

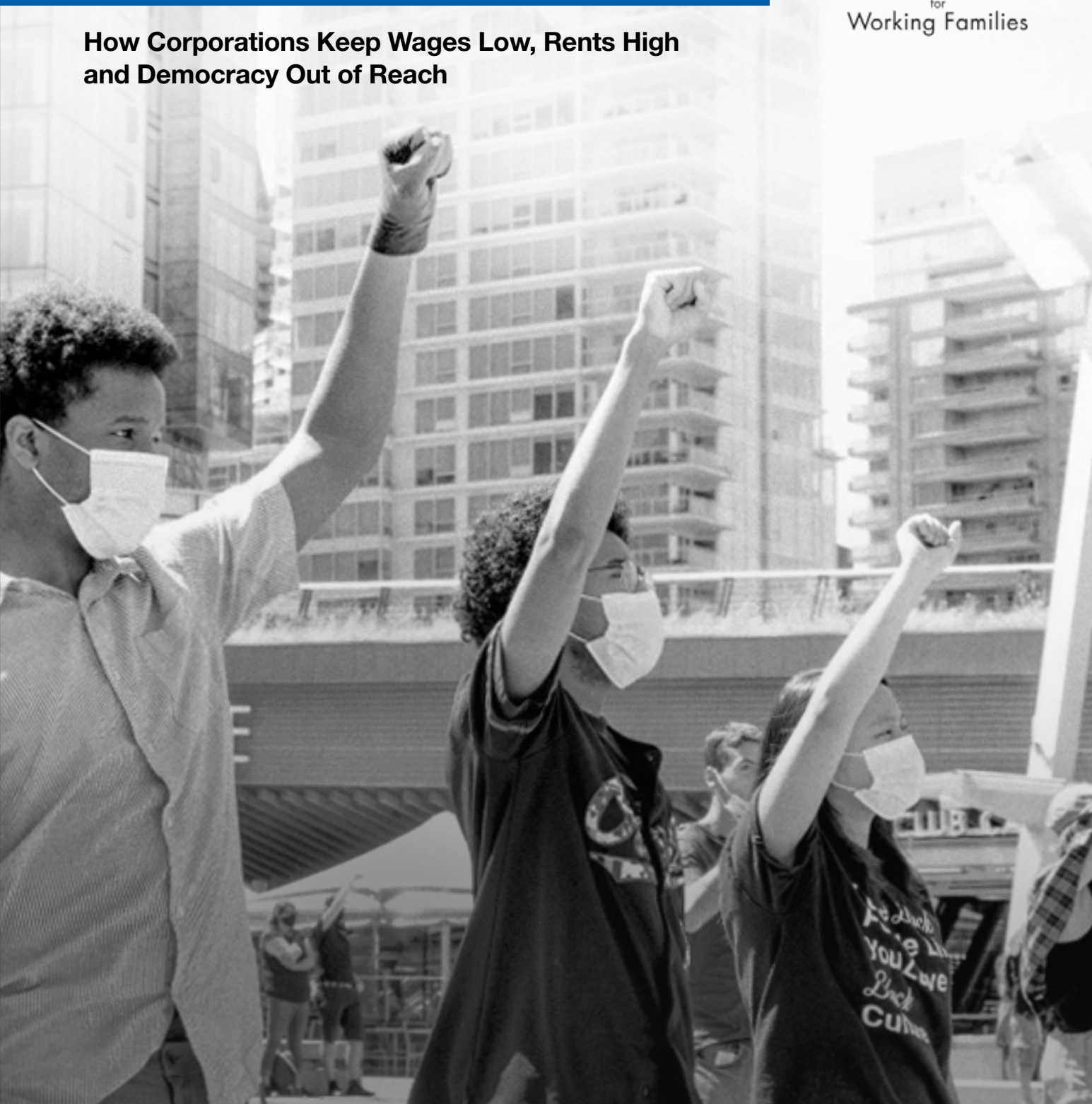
MARCH 2021

Unmasking Corporate Interference

**How Corporations Keep Wages Low, Rents High
and Democracy Out of Reach**



PARTNERSHIP
for
Working Families



Contents

3	Executive Summary
5	Introduction
9	A Short Primer on Corporate-Driven State Interference
10	Tennessee: Corporate Employers and Landlords Stretching Families to the Brink
18	In Focus: AT&T and Comcast
19	Pennsylvania: Household Name Corporations Holding Down Wages at Unlivable Levels
23	Louisiana: A Few Rich White Men Helping Maintain a Colonial Economy
26	Colorado and Michigan: Big Landlords Holding on to Unchecked Rents
32	Conclusion

Acknowledgments

The Partnership would like to thank the following individuals for their substantial contributions to this report: Jordan Ash, Heather Appel, Ben Beach, Kathryn Cai, Jennifer Disla, Kate Esposito, Jordan Ford, Felicia Griffin, Michael Callahan Kapoor, Jennifer Rafanan Kennedy, Deanna Kitamura, Hannah Kuhn, Munira Lokhandwala, Ursula Price, Charles Smith and Desiree Westlund. This report was designed by Rebecca Perez.

The Partnership for Working Families is a national network of 20 powerful city and regional affiliate groups based in major urban areas across the country. The Partnership advocates for and supports policies and movements that build more just and sustainable communities where we live and work. Taking lessons learned at the local level and applying them to the national conversation, the Partnership builds a framework for addressing climate change, inequality, racial and social injustice. For more information, visit us at www.ForWorkingFamilies.org.

Executive Summary

Today, people in cities all across the country are working together toward a shared vision of healthy, vibrant communities with stable homes and good jobs. But while they do their work in public, building our democracy, their opponents are at work in ways that are harder to see. Using local and state associations, massive corporations and their overwhelmingly white, male leadership are driving forward a strategy to keep wages low and rents high by stripping away local democratic power. The burdens of these actions fall heaviest on women, people of color and LGBTQ individuals, a greater share of whom earn low wages and pay unaffordable rents compared to their white counterparts.

This report focuses on five states—Tennessee, Pennsylvania, Louisiana, Michigan and Colorado—where people’s campaigns are underway to challenge corporations’ hold on democracy and allow cities to protect workers and tenants. The report unmask the corporations driving the deregulation of their industries and trying to ensure that local organizing cannot translate into better laws. Across those states, we found:

- Large national and statewide corporations like Kroger, Giant and Greystar Real Estate hold leadership positions in the state and local associations that fight for deregulation of wages and rents.
- Some of these corporations in leadership positions employ significant numbers of low-wage workers and own or manage thousands of rental housing units in the five states.
- The corporate leaders holding power within these associations are overwhelmingly white men, some earning millions in annual income, whereas women, people of color and LGBTQ individuals are dramatically overrepresented among the low-wage workers and tenants most adversely impacted by deregulation of rents and wages.
- Several of the corporations leading harmful state deregulation efforts in the states have relationships with American Legislative Exchange Council

(ALEC), one of the architects of the strategy of passing corporate-driven state laws that block local worker and tenant protections.

- Among all the corporations examined, AT&T and Comcast appear most often in the report, as they hold leadership positions in chambers of commerce in Pennsylvania, Louisiana and Tennessee, maintain ties with ALEC, and employ significant numbers of lobbyists in all three states.

In addition, we observed important developments in the individual states:

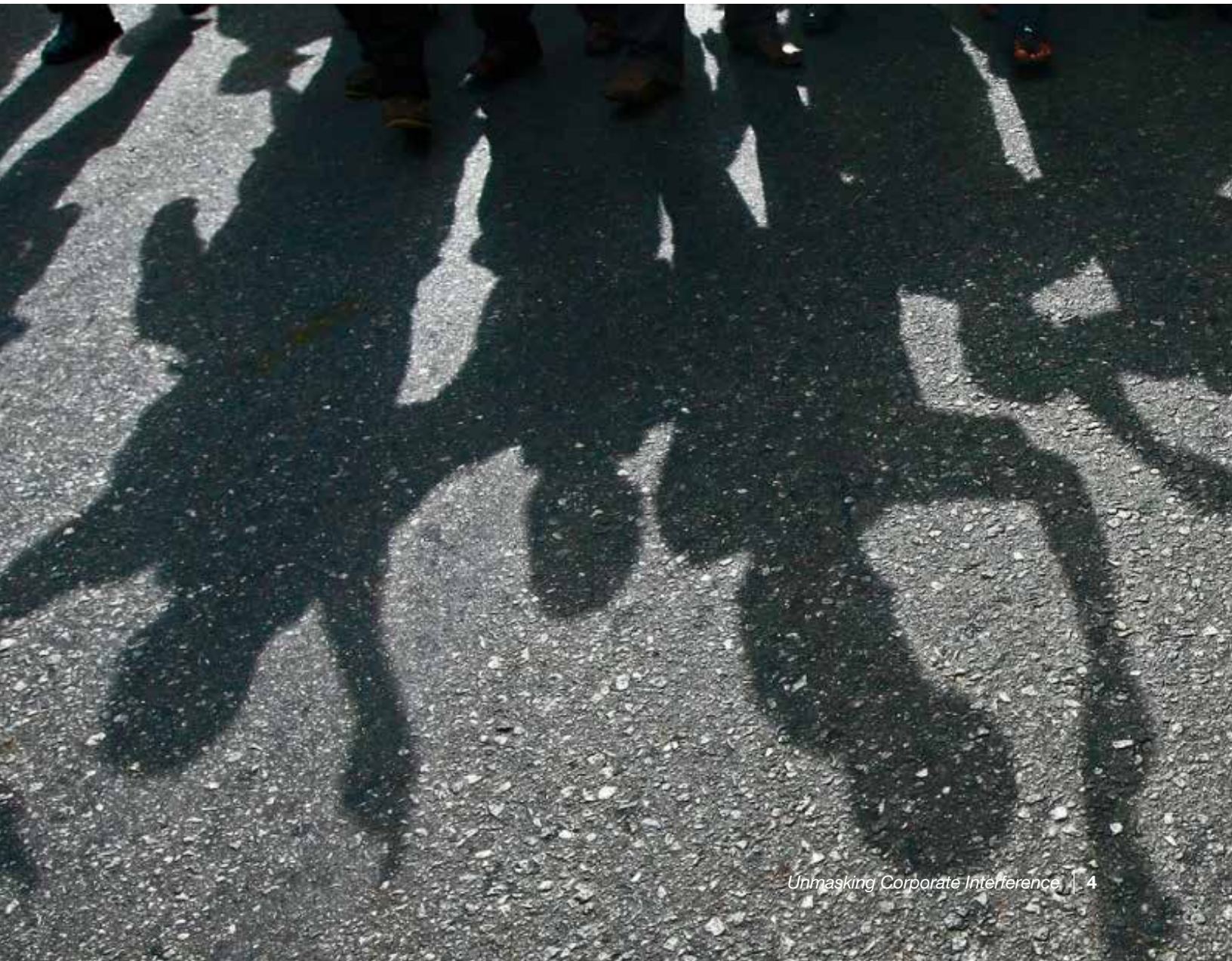
- In Tennessee, massive corporate employers like Kroger, Publix and Dollar General and some of the nation’s largest corporate landlords like Lincoln Properties and Bell Partners are working through state and local chambers of commerce and apartment associations to preserve deregulation. These corporations have successfully lobbied for and maintained a system with no state or local minimum wages or requirements to provide paid sick days, all while employing thousands of low wage workers and failing to provide paid sick days to huge portions of their workforce. This system also prohibits any limitations on private rents or any requirement to include affordable units in new residential projects. In the midst of a statewide housing affordability crisis and pandemic, the results have been devastating for people across the state, particularly for women and people of color.
- In Pennsylvania, large corporations, many of them household names like Giant, Eat’n Park, Save-a-Lot and Wawa, occupy important leadership roles in the Pennsylvania Chamber of Business and Industry, which lobbies to maintain the state’s brutal combination of a \$7.25 minimum wage and complete ban on local minimum wages. These same corporations themselves employ thousands of low-wage workers in the state. Their grip on state policy helps explain why over 70 percent of low wage workers in Philadelphia cannot afford their rent.
- In Louisiana, a few rich, powerful white men, including Lane Grigsby and Art Favre, have

helped maintain a ruthless set of economic rules through the Louisiana Association of Business and Industry (LABI). LABI, which has argued there should be no regulation of wages of any kind, has made this vision a reality in its state. LABI has helped hold in place the nation's longest-lasting prohibition on local minimum wages, coupled with no state minimum wage. This scheme harms many: Black workers, who comprise more than half of the state's minimum wage workers; women, who work under the worst gender pay gap in the U.S.; and LGBTQ individuals, 30 percent of whom live in poverty.

- In Colorado and Michigan, others of the nation's largest landlords, including Greystar, BH Management and Edward Rose and Sons, have worked through state and local apartment

associations to obtain and preserve prohibitions on local rent control. These landlords, along with other corporations in leadership of the apartment associations, own and manage tens of thousands of apartments in the two states. With neither state nor local ceilings on the rents they can charge, these landlords operate in a system that takes a severe economic toll on Black and Latinx renters. Over half of Latinx renters in Colorado and nearly 60 percent of all renters in Detroit (who are overwhelmingly Black) are cost-burdened.

By exposing these corporations and their harmful, anti-democratic actions, this report aims to help the many people organizing to challenge corporate interference in their states, cities and towns and return the basic instruments of democracy to those who need them most.



Introduction

In cities across the country, people come together everyday to realize a shared vision of thriving communities for themselves and their neighbors. Yet hundreds of thousands of working people have earnings that don't come close to covering their most basic costs. Their rents are far too high and their wages are far too low. Women and people of color are overrepresented among these working people. They have organized and fought for the things that would help fix the problem: reasonable limits on rent increases; modest raises in the minimum wage; the ability to take a couple of days off work without penalty when they or their family members are sick. Sometimes they have won. But far too often, their victories and power have been stolen from them in the backrooms of state legislatures and governors' offices. They live in a system that protects high rents and low wages. Twenty-seven states both fail to limit the rent private landlords may charge *and* prohibit their cities from having such limits. Sixteen states both have no minimum wage (or have a minimum wage that is at or below the federal minimum) *and* prohibit their cities from setting minimum wages.

Why? Over the last several decades, major American corporations and their allies have marched forward a strategy to eliminate government regulation and democratic checks on corporate power. One critical piece of this strategy is capturing the levers of power in states to both remove state-level regulation and prohibit or curb local policymaking. (This latter tactic is often called "state preemption" and can also be used to help people; we call the harmful version "state interference.") Because progressive organizing and power is concentrated at the local level, especially in major cities, and because nearly every state has the power to preempt, this corporate strategy of state interference makes tactical sense. In the wake of the Supreme Court's ruling in *Citizens*



United a decade ago, moreover, corporations have even greater ability to use their outsized financial advantage to shape politics and policy. We have come to understand this strategy both through the research of others into corporate and ideological associations like ALEC and the modern libertarian project and through our own careful tracking of corporate-serving state laws that deregulate whole industries and rob people of their ability to use the local democracy to rein in corporate-driven excess and harm.

Part of the diabolical success of this strategy lies with its phantom nature. It both harms people and robs them of political power while remaining opaque and difficult to understand. It compounds

the problem it causes by reinforcing the idea that people cannot remove the blocks on their power to change their circumstances. State preemption is a technical concept to begin with and not widely understood; it can make people feel like they need an army of lawyers to explain the fine print. Those who have followed most media coverage of the explosion of corporate-driven state preemption in the last decade will likely understand the problem in narrowly partisan terms, as a battle of “red states vs. blue cities.” This can make people feel like the only way they can raise the wage in their city or town is if the entire state legislature dramatically changes in party composition. But even if people did shift the partisan make-up of state legislatures, the evidence shows that corporations have won preemption in all sorts of political environments. Finally, even for those closely following their legislature, it is often corporate associations (groups of corporations coming together under a single name like “Chamber of Commerce” or “Apartment Association”) who do the dirty work, leading the efforts to lobby policymakers on behalf of a set of large corporations whose starring role in maintaining a punishing economic system remains hidden from the public.

The results are profoundly anti-democratic. Corporations set the rules at both the local and state level, and people who successfully organize in their communities to change things are blocked from realizing that change. Paired with gerrymandering, voter suppression and corporate actions to avoid complying with laws, such as forced arbitration or worker misclassification,¹ corporate-driven state interference undermines people’s faith in the basic tools of democracy.

Our goal with this report is to unmask the corporate drivers of this political strategy and bring their tactics into the light so that everyday people can see them clearly and respond. This report spotlights the corporations and corporate leaders who drive this strategy forward, whether for economic gain or ideological reasons or both. It also tells the story of the devastating impact of these corporations’ collective action through corporate associations, which have aggressively pursued state and local limits on protections for workers and tenants while pursuing—at the height of the COVID pandemic—sweeping immunity for corporations from laws protecting the health of workers and consumers.

What We Studied

We focused our research in five states where communities harmed by corporate-driven state preemption are leading active, powerful campaigns to fight back. We also focused on the issues at the heart of these campaigns: minimum wage, earned sick time and rent control. These issues are of critical importance to communities everywhere, particularly women, people of color and LGBTQ individuals, and are also commonly the subject of preemption laws across the country.

We learned that, along with Uber and its gig-corporation allies, corporate associations and ALEC (which is itself a kind of corporate association) often take the lead in advancing or protecting harmful state preemption laws with policymakers. We therefore examined who really had power inside of these associations and would be a position to set priorities and move resources.

For each of our five states, we studied:

- The impacts of corporate-driven state preemption, particularly for women, people of color and LGBTQ individuals;
- Local communities that bear the brunt of those impacts but are fighting back and often winning local protections for workers and tenants;
- The role of corporate associations in blocking minimum wage, paid sick days and rent control;
- Which specific corporations hold leadership roles in these associations;
- How some of these corporations benefit from state preemption laws as employers or landlords and
- The relationship of some these corporations to ALEC.

In Colorado and Michigan, we examined the apartment associations driving rent control preemption and, given the similarities, decided to combine the two states into a single section of the report to help underscore how massive corporations drive policy across multiple states under the banner of state and local associations.

What We Learned

Our research confirms that large corporations and their overwhelmingly white, male leadership are driving forward a strategy to keep wages low and rents high by stripping away local democratic power.



The corporate associations we examined are active backers of preemption of local wage, benefit and housing measures, the harmful impact of which falls hardest on women, people of color and LGBTQ individuals. Even in the face of this, women, people of color, LGBTQ individuals and their allies continue to organize and win local protections for their communities.

- **Large national and statewide corporations are powerful players** in these associations, despite claims that the associations represent small businesses. National corporations like **AT&T**, **Comcast** and **Greystar Real Estate** made repeat appearances as key actors across the states. We also discovered companies that brand themselves as local and rooted in the community, when they are really large corporations that pay poverty wages.
- The corporate leaders advancing preemption seem to be operating from a **mix of both ideological and business motives**. They appear to generally want a deregulated environment for all business. But many also gain financially from wage and rent deregulation as large landlords and employers of large numbers of low-wage workers.
- **The corporate leaders holding power within these associations are overwhelmingly white men**, whereas a substantial share of the low-wage workers and rent-burdened tenants in their states are women and people of color. In some cases, the research revealed that a small number of wealthy, powerful white men shaped and implemented a sweeping deregulation strategy for their state.
- **Corporate actors drive an agenda that depresses wages and raises rents**, exacerbating the burden shouldered by women, people of color and LGBTQ

individuals. Women, people of color and LGBTQ individuals are overrepresented among low-wage workers and those in poverty. They are also less likely to have employer-provided paid sick days and are concentrated in cities, where rents are higher. In cities like Philadelphia and Nashville, astounding numbers of women of color must devote the majority of their income to their rent.

- **ALEC and Uber continue to play an important role in supporting and advancing the preemption strategy.** Several of the corporations leading harmful state preemption efforts in the five states have relationships with ALEC, one of the architects of the strategy. Some have maintained those relationships despite more than 100 other major corporations leaving ALEC over its harmful tactics. Uber and its fellow gig corporations have, even as new corporate-driven state preemption has slowed secured breathtaking deregulation of their industry in most states and cities and in 2020 won passage of a California ballot measure that takes this scheme to unprecedented heights.

Our research also unveiled unique but equally disturbing patterns in each of the states.

- In Tennessee, huge corporate employers and huge corporate landlords are both at work ensuring that nothing stands in the way of high rents and low wages. Working through state and local Chambers of Commerce, corporations like **Kroger**, **Publix** and **Dollar General** have won and maintained a system with no state or local minimum wages or requirements to provide paid sick days, all while employing thousands of low wage workers and failing to provide paid sick days to huge portions of their workforce. Meanwhile, some of the nation's largest landlords, like **Lincoln Properties** and **Bell Partners**, have worked through state and local apartment associations to prohibit any limitations on private rents or any requirement to include affordable units in new residential projects. In the midst of a statewide housing affordability crisis and pandemic, the results have been devastating for people across the state, but especially for Black and Latina women in high-demand real estate markets like Nashville.
- In Pennsylvania, large corporations, many of them household names like **Giant**, **Eat'n Park**, **Hershey** and **Wawa**, occupy important leadership roles

in the Pennsylvania Chamber of Business and Industry, which lobbies to maintain the state's brutal combination of a \$7.25 minimum wage and complete ban on local minimum wages. These same corporations themselves employ thousands of low-wage workers in the state. Their grip on state policy helps explain why over 70 percent of low-wage workers in Philadelphia cannot afford their rent.

- In Louisiana, a few rich, powerful white men, including **Lane Grigsby** and **Art Favre**, have helped maintain a ruthless set of economic rules through the Louisiana Association of Business and Industry (LABI). LABI, which has argued there should be no regulation of wages of any kind, has made this vision a reality in its state. LABI has helped hold in place the nation's longest-lasting prohibition on local minimum wages, coupled with no state minimum wage. This scheme harms many: Black workers, who comprise more than *half* of the state's minimum wage workers; women, who work under the worst gender pay gap in the U.S.; and LGBTQ individuals, 30 percent of whom live in poverty.
- In Colorado and Michigan, other of the nation's largest landlords, including **Greystar, BH Management** and **Edward Rose and Sons**, have worked through state and local apartment associations to obtain and preserve prohibitions on local rent control. These landlords, along with

other corporations in leadership of the apartment associations, own and manage tens of thousands of apartments in the two states. With neither state nor local ceilings on the rents they can charge, these landlords extract revenue in a system that takes a severe economic toll on Black and Latinx renters. Over half of Latinx renters in Colorado and nearly 60 percent of all renters in Detroit (who are overwhelmingly Black) are cost-burdened.

In the sections that follow, we pull the curtain back on the corporations that drive state preemption and gain from the extractive, structurally racist economic arrangements that their deregulatory agenda allows. We examine how much these corporations pay their workers and how many apartment units they own. We highlight their role as leaders of the associations shaping policy and preventing local communities from establishing protections for tenants and workers. We hope this information will put the many communities chafing under corporate-driven state interference across the country in a better position to know their adversaries and dislodge their grip on the levers of power in states. We hope it will help equity-focused policymakers to understand this corporate agenda, who is driving it and what it does to their communities. And we hope it will help those investing in efforts to challenge state preemption to appreciate the critical importance of organizing-based campaigns that center impacted communities and generate the kind of power needed to stop the corporate agenda.



A Short Primer on Corporate-Driven State Interference

In the early 2000s, coalitions of community, labor, immigrants' rights and other organizations representing low-income communities of color and workers organized in major cities across the country to demand local protections against the harsh impacts of the economy. Cities had become the locus for massive influxes of private capital, facilitated and abetted by policymakers all too eager to "revitalize" communities suffering from disinvestment. But private capital's version of revitalization came at a steep cost for communities of color: gentrification, soaring rents, displacement and an explosion of low-wage service sector jobs with negligible benefits. The emerging metropolitan coalitions sought to blunt these harms, winning local increases in minimum wages and benefits like paid sick days, collective bargaining and set asides of rent-controlled housing as part of otherwise market-rate real estate projects. Spurred by this community and worker organizing, cities used their powers to regulate abusive industries, adopting measures to ensure fair scheduling and equity in hiring and protect immigrants from discrimination.

America's corporations responded, training their attention and massive resources on state-level policymaking, where they could more easily outgun communities that had organized locally.

Between 2010 and 2014, as the number of entities employing federal lobbyists declined 25 percent, that number increased by 10 percent for states.² In 1997, not a single corporate entity had lobbyists in every state, but by 2014 as many as nine different corporations had established a 50-state lobbying presence.³ The American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC) provided a critical piece of this shift, advancing on behalf of its corporate membership state policies that prohibited the kind of local regulation that communities were winning and continuing to demand. ALEC also refused to disclose its corporate members' identities, allowing corporations to direct major changes in state and local policy while avoiding any public responsibility for doing so.⁴

Between 2011 and 2017, ALEC's corporate members and their allies in state and local corporate associations swept across the country, winning new prohibitions or limitations on local minimum wages, paid sick days and other forms of economic regulation.⁵ By 2018, 27

states prohibited local minimum wages and 28 states prohibited local rent control. In 2019, legislators in Florida, Texas, West Virginia and Pennsylvania introduced bills that would effectively bar cities and counties from regulating businesses at all.

As more people became aware of ALEC and the spread of the corporate-driven preemption strategy and its harms, the momentum slowed. Over 100 major corporations dropped their membership in ALEC.⁶ The meteoric pace of new corporate-driven state preemption laws flagged.

But not for all corporations. Between 2015 and 2017, as it barged into cities everywhere, Uber went on a tear in state legislatures. At the height of its campaign in 2016, Uber had 370 active lobbyists in 44 states, dwarfing some of the largest businesses in the country.⁷ When it was through, Uber had secured forms of industry deregulation in 43 states and preempted local regulation in 41.⁸ In 2020, Uber and its gig corporation allies spent over \$200 million dollars to obtain passage of Proposition 22 in California. Proposition 22 both locked in industry deregulation at the state level, requiring a 7/8ths majority vote of the legislature for any amendment, and prohibited large swaths of local protections, including minimum wages and benefits, for app-based drivers and delivery workers.⁹

The racial justice dimensions of this history could not be sharper. Women, people of color and LGBTQ individuals, who often led the local coalition campaigns to change conditions, have paid the highest price for this sweeping deregulation. Overrepresented among low-wage workers, those without paid sick leave and the rent-burdened and underrepresented in state legislatures, women, people of color and LGBTQ individuals saw their economic and political conditions worsen further as corporations flexed their power. In seven states, including Tennessee and Louisiana, that have major U.S. cities in which Black low-wage workers earned far less than their white counterparts, emerging and successful efforts to close that racial wage gap by raising the minimum wage were put down through state preemption laws.¹⁰ The legislatures taking this action were overwhelmingly white and male, just like the corporate executives leading the associations driving the state preemption strategy.

Corporate Employers and Landlords Stretching Families to the Brink

People in Tennessee envision a future in which everyone has a decent, safe, affordable place to live and a job that allows them to take care of themselves and their families. And they are fighting to make that vision a reality. In fact, organizations like Stand Up Nashville have won major victories at the local level. But some of the nation's largest corporate employers and landlords have used their power in the state to ensure that rents can stay high and wages can stay low. The leaders of some of these corporations earn millions of dollars per year. Meanwhile, almost three-quarters of Latinx workers and 60 percent of Black workers earn less than \$15/hour. Moreover, Tennessee has the highest percentage in the country of people who are unable to pay rent and at risk of eviction.

Major corporations that employ a significant low-wage workforce have worked through the Tennessee Chamber of Commerce and Industry and the Nashville Area Chamber of Commerce to enact and preserve laws that ensure there is no minimum wage higher than the federal minimum anywhere in the state. Some of these corporations also maintain ties to ALEC. And massive corporate landlords, working through state and local apartment associations, have ensured that cities cannot regulate rents in any way.

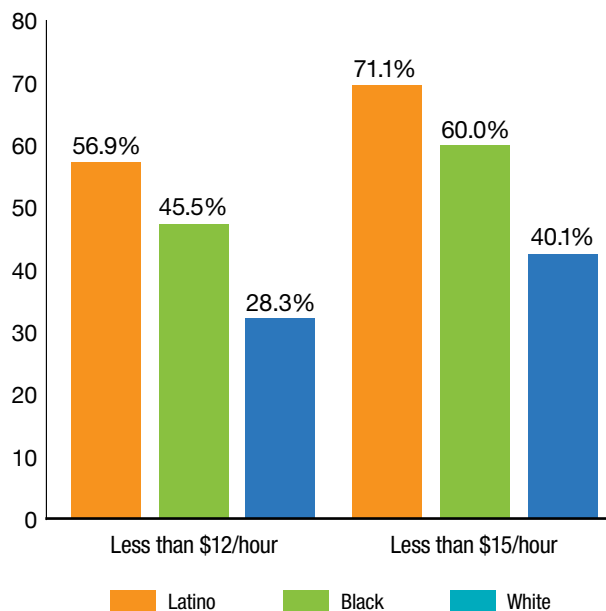
Tennessee's Cruel Economic System and the Warriors Taking It On

Tennessee has gone to great lengths to enable its housing and labor markets to operate without regulation, even through a pandemic. Tennessee is one of just five states that do not have a state-level minimum wage requirement and thus workers must rely on the federal minimum wage of \$7.25/hour. The state also does not guarantee paid sick days for workers. In 2013, the state adopted a law that prohibits localities from establishing their own minimum wage or paid sick leave policies. Similarly, despite having one of the nation's hottest housing markets, Tennessee also bans local inclusionary zoning¹¹ and rent control measures.¹²

This combination of policy choices, which keeps wages low and workers without access to sick leave while allowing rents to soar, has had disastrous consequences for women and people of color in

the state. Almost *three-quarters* of Latinx workers (71 percent) and *well over half* of Black workers (60 percent) in Tennessee make less than \$15/hour.¹³ Black and Latina women face a persistent wage gap, reflected in high poverty rates for female-headed households, which represent 57 percent of the households in poverty in Nashville.¹⁴ Latina and Native American women workers earn just 53 cents and 63 cents, respectively, for every dollar earned by white men.¹⁵

Concentrations of Tennessee low-wage workers by race/ethnicity



"Few Rewards: An Agenda to Give America's Working Poor a Raise," Oxfam America and the Economic Policy Institute, June 22, 2016



Failing to ensure access to paid sick days is especially detrimental for women in Tennessee, who are disproportionately represented among all the groups of workers whose employers do not provide them with that benefit.¹⁶

Tennessee's preemption of both local workers' rights and affordable housing measures is especially harmful in increasingly high-cost cities like Nashville. The average rent for a two-bedroom apartment in Nashville is over 20 percent higher than the average statewide rent for the same apartment.¹⁷ However, Tennessee's ban on local inclusionary zoning and rent control means that Nashville's growth comes at the expense of low-income residents. Though inclusionary zoning is one of the primary ways that cities produce affordable units and generate funds for affordable housing construction,¹⁸ state preemption means that none of the 14,000 housing units built in the past five years have resulted in new affordable housing. In fact, Nashville has lost more than 20 percent of its affordable housing stock since 2000.¹⁹

All of this leads to outsized risk of eviction. *Fifty-eight percent* of renters in Tennessee are unable to pay rent and at risk for eviction, more than in any other state.²⁰ Black households, already overrepresented among low-wage workers, are also overrepresented among renters, with only 42 percent of Black households in Nashville²¹ and 39 percent of Black households in Chattanooga owning their homes.²² Across the state, and particularly in Nashville, significantly greater percentages of Black, Hispanic and Asian American households are rent-burdened than are their white counterparts.²³

State interference has been a key component of the "long Southern strategy"²⁴ in Tennessee. Corporate lobbyists, with the help of predominantly white male

legislators, have pushed an array of restrictive laws²⁵ to undermine local democracy and curb the ability of localities to pass policies that support healthy, safe, and economically vital communities for all residents.



Since its inception, **STAND UP NASHVILLE (SUN)** has been part of the fight back against state interference. The organization originated partially in response to the state legislature overturning a local hire referendum that Nashville voters passed in 2016 with 57 percent support, and which would have given Nashville's poorest residents a pathway out of poverty. LiUNA, Nashville Organized for Action and Hope, and the Central Labor Council of Nashville and Middle Tennessee helped lead this effort and became founding members of Stand Up Nashville. A few years later, Nashville's community-led inclusionary zoning ordinance met the same fate, taking away a tool to address the growing housing crisis.

But this didn't stop the organization, which went on to win passage of critical local policies, including:

- In 2017, SUN led the successful "Do Better" campaign to pass legislation to bring transparency and accountability to corporate incentives. Now applicants for subsidies must provide

"At any given moment, someone at your favorite restaurant is working sick. I've gone to work sick many times because we aren't guaranteed paid sick days, and going to the doctor means a day of lost wages. Even if I am sick enough to call out of work, many restaurants require a doctor's note. Since we aren't provided with healthcare either, the cost of going to a doctor is usually enough to prevent anyone from calling in sick.

It doesn't have to be like that. Nashville has tried to pass laws to raise the minimum wage and provide sick leave to workers, but these were stopped by Tennessee's state "preemption" laws. As long as those laws are in place, there will always be someone at your favorite restaurant working sick."—HAYDEN SMITH, NASHVILLE RESTAURANT WORKER



vital information on jobs, benefits, workforce development, and safety and wage violations prior to voting on incentives.

- In 2018, SUN organized the community to win \$75 million worth of community benefits on the Major League Soccer stadium development in Nashville from some of the biggest corporate interests in the city. The historic Community Benefits Agreement secured in a private agreement many of the standards banned from local law by the state, including affordable housing for families, a \$15.50 minimum wage, local hire, sliding-scale child care and responsible contracting.

Stand Up Nashville and its member organizations continue to pursue creative solutions at the local level. For example, they are leading the “[Get It Right](#)” campaign to raise workplace standards and community voice on procurement by the City-County government.

SUN is also building out a statewide coalition called We Decide TN to challenge restrictive laws pushed by corporate interests that left many communities unprepared when the pandemic hit. According to SUN, these laws left community organizations, labor unions, and faith leaders across Tennessee no choice

but to come together to demand that the governor use his emergency powers to immediately restore key local decision making powers. We Decide TN has organized over 30 local elected officials to join the coalition and is building relationships with rural and suburban groups in key districts across the state.

We Decide TN released an [Open Letter](#) to state leaders to give local governments the flexibility to properly address the public health and economic emergencies their communities were facing. Twenty seven organizations from across the state representing over 100,000 Tennesseans signed it.

SUN describes the campaign this way:

State interference is designed to target Black, Brown, immigrant, LGBTQ+, and working-class communities in cities but ends up hurting white rural and suburban communities just as much. The data shows that lack of housing affordability, meaningful pathways out of poverty and unemployment, broadband access and paid sick leave impacts the majority of communities across the state.

By joining together across geographies and identities on these key issues, We Decide TN is forging the path to change the narrative around state interference and working to create a Tennessee where state and local governments are not in conflict but work together to build communities that support our unique needs and values.

“People in my city are facing evictions, my family was almost kicked out as the courts opened in Bedford County, and we were out of work due to COVID twice. My city or county should have been able to slow down eviction cases and have more say in how the CARES act money was distributed to rural areas for rent relief and to pay landlords for those that could not due to COVID, but can’t because of state interference.”—CARA GRIMES, SHELBYVILLE RENTER

The Corporate Employers and Landlords Keeping Wages Low and Rents High

Large corporate employers and landlords, working through associations, have played key roles in the adoption and maintenance of the harmful deregulation of rents, wages and benefits. Their direct financial interest in doing so is clear. The large corporations in leadership positions in those associations include major low-wage employers leaving hundreds of thousands of workers without paid sick days and some of the country's largest landlords.

In 2013, the Tennessee Chamber of Commerce and Industry²⁶ (Tennessee Chamber) and the Nashville Area Chamber of Commerce²⁷ (Nashville Chamber) accomplished their goal of winning a state law that preempted local municipalities from setting their own minimum wage or paid sick leave policies. The Tennessee Chamber, Nashville Chamber, the Tennessee Retail Association and the Tennessee Grocers Association have opposed efforts to raise the minimum wage in the state.²⁸

The leadership of these associations includes massive corporations that employ a significant low-wage workforce. Some of the largest of these, Publix, Kroger and Dollar General, also fail to provide paid sick days for huge portions of their workforce. They thus stand to benefit financially from state preemption of local minimum wage and paid sick days measures.

- **Publix Super Markets** has representatives serving as the chairperson of the Board of Directors of the Tennessee Retail Association²⁹ and on the Board of Directors of the Tennessee Grocers Association.³⁰ *Cashiers and clerks at Publix are paid \$9-\$12/hour.*³¹
- A **Kroger** executive is the chairperson of the Tennessee Grocers Association Board of Directors.³² *Cashiers and clerks at Kroger are paid \$8-\$9/hour.*³³
- A **Dollar General** representative is on the Tennessee Retail Association Board of Directors.³⁴ *Sales associates and cashiers at Dollar General are paid \$8-\$9/hour.*³⁵

Last spring, the *New York Times* calculated the number of workers without paid sick leave at retail chains and large restaurants.³⁶ Based on these figures, the three companies above have almost 400,000 workers without paid sick leave—about half of their total workforces.

Workers Without Paid Sick Leave

Publix

89,000

WORKERS WITHOUT
PAID SICK LEAVE³⁵

225,000³⁷

TOTAL WORKERS

40%

WORKERS WITHOUT
PAID SICK LEAVE

Kroger
FRESH FOR EVERYONE™

189,000

WORKERS WITHOUT
PAID SICK LEAVE

435,000³⁹⁸

TOTAL WORKERS

43%

WORKERS WITHOUT
PAID SICK LEAVE

**DOLLAR
GENERAL**

109,000

WORKERS WITHOUT
PAID SICK LEAVE

143,000³⁹

TOTAL WORKERS

76%

WORKERS WITHOUT
PAID SICK LEAVE

Nashville Area Chamber of Commerce “Platinum Investor” Companies—2018 Executive Compensation

Vanderbilt University Medical Center

(Source IRS Form 990)



Jeffrey Balser
CEO
\$3 million



C Wright Pinson*
DEPUTY CEO
\$2.4 million

LifePoint (Source 2019 Proxy Statement)



David Dill*
COO
\$5.4 million



William Carpenter
CEO
\$13.6 million

HCA Healthcare (Source 2019 Proxy Statement)



R Milton Johnson*
CEO
\$21.4 million



William Rutherford*
CFO
\$6.8 million

Ascension Saint Thomas

(Source Form 990)



Tim Adams*
CEO
\$1 million

Community Health Systems

(Source 2019 Proxy Statement)



Wayne Smith
CEO
\$5.8 million

- **Asurion** is a Nashville-based company that provides insurance for cell phones and other consumer electronics. The Asurion Chief Operating Officer sits on the board of directors of the Nashville Area Chamber of Commerce.⁴⁰ Asurion is a “Gold Level Investor,” which means it gives above \$25,000 annually to the Nashville chamber.⁴¹ Asurion is also a “Cornerstone Member” of the Tennessee Chamber of Commerce, which is a designation for companies that “invest at exceptional levels” in the chamber.⁴² *Asurion pays customer service representatives \$11-\$12/hour.*⁴³
- **Genesco** is a Nashville-based company that sells footwear and sports apparel. The Genesco CEO was on the 2019-2020 board of directors of the Nashville Area Chamber of Commerce.⁴⁴ Genesco is a “Gold Level Investor,” which means it gives above \$25,000 annually to the Nashville chamber.⁴⁵ *Genesco’s sales associates and customer service representatives are paid \$8-\$12/hour.*⁴⁶
- There are five health care facilities that are “Platinum Investors”—the highest donor level, giving over \$50,000 a year to the Nashville Area Chamber of Commerce.⁴⁷ Three of these companies also have executives on the Nashville Chamber’s board of directors,⁴⁸ and four of them are also “Cornerstone Members” of the Tennessee Chamber of Commerce, which is a designation for companies that “invest at exceptional levels” in the chamber.⁴⁹ *Nursing aides, assistants and orderlies in Tennessee are paid an average of \$12-\$13 and hour, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics.*⁵⁰
 - The Deputy CEO of the **Vanderbilt University Medical Center** is on the Nashville Chamber board, and the company is a Platinum Level investor. VUMC is also a Cornerstone Member of the state chamber.
 - The retired CEO of **HCA Healthcare** is past chairperson of the Nashville Chamber board, and HCA’s current CFO is also on the board.⁵¹ HCA is a Platinum Level investor in the Nashville chamber and is a Cornerstone Member of the state chamber.
 - The CEO of **Ascension St. Thomas** is on the Nashville Chamber’s board, and the company is a Platinum Level investor.
 - **Community Health Systems** is a Platinum Level investor in the Nashville Chamber and a Cornerstone Member of the state chamber.
 - **LifePoint Health** is a Platinum Level investor in the Nashville Chamber. The President and CEO is on the Nashville Chamber board.



In the area of housing, the Tennessee Apartment Association (TNAA)⁵² and the Greater Nashville Apartment Association (GNAA)⁵³ have been the main opponents of the Nashville inclusionary zoning ordinance and the main supporters of the state inclusionary zoning and rent control preemption law. The TNAA includes the Apartment Association of Greater Knoxville (AAGK), the Apartment Association of Greater Memphis (AAGM) and the Chattanooga Apartment Association (CAA), in addition to the GNAA.⁵⁴

There are five large corporations that have representatives on the TAA, GNAA, AAGM, AAGK and CAA boards of directors. These five corporations are massive landlords in Tennessee. *Together they own 85 properties and over 18,000 units in the state.* Lincoln Property is the second largest apartment manager and 18th largest apartment owner in the nation. Representatives of Bell Partners, another of the largest apartment managers in the country, serve as the chair of the GNAA board and as a vice-president of TNAA.

There are five large corporations that have representatives on the TAA, GNAA, AAGM, AAGK and CAA boards of directors. These five corporations are massive landlords in Tennessee. Together they own 85 properties and over 18,000 units in the state.

Company	Representatives on Apartment Association Boards			
Lincoln Property	Dale Smith, GNAA			
Nashville/Clarksville	Memphis	Knoxville	Chattanooga	U.S. Totals
Properties: 22 Units: 4,600	Properties: 1 Units: 118	Properties: - Units: -	Properties: 1 Units: 308	2nd largest apartment manager in U.S. with 173,000 units ⁵⁵ 18th largest owner with 54k units ⁵⁶
Bell Partners	Stacey Holt, GNAA Chair; Cara Mefford, TNAA VP			
Nashville/Clarksville	Memphis	Knoxville	Chattanooga	U.S. Totals
Properties: - Units: -	Properties: - Units: -	Properties: 1 Units: 404	Properties: 1 Units: 190	31 st largest apartment manager in U.S. with 47,000 units
Fogelman Properties	Tammy Yeargan, TNAA Pres Elect; Amanda Hall, TNAA; Linda Page, TNAA; Mark Fogelman, AAGM ; Kim Young, AAGM			
Nashville/Clarksville	Memphis	Knoxville	Chattanooga	U.S. Totals
Properties: 2 Units: 746	Properties: 7 Units: 1,623	Properties: - Units: -	Properties: 2 Units: 568	Manages 88 complexes with 28,000 units ⁵⁷
Freeman Webb	Zac Ward, GNAA Past Pres; Sully Lemons, GNAA; Dee Wilson, GNAA; Deanna Hill, AAGK; Mary Margaret, CAA			
Nashville/Clarksville	Memphis	Knoxville	Chattanooga	U.S. Totals
Properties: 15 Units: 2,786	Properties: - Units: -	Properties: 2 Units: 405	Properties: - Units: -	Owns or manages over 15,000 units. Largest apartment owner/manager in Nashville.
Brookside Properties	Brigitte Byron, GNAA; Melissa Jones, AAGK Sec			
Nashville/Clarksville	Memphis	Knoxville	Chattanooga	U.S. Totals
Properties: 11 Units: 2,020	Properties: 1 Units: 236	Properties: 12 Units: 2,875	Properties: 7 Units: 1,186	Manages over 15,000 units ⁵⁸
TOTAL	Properties: 50 Units: 10,152	Properties: 9 Units: 1,977	Properties: 15 Units: 3,684	Properties: 11 Units: 2,252

Most troubling of all is what these corporations have done with their size and power. Not only have these massive corporate landlords successfully lobbied, through their associations, to prohibit localities from controlling rents or increasing production of affordable housing through inclusionary zoning, at least one has evicted people from their homes during a pandemic. Despite a federal eviction moratorium and a dramatic increase in new COVID-19 cases nationwide, large corporate landlords, including Bell Partners, collectively filed almost 20,000 eviction actions in Tennessee and four other states between September 1, 2020 and November 20, 2020.⁵⁹

The Heavy Hand of ALEC

Corporate drivers of preemption in Tennessee remain closely aligned with ALEC, even as other corporations have left the organization. Several of the companies that sit on the Tennessee Chamber of Commerce board of directors have been heavily involved with ALEC.

- An **AT&T** representative sat on the Tennessee Chamber's executive committee and was the chair of the chamber's Public Affairs Committee in 2019.⁶⁰ AT&T is also a Cornerstone Member of the Tennessee Chamber.⁶¹ AT&T had a seat on ALEC's Private Enterprise Advisory Council and was a regular "Chairman" level sponsor of ALEC annual conferences.⁶² AT&T didn't end its membership in ALEC until 2018, by which time more than 100 other corporations had already left ALEC over the previous six years.⁶³
- **FedEx's** Vice-President for Government Affairs was on the Tennessee Chamber's board in 2019,⁶⁴ and the company is also a Cornerstone Member of the Chamber.⁶⁵ FedEx has served on ALEC task forces and sponsored ALEC conferences.⁶⁶ FedEx is still a member of ALEC and attended ALEC's 2019 annual meeting.⁶⁷
- A **State Farm** vice-president was on the Tennessee Chamber's board in 2019,⁶⁸ and State Farm is a Cornerstone member of the Chamber.⁶⁹ The General Counsel for **State Farm** sits on ALEC's Private Enterprise Advisory Council.⁷⁰
- **Pfizer's** government relations southeast director is on the Tennessee Chamber's board,⁷¹ and the company is a Cornerstone member of the



Despite a federal eviction moratorium and a dramatic increase in new COVID-19 cases nationwide, large corporate landlords, including Bell Partners, collectively filed almost 20,000 eviction actions in Tennessee and four other states between September 1, 2020 and November 20, 2020.

Chamber.⁷² Pfizer's Vice-President for government relations is on ALEC's Private Enterprise Advisory Council.⁷³

These corporations' participation in ALEC likely furthers their proximity to the legislators championing their cause. Tennessee State Senator Brian Kelsey, who sponsored the 2013 bill that preempted local municipalities setting their own minimum wage or paid sick leave policies (SB35), is the State Chair for ALEC and serves on ALEC's board of directors.⁷⁴

In Focus: AT&T and Comcast

AT&T and Comcast have leadership roles in the corporate associations driving wage preemption in Pennsylvania, Louisiana and Tennessee, close ties to ALEC and significant numbers of lobbyists in all three states.

- AT&T's Pennsylvania president and Comcast's Vice President of Government Affairs have served on the board of the Pennsylvania Chamber of Business and Industry.⁷⁵ Comcast and AT&T are both "investor members" in the PA Chamber⁷⁶ and both sponsored the Chamber's recent "Bringing PA Back" event.⁷⁷
- AT&T's Southeast States President is on the executive committee of the Louisiana Association of Business and Industry (LABI) and chaired the board of directors in 2019.⁷⁸
- AT&T Tennessee's Director of External Affairs was on the Executive Committee of the Tennessee Chamber of Commerce and Industry and chaired the public affairs committee in 2019.⁷⁹ Comcast's Vice-President of Government and Regulatory Affairs is on the chamber's board of directors.⁸⁰ Comcast and AT&T are both Tennessee Chamber Cornerstone Members, which "invest at exceptional levels" in the chamber.⁸¹ AT&T sponsored the chamber's recent Public Affairs conference.⁸²
- Both AT&T and Comcast were long-time members of ALEC and did not end their membership until 2018, by which time more than 100 other corporations had already left ALEC over the previous six years. AT&T had a seat on ALEC's Private Enterprise Advisory Council and was a regular high-level sponsor of ALEC meetings.⁸³ Comcast received ALEC's State Chair of the Year Award and served on the Communications and Technology Task Force and the Tax and Fiscal Policy Task Force.⁸⁴
- Both AT&T and Comcast employ significant numbers of registered lobbyists in all three states:

Number of Registered Lobbyists 2019



16
TENNESSEE

14
LOUISIANA

6
PENNSYLVANIA



6
TENNESSEE

2
LOUISIANA

16
PENNSYLVANIA

Household Name Corporations Holding Down Wages at Unlivable Levels

Most Pennsylvanians believe all workers need a wage that allows them not only to make ends meet where they live but allows them to prepare for unexpected or emergency expenses. The COVID-19 pandemic revealed even more clearly how precarious many people's financial stability is and how shallow the safety net is. Despite that reality, Pennsylvania maintains a minimum wage of \$7.25 and blocks municipalities from going any higher. These wage rules benefit major corporations like Giant, Eat'n Park, Save-A-Lot and Wawa, which employ thousands of low-wage workers in the state. But they exact a severe toll, especially on workers of color and LGBTQ individuals living in Pennsylvania's cities.

Those workers, who have organized and won incredible victories for all workers, still face an impossible task of making ends meet, with shocking numbers in deep poverty and overwhelming percentages paying over half of their income for housing. Yet these major corporations, through their leadership of the Pennsylvania Chamber of Business and Industry (the "PA Chamber") and the Chamber of Commerce of Greater Philadelphia, continue to try to hold the wage rules in place, even as local leaders, workers and small businesses demand local minimum wage raises. Several of the corporations in the PA Chamber's leadership have also continued to have ties with ALEC long after other corporations have disassociated themselves from the organization.

Pennsylvania's Unjust Wage System and the Local Heroes Taking It On

Pennsylvania has the lowest minimum wage level legally allowed, at \$7.25/hour. That is the lowest level in the Northeast and lower than that of all of the surrounding states. Through preemption, Pennsylvania also prohibits its cities and counties from establishing their own minimum wage. Employers in the state could enjoy no greater degree of wage deregulation; abolishing the state minimum wage tomorrow would have zero impact because the state's minimum is the same as the federal minimum.

The people of the state bear the burdens of this system. This is particularly so for those in its cities,

where the cost of living is higher. There, community leaders report, working people face grinding poverty, sleeping in their cars, skipping meals and medicine, and holding on by a thread. Philadelphia is a case in point. One quarter of all households in Philadelphia live below the federal poverty line, making it the poorest big city in the U.S.⁸⁵ According to a recent report by the Pew Charitable Trusts, among the nation's 10 most populous cities, none has a higher proportion of cost-burdened households with low incomes than Philadelphia, even though the city has *lower* housing costs than its peers.⁸⁶ Among workers most affected by the low minimum wage (those with incomes below \$30,000 per year), *nearly 70 percent are spending more than half of their income on housing.*⁸⁷

This system does grave and disproportionate harm to Black and Latinx workers, who are concentrated in cities. (Black and Latinx individuals make up more than half (56 percent) of the population of Philadelphia.⁸⁸) More than *one in four* Black workers in Pennsylvania (27.6 percent) are paid at or near minimum wage. In contrast, just one in seven white workers in Pennsylvania are paid at or near minimum wage.⁸⁹ This system also harms Asian American workers, who are concentrated in employment sectors that are both low-wage and in which workers are required to report to work during the pandemic; four of the top eight sectors for Asian American workers in Pennsylvania fall into this category.⁹⁰ And LGBTQ individuals in Pennsylvania



have a poverty rate of 17.6 percent, compared with 12 percent for cisgender straight people.⁹¹

Seen in this light Pennsylvania's law prohibiting local minimum wage increases not only operates to keep thousands of low-wage workers of color in poverty, but also to prevent those workers from changing the system of racial and economic hierarchy in their home communities. But Pennsylvania's workers have not let these laws stop them from organizing for higher wages. Through grassroots groups and unions, they have succeeded in:

- Enacting an ordinance in 2018 that sets annual increases in the minimum wage paid to all employees who work for the city of Philadelphia or for a company with which the city contracts, with the minimum wage reaching \$15/hour by 2022;⁹² and
- Getting 82 percent of Philadelphia voters to approve a ballot measure urging the city to lobby state lawmakers—or act on its own—to establish a \$15/hour minimum wage.⁹³

The logo for POWER, featuring the word "POWER" in a stylized, bold, serif font. The letter "O" is replaced by a graphic of a person with arms raised in a V-shape.

Organizing through grassroots groups and unions like **POWER**, **Pittsburgh United**, **SEIU** and **UNITE-HERE**, low-wage workers have overcome powerful corporate interests in winning a number of other policies that improve their conditions, including:

- A Fair Workweek scheduling law that requires large retail, fast-food and hotel companies in Philadelphia to give workers two weeks' advance notice of their schedules and to offer available shifts to existing part-time employees before hiring new ones;⁹⁴ and
- Laws in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh that provide up to 40 hours of paid leave a year that can be used for the worker's own health needs, to care for a family member or for leave due to domestic abuse or sexual assault.⁹⁵

That organizing continues as leaders in cities across Pennsylvania clamor to break the state's poverty-level minimum wage ceiling. POWER, Pittsburgh UNITED and their allies across the state are leading the [Wage Local](#) campaign to repeal minimum wage preemption. They are right to do so: even a modest increase in the statewide minimum wage to \$10.10 would raise wages for over *one million* workers by adding over \$1.5 billion in new income in their pockets.⁹⁶ Small surprise, then, that in 2020, the bill Wage Local supported to repeal minimum wage preemption had over 50 cosponsors in Pennsylvania's House of Representatives.

The Corporate Forces Stifling Local Wage Raises

Any discussion of the drivers of minimum wage preemption in Pennsylvania must begin with the Pennsylvania Chamber of Business and Industry (the "PA Chamber") and the Chamber of Commerce of Greater Philadelphia (the "Philly Chamber"). The PA Chamber boasts that it "is a leading voice against government mandated minimum wage increases."⁹⁷ It has been a major supporter of the state's preemption of local municipalities setting their own minimum wage policies.⁹⁸ The Philly Chamber has also tried unsuccessfully to gain passage of state legislation preventing local municipalities from passing their own local worker protection measures, such as the fair workweek scheduling and paid sick leave laws noted above.⁹⁹ The PA Chamber and the Philly Chamber have opposed efforts to establish a \$15 minimum wage in Philadelphia.¹⁰⁰

But who are these organizations and why are they working so hard to block local wage increases? First, they are



"If you can't be in business the right way by paying people, then you shouldn't be in business! If you don't want to build a business the right way, then you are making slaves out of your employees. Why not pay these people doing essential work?!"

—FRANCES UPSHAW, POWER ECONOMIC DIGNITY TEAM LEADER



"I'm proud to say that my coworkers and I at the Philadelphia International Airport fought to raise the wage and we are on the path to making \$15/hour. Ending poverty is not just about creating new jobs but improving the jobs that we already have. Here in Philadelphia we have jobs. Many of us work two or three jobs and still live in poverty. Some employers say that they can't afford to pay more. They call \$9/hour a 'competitive wage.' I call it a disgrace.

Harrisburg must raise the minimum wage for all Pennsylvanians. And if that's not something they are willing to do, then they need to rescind the racist preemption law and let Philadelphia raise its own minimum wage. At the airport we've already shown what is possible. We won't stop fighting until every worker is paid what they deserve."—CHARLES PATTON, EXECUTIVE BOARD MEMBER OF UNITE HERE LOCAL 274

principally organizations led by the executives of large corporations. Although the PA Chamber presents itself as the "Statewide Voice of Business," and claims its membership runs "from main street retailers to leaders of industry,"¹⁰¹ small businesses are difficult to find on its board of directors. Of the 60 board members from companies with 2019 public financial reports, *none* of those companies have annual revenue of less than \$20 million. *Almost half (27) of those companies have annual revenues of over \$1 billion.* The leadership of the PA Chamber and Philly Chamber includes household name corporations like Giant, Eat'n Park, Hershey, Wawa and others that Pennsylvanians know well and may indeed patronize as "local" businesses, despite their size. For example, Giant's Google search ad describes the corporation as "[y]our hometown grocer since 1923."¹⁰²

Second, the leadership of the PA and Philly Chambers includes executives of major corporations and institutions that employ or contract for significant numbers of low wage workers and thus may benefit financially from Pennsylvania's inhumane wage laws.

- **Giant Foods** President Nicholas Bertram has been on the PA Chamber's board of directors for six years and is currently the Chair.¹⁰³ He has been a "Diamond Level" contributor to the Chamber's PAC—the highest donor level.¹⁰⁴ Giant Foods pays its baggers \$8-\$9/hour, its cashiers \$9-\$10/hour and its clerks \$10-\$11/hour.¹⁰⁵
- **Eat'n Park Hospitality Groups** CFO Daniel Wilson has been on the PA Chamber's board of directors for over ten years.¹⁰⁶ Eat'n Park pays its greeters and dishwashers \$8/hour, its cooks and bakers \$10-\$11/hour and its waiters and waitresses (tipped employees to whom the \$7.25 minimum wage does not apply) \$3-\$4/hour.¹⁰⁷
- Christy Spoa from the **Save-A-Lot** supermarket chain has been on the PA Chamber's board of directors for over 10 years.¹⁰⁸ Save-A-Lot pays its cashiers and clerks \$9/hour.¹⁰⁹
- **Hershey Entertainment and Resorts** CEO John Lawn is on the PA Chamber's board of directors. Hershey pays ride operators and other workers \$8-\$11/hour.
- **Allied Universal Security** Vice-President of Business Development Jim Smolarski is on the board of the PA Chamber. Allied pays its security officers \$12.45/hour.¹¹⁰

- **Five Below** CEO Joel Anderson is on the Philly Chamber's board of directors.¹¹¹ Five Below pays sales associates and cashiers \$8-\$9/hour.¹¹²
- **Aramark** Chief Growth Officer Keith Bethel served in 2019 and 2020 on the board of the Philly Chamber.¹¹³ Aramark pays food service workers and cashiers \$9-\$10/hour.¹¹⁴
- **Wawa** Government Relations director Richard D Wood III is on the board of directors of the Philly Chamber.¹¹⁵ Wawa pays customer service associates \$11/hour.¹¹⁶
- **Drexel University, Community College of Philadelphia, Temple University, and University of Pennsylvania** all have representatives on the Philly Chamber board. These educational institutions all contract with Allied Universal, which pays its officers \$12.45/hour for their security.

There is thus a clear link between the financial interests of major corporations and institutions represented among the PA and Philly Chambers' directors and the advocacy of those organizations in support of minimum wage preemption. However, it is much less clear whether these corporations have collectively or individually grappled with the devastating impact of the Chambers' policy advocacy on low-wage workers and workers of color. And it remains an open question as to whether, if more small businesses held leadership roles in these organizations, the Chambers would maintain their stance on wage preemption, given the number of Pennsylvania small businesses supporting local minimum wage increases.

The Heavy Hand of ALEC

ALEC has been one of the key architects and drivers of state preemption of local protections for workers, including minimum wages, for over a decade. Because of the harm done by ALEC's policy advocacy, including its support for "stand your ground" laws and climate change denialism, over 100 companies have cut their ties with the organization since 2011.¹¹⁷ However, the PA Chamber maintains relationships with ALEC through its leadership. Several of the corporations represented on the PA Chamber's board continue to participate in ALEC activities or only recently withdrew their membership. **Glaxo Smith Kline's** Senior Director for State

Government Affairs James Campolongo is on the PA Chamber's board and Glaxo Smith Kline attended ALEC's 2019 annual meeting.¹¹⁸ **Merck** executive Steve Mongiardo has a seat on the PA Chamber's board of directors; Merck attended ALEC's 2019 annual meeting.¹¹⁹ **UPS's** PAC director Trayce Parker is on the PA Chamber's board. UPS attended the 2019 ALEC annual meeting. **AT&T and Comcast** did not end their memberships in ALEC until 2018, by which time more than 100 other corporations had already left ALEC over the previous six years.¹²⁰ The president of AT&T Pennsylvania David Kerr is on the PA Chamber's board. AT&T had a seat on ALEC's Private Enterprise Advisory Council and was a regular "Chairman" level sponsor of ALEC's annual conferences.¹²¹ Comcast's vice-president of government affairs James D'Innocenzo is on the PA Chamber's board. Comcast received ALEC's State Chair of the Year Award and served on the Communications and Technology Task Force and the Tax and Fiscal Policy Task Force.¹²²

The PA Chamber's ongoing connection to ALEC calls into question whether the Chamber's advocacy of minimum wage preemption is driven by the actual interests and perspectives of businesses across the state or instead by that of major corporations and national political advocacy groups like ALEC.



A Few Rich White Men Helping Maintain a Colonial Economy

Louisiana has the ignominious distinction of having the longest-lasting deregulation of wages in the country. The state has no minimum wage and prohibits all local minimum wages. This deregulation enables some of the nation's worst economic conditions for Black, women and LGBTQ workers, with Black workers occupying over half of all minimum wage jobs and women workers laboring under the country's worst gender pay gap. But across demographic differences, a majority of Louisiana residents believe that everyone should earn a fair return on their work, and low-wage workers have taken the lead and organized relentlessly for a dignified wage. The people of the state overwhelmingly support a new system: more than 80 percent of Louisianans now back raising the minimum wage. But the rich white men who are part of the leadership of the Louisiana Association of Business and Industry (LABI) have used their resources to help block any change. Their agenda appears to be total deregulation: LABI has argued forcefully against any government role in the relationship between workers and employers. LABI shares this ideology with ALEC and the two organizations maintain close ties.

Louisiana's Deregulated Wage System and the People Fighting Back

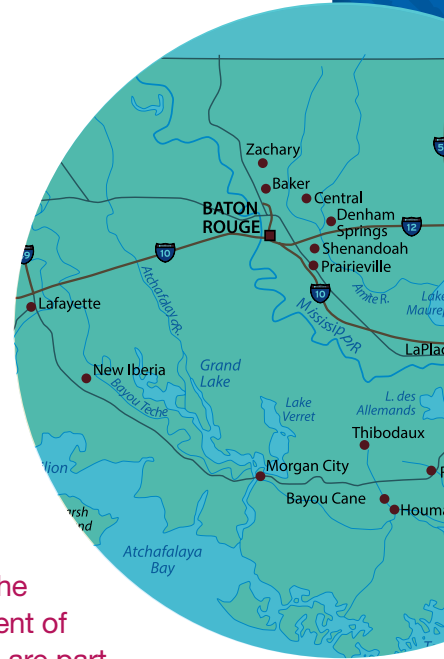
Louisiana offers the ultimate example of wage deregulation. Louisiana is one of just five states that does not have a state-level minimum wage. It was also the first state in the nation to prohibit its cities from establishing a local minimum wage above the federal minimum.¹²³ Louisiana has also prohibited cities and counties from requiring contractors to pay their workers a prevailing wage for public construction projects,¹²⁴ and, in 2012, Louisiana passed a broad law that preempted both local paid leave and minimum wage laws.¹²⁵ As a consequence of this sweeping deregulation, workers must rely on the federal minimum wage law, now requiring \$7.25/hour, for any floor on their compensation. Unfortunately, Louisiana has the highest percentage of workers earning at or below the minimum wage in the nation.¹²⁶

This regime plainly harms workers of color and women most severely. *Sixty percent* of women of color working in the state (including Black, Latina,

Asian or Pacific Islander and Native American women) earn less than \$15/hour, compared to just 24 percent of their white male counterparts.¹²⁷ LGBTQ individuals in Louisiana, 30 percent of whom live in poverty,¹²⁸ also pay a steep price.

Low-wage workers in Louisiana have been organizing to overturn this system and raise wages through grassroots groups and unions, like SEIU, UNITE HERE and the New Orleans Worker Center for Racial Justice. Their efforts have paid off: four in five Louisiana residents (81 percent) support raising the minimum wage, including 72 percent of Republicans polled, and well over half of Louisiana residents support raising the minimum wage to \$15/hour.¹²⁹ They have also carved out successes within the parameters of the state preemption law. For instance, they succeeded in:

- Raising the minimum wage for New Orleans city employees to \$10.10 in 2015; and
- Securing passage of a living wage ordinance in 2016 that requires city contractors and companies that receive tax incentives from the city to pay their employees a minimum wage of \$10.55/hour.¹³⁰





STEP UP LOUISIANA, through the Unleash Local coalition, is continuing to fight to repeal the state ban on local minimum wage and enable people to take back control of their local economies.

The Forces Fighting for a Deregulated Economy

The Louisiana Association of Business and Industry (LABI), the state's most powerful business lobby,¹³¹ has been one of the major opponents of raising the state's minimum wage and one of the main supporters of the state law that prevents cities from setting their own minimum wage.¹³²

LABI exercises an inordinate amount of power in Louisiana law-making. "As somebody who was in the legislature for 16 years as both a senator and a representative, I think big business *owns* the legislature and owns many officials," said Troy Hebert, a Republican who supported Donald Trump.

"The little man is either dead or on life support in the legislature," he said. "I can't tell you how many times I approached legislators with a bill I thought was a good idea to help the little guy and they said, '... This is a really good bill but the problem is LABI is against it and if I vote for it, they're going to ding me on their report card and I'm not gonna get money.'"¹³³

LABI issues an annual Legislative Scorecard that tracks whether legislators voted for or against LABI's priorities. In 2020, nearly 70 percent of all Louisiana legislators were recognized as "Session Champions" for scoring above 80 percent on bills LABI identified as important. Almost 50 percent of the entire legislature were named as "Most Valuable Policymakers" (MVPs) for scoring a perfect 100 percent on bills important to LABI.¹³⁴



Some of the wealthiest and most powerful individuals in Louisiana make up the leadership of LABI. Two of the biggest donors to the LABI PAC are Lane Grigsby and Art Favre.

- **Lane Grigsby** is the Chairman Emeritus of the LABI Board of Directors.¹³⁵ He sits on the organization's executive committee and chairs LABI's Education and Workforce Development Council.¹³⁶ He has "outsized influence" within LABI.¹³⁷ Grigsby has given millions of dollars to conservative candidates and PACs.¹³⁸
- **Art Favre** is a past chairman of LABI¹³⁹ and current executive committee member. Favre is the founder and president of Performance Contractors, the fourth largest private company in the state, with over \$1.2 billion in annual revenue and 8,000 employees across the U.S.¹⁴⁰

In addition to Lane Grigsby and Art Favre, LABI's Executive Committee also includes executives from **AT&T, Dow Chemical, Exxon Mobil and Koch Companies**.¹⁴¹

Why are these individuals working to maintain wage deregulation against overwhelming public opinion and the interest of so many Louisianans? Unlike in other states, few of these corporations driving public policy employ a significant low-wage workforce, and thus do not appear to have an immediate financial interest in maintaining state wage preemption. Instead, the available evidence suggests their interest is both ideological and economic; they appear to be interested in generally removing all government intervention in the economy.



In 2019, LABI played a key role in defeating a bill that would have revoked the state preemption of minimum wages and would have allowed municipalities in Louisiana to set their own minimum wage or establish paid leave requirements (HB 422).¹⁴² LABI's Vice President of Government Relations described the organization's rationale in far broader terms than those normally used in debates over wage preemption: "We do not think government interference in the market to determine wage levels is appropriate."¹⁴³

Lawmakers aligning with LABI carried a similar tune. State Rep. Dodie Horton, a member of the House Labor Committee and a LABI 'Most Valuable Policymaker' (MVP), said, "Instead of becoming Nazi Germany or socialist Venezuela, we allow companies the freedom... to pay what they choose."¹⁴⁴ The main legislator who led the fight to defeat the bill was State Rep. Blake Miguez. "I care about the working class of this state, which is why I blocked giving parishes the power to adjust their own wages," Miguez said,¹⁴⁵ "I believe if you let capitalism work, it'll breed hunger inside of people's stomachs to go out there and do it better for themselves."¹⁴⁶

Similar evidence of a bold ideological motive can be found in LABI's successful effort in 2017 to defeat a bill (SB 153) to establish a state minimum wage of \$8.00/hour in 2018 and \$8.50/hour in 2019. LABI's Vice-President of Government Relations, Jim Patterson, said at the time that LABI believes "in a marketplace that dictates the wages" based on

employees' skills, and that raising the minimum wage would make it artificially higher than the value of the workers.¹⁴⁷ Patterson falsely¹⁴⁸ alleged that wages needed no regulation because minimum wage earners were teenagers and single individuals, both of whom would quickly earn more without government intervention:¹⁴⁹

Those individuals who are young and low-skilled depend upon that minimum wage as an entry level or starting wage, a training wage, if you will. It's the first rung on the ladder of employment. It gives them an opportunity to both show what they can do and to learn. Generally speaking, individuals do not remain at this level for very long because they do advance by virtue of the improvement in their experience and their skill.¹⁵⁰

This statement, while seemingly revealing with regard to LABI's worldview, was also plainly inaccurate. The Louisiana Budget Project's research shows that at the time Patterson made this statement, 59 percent of Louisianans who earned less than \$8.50/hour were 25 years or older; 19 percent of those earning less than \$8.50 were single parents and another 16 percent were married with children; and half of those earning less than \$8.50/hour worked 35 hours or more a week.¹⁵¹

The Heavy Hand of ALEC

Given LABI's powerful advancement of a sweeping deregulatory agenda, it is of little surprise that substantial connections exist between LABI and ALEC. Koch Industries, a representative of which sits on LABI's Executive Committee,¹⁵² is heavily involved with ALEC. Koch Industries has been and continues to be a longtime member and funder of ALEC.¹⁵³

In addition, AT&T, Dow Chemical and Exxon Mobil all have representatives on LABI's Executive Committee and were long-time members of ALEC. AT&T had a seat on ALEC's Private Enterprise Advisory Council and was a regular "Chairman" level sponsor of ALEC's annual conferences.¹⁵⁴ Dow Chemical was on ALEC's Energy, Environment, and Agriculture Task Force and a regular "Director" level sponsor of several of ALEC's annual conferences.¹⁵⁵ Exxon Mobil was on ALEC's Private Enterprise board and a member of several task forces. The company paid \$50,000 to be a "Chairman" level sponsor of several of ALEC's annual conferences.¹⁵⁶

Big Landlords Holding on to Unchecked Rents

People in Colorado and Michigan may be separated by geography, but they share a vision for a future with healthy, safe places they can afford to call home. Together, they have fought for that vision, working to change the laws and put in place funds for affordable housing. They also share a common obstacle to achieving that vision: massive corporate landlords. In both states, some of the nation's largest landlords hold positions of power in state and local apartment associations, which have prevented any limitation on rents in either state. This corporate-driven housing policy landscape has left hundreds of thousands paying more than they can afford for rent, with far greater percentages of people of color suffering this burden compared to their white peers.

The Unsparing Rental Market and the Champions for Local Renters

Colorado and Michigan, both home to booming real estate markets,¹⁵⁷ have no limitation on the rents landlords can charge. Both states prohibit local rent control. Unchecked rents are doing damage across both states. In Colorado, 280,000 households are paying over half of their income for housing.¹⁵⁸ In Michigan, almost half (45 percent) of the state's renters are cost-burdened.¹⁵⁹

But this damage is greater for Black, Latinx and Asian American households. About 69 percent of white households in Colorado own their own homes – nearly twice the rate of Black homeownership in the state, which is 36 percent. Just 48 percent of Latinos in Colorado own their homes.¹⁶⁰ More than half of Latino renters in Colorado are cost-burdened.¹⁶¹ In Michigan, the African American homeownership rate dropped from 49 percent in 2007 to 42 percent in 2017. In Detroit, it fell from 54 percent in 2007 to 35 percent in 2017.¹⁶² In Detroit, where Black people account for 80 percent of the city's population,¹⁶³ nearly 60 percent (59 percent) of renters are cost-burdened.¹⁶⁴ Nearly 30 percent of Asian American households in both states (29 percent) pay more than half of their income on rent.¹⁶⁵

Organized groups of renters in Michigan have pushed to repeal the state law preempting local rent control policies.¹⁶⁶ Organized groups in Colorado, including UNE Colorado, 9to5 Colorado and Colorado Homes for All have also pushed to repeal the state law preempting local rent control policies and were able to get a 2019 bill out of its Senate Committee but did not get any further.¹⁶⁷

While cities can't enact local rental control ordinances, they can take other actions, and in 2016, thanks to the work of some of these same organizations, Denver instituted an affordable housing trust fund. The city requires all developers to pay a linkage fee on commercial and residential development into the fund, which will build affordable housing.¹⁶⁸ In 2017, UNE knocked on over 5000 doors and surveyed hundreds of residents, using this data to successfully advocate for solutions to the housing crisis in Westminster, CO that included an affordable housing trust fund, a legal aid clinic and an increase in the number of housing inspectors.

The Corporate Landlords Blocking Rent Control

In both states, corporate landlords, including some of the nation's largest, hold leadership positions in the associations leading the effort to maintain the ban on local rent control. Greystar Real Estate, the largest property manager in the country, has representatives serving as the President and Secretary of the Colorado Apartment Association and as the Vice President of the



Apartment Association of Michigan. The corporations represented among the directors of these associations together own over 750 properties and nearly 150,000 apartment units across the two states.

In Colorado, the Apartment Association of Metro Denver (AAMD)¹⁶⁹ and the Colorado Apartment Association (CAA)¹⁷⁰ were the main opponents of SB 19-225 (2019), which would have lifted the statewide preemption of local rent control policies. Together, the directors of the AAMD and CAA own over 450 properties with almost 90,000 units in Colorado.

- **Greystar Real Estate** manages 2,400 properties in 42 states with 660,000 units,¹⁷¹ more than any other property manager in the U.S.,¹⁷² and is also the seventh largest apartment owner in the country.¹⁷³ Greystar has three representatives on the AAMD board and three representatives on the CAA board, including the President-Elect and Secretary.¹⁷⁴
- **BH Management** is the eighth largest property manager and the 16th largest owner in the U.S.¹⁷⁵ A BH Management representative sits on the AAMD board and is the current CAA President.¹⁷⁶

In addition, as the table below shows, several of the large corporations holding leadership positions in AAMD and CAA are headquartered outside of Colorado.

“Some renters in Ypsilanti are facing monthly increases up to \$200. And the market has moved so quickly over the last 5 years that there are fewer places to turn for housing that is affordable for those earning the median income. We do have rent control—it is just controlled by private interests for profit. The preemption law stops the local community from being able to have a say about what residents need in order to live and thrive here.” —DESIRAE SIMMONS, CO-DIRECTOR, INTERFAITH COUNCIL FOR PEACE AND JUSTICE



HQ	COMPANY	REPRESENTATIVES ON AAMD BOARD	REPRESENTATIVES ON CAA BOARD	CO PROPERTIES	CO APARTMENT UNITS	TOTALS IN U.S.
Charleston, SC	Greystar	Heather Sandoval Taylor Mueller Rocky Sundling	Brandon Rich, President Elect Tina Luck, Secretary Rocky Sundling	145	33,627	Largest apartment manager in U.S.. ¹⁷⁷ Manages 2,400 properties with 660,000 units in 42 states. ¹⁷⁸ 7th largest apartment owner, 500 properties and 130,000 units in 21 states. ¹⁷⁹
Des Moines, IA	BH Management	Dori Brewer	Dori Brewer, President	2	1,879	8 th largest apartment manager in U.S.. ¹⁸⁰ with over 300 properties with 94,000 units ¹⁸¹ 16th largest owner with 56,000 units ¹⁸²
Seattle	Weidner Apts		Robert Carr	18	2,831	15 th largest owner and 24 th largest manager of apartments in U.S. with 260 buildings and 56,000 units ¹⁸³
San Diego	ConAm	Kellea Jeffrey Chris Beno		13	2,023	Manages 53,000 apartment units in 7 states. 22 nd largest apartment manager in U.S.. ¹⁸⁴
Colorado	AIMCO	Duke McLarty	Duke McLarty	9	2,141	39 th largest apartment manager in U.S.. ¹⁸⁵ 30th largest owner ¹⁸⁶ Owns 124 properties with 33,000 apartment units ¹⁸⁷
Seattle, WA	Security Properties	Lisa Odle		9	2,336	44 th largest owner ¹⁸⁸ with 126 properties with 25,000 units ¹⁸⁹
Colorado	Mission Rock Residential	Janelle French, President Nicole Hildebrand Dan Heap	Janelle French Toni Moyes Meredith Wright	34	7,695	Manages over 100 properties with 25,000 apartment units in 16 states ¹⁹⁰

HQ	COMPANY	REPRESENTATIVES ON AAMD BOARD	REPRESENTATIVES ON CAA BOARD	CO PROPERTIES	CO APARTMENT UNITS	TOTALS IN U.S.
Colorado	Echelon Property Group	Amie Robertshaw, Treasurer Mara Freese Jennifer Henderson	Amie Robertshaw	60	12,408	12,000+ units ¹⁹¹
Indiana	Watermark Residential	Tamera Greene		4	1,050	12,000 units
Chicago	29 th Street Capital	Jay Neal		10	1,044	Owns over 10,000 units ¹⁹²
Colorado	Griffis & Blessing	Scott Kirkwood Jami Plchot	Scott Kirkwood Kerry Egelston	51	8,000	7,500 units ¹⁹³
Colorado	RedPeak	Jared Miller, Sec Lori Snider Geoff Roth	Bobby Hutchinson Mark Windhager	46	3,180	20 apartment complexes with 3,000 units ¹⁹⁴
Colorado	Four Mile Capital	Terry Simone	Terry Simone, Past President	1	79	Owns 14 properties with 1,800 units ¹⁹⁵
Colorado	McWhinney		Stephanie Brock	19	7,577	
Colorado	ZF Capital	Mike Zoellner	Mike Zoellner	9	1,544	
Colorado	IPM		Debbi King	31	404	
Colorado	Aviva	Danette Barrett		1	152	
Colorado	Grand West		Dana Lowry	4	24	
TOTAL				466	87,994	

In Michigan, the Apartment Association of Michigan (AAM) boasts that the preemption of local rent control is one of the most significant legislative accomplishments in its history.¹⁹⁶ The AAM also specifically opposed legislation in 2017¹⁹⁷ (HB 4456) and in 2020¹⁹⁸ (SB 1129) that would have repealed rent control preemption. Together, the directors of the AAM own over 300 properties with 60,000 total units in Michigan. The officers of the AAM include representatives of very large landlords.¹⁹⁹

- **Greystar Real Estate** is the largest property manager and the seventh largest owner in the U.S. A Greystar representative is a Vice-President on the AAM board.
- According to AAM materials, **Edward Rose and Sons** is the sixth largest apartment owner and 15th largest manager in the U.S. Its CEO, Warren Rose is the AAM President.²⁰⁰

CORP HQ	COMPANY	REPRESENTATIVES ON AAM BOARD	MI PROPERTIES	MI APARTMENT UNITS	TOTALS IN U.S.
South Carolina	Greystar Bel/ Commercial Property Advisors	Cary Belovicz, VP	33	2,807	Manages 2,400 properties with 660,000 units in 42 states, ²⁰¹ making it the largest apartment manager in the U.S. ²⁰² Is the 7 th largest apartment owner with 500 properties and 130,000 units in 21 states. ²⁰³
Michigan	Edward Rose and Sons	Warren Rose, President	38	19,478	6th largest apartment owner in the U.S. with 64,600 units. ²⁰⁴ 15th largest manager—65,000 units ²⁰⁵
Michigan	Princeton Enterprises	Karlene Lehman, 1 st VP Matthew Lester, Past Pres	91	15,050	Operates 110 properties with 20,000 units 15 states. ²⁰⁶
Michigan	Amber Properties	Allen Amber, Past President	29	1,491	29 properties in Michigan
Michigan	Ressco	Shawn Stafford, VP	14	1,770	16 properties
Pennsylvania/ Michigan	Berkadia Hendricks & Sons	Kevin Dillon, VP Michael Tobin, VP	8	1,858	Owned by Berkshire Hathaway. Mortgage lender for multi-family properties.
Michigan	Kuhn Investment	Andrew Kuhn, VP	1	400	Mortgage lender for multi-family properties.

CORP HQ	COMPANY	REPRESENTATIVES ON AAM BOARD	MI PROPERTIES	MI APARTMENT UNITS	TOTALS IN U.S.
Michigan	Kaftan Enterprises	Jeffrey Kaftan, Past President Melvin Kaftan	21	2,384	
Michigan	R&R Management	Jay Brody, VP	4	1,484	
Michigan	LR Management	Leslie Etterbeek, VP	25	4,619	
Michigan	Woodbury Property Blezniak Real Estate	Mitchell Blezniak, VP	8	1,926	
Michigan	Cormorant	Harold Kullish	33	2,807	
Michigan	Income Property Organization	Gregory Coulter	19	2,274	
Michigan	Professional Property Mgmt	George Nyman, Past President	10	1,522	
TOTAL			334	59,870	

Conclusion



The appalling injustice of the economic systems profiled in this report, in which women, people of color and LGBTQ individuals earn poverty wages or are simply unable to afford rent, can only be sustained through restrictions on democracy. And that is what the corporations highlighted in this report have obtained and preserved in the five states: a democracy that is universally accessible to large corporate employers and landlords but limited for workers and tenants. Fortunately, in each of the states, people are valiantly organizing for the better future they need and deserve. If they succeed, it will benefit all of us.

Endnotes:

1. Worker misclassification' refers to the practice of unlawfully treating workers as independent contractors rather than as employees
2. "Amid Federal Gridlock, Lobbying Rises in the States," Center for Public Integrity, Liz Esley Whyte and Ben Wieder, May 18, 2016, available at <https://publicintegrity.org/politics/state-politics/amid-federal-gridlock-lobbying-rises-in-the-states/> (accessed March 23, 2021).
3. *Id.*
4. "Buying Influence: How the American Legislative Exchange Council Uses Corporate-Funded 'Scholarships' to Send Lawmakers on Trips with Corporate Lobbyists," Center for Media and Democracy, D.B.A. Press and Common Cause, 2013.
5. "City governments are raising standards for working people—and state legislators are lowering them back down," Economic Policy Institute, Marny Von Wilpart, August 26, 2017, available at <https://www.epi.org/publication/city-governments-are-raising-standards-for-working-people-and-state-legislators-are-lowering-them-back-down/> (accessed March 23, 2021).
6. "Corporations that Have Cut Ties to ALEC," The Center for Media and Democracy, available at [https://www.sourcewatch.org/index.php/Corporations that Have Cut Ties to ALEC](https://www.sourcewatch.org/index.php/Corporations_that_Have_Cut_Ties_to_ALEC) (accessed March 23, 2021).
7. "Uber State Interference:How Transportation Network Companies Buy, Bully, and Bamboozle Their Way To Deregulation," Partnership for Working Families and National Employment Law Project, Joy Borkholder, Mariah Montgomery, Miya Saika Chen, Rebecca Smith, January 2018, available at <https://www.forworkingfamilies.org/sites/default/files/publications/Uber%20State%20Interference%20Jan%202018.pdf>.
8. *Id.*
9. "Rigging the Gig:How Uber, Lyft, and DoorDash's Ballot Initiative Would Put Corporations Above the Law and Steal Wages, Benefits, and Protections from California Workers,"Partnership for Working Families and National Employment Law Project, Rey Fuentes, Rebecca Smith, and Brian Chen, July 2020, available at https://www.forworkingfamilies.org/sites/default/files/publications/Rigging%20the%20Gig_Final%2007.07.2020.pdf.
10. "States Preempting Local Laws are an Extension of Jim Crow, Partnership for Working families, August 29, 2017, available at <https://www.forworkingfamilies.org/blog/states-preempting-local-laws-are-extension-jim-crow>.
11. 'Inclusionary zoning' means measures that require the inclusion of affordable housing units in otherwise market rate residential development projects.
12. Tenn. Code Ann. § 66-35-102.
13. "Few Rewards: An Agenda to Give America's Working Poor a Raise," Oxfam America and the Economic Policy Institute, June 22, 2016.
14. U.S. Census Bureau, American Community Survey 2012-2016 5-Year Estimates, Table B17012, accessed February 28, 2019, <https://factfinder.census.gov>.
15. "The Economic Status of Women in Tennessee," Institute for Women's Policy Research, March 2018.
16. Alex Baptiste, "Paid Sick Days Promote Women's Health," National Partnership for Women and Families, May 16, 2018, <http://www.paidsickdays.org/blog/i.html?id=874816897#.W9pcZpNKj-Y>.
17. "Out of Reach 2018: Tennessee," National Low Income Housing Coalition, accessed March 3, 2019, <https://reports.nlihc.org/oor/tennessee>.
18. Benjamin Schneider, "CityLab University: Inclusionary Zoning," Bloomberg CityLab, July 17, 2018, available at <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2018-07-17/inclusionary-zoning-everything-you-need-to-know>.
19. Joey Garrison, "Nashville needs 31,000 new affordable housing rental units by 2025, report says," The Tennessean, May 23, 2017, available at <https://www.tennessean.com/story/news/2017/05/23/nashville-affordable-housing-shortage/339238001/>.
20. "The CDC banned evictions. Tens of thousands have still occurred," CNBC, Annie Nova, December 5, 2020.
21. "Black home ownership still below pre-recession levels in some parts of Tennessee," *Tennessean*, Mike Reicher, July 9, 2017.
22. "Black home ownership still below pre-recession levels in some parts of Tennessee," *Tennessean*, Mike Reicher, July 9, 2017.
23. "Renter Cost Burdens by Race and Ethnicity," Joint Center for Housing Studies of Harvard University.

24. Angie Maxwell, "What we get wrong about the Southern strategy," *The Washington Post*, July 26, 2019, available at <https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/2019/07/26/what-we-get-wrong-about-southern-strategy/>.
25. Stand Up Nashville on State Interference, Stand Up Nashville, August 12, 2020, available at <https://standupnashville.org/stand-up-nashville-on-state-interference/>.
26. Tennessee Chamber of Commerce 2013-2014 Jobs Agenda.
27. "State Legislature Adjourns – Highlights of 2013 Session," Nashville Chamber of Commerce blog, Adam Lister, April 19, 2013.
28. "NFIB Joins Other Business Groups in Opposing Harmful Wage Mandates in TN," NFIB Press Release, February 18, 2020.
29. Tennessee Retail Association 2018 Form 990.
30. <https://www.tngrocer.org/about.html>, accessed November 25, 2020.
31. Glassdoor.com, accessed November 25, 2020.
32. <https://www.tngrocer.org/about.html>, accessed November 25, 2020.
33. Glassdoor.com, accessed November 25, 2020.
34. Tennessee Retail Association 2018 Form 990.
35. Glassdoor.com, accessed November 25, 2020.
36. "The Companies Putting Profits Ahead of Public Health," *The New York Times*, Editorial Board, March 14, 2020.
37. "The Companies Putting Profits Ahead of Public Health," *The New York Times*, Editorial Board, March 14, 2020.
38. <http://corporate.publix.com/about-publix/company-overview/facts-figures>, accessed November 25, 2020.
39. Kroger 2019 Annual Report.
40. Dollar General 2019 Annual Report.
41. Nashvillechamber.com, accessed November 25, 2020.
42. <https://www.nashvillechamber.com/investors>.
43. <https://tnchamber.org/about/cornerstone-members/>.
44. <https://www.glassdoor.com/Salary/Asurion-Salaries-E16924.htm>.
45. www.nashvillechamber.com, accessed November 25, 2020.
46. <https://www.nashvillechamber.com/investors>, accessed November 25, 2020.
47. Glassdoor.com, accessed November 25, 2020.
48. <https://www.nashvillechamber.com/investors>, accessed November 25, 2020.
49. <https://tnchamber.org/about/cornerstone-members/>, accessed November 25, 2020.
50. "May 2019 State Occupational Employment and Wage Estimates Tennessee," US Bureau of Labor Statistics.
51. <https://www.nashvillechamber.com/about>, accessed November 25, 2020.
52. "Rent law limits affordable housing options," *The Tennessean*, Joey Garrison, November 12, 2015; State bill would prohibit affordable housing mandates," *The Tennessean*, Joey Garrison, January 19, 2016.
53. "With rent escalating, Metro asks developers to help solve affordable housing issue," *Nashville Business Journal*, Adam Sichko, October 12, 2015; "Comments for the July 21, 2016 Planning Commission special called meeting, received July 20-21," Jarron Springer, July 21, 2016; "News and Events," Greater Nashville Apartment Association, February 7, 2016.
54. <https://www.tnaa.org/affiliates.html>, accessed November 24, 2020.
55. National Multifamily Housing Council, 2019 Rankings, NMHC 50 Largest Apartment Managers.
56. National Multifamily Housing Council, 2020 Rankings, NMHC 50 Largest Apartment Owners.
57. <https://www.fogelman.com/>, accessed November 24, 2020.

58. <https://www.brooksideproperties.com/about-us>, accessed November 24, 2020.
59. “Eviction Actions by Corporate Landlords Increase Despite CDC Moratorium, Recent Surge in COVID-19 Cases,” Private Equity Stakeholder Project, November 23, 2020.
60. “Business Insider Summer/ Fall 2019,” Tennessee Chamber of Commerce and Industry.
61. <https://tnchamber.org/about/cornerstone-members/>, accessed November 25, 2020.
62. “AT&T Drops ALEC for Hosting Hate Speech,” PR Watch, David Armiak, November 30, 2018.
63. “Charles Koch Ramps Up Investment in ALEC as the Lobbying Group Loses Corporate Funders Over Far-Right Ties,” *The Intercept*, Lee Fang, Nick Surgery, November 29, 2018.
64. “Business Insider Summer/ Fall 2019,” Tennessee Chamber of Commerce and Industry.
65. <https://tnchamber.org/about/cornerstone-members/>, accessed November 25, 2020.
66. <https://www.sourcewatch.org/index.php?title=FedEx>, accessed November 25, 2020.
67. <https://documented.net/alec-2019-annual-meeting-attendee-list/>, accessed November 25, 2020.
68. “Business Insider Summer/ Fall 2019,” Tennessee Chamber of Commerce and Industry.
69. <https://tnchamber.org/about/cornerstone-members/>.
70. <https://www.alec.org/about/leadership/>, accessed November 25, 2020.
71. “Tennessee Chamber of Commerce and Industry Announces Board Appointments,” *The Chattanooga*, December 6, 2019.
72. <https://tnchamber.org/about/cornerstone-members/>.
73. <https://www.alec.org/about/leadership/>, accessed November 25, 2020.
74. <https://www.alec.org/about/leadership/>, accessed November 25, 2020.
75. https://www.pachamber.org/media/2956/2019_Board_of_Directors_120519/.
76. https://www.pachamber.org/membership/have_a_bigger_voice/investor_membership/members/.
77. https://www.pachamber.org/events/details/2055/bringing_pa_back_rise_to_the_challenge/#sponsors.
78. <https://labi.org/newsroom/labi-announces-2019-board-of-directors-members-of-the-emerging-leaders-council>.
79. “Business Insider Summer/ Fall 2019,” Tennessee Chamber of Commerce and Industry.
80. Greg Akers and Meg Garner, “Four Memphis execs join board of statewide business group,” *Memphis Business Journal*, December 9, 2019, available at: <https://www.bizjournals.com/memphis/news/2019/12/09/four-memphis-execs-join-board-of-statewide.html>.
81. <https://tnchamber.org/about/cornerstone-members/>.
82. <http://tnchamber.chambermaster.com/events/details/2020-public-affairs-conference-hybrid-event-nov-5-2591>.
83. David Armiak, “AT&T Drops ALEC for Hosting Hate Speech,” PRWatch, November 30, 2018, available at: <https://prwatch.org/news/2018/11/13428/att-drops-alec-hosting-hate-speech>.
84. David Armiak, “Comcast Is Latest Telecommunications Company to Drop ALEC,” PRWatch, May 29, 2019, available at: <https://www.prwatch.org/news/2019/05/13474/comcast-latest-telecommunications-company-drop-alec>.
85. “Philadelphia 2020: State of the City,” Pew Charitable Trusts, April 7, 2020.
86. “The State of Housing Affordability in Philadelphia,” Pew Charitable Trusts, September 10, 2020, available at <https://www.pewtrusts.org/en/research-and-analysis/reports/2020/09/the-state-of-housing-affordability-in-philadelphia>.
87. *Id.*
88. <https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/fact/table/philadelphiacitypennsylvania,US/PST045219>, accessed Nov 26, 2020.
89. “Analysis of the Pennsylvania Minimum Wage,” Pennsylvania Department of Labor and Industry, Minimum Wage Advisory Board, March 2020.

90. "Still going in to work in Pennsylvania amid the coronavirus? Chances are, you're a low-wage worker, data show," Jessica Calefati, *Philadelphia Inquirer*, April 21, 2020; "Pennsylvania's Beginning of Quarter Employment: Counts by Worker Race and NAICS 3-digit Subsectors" Q1 2021 U.S. Census Bureau, QWI Explorer, available at qwiexplorer.ces.census.gov (last accessed March 22, 2021).
91. "LGBT Poverty in the United States," Williams Institute, M. V. Lee Badgett, et al., October 2019, p. 12.
92. "Philly voters supported a \$15 minimum wage in Tuesday's election. Now what?" Ogeltree.com, Rachel Stone, January 9, 2019.
93. "Philly has the lowest minimum wage of an major U.S. city, new study says," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, Juliana Feliciano Reyes, May 22, 2019.
94. "2020 is set to be a big year for Philly workers. Here's what to watch for in City Hall," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, Juliana Feliciano Reyes, January 76, 2020.
95. "Taking a Sick Day is Getting Easier in Pittsburgh," *Juris Magazine*, Samantha Cook, March 26, 2020.
96. "Raising the Federal Minimum Wage to \$10.10 Would Lift Wages for Millions and Provide a Modest Economic Boost," Economic Policy Institute, David Cooper, December 19, 2013, available at: <https://www.epi.org/publication/raising-federal-minimum-wage-to-1010/>.
97. https://www.pachamber.org/advocacy/legislative_agenda/labor/employment_wage/minimum_wage/, accessed November 25, 2020.
98. Memo to House Labor Committee in Support of Multiple Labor Related Bills from Alex Harper, Director, Government Affairs, PA Chamber of Business and Industry, September 24, 2018; "When City Hall leans on Philly business, do workers win?" *Philadelphia Inquirer*, Joseph DiStefano, September 3, 2018.
99. "When City Hall leans on Philly business, do workers win?" *Philadelphia Inquirer*, Joseph N. DiStefano, September. 3, 2018.
100. "A \$15 minimum wage? Council will consider it, but they'd wind up in court," BillyPenn.com, Anna Orso, March 2, 2015.
101. <https://www.pachamber.org/>.
102. Google search results ad for Giant Food Stores, conducted March 23, 2021.
103. Catalyst, PA Chamber of Business and Industry, Winter 2021.
104. *Catalyst*, Winter 2020, Pennsylvania Chamber of Business and Industry.
105. Glassdoor.com, accessed November 26, 2020.
106. Pennsylvania Chamber of Business and Industry Form 990s.
107. Glassdoor.com, accessed November 26, 2020.
108. Pennsylvania Chamber of Business and Industry Form 990s.
109. Glassdoor.com, accessed November 26, 2020.
110. Philadelphia Security Contractors Agreement with SEIU 32BJ, Effective October 1, 2016 – September 30, 2020.
111. <https://chamberphl.com/about/board-of-directors/>, accessed November 26, 2020.
112. Glassdoor.com, accessed November 26, 2020.
113. <https://chamberphl.com/about/board-of-directors/>, accessed November 26, 2020.
114. Glassdoor.com, accessed November 26, 2020.
115. <https://chamberphl.com/about/board-of-directors/>, accessed November 26, 2020.
116. Glassdoor.com, accessed November 26, 2020.
117. "ALEC Lost Membership Worth Over \$7 Trillion in Market Cap," PRWatch, Kurt Davies, November 30, 2018, available at: <https://www.prwatch.org/news/2018/11/13426/alec-lost-membership-worth-over-7-trillion-market-cap>.
118. <https://documented.net/alec-2019-annual-meeting-attendee-list/>, accessed November 25, 2020.

119. <https://documented.net/alec-2019-annual-meeting-attendee-list/>, accessed November 25, 2020.
120. “Charles Koch Ramps Up Investment in ALEC as the Lobbying Group Loses Corporate Funders Over Far-Right Ties,” *The Intercept*, Lee Fang, Nick Surgery, November 29, 2018.
121. “AT&T Drops ALEC for Hosting Hate Speech,” PR Watch, David Armiak, November 30, 2018.
122. “Comcast is Latest Telecommunications Company to Drop ALEC,” PRWatch.org, David Armiak, May 29, 2019.
123. La. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 23:642.
124. La. Stat. Ann. § 38:2225.5.
125. La. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 23:642.
126. Jeannie Donovan, “It’s Time to Raise the Wage in Louisiana,” Louisiana Budget Project, March 2018, available at: https://www.labudget.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/2018-minimum-wage-brief_JD_040218.pdf.
127. “Employment Equity: Louisiana’s Path to Inclusive Prosperity” Power Coalition for Equity and Justice, et al., James A. Crowder Jr. with Justin Scoggins and Sarah Treuhaft, December 2018, p. 7.
128. “LGBT Poverty in the United States,” Williams Institute, M. V. Lee Badgett, et al., October 2019, p. 12.
129. “The Louisiana Survey 2019,” LSU Reilly Center for Media and Public Affairs.
130. “‘Living wage’ ordinance approved by New Orleans City Council to address worsening inequality,” *The Advocate*, Jeff Adelson, August 7, 2015.
131. “Who’s Lane Grigsby? Meet Baton Rouge contractor who plays big role in Louisiana politics,” *The Advocate*, Tyler Bridges, October 26, 2019.
132. “Because of Louisiana, the Minimum Wage in New Orleans is a Poverty Wage,” *Bloomberg City Lab*, Anthony Alefosio, Sharika Evans and Peter Robbins-Brown, February 22, 2019; “Louisiana residents won’t vote on \$9 minimum wage after bill falls ‘woefully’ short in Senate,” *The Advocate*, Sam Karlin, May 21, 2019.
133. “Politics does make strange bedfellows: I recently found myself in agreement with (gasp!) nemesis Troy Hebert,” *Louisiana Voice*, September 10, 2019.
134. “LABI Releases Annual Legislative Scorecard, Heralds Bipartisan Achievements in Both Sessions,” LABI Press Release, August 19, 2020.
135. “Erector Set: Power\$ Behind the Hoped-for Throne,” *Bayou Brief*, Sue Lincoln, October 6, 2019.
136. “Erector Set: Power\$ Behind the Hoped-for Throne,” *Bayou Brief*, Sue Lincoln, October 6, 2019.
137. “Who’s Lane Grigsby? Meet Baton Rouge contractor who plays big role in Louisiana politics,” *The Advocate*, Tyler Bridges, October 26, 2019.
138. “Who’s Lane Grigsby? Meet Baton Rouge contractor who plays big role in Louisiana politics,” *The Advocate*, Tyler Bridges, October 26, 2019.
139. “Erector Set: Power\$ Behind the Hoped-for Throne,” *Bayou Brief*, Sue Lincoln, October 6, 2019.
140. <https://www.prnewswire.com/news-releases/performance-contractors-celebrates-40-years-of-high-quality-safe-industrial-construction-300961612.html>.
141. <https://www.labi.org/about/board-of-directors>.
142. “Proposal to let Louisiana cities set own minimum wage shot down after passionate debate,” *The Advocate*, Sam Karlin, May 16, 2019.
143. “Lawmakers refuse to let Louisiana cities raise minimum wage,” *New Orleans City Business*, Associated Press, May 26, 2019.
144. “Proposal to let Louisiana cities set own minimum wage shot down after passionate debate,” *The Advocate*, Sam Karlin, May 16, 2019.
145. “Finally, Louisiana Passes Major Bipartisan Legislation that Will Improve the Lives of its Working Class, Louisiana Today, June 14, 2019.
146. “Should locals set their own minimum wage? A fresh idea gets rude awakening in Louisiana legislature,” *The Advocate*, Sam Karlin, April 15, 2019.

147. "LABI: raising 'state' minimum wage is a well-intentioned mistake," Talk1073.com, Brian Haldane, May 18, 2017.
148. "Policy brief: SB 153 establishes a minimum wage for Louisians," Louisiana Budget Project, May 23, 2017.
149. "LABI: raising 'state' minimum wage is a well-intentioned mistake," Talk1073.com, Brian Haldane, May 18, 2017.
150. "LABI: raising 'state' minimum wage is a well-intentioned mistake," Talk1073.com, Brian Haldane, May 18, 2017.
151. "Policy brief: SB 153 establishes a minimum wage for Louisians," Louisiana Budget Project, May 23, 2017.
152. <https://www.labi.org/about/board-of-directors>.
153. "Who Still Funds ALEC?" Common Cause, Jay Riestenberg, March 24, 2015.
154. "ALEC Drops ALEC for Hosting Hate Speech," PR Watch, David Armiak, November 30, 2018.
155. https://www.sourcewatch.org/index.php?title=ALEC_Corporations#cite_note-EEAMeetingMaterials-10, accessed November 24, 2020.
156. https://www.sourcewatch.org/index.php?title=ALEC_Corporations#cite_note-EEAMeetingMaterials-10, accessed November 24, 2020.
157. Aaron Mondry, "The economy is in distress. But in 2020, Metro Detroit's housing market took off," detour Detroit, December 15, 2020, available at: <https://detourdetroit.com/metro-detroit-housing-market-booms-in-2020/>; Diana Olick, "These are the five hottest – and three coldest – markets for home prices in 2021," CNBC, January 21, 2021, available at: <https://www.cnbc.com/2021/01/21/best-real-estate-markets-2021.html>.
158. Joe Rubino, "Colorado's affordable housing war chest will grow by millions in the coming years. Will it be enough?" Denver Post, August 25, 2019, available at: <https://www.denverpost.com/2019/08/25/colorado-affordable-housing-funding/>.
159. Michigan Statewide Housing Needs Assessment, Michigan State Housing Department, April 2019, p. 53, available at: https://www.michigan.gov/documents/mshda/MSHDA-Statewide-Housing-Needs-web_653602_7.pdf.
160. "The Racial Wealth Gap in Colorado," The Colorado Trust, February 3, 2016.
161. "Latinos in Colorado: Economic Standing of Latino Families in the Centennial State," Unidos US Fact Sheet, October 2019.
162. "African-American homeownership rates on the decline in southeast Michigan as Fair Housing Month looms," *The Oakland Press*, Gina Joseph, Mar 31, 2019.
163. "The demographics of Detroit are changing rapidly," *Business Insider*, Corey Williams, May 21, 2015.
164. "Detroit Inclusionary Housing Plan and Market Study," Hour&A Advisors, November 2016.
165. "Renter Costs by Race and Ethnicity," Joint Center for Housing Studies of Harvard University, available at https://www.jchs.harvard.edu/ARH_2017_cost_burdens_by_race accessed March 22, 2021.
166. "Lawmakers introduce bills to increase affordable housing in Michigan," WCMU, Ben Thorp, Oct. 6, 2020.
167. <https://leg.colorado.gov/bills/sb19-225>, accessed February 20, 2021.
168. https://www.denvergov.org/content/denvergov/en/denver-development-services/help-me-find-/Development-Services-updates/affordable_housing_fee.html.
169. "Could Colorado Open the Door to Rent Control?", Kennedy4co.com, Chouris Kennedy, January 15, 2019.
170. "Frustrated Colorado renters seek more control from state, but would proposed regulations bring down housing prices?" *Denver Post*, Aldo Svaldi, April 15, 2019.
171. "Greystar Expands Footprint to More than 660,000 Units with Acquisition of Property Management Business of Alliance Residential," *Multifamily biz.com*, June 4, 2020.
172. National Multifamily Housing Council, 2019 Rankings, NMHC 50 Largest Apartment Managers.
173. Greystar Expands Footprint to More than 660,000 Units with Acquisition of Property Management Business of Alliance Residential," *Multifamily biz.com*, June 4, 2020.
174. www.caahq.org, accessed March 30, 2021

175. <https://bhmanagement.com/management-services/property-management/portfolio/>, accessed November 24, 2020.
176. www.caahq.org, accessed March 30, 2021
177. National Multifamily Housing Council, 2019 Rankings, NMHC 50 Largest Apartment Managers.
178. "Greystar Expands Footprint to More than 660,000 Units with Acquisition of Property Management Business of Alliance Residential," *Multifamily biz.com*, June 4, 2020.
179. "Greystar Expands Footprint to More than 660,000 Units with Acquisition of Property Management Business of Alliance Residential," *Multifamily biz.com*, June 4, 2020.
180. National Multifamily Housing Council, 2019 Rankings, NMHC 50 Largest Apartment Managers.
181. <https://bhmanagement.com/management-services/property-management/portfolio/>, accessed November 24, 2020.
182. National Multifamily Housing Council, 2020 Rankings, NMHC 50 Largest Apartment Owners.
183. "Weidner Apartment Homes suspends use of Facebook for marketing its properties," *Multifamilypress.com*, December 3, 2019.
184. National Multifamily Housing Council, 2019 Rankings, NMHC 50 Largest Apartment Managers.
185. National Multifamily Housing Council, 2019 Rankings, NMHC 50 Largest Apartment Managers.
186. National Multifamily Housing Council, 2020 Rankings, NMHC 50 Largest Apartment Owners.
187. Apartment Investment and Management Company, AIMCO Properties, Form 10-K for the Fiscal Year Ended December 31, 2019.
188. National Multifamily Housing Council, 2020 Rankings, NMHC 50 Largest Apartment Owners.
189. <https://www.securityproperties.com/about-sp>, Accessed November 24, 2020.
190. "Mission Rock Residential Assumes Management of Maple Bay Townhomes," *Washington DC City Biz List*, May 22, 2019.
191. <https://www.echelonrents.com/about/corporate-profile>, accessed November 24, 2020.
192. <https://29thstreetcapital.com/contact-us/>, accessed November 24, 2020.
193. <https://www.griffisblessing.com/>, accessed November 24, 2020.
194. <https://redpeak.com/about/>, accessed November 24, 2020.
195. <https://fourmilecapital.com/portfolio/>, accessed November 24, 2020.
196. "Rent Control Preemption Under Attack," Apartment Association of Michigan Advocacy Update, Forrest Wall, April 25, 2017.
197. "Rent Control Preemption Under Attack," Apartment Association of Michigan Advocacy Update, Forrest Wall, April 25, 2017.
198. "Rent Control Bill Do Not Advance," AAM Advocacy Update, December 17, 2020, Forrest Wall.
199. "Building Business and Apartment Management," Home Builders Association of Southeast Michigan and Apartment Association of Michigan, November 2019.
200. <https://www.apartments.org/pdf/Apartment-Association-Owner.pdf>, accessed March 30, 2021
201. Greystar Expands Footprint to More than 660,000 Units with Acquisition of Property Management Business of Alliance Residential," *Multifamily biz.com*, June 4, 2020.
202. National Multifamily Housing Council, 2019 Rankings, NMHC 50 Largest Apartment Managers.
203. Greystar Expands Footprint to More than 660,000 Units with Acquisition of Property Management Business of Alliance Residential," *Multifamily biz.com*, June 4, 2020.
204. National Multifamily Housing Council, 2020 Rankings, NMHC 50 Largest Apartment Owners.
205. National Multifamily Housing Council, 2019 Rankings, NMHC 50 Largest Apartment Managers.
206. <https://biz.prlog.org/princetonenterprises/>, accessed November 24, 2020



PARTNERSHIP
for
Working Families