



The genius of the **Constitution rests not** in any static meaning it might have had in a world that is dead and gone, but in the adaptability of its great principles to cope with current problems and current needs."

-Justice William J. Brennan Jr.

Table of Contents

From Our Board Chairs	3
The Next Decade: A Conversation with Michael Waldman	4
Innovating for Democracy and Justice	6
Protecting the Vote	11
How We Work	15
New Ideas, New Audiences	18
A Night to Celebrate	22
Financials	24
Our Supporters	26
The Brennan Legacy	32
Pro Bono Partners	32
Who We Are	33



In 2019, American democracy has been put to the test.

Our answer to the attacks? Strengthen democracy. Stop voter suppression. End partisan gerrymandering. Make registration easier. And ensure our justice system is truly just for all.

The Brennan Center for Justice at NYU School of Law stands at the center of today's fights. We're independent, nonpartisan, dedicated to the facts. The *Guardian* called us "the foremost nonpartisan organization devoted to voting rights."

We lead with bold ideas. And we deliver them backed by meticulous research, skilled advocacy, and the expertise to bring together leaders and advocates across the political spectrum, nationally and on the ground.

The year began with an unprecedented show of commitment to democratic reform as the House of Representatives passed H.R. 1 — the For the People Act. The bill features key Brennan Center solutions, including automatic voter registration, small donor public financing of elections, and redistricting reform commissions.

Over the course of the year, across all our issues, our experts testified before Congress 12 times.

In the states, we fought to expand democratic participation — for example, going to court to protect Amendment 4, the groundbreaking ballot measure that restored voting rights to 1.4 million Floridians with a criminal conviction.

A decade-long effort to reform New York State's campaign funding resulted in the most robust response to date to *Citizens United*: a public financing system that would empower ordinary New Yorkers with a greater voice in the decisions that impact their communities.

We were the first to sound the alarm on how a president could abuse emergency powers — proving prescient when President Trump declared an emergency to build his border wall in February. With our expert testimony, both chambers of Congress voted to overturn that emergency.

And, of course, the stakes are exponentially higher in 2020. Our charge: to ensure that the elections are free, fair, and secure — that every voice is heard, that every vote is counted.

We are thankful to be part of today's diverse and powerful democracy movement, and grateful to people like you who help us lead the way for change.

Robert Atkins *Co-chair, Board of Directors*

Patueia Bauman

Patricia Bauman Co-chair, Board of Directors

The Next Decade

A Conversation with **Michael Waldman**, President, Brennan Center for Justice



The Brennan Center is now nearly 25 years old. What does the next decade look like?

It started as a small living memorial to Justice Brennan. Now we have a staff of 120 and offices in New York and Washington, D.C. The lawyers have been joined by social scientists, journalists, and researchers. So many people rely on our expertise. I'm proud that Robert Caro, the great historian, said we had done something rare – we built "an institution." We will need to be strong and solid going forward given the fierce challenges to democracy and justice.

We are seeing a stream of attacks on the ideals of democracy and justice that this institution was founded to protect: government ethics, rule of law, and a vanishing of the norms that previously curbed abuses of power.

I really do feel like we're on the cusp of big decisions. Either we will slip further into reaction and xenophobia, or we will use this ugly moment to spur reform and change. Our country has a really big challenge. How do we maintain our democracy as a pluralist, multiracial, open-hearted system? It's not easy. It's hard to think of other countries that have done it well. Think about the role of the courts, for example. Most of the time, the courts have been a backwards, even a reactionary force. Think of the *Lochner* era or the New Deal, when so much social legislation was blocked. Now we're in the era of *Citizens United* and *Shelby County*, when the courts seem to be working hard to undermine democracy. The country is younger, more diverse, open to action on climate change and inequality, but the courts are in thrall to a narrow ideology. We could see real conflict between the public and the courts of a kind we haven't seen in years and years.

The Brennan Center has long focused on political reform. Why is that?

Our broken political system stops us from dealing with climate change, income inequality, gun safety, immigration. If we put political reform first, we can get those things done, too.

H.R. 1, the For the People Act, reflects the thinking and research and policy proposals of the Brennan Center over the last decade and a half. It was a big deal when Speaker Nancy Pelosi pushed it through the House of Representatives as the first major bill in 2019. It would change the country. An example: Over a decade ago, the Brennan

Photo: Paul Morigi

Center crafted the proposal for automatic voter registration. If it were fully implemented nationwide, it would add 50 million people to the rolls permanently, cost less, and bolster the accuracy and integrity of elections. It would be transformative.

The role of big money in American politics, especially since *Citizens United*, has been deeply destructive. The most encouraging trend is the rise of small donors, but they're getting drowned out by megadonors. The Brennan Center put together the proposal for a national system of small donor matching funds. It would dramatically change the role of money in elections.

We're all seeing the implications of foreign interference in our elections, foreign money as well as cyberattacks. H.R. 1 includes the Honest Ads Act, which would close a very big loophole in campaign finance laws. Right now, foreign actors can fund internet ads with no disclosure, in contrast to the rules for television or radio. That's crazy, as the 2016 election demonstrated.

Is it realistic to think these reforms can be a major public issue?

We've said for a long time that our goal was to move democracy and justice to the center of public debate. We're getting there but there's more to do.

We've had other times when the country was changing but the government had not. Think of the the Gilded Age, with vast wealth inequality, major demographic change, and a nativist backlash. What followed was the Progressive Era, when people from both parties all across the country remade government to make it more modern and more democratic.

Lately politics has been mired in a very stale fight between left and right — trench warfare,

really. Donald Trump sensed this and busted up the conservative coalition with new policies, much of it nativist and openly racist. There's a demand for the next reform wave to modernize American government so it works for all people.

That's where the Brennan Center has played a key role. As a think tank, first and foremost, we're able to do credible research and policy development. At a time of fake news, we're able to focus on facts. It turns out that work has been

There's a demand for the next reform wave to modernize American government so it works for all people.

critical to the democracy movement that is rising throughout the country to push for deep political change.

How has Trump changed the role of the presidency?

Throughout the 20th century, the power of the presidency grew. Some of it had to do with the expansion of government and the welfare state, but a lot of it had to do with wars and the Cold

War. After Vietnam and after Watergate, members of Congress in both parties came to see that we had created an imperial presidency that needed to be reined in. And a whole host of rules and checks and balances were put in place so that we would have a strong presidency, but one that lived within the law.

That system has begun to break down as Congress abdicated its responsibility. And under this president it's been kicked away entirely. After his acquittal in the impeachment trial, it's pretty clear that the limitations on presidential power that we felt were pretty strong turned out to be largely illusory.

Rebuilding what our system of government looks like so that Congress curbs executive abuse is another major challenge for the coming decade and something that could put the country in a much better place.

If there's one reasonable thing a person can do to strengthen American democracy this momentous year, what would it be?

2020 will be a make or break year for our democracy. We'll either have an election that people agree reflects the public will or we'll have an election marred by voter suppression, foreign interference, dark money, and a withdrawal of public trust as a result.

What happens is really up to all of us. Register to vote. If you're registered, double-check that you're on the rolls. And for heaven's sake, vote and elect members of Congress and a president who believe in democracy and the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. As people ensure we return to our democratic ideals, the Brennan Center will continue to play a central role in the drive to make the 2020 election free and fair and secure.

Innovating for Democracy and Justice

The state of American democracy is at the center of our politics. Solutions the Brennan Center crafted and worked for years to advance — to ensure a more inclusive, equal democracy and to challenge the status quo are gaining ground.

Small Donor Public Financing

With the Supreme Court's *Citizens United* decision in 2010, a smaller number of Americans now have greater influence over our politics: ultrawealthy donors and super PACs with the financial means to shut out or promote certain candidates over others.

Americans are demanding change, and getting big money out of politics has become a major issue that candidates must address in 2020.

Enter the Brennan Center's solution: small donor public financing. Based on the successful approach in New York City, public funds match and multiply small donations. Small donor public financing encourages diversity by giving candidates with limited resources a chance to fund their campaigns. It gives incentives to candidates to reach out to a greater number of supporters — not just those with the most money. And it puts power back in the hands of the average citizen, giving them a greater voice in the political process and reducing the power of big money. The Brennan Center's decade-long effort to





reform New York State's campaign funding resulted in a major breakthrough in 2019 — the most robust response to date to *Citizens United*, a multiple match public financing system that would empower ordinary New Yorkers with a greater voice in the decisions that impact their communities.

Automatic Voter Registration

One in four eligible American citizens isn't registered to vote. Of those who are, one in eight will go to the polls to find they can't vote because their state's antiquated system failed to update or correct their information. It's no wonder the United States has one of the lowest voter participation rates among developed nations.

The Brennan Center developed a solution: automatic voter registration. Since pioneering this reform over a decade ago, we've advocated for its passage nationwide. Today 16 states and Washington, DC, have enacted it, with Maine joining the roster in 2019. We released a study this year showing that states with automatic voter registration significantly increased the number of registered voters on the rolls.

Judicial Reform and Diversity

Money isn't just influential in political campaigns; it decides who serves on judicial benches at local and state levels as well. With state courts hearing 95 percent of all cases in the United States, special interest groups spend millions of dollars on judicial races. Courts should be impartial, but lawmakers and leaders at the local, state, and federal levels have increased partisan attacks on judges whose rulings they disagree with and use tactics to manipulate seats to favor their legislative agendas. Partisan interference and big money's power also stunt diversity, excluding otherwise qualified judges of color and women from the bench. It's no wonder that ordinary Americans — and even judges themselves — think our judicial system is rigged.

Strengthening fair courts also means improving diversity and inclusion on the bench. In an exclusive on the *New York Times* op-ed page, we released a study on the lack of state court diversity. We found that "nearly half of all states do not have a single justice sitting on their high courts who is Black, Asian, Latino, or Native American." Delaware was one of those states until the end of 2019, when the governor appointed the first African American justice (and just the second woman) to serve on the court.

Mass Incarceration

Mass incarceration is the civil rights crisis of our time. Racial disparities pervade the justice system. Blacks are more likely to be stopped by the police, arrested, detained before trial, and given harsher sentences than whites. An unfair system dampens economic opportunity throughout a lifetime.

The Brennan Center plays a distinct role in the movement to end mass incarceration. Our expert, empirical research shows that it is possible to keep crime rates low and communities safe while incarcerating fewer people. Our partnership with law enforcement leaders who leverage their compelling voices to advocate for reform adds to our influence.

This year we released a groundbreaking, multiyear study on the practice of levying fees and fines on indigent defendants to fund state and local criminal justice systems. This first-of-its-kind report finds that fees and fines are an inefficient way to raise revenue and are assessed with little consideration of ability to pay, leading to millions of dollars going uncollected each year. Unpaid fees

Defending the Rule of Law

Our republic has long relied on unwritten rules and norms that act as guardrails — curbing abuses of power and constraining the behavior of public officials. With those values increasingly under assault, the Brennan Center set out to turn such unwritten guidelines into hard law with the launch of the National Task Force on Rule of Law & Democracy, co-chaired by former U.S. Attorney Preet Bharara and former New Jersey Governor Christine Todd Whitman. Bharara and Whitman led a coalition of former senators, governors, and top officials from both parties to craft a plan to restore the rule of law.

In 2019, the Task Force outlined widely publicized policy fixes that would curb political interference in government science and research and fix a broken appointments process. Our solutions include legislation that prohibits politically motivated manipulation and suppression of research and requires agencies to adhere to scientific integrity standards. The report also addresses the problem of vacancies and unqualified appointments to senior administrative staff.

Through the Task Force, the Brennan Center fights to ensure that government officials are serving the people's interests, not their own.



and fines often lead to a cycle of continued involvement with the criminal justice system. To inform our findings, we spent three years tracking down and analyzing hard-to-find data from 10 counties across Texas, Florida, and New Mexico. The report was published in partnership with the conservative Texas Public Policy Foundation. Our next charge: to press state policymakers from both parties to advance our reform recommendations.

We helped set the stage for the 2020 presidential election by enlisting nearly every candidate, along with prominent lawmakers and civil rights leaders, to publish their proposed reforms in our book, *Ending Mass Incarceration: Ideas from Today's Leaders*.

Check Abuse of Emergency Powers

The National Emergencies Act lets presidents take measures that ensure safety during national crises. But Americans have the right to expect their leaders will not abuse such powers.

In early 2019, President Trump exploited emergency powers to declare a fake emergency — after Congress denied the administration funds to build a wall along the U.S.-Mexico border. The Brennan Center's yearlong examination of presidential emergency powers in 2018 led to our experts testifying before Congress in February 2019 and sparked a national conversation.

Our suggested reforms: Define what a national emergency is. Limit states of emergency to not more than five years. Hold a congressional vote on emergency declarations. Our suggestions received bipartisan support, and in July 2019, the Senate Homeland Security Committee reported out legislation to reform the National Emergencies Act.

Having safeguards in the National Emergencies Act is critical. Thanks to the work of our experts, this is among the leading issues in the 2020 election cycle.



Protecting the Vote

The 2020 election is expected to bring the highest voter turnout in a century. But our election system faces extraordinary strains. The Brennan Center is working to mitigate six critical risks to ensuring free, fair, and secure elections.

Risk 1: Voter Purges

Over the past two years, 17 million people were kicked off the voter rolls in the United States. Many were eligible voters, and few received adequate notice. Most worrisome: The rate of voter purges was far higher in states with a history of racial discrimination in voting — those once covered by the Voting Rights Act, before it was gutted by the U.S. Supreme Court in 2013.

This year, our fight against new attempts to suppress voting rights took us to Indiana on behalf of the NAACP and Common Cause; we won an injunction in federal court while we prepare for a 2020 trial.

Risk 2: Hacking by Foreign Powers

We know Russia attacked our democracy in 2016 — in all 50 states. This time around, administration officials say our elections will also be at risk for hacking attempts by China, Iran, and "other foreign malicious actors." Simple solutions can protect election security. One stands out: Every voter should cast a ballot on paper. That way officials can conduct a recount and can tell if voting machines have been hacked. States and counties also need to buy new voting machines and protect the systems that count the votes. At the start of 2016, 20 percent of voters cast ballots on machines with no paper backup, and in 2018, nearly a dozen states still used risky electronic voting machines.

In 2019, we successfully pushed Congress to allocate an additional \$425 million for states to act. Now, we must make sure they do so, while continuing to provide information and audit expertise to hundreds of election officials — and wielding the threat of litigation if necessary.

Risk 3: Long Lines

Every Election Day, across the country, some people have to wait hours to vote. Recent studies show that voters in Black neighborhoods wait 29

Ensuring a Fair Census

A fair and accurate census is vital to ensure that all communities are fairly and equally represented.

With the 2020 census approaching, concern is growing about how accurate the count will be. This year, the Brennan Center helped stop the Trump administration from adding a citizenship question to the census form by running a friend-of-the-court briefing campaign for the winning Supreme Court case.

Fears still run high, especially among immigrant communities. And the fact that the 2020 census will be the first to be conducted largely online raises new data security and accessibility challenges. We are developing legal strategies with partner organizations to protect the confidentiality of census responses. percent longer to vote than those in white neighborhoods. The Brennan Center is working to make sure local officials have the resources they need to handle a flood of new voters in 2020. Those who can should take advantage of early voting — now available in 33 states — and other ways to avoid Election Day lines, like voting by mail.

Risk 4: Fake News

This election will take place amid a maelstrom of misinformation. Remember that in 2016, President Trump said he had really won the popular vote, claiming we should "subtract" 3 to 5 million "illegal" votes. This past year, the losing candidate for governor in Kentucky made similarly baseless claims that "irregularities" had cost him the election.

Here's the truth: The Brennan Center's definitive research shows that a person is more likely to be struck by lightning than to commit voter fraud. Voter impersonation is virtually nonexistent, and many instances of alleged fraud are mistakes by voters or administrators.

As we go into the 2020 election, the Brennan Center will continue to call out such claims for what they are — lies that undermine the integrity of our elections and voters' trust in our election systems.

Risk 5: Voter Suppression

Felony disenfranchisement is an ugly remnant of the Jim Crow era. It disproportionately affects people of color, with millions of otherwise eligible, tax-paying citizens barred from voting.

Last year, the Brennan Center notched critical victories in our work to change this dismal record: After Florida voters ended the state's lifetime voting ban for people with a past felony conviction, state officials reacted with a modern-day poll tax — a new law that would exclude those with unpaid fees, fines, and restitution. We fought back with a lawsuit and won a major ruling returning the vote to our plaintiffs.

In Kentucky, the new governor signed an executive order ending the state's lifetime voting ban on people with past convictions, adding 140,000 voters to the electorate. And New Jersey passed legislation restoring voting rights to 80,000 people on probation or parole.

We made strides at the federal level, too. The Democracy Restoration Act, passed by the House as part of H.R. 1, would enable those who are formerly incarcerated to vote in presidential elections.

Risk 6: Partisan Gerrymandering

Partisan gerrymandering — when politicians intentionally manipulate the boundaries of election districts to stifle their political opponents' power — can rig elections so many votes don't matter. We led the friend-of-the-court effort in the Supreme Court this term. But the majority delivered a major blow, ruling that federal courts have no role to play in policing partisan gerrymandering.

Now, we're working to advance state reforms and congressional action in the countdown to 2021, when all states redraw their lines. We issued new solutions like taking map-drawing away from politicians in favor of independent commissions, imposing map-drawing criteria, and proposing measures to increase public participation, and provided expert guidance to voter-led redistricting efforts across the country.





How We Work

Effective legal and policy change requires winning, first and foremost, in the court of public opinion. With that in mind, we have built a distinct model to advance legal and policy change to make American democracy work for all.

We're a think tank,

conducting rigorous research to identify problems and craft transformative solutions.

We're an advocacy group,

fighting in court and working with elected officials to advance legislation.

We're a cutting-edge communications hub,

shaping opinion by taking our message directly to the press and public.

Our Twitter audience grew to up 49% over 2018. **Overall** media coverage grew million people visited our website in 2019. up 26% over 2018.



The redistricting team — Peter Miller, Yurij Rudensky, Annie Lo, Tom Wolf and Michael Li – stands on the steps of the U.S. Supreme Court after hearing oral arguments in the North Carolina and Maryland partisan gerrymandering cases in March, 2019. The team coordinated friend-of-the-court briefs in support of voters challenging unfair maps.

Senior Fellow Theodore R. Johnson joins **CNN's Michael Smerconish** on February 2, 2019, to discuss calls for Virginia Gov. Ralph Northam to resign after a racist photo of him from the past surfaced.





 Lawrence Norden, director of the Election Reform Program, joins Bloomberg TV on November 13, 2019, to talk about the importance of resiliency plans for Election Day 2020.

Ahead of a critical funding vote on election security, we wrapped 3,000 copies of the Washington Post with our election security recommendations. and delivered them to 1.000 offices on Capitol Hill. The funding passed.

We're under attack.

Congress must act.

The Washington Post

long quest to bridge

racial gap

Climate meeting goals go

umet



Natalie Giotta; Daniel Weiner, deputy director of the Election Reform Program; and Wendy Weiser, vice president for democracy, stand in front of the Capitol on February 14, 2019, after Weiser's testimony before the House Administration Committee in support of the For the People Act. Myrna Pérez, director of the ► Voting Rights & Elections Program, testifies before the House of Representatives' Subcommittee on the Constitution, Civil Rights, and Civil Liberties on September 10, 2019, in support of the Voting Rights Advancement Act.



Our experts testified before elected officials

20 times.



Elizabeth Goitein, director of the Liberty & National Security Program, testifies before the House Judiciary Committee on February 28, 2019, about presidential emergency powers and the need to reform the National Emergencies Act.

 Chisun Lee, deputy director of the Election Reform Program, testifies before the New York State Senate on March 20, 2019, in support of small donor public financing. The Brennan Center has long advocated for this reform as the best tool to reduce the power of the wealthiest donors over politics.





New Ideas, New Audiences

The Brennan Center hosted more than 30 public events and discussions in 2019 — providing fuel for new thinking, while sharpening persuasive arguments aimed at lawmakers and the public alike.

Susan Rice on Things Worth Fighting For

MSNBC host Andrea Mitchell and former U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Susan Rice discuss pivotal moments and lessons learned during Rice's career on the front lines of U.S. diplomacy and foreign policy.



Impeachment: A Conversation with Neal Katyal and Michael Waldman

Celebrated Supreme Court lawyer and former Acting Solicitor General Neal Katyal joins Brennan Center President Michael Waldman to discuss the origins of impeachment in the Constitution, the most important elements of the President Trump/ Ukraine scandal, and how this moment in history will affect the future of our country.



▲ A Conversation with Ta-Nehisi Coates and Melissa Murray NYU School of Law Professor and Brennan Center board member Melissa Murray joins Ta-Nehisi Coates, distinguished writer in residence at NYU's Arthur L. Carter Journalism Institute, to discuss his transformation as a writer and the urgency of ending mass incarceration.

Preet Bharara in Conversation with Margaret Hoover: Doing Justice

Former U.S. Attorney for the Southern District of New York and Task Force Co-chair Preet Bharara discusses his book *Doing Justice: A Prosecutor's Thoughts on Crime, Punishment, and the Rule of Law.* Bharara reflects on his tenure as U.S. attorney to his firing by President Donald Trump.



Blessed Be the Fruit: Threats to Reproductive Rights in 2019

In their book, *Reproductive Rights and Justice Stories*, panelists discuss what policy changes would best protect women's health. From left, Kate Shaw, professor of law, Cardozo Law School; Melissa Murray, professor of law, NYU School of Law; Rebecca Traister, writer at large, *New York* magazine; and Reva Siegel, professor of Law, Yale Law School.



Disrupt, Discredit, and Divide: How the New FBI Damages Democracy

Brennan Center Fellow and former FBI special agent Michael German details the transformation of the FBI from a law enforcement body into a secretive domestic intelligence agency. From left, Rudy Mehrbani, Bernard and Anne Spitzer Fellow, Democracy Program, Brennan Center for Justice; German; and Kimberly Atkins, senior Washington news correspondent, WBUR, Boston.



Building a Diverse Bench ►

Speakers examine diversity on the state and federal benches, how existing institutions pose hurdles to women and people of color, and how to build more diverse benches for the future. From left, Vanita Gupta, president and CEO, Leadership Conference on Civil & Human Rights; Robert A. Gordon, bankruptcy judge, District of Maryland; and Alicia Bannon, managing director of the Brennan Center's Democracy Program.



NEW IDEAS, NEW AUDIENCES



▲ The Great Migration: Searching for Freedom, Finding Injustice

In partnership with Carnegie Hall's event series Migrations: The Making of America, the Brennan Center hosts a panel on the mass movement of southern Black people to northern cities at the turn of the 20th century. This Great Migration spurred seismic cultural, economic, and political changes that continue to reverberate today. From left, Keneshia Grant, assistant professor of political science, Howard University; Mark Whitaker, former managing editor, CNN Worldwide; Theodore R. Johnson, senior fellow, Brennan Center for Justice; and Lisa Benenson, Brennan Center vice president for communications & strategy.



▲ 2019 Jorde Symposium: Locking Up Our Own: Crime & Punishment in Black America

Yale Law School Professor James Forman Jr. addresses how to build a powerful movement to end mass incarceration. From left, Thomas M. Jorde, Brennan Center benefactor and board member; Paul Butler, Albert Brick Professor in Law, Georgetown Law; Rachel Barkow, vice dean and Segal Family Professor of Regulatory Law and Policy, NYU School of Law; James Forman Jr., J. Skelly Wright Professor of Law, Yale Law School; and John Kowal, Brennan Center vice president for programs.



Prosecution in the 21st ► Century: Transforming the Criminal Justice System Journalist Emily Bazelon, right,

joins Brennan Center Justice Program Director Lauren-Brooke Eisen to examine the growing movement for change in the field of prosecution in the American criminal justice system.

A Night to Celebrate

The annual Brennan Legacy Awards Dinner pays tribute to the legacy of our namesake, Supreme Court Justice William J. Brennan Jr., by celebrating business and civic leaders who exemplify his values and vision.

22

On November 19, 2019, we recognized Levi Strauss & Co. and Patagonia for their leadership of Time to Vote, a coalition of more than 400 businesses united to promote voter participation. We honored two citizen leaders of the new democracy movement: Desmond Meade, whose authentic leadership, life experience, and vision were instrumental in restoring

the right to vote to 1.4 million Floridians with past criminal convictions, and Katie Fahey, who turned a Facebook post about gerrymandering into a powerful grassroots movement for nonpartisan redistricting reform in Michigan. We paid tribute to the life and legacy of our dear friend and Board colleague Dr. Gail Furman, who passed away this year.





TOP LEFT: Brennan Legacy Award recipient Desmond Meade, president of the Florida Rights Restoration Coalition.

BOTTOM LEFT: Anna Walker, vice president of public affairs at Levi Strauss & Co.; Jennifer Weiss-Wolf, vice president for development and women and democracy fellow at the Brennan Center; Alexis Bechtol, senior manager of public affairs at Levi Strauss & Co.; and Franz Paasche, Brennan Center board member.

TOP RIGHT: Michael Li, senior counsel at the Brennan Center; Brennan Legacy Award recipient Katie Fahey, founder of Voters Not Politicians and executive director of The People; and Andrew Shue, board president of The People.

MIDDLE RIGHT: Trevor Morrison, dean of NYU School of Law and Brennan Center board member.

BOTTOM RIGHT: The team from Patagonia, toasting Time to Vote and the Brennan Legacy Awards.







Financials

The Brennan Center has continued to rise to meet the challenges of the political era, undergirded by strong fiscal management and fundraising. Our staff of 125 includes attorneys, researchers, social scientists. former election officials, media experts, graphic designers, awardwinning writers and editors, development professionals, and a talented support team.

The Brennan Center is grateful for the in-kind and pro bono support provided by the law firm community. The monetary value of those services is not included in this chart.



Financials Year Ended June 30, 2019

Operating



Our Supporters

The Brennan Center would like to thank those who so generously supported our work in 2019, with special recognition of the following leaders:*

\$2,000,000+

Arnold Ventures Lakeshore Foundation

\$1,000,000 - \$1,999,999

Ford Foundation Craig Newmark Philanthropies Quadrivium The Bernard and Anne Spitzer Charitable Trust

\$500,000 - \$999,999

Gail Furman The JPB Foundation Open Society Foundations

\$250,000 - \$499,999

The Bauman Foundation Bohemian Foundation Carnegie Corporation of New York Marc Fasteau and Anne G. Fredericks Charitable Fund The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation Horizon Charitable Foundation The Joyce Foundation The Klarman Family Foundation The Margaret and Daniel Loeb Foundation The John and Wendy Neu Foundation Rockefeller Brothers Fund 2020 Census Project The WhyNot Initiative Leslie Williams and James Attwood

\$100,000 - \$249,999

Bank of America **Bridging Peace Fund of Tides Foundation** Marguerite Casey Foundation **Change Happens Foundation Democracy Fund** Ray and Dagmar Dolby Fund John D. Eder Fore River Foundation The Heller Foundation Leon Levy Foundation The Mai Family Foundation Mertz Gilmore Foundation **NEO Philanthropy** The Overbrook Foundation Present Progressive Fund of Schwab Charitable Charles H. Revson Foundation Schooner Foundation

Solidarity Giving The University of Chicago Law School Vital Projects Fund Wallace Global Fund Wellspring Philanthropic Fund Zegar Family Foundation

\$50,000 - \$99,999

AJG Foundation **Bainum Family Foundation** Patricia Bauman and Hon. John Landrum Brvant Leslie and Ashish Bhutani Ron Conway The Cooper-Siegel Family Foundation Theodore Cross Family Charitable Foundation Cynthia Crossen and James Gleick Barbaralee Diamonstein-Spielvogel The Ralph and Fanny Ellison Charitable Trust Environment, Health, and Community Fund, a project of Resources Legacy Fund Equal Justice Works FJC. A Foundation of Philanthropic Funds Sibyl Frankenburg and Steven Kessel Fund for a Safer Future Lisa and Douglas Goldman Fund Robert Goodman and Javne Lipman The Charles Evans Hughes Memorial Foundation Immigration Litigation Fund at **Borealis Philanthropy** Robert and Carol Lawson Lebowitz-Aberly Family Foundation Levi Strauss & Co. A. L. Mailman Family Foundation Nancy and Edwin Marks Family Foundation Media Democracy Fund Park Foundation Patagonia Piper Fund, a Proteus Fund initiative Quinn Emanuel Urguhart & Sullivan, LLP

Rockefeller Family Fund The Selbin Family Amy and Rob Stavis David and Liz Ehrenfest Steinglass Sudarsky Family Foundation The Tow Foundation Wachtell, Lipton, Rosen & Katz William B. Wiener Jr. Foundation

\$25,000 - \$49,999

Robert Atkins Allen Blue and Kira Snyder William C. Bullitt Foundation Cavali Foundation The Donald and Carole Chaiken Foundation Hannah LF Cooper Cravath, Swaine & Moore LLP CS Fund/Warsh-Mott Legacy Davis Polk & Wardwell LLP **Quinn Delaney and Wayne Jordan** Mark Friedman and Mariorie Solomon Serra Falk Goldman John and Kathryn Greenberg **Guttag Family Foundation** Lee Halprin and Abby Rockefeller Noble and Lorraine Hancock Family Fund Hanover Charitable Fund Alexander and Elizabeth Kendall Kirkland & Ellis LLP Susheel Kirpalani Ruth Lazarus and Michael Feldberg The Shirley and Milton Levy Family Charitable Trust Christopher and Linda Mayer Nion McEvoy and Leslie Berriman Katie McGrath & J. J. Abrams Family Foundation Ken Miller and Lybess Sweezy Roger and Margot Milliken Karen Morris and Alan Levenson The Marshall and Veronique Parke Family

Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison LLP PayPal Fran and Charles Rodgers Gerald Rosenfeld and Judith Zarin The Schmale Family Jon and Mary Shirley Foundation Stanford Law School Sandor and Faye Straus Teach A Man To Fish Foundation Thurnauer Charitable Trust Tides Foundation, on the recommendation of Weston Milliken University of Pennsylvania Carey Law School The Winkler Family Foundation (TX)

\$10,000 - \$24,999

Alpern Family Foundation Amalgamated Bank Harold C. Appleton Arnold & Porter The Hilaria and Alec Baldwin Foundation Jeff Beniamin Bernstein Litowitz Berger & Grossmann I I P The Birches Foundation The Herb Block Foundation Cantor Fitzgerald, L.P. Marcy Carsey The Clements Family Comcast NBCUniversal Crowell & Moring LLP **Craig Dessen and Kerrie Horrocks** Howard Dickstein and Jeannine English Edelman Edwards Family Fund Jason Flom Susan Sachs Goldman The Green Street Foundation of San Francisco Lisa Gustavson and Christopher Sales The Marc Haas Foundation

Irving Harris Foundation Discretionary Grant Program at the recommendation of Nancy Meyer and Marc Weiss Alice Herb Alan Horn Thomas and Mary Anne Jorde JPMorgan Chase & Co. Janet and Stanley Kane Foundation Catherine and Josh Kanter Rochelle S. Kaplan and Arthur D. Lipson Karsten Family Foundation Daniel F. Kolb Kramer Levin Naftalis & Frankel LLP The Lancaster and Walker Family Fund Lankler Siffert & Wohl LLP Lederer Foundation The Lehman-Stamm Family Fund Leslie Fund John Levy and Gail Rothenberg Elizabeth M. Lutz Microsoft Rebecca and Nathan Milikowsky **Betty Millard Foundation** Leo Model Foundation Estate of Jennie Moehlmann Vivian and Paul Olum Charitable Foundation **Orrick, Herrington & Sutcliffe LLP** PepsiCo The Phillips Family Steven Alan Reiss and Mary Mattingly Alice and Ben Reiter Larry and Wendy Rockefeller Schulte Roth & Zabel LLP Frederick A.O. Schwarz Jr. Service Employees International Union Simpson Thacher & Bartlett LLP Skadden, Arps, Slate, Meagher & Flom LLP **Beatrice Snyder Foundation** Spellman High Voltage Electronics Corporation Barbra Streisand Troutman Sanders LLP Scott and Christy Wallace Weil, Gotshal & Manges LLP Wilmer Cutler Pickering Hale and Dorr LLP The Winkler Family Foundation (CA) Wendy C. Wolf Holly Swan Wright

\$5,000 - \$9,999

Brian Arbogast and Valerie Tarico Theodore Babbitt Lawrence Barshay Daniel Baumol and Sabrina L. Lee Trev Beck The Dale and Max W. Berger Foundation Tom and Andi Bernstein Carol Black and Neal Marlens **BLT Charitable Trust Brownstein Family Foundation** Brad and Judy Chase Richard Cotton Cummins-Levenstein Charitable Foundation Cuneo Gilbert & LaDuca, LLP Joan K. Davidson (The J.M. Kaplan Fund) Dechert I I P Daniel and Alisa Doctoroff **Dolotta Family Charitable Foundation** Barbara Evman and Robert Antonisse Andrew Frackman and Emily Braun Fund for the Future of the Rockefeller Family Fund Ross Garon and Anna Suh Brooke Gladstone and Fred Kaplan David and Sylvia Goodman Kimberley D. Harris Hogan Lovells US LLP The Hyman Levine Family Foundation: L'Dor V'Dor Patricia M. Hynes and Roy L. Reardon The Audrey & Sydney Irmas Charitable Foundation John and Carol Jackson

Gloria Jarecki, The Brightwater Fund Kanter Family Foundation Jerold and Stephanie Kayden **Richard and Lisa Kendall** Daniel Kramer and Judith Mogul Lashof Family Giving Account Jane Lisman and Robert J. Katz Jonathan Marshall The Mathews Family Charitable Fund Bozena and John McLees Terence S. Meehan Menemsha Family Fund Robert B. Menschel Wilhelm Merck and Nonie Brady Jane and Richard A. Mescon Bonnie Mills and Doug Eicher The Morrison & Foerster Foundation Melissa Murrav and Joshua Hill Douglas and Sue-Ellen Myers Bette and Jeffrev Nagin The Native Iris Fund at Community Foundation Santa Cruz County O'Melveny & Myers LLP Franz Paasche Jill and Geoffrey Parker Elizabeth (Libba) Patterson Pfizer Inc. Steven Rattner and Maureen White Jim and Stacy Rechtin Richards Kibbe & Orbe LLP Heidi and Richard Rieger RISE Together Fund, a Proteus Fund initiative The Rosewater Fund Jacqueline P. Rubin and Matthew Healey Trink and Ernie Schurian Brad and Elaine Shapiro The Silver Foundation Barbara B. Simons SLC Giving Fund Nancy and John Solana

Mary C. Steele Mark Stevens and Mary Murphy Stephen Stublarec and Debra Belaga Family Fund Lawrence Summers and Elisa New TarverWalls Foundation Timothy and Sally Tomlinson Thomas and Francine Tudor Christine Varney and Tom Graham Isaac Zacharias

\$1,000 - \$4,999

Don and Beth Abbott Barry Adler Albrecht Family Foundation Douglas Allchin Chelsea Allen Fdith Allen Machelle H. Allen, MD Robert Alsdorf Hugh J. Andersen Foundation Kendall Anthony Brynn Arborico Kerith Aronow and Saul Shapiro Dr. Arlene Ash Astor Street Foundation, Inc. Andy Avins and Miriam Kuppermann Julia Backoff Benjamin Baker Leora Barish and Henry Bean Sandra S. Baron and Gregory Diskant Stuart J Baskin and Linda Lennon Richard and Taylor Beale Family Fund Richard I. and Diana L. Beattie James Beers Dr. Judith E. Belsky Henry Bernstein Richard and Eleanor Berry Gav Block and Billie Parker Alex Bloom Sean O'Donnell Bosack

Eunice Boscov Howard Botwinick Jill Braufman Nancy Brennan Judith Brody Richard Bronstein and Fileen Silvers Richard Brosnick and Jill Del Monico Dorothy Bullitt Michelle Burg Brian Burke and Lynn Margherio Michael Burns Nicole Burton Michael H. Byowitz and Ruth Holzer Donor **Directed Fund** Steve and Buffy Caflisch John Callery Zachary W. Carter James E. Castello William G. Cavanagh Melissa Chen **Richard Chernick** Ellen Chesler and Matthew Mallow Kathy and Stuart Chiron Alison Cichowlas Alison Cien Fuegos Aliza Cohen Schexnayder and Edward Schexnayder Naomi and Harvey Cohen Margery Colloff Ann Condon **Daniel Converse** Margaret Cotton Mary Catherine Cuff and William Wolf Donald Dankner William Davidson Sean M. Davis Mary Decker Ben DeCosta Jeffrev Dennis Jennifer DiBrienza and Jesse Dorogusker **Directions for Rural Action Fund**

Divine-Triggs Joy Fund The Double E Foundation George Driesen P. Benjamin and Polly Duke Pat Dunbar Susan and Thomas Dunn Francine Dykes Larry East Sam Fhrlichman Margaret Elizares Dennis Ellis **Bulent Ender** Caroline Erisman and John Silberstein Faegre Baker Daniels LLP Fred Farkouh James D. Fearon and Lisa T. Derrer Kenneth Feinberg James Feldman Elizabeth and James Fentress James Ferguson Curry First and Patricia Robertson Jody Fleischer Nancy and Thomas Florsheim Mark Foltz Stephen and Lynda Fox Franklin Philanthropic Foundation Daniel French and Rosann Tung Marcy Friedman Ruth and Edward Friedman Joann Fritsche Sean Gaddis John and Carole Garand Margery Gass The Genz and Ramirez Fund Julie Ann Giacobassi and Zach Hall **Daniel Ginsburg** Gary Ginsberg and Susannah Aaron Kevin Glassman Linda Gochfeld Renee Kamm Goff and Neal Goff

Nan Goldberg Daniel and Melanie Goldev Sally Goldsmith Peter Gollon Hector Gonzalez Andrea Gordon Ellen Gordon Danielle C. Grav Drs. Barbara Gray and Paul Shipkin Francis Greenburger Greene-Milstein Family Foundation The Stewart and Constance Greenfield Foundation Jean Greenwald and Anthony Greenwald Frank Grobman Donita Gross Jonathan Grossberg Flizabeth L. Grossman and Joshua L. Boorstein Antonia Grumbach Adele Grunberg David Grusin Joseph Guerra Hank and Karoly Gutman Brian Haag Allison Hall John and Anne Hall Victoria Hall David P. Halstead William and Sarah Harkinson Mark Harrison Cynthia and David Harrison **Richard and Janet Hart** Robert and Justine Haselow Chuck and Susan Hawley Rev. Dr. Katharine Rhodes Henderson David Heilbron Stephen Henry David and Margaret Hensler Christopher Hill and Susan Flicop William Himwich Deborah Holtz

Ross Hooper Susie Hwang and Matt Glickman iProspect Samuel Issacharoff, Professor, NYU Law Jeffrev Jacobs Peter and Karen Jakes Tom and Betsy Jennings JK Irwin Foundation Michele and David Joerg David Johnson Bob and Lvnn Johnston Harry Johnston The Peter T. Joseph Foundation Marc and Jean Kahn Matt Kaiser Craig Kaplan and Anne Hess Peter Kaplan and Katharine Hanson Nancy Ann and Samuel Karetsky Chris and Beth Karlin Kazan McClain Partners' Foundation David Kellev Clay Kirk Marc and Phyllis Kirschner Michael Klausner and Barbara Sih Klausner James Knowles James Kobak Victor and Sarah Kovner Liliane Kraemer Shvam Krishnan Irene Kuhn, PhD Edward and Laura Labaton Sara Matlin and Jav Laefer Bruce and Susanne Landau William and Ann Lansing Molly Larabee/Aaron Metals Matthew Larrabee Alan and Ruth Larson Dr. Patrick Lee Richard and Madeleine Lenski Benjamin Lerman

Andrew J. Levander Zahavah Levine and Jeff Meyer C. Stephen Lewis The Jennifer Lewis and Marc Bernstein Donor Fund Linda Lichter Paul and Karen Lightfoot Jon Lindsey Steve and Amy Lipin Sheralyn Listgarten Paula and Barry Litt Donald and JoEllen Loeb Robert Lofthus Beth and Michael Luey Mitzi Lyman and David Geronemus Stewart Macaulav Yael Mandelstam and Ken Tabachnick Maude March Marlene Marko and Loren Skeist Stanley Marks Philip Martin Jim Masson and Katie Heinrich John Mather Timothy and Judy McCormally Glenn McGuire Amy McIntosh and Jeffrey Toobin David and Michela McMahon Robert McNeill Jonathan Medow **Richard and Ronav Menschel** Wallace Mersereau Mary Ann and Dr. Roger Meyer MGG Foundation Frank and Ellen Michelman Frances Milberg **Barbara Miller** Noah Millman and Carolyn Schiff Patience Milrod David and Leslee Miraldi lessie Mishkin Karen Moffat

Ruthanne Morentz Trevor Morrison Morvillo Abramowitz Grand Jason & Anello PC Ella Mose Stephen Myers Omar Nazem David S. Neill Linda Newman John and Jean Nonna Notaboat Fund Carol Novmer Liz and Gus Oliver Susan Oppenheimer Ariana Pancaldo Diane Parker Marcus Paroske David Patton **Richard Paull** Sophia Pellis Robert M. Pennoyer Laurence and Caren Brody Peters **Richard Peterson** Ruth and Stephen Pollak Caroline Pozycki Jeremy and Tamara Preiss Hope and Michael Proper Christopher and Cynthia Pyle Melissa Quaal and Kieran Crowley Christopher Ouilter Fund Susan Raanan and Robert Fleischer Joshua Radnor Drew Raines David F. Ransohoff, MD Cathy Raphael Rebecca Rawls Jonathan Reiss and Micki Kaplan Reiss Margaret Renik Carolvn Revelle José E. Rivera and Teial R. Vakharia Richard L. Revesz and Vicki Been

Gayle Riggs **Richard Robbins** Kathleen Roberts Loren Rodgers Eric Roost Linda and Sidney Rosdeitcher The Rose-Scutari Family Carol E. Rosenthal and Dr. Franklin Schneier Nancy and Bradley Sabel John and Lynn Sachs Jill and Michael A. Salberg Devin Sandoz Betty Santangelo and Tom Egan Lawrence and Carol Saper Michael L. Schler Bruce Schnelwar and Lyn Rosensweig Eric Schoenberg Roger Scholl Eugene Schwartz William Schwartz and Lucy Chudson Gail and Edward Scovell **Richard Seelig** Cathy Seidenberg Joyce Selfman Betsev and Arthur Selkowitz Ann and Irwin Sentilles Wayne Senville The Shapiro Family Charitable Foundation Michael and Ilene Shaw Rachel Shelden Timothy Shepard and Andra Georges Jane Sherburne Joan Sherman Peter and Claudia Sherman Andrew I. Shore Charitable Giving Fund Sidley Austin LLP Amanda Silver Ms. Barbara Silverstein Mr. and Mrs. Edward and Ingrid Slizewski Julia and Daniel Small

Marc Solomon Susan Sommer and Stephen A. Warnke Alyssa Neil Spencer Jocelyn Hope Spencer Donald Spencer and Vickie Riccardo Gene Sperling and Allison Abner Michael Spiegelman Square One Foundation Eiko and Natalie Stange Richard and Meredith Stark Robert B. Stack and Vivian Escobar-Stack **Flizabeth Steiner** James L. Stengel Saul Sternberg Antonia Stolper and Bob Fertik Zachary Sturges and Parvin Moyne David and Catherine Sullivan Stephen and Fllen Susman Robert Swanton Swennes Family Fund James Swigert Alice Tenney Scott Thacher Michael Tharp Joel Thibault Robert L. and Carolyn Thompson The Tom Fund The Tufenkian Foundation, Inc. Bruce Tully Judith Turian. PhD Laura D. Tyson and Erik S. Tarloff Steven Vanbever The Vervane Foundation Alan B. Vickery Maryglenn Vincens Audrey Vincent Ruby Vogelfanger Hon, Jenonne Walker Mara Wallace Mikel Ward

Lvnn Warshow Christine Wasserstein Jonathan Weinstock Roger Weisberg and Karen Freedman Barry and Fran Weissler Linden and Judith Welch George Whitesides Rodney Wiens and Karen Kay Wiens Alford Williams Tess Williams and Tim Warden-Hertz William J. Williams Jr. **Robin Willis** Jason Wilson Frank Wohl Fredric Woocher Susan Woolf James Worth Peter Wright Bertram Wyman Kenii Yoshino Charles Zimmer and Steffi Gom-Zimmer The Anna and David Zimmerman Foundation Margot Zimmerman Robert Zimmerman Ellen Tenenbaum and Craig Zimmerman Victor and Mary Linda Zonana Zuckerman Spaeder LLP

Special Thanks

The Brennan Center extends its deepest gratitude to the Kohlberg Foundation for its generous support. We would also like to thank our supporters who give anonymously.

* Funding categories represent annualized giving levels.

The Brennan Legacy

The Brennan Center for Justice has created three special initiatives to ensure a solid, sustainable future for our organization.

The Brennan Legacy Fund

This \$5 million strategic opportunities and reserve fund ensures the Center has the resilience and resources to rise to urgent challenges.

Inez Milholland Endowment for Democracy

With the generous support and vision of the WhyNot Initiative, we formed the Inez Milholland Endowment for Democracy. Inez Milholland (1886–1916) was the bold, vibrant face of the women's suffrage movement in the United States, an ardent fighter for equality and social justice, and a graduate of New York University School of Law. The endowment supports the Center's Democracy Program.

Brennan Legacy Circle

The Brennan Legacy Circle recognizes leaders who have included the Center in their estate planning — a meaningful way to ensure their memory lives on in the fight for democracy and justice.

To make a contribution to the Brennan Legacy Fund or the Inez Milholland Endowment for Democracy or to join the Brennan Legacy Circle, please contact Jennifer Weiss-Wolf, vice president for development, at weiss-wolfj@brennan.law.nyu.edu or (646) 292-8323.

Pro Bono Partners

Our work depends on the support of our pro bono partners, who fight alongside us for democracy, justice, and the rule of law.

Arnold & Porter Covington & Burling LLP Cravath. Swaine & Moore LLP Davis Polk & Wardwell LLP Davis Wright Tremaine LLP Debevoise & Plimpton LLP Dechert I I P Emery Celli Brinckerhoff & Abady LLP Eversheds Sutherland (US) LLP Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Jacobson I I P Gibson. Dunn & Crutcher LLP Hogan Lovells US LLP Holwell Shuster & Goldberg LLP Jenner & Block LLP Kirkland & Fllis I I P Latham & Watkins LLP Morvillo Abramowitz Grand lason & Anello I I P

O'Melveny & Myers LLP Paul. Weiss. Rifkind. Wharton & Garrison LLP Pillsbury Winthrop Shaw Pittman LLP Povner Spruill LLP Profeta & Eisenstein Quinn Emanuel Urguhart & Sullivan, LLP Ropes & Grav LLP Schulte Roth & Zabel LLP Simpson Thacher & Bartlett LLP Sugarman Law Firm LLP Troutman Sanders LLP Wachtell, Lipton, Rosen & Katz Weil, Gotshal & Manges LLP Wilmer Cutler Pickering Hale and Dorr I I P Winston & Strawn I I P

Who We Are

Board of Directors

Robert Atkins, Co-chair Patricia Bauman, Co-chair

Nancy Brennan Leslie Bhutani Adam B. Cox Danielle C. Gray **Kimberley D. Harris** Helen Hershkoff Thomas M. Jorde Daniel F. Kolb Ruth Lazarus Paul Lightfoot. Treasurer Trevor Morrison Erin Murphy Melissa Murray Wendy Neu Franz Paasche Lawrence B. Pedowitz Steven A. Reiss **Richard Revesz** Gerald Rosenfeld Stephen Schulhofer **Emily Spitzer** Gerald Torres Christine A. Varnev Michael Waldman Scott Wallace Adam Winkler Kenji Yoshino

Executive Team

Michael Waldman President Lisa Benenson Vice President for Communications & Strategy John Anthony Butler Vice President and Chief Operating Officer Jeanine Chirlin Chief of Staff John F. Kowal Vice President for Programs **Kimberly Thomas** Vice President for Administration Wendy Weiser Vice President for Democracy Jennifer Weiss-Wolf Vice President for Development

Program Leadership

Alicia Bannon Managing Director, Democracy Spencer Boyer Director, Washington, DC Office Lauren-Brooke Eisen Director, Justice Elizabeth Goitein Director, Liberty & National Security Lawrence Norden Director, Election Reform Faiza Patel Director, Liberty & National Security Myrna Pérez Director, Voting Rights & Elections

Contact Us

General Inquiries Phone: (646) 292-8310 Fax: (212) 463-7308 Email: brennancenter@nyu.edu

New York Office 120 Broadway Suite 1750 New York, NY 10271

Washington, DC, Office 1140 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 1150 Washington, DC 20036

Donations

Paulette Hodge Direct Response Manager (646) 925-8750 hodgep@brennan.law.nyu.edu



120 Broadway, Suite 1750 New York, NY 10271 brennancenter.org