitiesUnited/photos/pcb.809341669171346/809 341579171355/?type=3&theater

State of Emergency Media Blitz to stop One Newark plan – June 2 to June 13, 2014

Abbott LI AFT/NTU NJ Communities United NJEA PULSE SEIU

New Jersey Communities United, Facebook, June 5, 2014, https://www.facebook.com/NjCommunitiesUnited/photos/bc.AbpsoaBtaYFgHJVH8Sv g4tYDaDObCKodhC4oxeBfmzokIpMrEqJeMBdjV8UJYWhgtcBnN zLa6xScUeF52YHZ630Qfk15ssVsMF1GR-09DhpR88ORF3p5pk6HpNPx4nGatAFYiSXup3iIgNm9xIdV4uFiGaQwWHZN4rjQSBZVuAw/524175954354587/?type=1&opaqueC ursor=AbppuF8TsvNuY809gBrxJtVXQ4IuB92ugPxYD-AOvkmqW_QLVbNMOtQwBelPnAzXP_OoFJA4bkfJsIvkWv9Qe4MLvCxVXHagxVOgleZxbvaC va11ctGv9vhJOZiojeiZaYkrMx9ZkuaKxroEcrGquOO3H7KpxESbq6ZdOvvI139B VCam-Q1YDYJKmRPDbpr7cGMIn2b78tKCLa8wa8vrpBR8a5La0R6vqMKxa_4voC13oT-7udtgAq9AldcnAMwOFAamOFUJi5Y8xvE8BtqUvM2wnnKSoCs2XlHvChm7XFEdorBB1n6GFhMwSguCyUoiIo8flBUigjmZPdvWesEJH boE9OBoBiIvnn7V9stPFa91RsRchOtNbZJvlLoXmKDOnNvaSmvvrbO8gAPX5gs3ju6C3RePccacWG 17vBI4Ne NyM5fyzFsoMBQa2gJwDmzYYbvko-Lz66xe_kYrQyFtifmNVR8xBk97ozJITurYzLVdD1vJyly3zcL7T4_gZzsN8XD7Nbz1KOaS glDFoYlJHrdYVh 803tbfOWJG7035atoHd5Wfbm5mSN-

MJ7llyqNrZXa3ga113M_BEjiso&theater

Stop the One Newark Plan community event - May 17, 2014

Abbott LI AFT/NTU NJ Communities United NJEA PULSE New Jersey Communities United, Facebook, May 14, 2014,

https://www.facebook.com/NjCommunitiesUnited/photos/bc.Abptq_BzEdMzAkzHH_ yPTbeW5_6PhpqKkwA_FTxM4zPdlQ8IWpcogZprzkAOP6sTJ9FhrX3k1wxOzAmhaOm zG8JWvb_OWzfnb2sJKv3Vv3SQtbMrWiNxhAQ_LOjomRZP6Ce3FKa-

2XOBanstKpFoShI46B_ioEzQ6ihoNTf39xctpA/515391541899695/?type=1&opaqueCur sor=AbpDELA2NUFljlm6UX_1Mn-dlYwlZNQJw4Ua9ddF47A7rPhKKDH4g6OPeFaXuxWbG_umT3EjPDnRHEbSetOb1MnHsYCQ1_3c179wkJX9wIRz8YvqyIuTfgSwOq2 PN4YQXNCQPytcyN6Dl1k7ZJVdTewcgTMPqtYyIkuSxBPmwARBkP5GcpatlSZ67zJSn5w-uLuFv2-

MCRHg_AmoooHdSmYSIDak8RqCSbS1VilCuCfKceuEzNPaYkbxoukN2OmrCjoq9iQH bTJz62Wcl470JYfB3MJKQP2tYRVGaHNoWdaKvOwbciJIsrROILPjqnEmYoxXufCbCqS8oyfvxYVmcxThSk2br4jx41fDXNPDPNpCYku_vn6ZqOM38aazxm4-Ci9vP3m8_4RIONCMw7b6rTrVQeXgMc5Y50ZxAGtacEfXHBvDDYQ2xqPpgHTNoLN7 vrxwRaqQOocoxA4itoQ-OjLif_lm3AF2wz0VtB4Si7sV1Da-8boFffntQOI-F1TaVYm3Vw5l7EKZtnR6q4-pUY-TCMvojg90PNZ4CXjyCXQ&theater

6. Our Children/Our Schools

Members:

Abbott Leadership Institute Black Issues Convention BlueWaveNJ Education Law Center NJ Communities United NJSC NAACP Parent Education Organizing Council Paterson Education Fund Save Our Schools NJ Statewide Education Organizing Committee The Latino Institute Work Environment Council

Participants:

Latino Action Network NJ Policy Perspective Parents Unified for Local School Education Statewide Parent Advocacy Network Working Families Alliance

Source: http://www.ourchildrenourschools.org/who-we-are/

7. Automatic Voter Registration Ad Hoc Coalition

Groups signing 2015 letter to Governor Christie:

AFSCME AFT **Black Issues Convention** BlueWaveNJ Citizen Action Clean Water Action CWA La Casa de Don Pedro Latino Action Network Make the Road NJ NJ Communities United NJEA NJSC NAACP Save Our Schools March SEIU Sierra Club NJ Working Families Alliance

Source:

https://www.nj.com/politics/2015/08/coalition_urges_christie_to_sign_nj_voting_ov erhau.html

8. No Tax Breaks for Offshoring Jobs Campaign (Offshoring Jobs)

AFL-CIO AFSCME AFT BlueWave Citizen Action CWA Latino Action Network New Labor NJ Communities United NJ Policy Perspective NJEA NJSC NAACP SEIU Work Environment Council Working Families Alliance

Source: https://njcitizenaction.org/news/jan005.html

9. Suspend New Jersey's NCLB Waiver Ad Hoc Coalition

Signers of 2012 Letter to Secretary of Education Arne Duncan:

Abbott Leadership Institute AFT **Black Issues Convention BlueWaveNJ Citizen** Action **Education Law Center** Latino Action Network NJ Communities United NJ Policy Perspective NJEA Camden, Trenton and Jersey City Locals NJSC NAACP Our Children/Our Schools Parents Unified for Local School Education Paterson Education Fund Save Our Schools NJ Statewide Education Organizing Committee Statewide Parent Advocacy Network The Latino Institute

Source: Save Our Schools New Jersey, "NJ Advocates to Secretary Duncan: NJ's NCLB Waiver Will Harm Schools Serving Our Neediest Children," *saveourschoolsnj.org*, October 15, 2012, http://www.saveourschoolsnj.org/2012/10/15/nj-advocates-to-secretary-duncan-njs-nclb-waiver-will-harm-schools-serving-our-neediest-children/.

10. Anti-Economic Development Authority Ad Hoc Coalition

Press Conference Organizers:

NJ Policy Perspective Working Families Alliance

Participants:

Citizen Action Work Environment Council

Source: John Reitmeyer, "Liberal Groups Call for Reform of State Tax Incentive Now, Not Later, NJSpotlight, September 19, 2019, <u>https://www.njspotlight.com/2019/09/19-09-18-liberal-groups-call-for-reform-of-state-tax-incentives-now-not-later/</u>.

Anti-EDA Open Letter:

Action Together NJ Communities United

Source: Action Together New Jersey, Press Release, "Citizen Organizations Demand NJ EDA Board Preserve Documents in Advance of Potential Lawsuit Over Mismanagement & Abuse," InsiderNJ, April 29, 2019, https://www.insidernj.com/press-release/citizen-organizations-demand-nj-eda-board-preserve-documents-advance-potential-lawsuit-mismanagement-abuse/.

Press Release in Support of Sue Altman of Working Families Alliance:

BlueWaveNJ

Jay Lassiter, "Grassroots Groups Decry Attack on Democracy at Norcross EDA hearing," InsiderNJ, November 19, 2019, https://insidernj.com/press-release/grassroots-groups-decry-attack-democracy-norcross-eda-hearing/.

Letter submitted to EDA by Better Choices coalition:

Action Together Clean Water Action CWA Latino Action Network Make the Road NJEA NJ Communities United SEIU

New Jersey Economic Development Authority, Minutes of the Meeting, *njeda*.com, April 9, 2019, <u>https://www.njeda.com/pdfs/minutes/04092019_minutes.aspx</u>.

11. Pro-Currie Ad Hoc Coalition

Action Together NJ BlueWaveNJ Citizen Action CWA Working Families Alliance

Source: InsiderNJ, "Progressive Grassroots Alliance Backs Currie for Democratic State Party Chair," *insidernj.com*, December 21, 2018, https://www.insidernj.com/progressive-grassroots-alliance-backs-currie-democratic-state-party-chair/

12. Pro-Prieto Ad Hoc Coalition

Latino Action Network NJSC NAACP The Latino Institute Working Families Alliance

Source: New Jersey Education Aid, "Minority, Liberal Groups Defense of Prieto Shows NJEA Power," *njeducationaid.blogspot.com*, May 30, 2017, http://njeducationaid.blogspot.com/2017/05/minority-liberal-groups-defense-of.html

Progressive Values Committee

Source: Matt Friedman, "New super PAC drops more than \$400k against normally safe North Jersey Republicans," Politico, November 3, 2017, https://www.politico.com/states/new-jersey/story/2017/11/03/new-super-pac-drops-400k-against-normally-safe-north-jersey-republicans-115469.

13. School Funding Ad Hoc Coalition

Abbott Leadership Institute Education Law Center Our Children/Our Schools Parent Education Organizing Council Paterson Education Fund Save Our Schools NJ

Source: https://paterson-education.org/education-organizing/