

# PROGRESSIVE AGENDA FOR STATES & LOCALITIES 2016–2017

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The Public Leadership Institute is a nonprofit nonpartisan policy and leadership center organized to explore and raise public awareness about issues of equity and justice and to develop public leaders who will improve the economic and social conditions of all Americans.

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Dear Friends:

State and local lawmakers are at the vanguard of the progressive movement. They are proposing the nation's most far-reaching, proactive measures. They are turning states and cities into proving grounds for the newest policy ideas. And they are winning scores of progressive victories, year after year.

While Congress has been gridlocked, states and cities: raised the minimum wage, provided sick leave and bargaining rights to workers, implemented a living wage, protected immigrants from harassment, prohibited racial profiling, protected privacy rights, addressed climate change, encouraged solar energy, discouraged smoking, promoted reproductive health, cut tax giveaways to the rich, and enacted a wide variety of election reforms.

State and local policymakers can do so much more. We offer this *Progressive Agenda* as a resource to help you take the offensive with values-based policies that address our nation's most pressing problems.

The right wing understands the paramount importance of empowering state and local lawmakers. The American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC) has fought over the years for regressive state policies, and too often they have won. Last year, ALEC created a new organization, the American City County Exchange (ACCE), to spread their "free market" policies across the nation at the local level. We cannot let that happen.

Working with our national and state allies, the Public Leadership Institute will promote the *Progressive Agenda* to its nationwide network of more than 13,000 state legislators, city council members, county commissioners, and other policymakers, as well as local advocates and the public. We have already published our *Playbook for Abortion Rights* for 2016, updated our *Voicing Our Values* messaging guide, posted more than 100 model bills on our redesigned website, planned national leadership conferences for elected officials in July and November, and prepared for dozens of trips to city halls and state capitals.

We look forward to working with all of you in the coming year, helping you and your allies move ideas to action.

Sincerely,

Gloria Totten

Thoring John

President

# **Civil Rights & Liberties**

#### **OUR PROGRESSIVE VISION**

Our nation was founded and built upon the selfevident truth that all men and women are created equal. That ideal calls us to defend liberty and justice for all people, with no exceptions. In the 21st century, three policies are of foremost importance:

- (1) outlaw discrimination based on race, gender, age, religion, ethnicity, sexual orientation or gender identity;
- (2) guarantee fundamental fairness for immigrants, whether or not they are authorized; and
- (3) protect the personal privacy of individual Americans from intrusion by governments or businesses, including the collection, use and sale of data without individuals' active consent.

### **Forbid discrimination**

It has been more than half a century since the civil rights movement, aided by the Warren Supreme Court, started a revolution against discrimination. That cause endures. Women and people of color continue to be underrepresented in government and other places of power, so some jurisdictions consider affirmative action while others promote more aggressive enforcement of anti-discrimination laws, especially in claims for fair and equal pay. Most states currently do not protect LGBT people from employment or housing dis**crimination**, and there are many ongoing efforts to correct that. States must beat back efforts to legalize discrimination, like efforts to target Muslim Americans and laws which invite businesses to discriminate against gay and lesbian Americans.



## **Fairness for immigrants**

More than 40 million American residents are foreign-born. About three-fourths of these are authorized residents, and yet, whether authorized or not, they often face discrimination. Millions more Americans were born in the U.S. but face discrimination because they *look* foreign. Progressive states and cities are responding by limiting government inquiries into immigration status, refusing some federal immigration detainer requests, authorizing driver's licenses regardless of immigration status, making government ID cards available to all, and providing information about government requirements, programs and services in various languages.

## **Protect privacy**

Technology is advancing at a phenomenal rate, and it is causing new problems for individuals who want to protect their privacy. Businesses are creating and often selling data profiles about millions of Americans—including where we go on the Internet, what we buy, what we're interested in, and even where we physically are or have been. Progressives are starting to push back by requiring warrants for law enforcement to access the most sensitive of this data and limiting how long some data can be kept by police. In some cases, governments are limiting the collection, sale or use of certain data, especially information about children.



Thirty-two million Americans have been the victims of racial profiling, according to an Amnesty International report. Racial profiling and racially motivated policing result in a breakdown of communication between police and the public, undermining law enforcement's ability to ensure public safety. Cities, counties and states can combat these practices by prohibiting the selection of individuals for interrogations, searches and frisks based on race or other factors. Law enforcement should be required to train officers to recognize the difference between good policing and misguided stereotyping.

#### **LGBT** fairness

Over one-third of lesbian and gay people have experienced workplace discrimination and about one-sixth have lost a job because of their sexual orientation. Sadly, over half of states and most cities do not ban discrimination against LGBT individuals. The LGBT Fairness Act prohibits discrimination in employment, public accommodations, education, credit and housing.

## 'Don't ask' immigration status

When immigrants believe that state or local law enforcement agents are involved in the enforcement of federal



immigration law, immigrants—fearing harassment or deportation—simply decline to report crimes or suspicious activity. The result is twofold: criminals see immigrants as easy prey, and offenders who could have been caught, remain on the streets, putting everyone at risk of becoming the next victim. Assigning the role of immigration law enforcer to local police both overburdens law enforcement and increases the risk of racial profiling. And local police usually lack the training needed to enforce our nation's complex web of immigration laws. States and localities should adopt policies prohibiting government inquiry into immigration status unless otherwise required by superseding law.

## Limits on license plate databases

All over the nation, police agencies are using license plate readers that tell them exactly which vehicle was at a certain location at a certain date and time. Several states have enacted a version of the License Plate Privacy Act to limit the amount of time government agencies can hold on to those records.

## Birth certificate after sex change

People who have undergone transitional surgeries often run into trouble when trying to get legal documents like marriage licenses or driver's licenses. States are enacting legislation to allow a transgender person to obtain an amended birth certificate reflecting a change in both sexual designation and name.

## **Consumer Protection**

#### **OUR PROGRESSIVE VISION**

We need a marketplace that is fair to everyone. That requires fundamental rules to ensure consumer products are safe and the terms of sales and investments are open and honest. In four ways, we need to ensure that everyone plays by the same fair rules, by:

- (1) ensuring that food is safe, drugs are pure, and products are free from dangerous defects:
- (2) insisting that financial institutions not only refuse to cheat customers but also that their services provide a legitimate benefit to society;
- (3) requiring all businesses to follow basic rules of economic decency; and
- (4) guaranteeing justice for average Americans and small businesses in civil litigation.

## **Consumer product safety**

The federal government created consumer product safety law piecemeal, beginning with minimum standards for flammable fabrics in the 1950s. The Consumer Product Safety Commission, authorized in 1972, provides the most protection on the federal level, but it's still not enough. Thus, states also provide a layer of protection, such as California's Safe Cosmetics Act, Washington's Children's Safe Products Act, bans on toxic chemicals in children's products, restrictions on genetically engineered foods, and numerous state regulations about the handling and preparation of food.

## **Financial system**

The Great Recession of 2007-09 reminded Americans that our financial system is unstable, unfair, and often provides no real benefit to society. Both states and localities have responded with a variety of protections: limiting predatory mortgage lending and payday lending; stopping unnecessary property foreclosures and unfair debt collection practices; and controlling the marketing of credit cards, debit cards, and pre-paid cards.

## Fair and open business practices

Markets benefit society only when the same rules are fairly applied and vigorously enforced on everyone. States, cities and counties play a big role in that, prohibiting false advertising and often providing an agency that investigates and mediates complaints. States enforce contracts, of course, but they also may add special protections against identity theft and violations of privacy.

## Civil justice

There has been a decades-long attack on the rights of average Americans to sue businesses for wrongdoing. Called "tort reform," this effort isn't "reform" at all; it is a cruel shifting of costs away from rich companies that caused injuries and onto the backs of the innocent people who were injured. States can push back and make their courts fairer by discouraging contract clauses that require forced arbitration or waivers of injunctive relief, and by providing punitive damages and class action relief through legislation that creates minimum standards of contract fairness.



#### **Zombie debt**

The debt collection business is booming, but many collection company practices are questionable. "Zombie debt" occurs when collection agencies buy expired debt from the original vendor or credit card company for pennies on the dollar. Then they try to trick consumers who do not understand the debt is expired into paying or "acknowledging" the debt, thereby restarting the statute of limitations that barred the original vendor from collecting. Some jurisdictions, like Washington, have passed laws against zombie debt collection practices.

## Prepaid debit cards

Every year, Americans spend more than \$100 billion on prepaid gift cards for retail stores, restaurants and "universal" prepaid debt cards like Visa. The federal Credit Card Accountability Responsibility and Disclosure Act of 2009 (CARD Act) provides a number of important consumer protections. But many states have adopted prepaid card protections that go beyond the federal law to: ban expiration dates, prohibit service fees, and/or allow customers to get cash when a card's value falls to less than \$5 or \$10.





## Limiting waivers in form contracts

Provisions are hidden in the fine print of many form contracts that unfairly benefit the vendor when the customer has a valid complaint about the product or service bought. For example, many such contracts force individuals to mandatory arbitration, a system that is stacked in favor of the defendant. States can ban the waiver of rights in certain cases or adopt a sunshine law like California's disclosure of arbitration outcomes.

#### Safe cosmetics

Many cosmetics contain carcinogens and toxic chemicals, and more than 20,000 cosmetic products contain ingredients which have never been tested for safety by any publiclyaccountable institution. The Safe Cosmetics Act, enacted by California in 2005, requires disclosure of the ingredients in cosmetics, investigation into toxicity, notification to the public, and reports to the state occupational safety authorities when the health of beauty care workers may be at risk.

## **Education**

#### **OUR PROGRESSIVE VISION**

Our public schools must provide each and every child the opportunity to achieve his or her fullest potential in life. Children are not standardized; each one needs personalized instruction. That requires both fully qualified professional teachers and opportunities to learn outside of school. Every jurisdiction should:

- (1) provide adequate funding for public schools:
- (2) deliver instruction in a way that recognizes the differences in both the interests and needs of specific children:
- (3) create opportunities to learn outside of the classroom, including afterschool, arts and recreational programs, and libraries; and
- (4) make schools both safe and fair.

## Adequate school funding

K-12 school funding was substantially cut due to the recession and most states are still providing less per student than they did in 2008. Alabama, Arizona, Georgia, Idaho, Mississippi and Oklahoma each cut school spending by more than 15 percent. In addition, most states allow substantial disparities in per-pupil school funding from one jurisdiction to another. States and school systems should ensure that school spending is transparent (e.g., charter schools), that money is not wasted on consultants and standardized tests, and that universal pre-K is fully funded.

#### Personalized not standardized instruction

We must recognize that there are no standardized children; every child has different strengths and weaknesses. That's why all schools must offer a complete curriculum provided by professional teachers who have the training to give the individualized attention every child needs. School systems need to deemphasize standardized tests and pre-packaged lessons, and instead hire and stand behind fully trained teachers who give each and every student the opportunity to achieve their fullest potential in life.

## **Opportunities outside of class**

A great deal of children's learning happens outside of the classroom. Kids learn from art, music and dance programs, from athletics, nature and the outdoors, from games and hobbies, from afterschool clubs of all kinds, and from independent reading for pleasure. States and localities need to fully fund libraries, and support nonprofits that provide afterschool and summer school programs for disadvantaged youth.

## Safe schools, fair discipline

In order to learn, children need schools that are safe and welcoming. Harassment, intimidation and bullying are wellknown to impede students' ability to learn. Students who are bullied are far more likely to skip school and earn poor grades, and many states and individual school systems have implemented safe school policies to address the problem. Yet, it is also clear that some school systems overuse their discipline processes, often in a discriminatory manner. The U.S. Attorney General and the Secretary of Education jointly announced national guidelines on school discipline that should be implemented at the state and local levels.

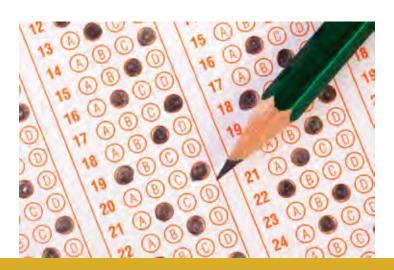


## Transparency in school spending

With the rise of standardized testing, pre-packaged lessons and charter schools, there has been a noticeable decline in public awareness of how education funds are spent. School systems should disclose exactly what they pay for tests, pre-tests and test preparation programs, as well as consultants and pre-packaged lessons. Similarly, states and school boards should insist that charter schools, especially for-profit management companies, are held to the same transparency requirements as traditional schools. Tax dollars should be invested in classrooms, not in padding corporate profits.

#### Pre-K for all

Children in poverty often begin school already one or two years behind their more affluent peers. One clear part of the solution to this education gap is universal, high-quality pre-Kindergarten. Experts in early education overwhelmingly agree that children who have two years of a strong pre-K program start kindergarten with much better academic and social skills and that this improvement helps those children succeed later on in school and in life. Studies have also shown that pre-K programs return benefits to the community of seven dollars for every dollar invested. Yet, only about 40 percent of America's four-year-olds and less than 10 percent





of three-year-olds, are enrolled in public pre-K programs. The best Pre-K for All legislation would serve all three- and four-year-olds and requires licensing and accreditation by state officials for both private and public pre-K programs. This legislation would also encourage the use of nationally recognized benchmarks to develop curricula that balance direct instructional and play-based approaches, which ensures that children develop the cognitive, physical, and social-emotional skills they need.

## Limits on standardized testing

In the more heavily tested grades, students routinely lose more than a month of instructional time because of standardized testing and test prep. Across the country, parents are rising up against this level of over-testing. States and school boards should commission an audit to see how much testing is done and determine the educational and financial cost. They should also limit standardized testing to the minimum amount required by federal law-and children younger than third grade should not be subjected to them.

## Ban kindergarten and pre-K suspensions

In some jurisdictions, kindergarten and even pre-K students are suspended or expelled at an alarming rate. But putting a 4 or 5-year-old child out of educational programs is counterproductive and both states and localities can enact legislation to curtail this practice.

# **Environment & Smart Growth**

#### **OUR PROGRESSIVE VISION**

We have a responsibility to protect the quality of life, not just for ourselves, but for our children and grandchildren. To do that we need to both stop the degradation of our environment and pursue policies that build a better future. These goals fit into three categories, laws that:

- (1) reduce the pollution of our air, water and land—including gases that accelerate climate change;
- (2) conserve energy and quickly develop clean and renewable sources of energy; and
- (3) implement policies that build infrastructure to create environmentally friendly cities and towns for the future.

## Air, water and soil pollution

Pollution is waste material that adversely affects air, water or soil and governments have tried to control it for hundreds of years. Our major federal anti-pollution laws—the Clean Air Act, Clean Water Act, and National Environmental Policy Act—were passed in the early 1970s. In recent years, states and localities have gone beyond federal prohibitions to clean up emissions from power plants, require disclosure of the chemicals used in fracking or ban fracking outright, discourage or ban the use of single-use plastic bags, and encourage recycling of paper, metals, glass, paint, motor oil, pharmaceuticals and electronics. Minority and low-income communities bear a disproportionate share of the health risks caused by pollution and governments need to provide those communities with a measure of environmental iustice.

## Conservation and clean energy

With climate change legislation blocked in Congress, states and municipalities are leading the way to encourage energy conservation and promote clean energy. Conservation is accomplished by using more energy-efficient devices, improving insulation and design of government buildings (e.g., schools), and encouraging energy efficiency in both commercial buildings and private homes. Clean energy is promoted by using solar or wind power as much as possible on government and private properties, and by incentivizing local energy companies to employ or expand wind and solar power generation.

## **Smart growth**

Smart growth is an urban planning strategy that concentrates development in compact urban centers to avoid sprawl. Smart growth produces a more efficient use of resources while preserving more of the natural environment. Smart growth policies include: making communities pedestrianfriendly, building bicycle lanes and encouraging biking, developing mass transit and encouraging its use, supporting mixed-use development with affordable housing set-asides, and maintaining greenbelts and wildlife corridors.



For direct hyperlinks to model bills, go to www.progressiveagenda.org



## Plastic bag fee or ban

Every year, millions of plastic shopping bags end up as litter and they can take centuries to decompose. These bags are among the most common types of litter on land and one of the most troublesome when they drift in rivers or seas. Thus, to discourage their use, dozens of cities and counties have imposed a 5 or 10 cent disposable bag fee, some of which target plastic bags while others apply to paper bags as well. California, Hawaii and many cities simply ban "single-use" plastic bags.

## Climate change impact assessment

Climate change is real. The ten warmest years on record have all occurred since 1998, nine of them happened since 2003. Simultaneously, we have seen increasingly severe weather cause billions of dollars in damage. Some of the effects of climate change can be predicted and some of its damage can be mitigated with planning. States and localities should create commissions to study the local effects of climate change (e.g., flooding) and what policy changes could address them.

## Residential solar energy

America needs to encourage the production and use of renewable energy wherever it is economically feasible. In many places, it has become practical for a single house to provide much of its own power through environmentally friendly sources like solar electric cells. Unfortunately, many families that might benefit from this source cannot afford the upfront costs of installation. Increasingly, private firms are willing to install renewable energy systems at no or low cost in exchange for leasing agreements that provide the firms with the right to sell the energy to the property owner. These



leases can dramatically increase use of renewable energy, however, state or local laws often make leasing of this kind impossible. Legislation can fix the problem by allowing third-party firms to install and operate solar energy systems, utilize state or local bonding facilities, and take advantage of renewable energy tax credits.

## **Green buildings**

In order to get energy use and pollution under control, cities and states need to encourage better design and construction of buildings. The Leadership in Energy and Environmental Design (LEED) Green Building Rating System is a flexible, non-bureaucratic standard for construction and maintenance of new or existing buildings. LEED standards emphasize energy and water savings, use of recycled materials, and indoor air quality. Many jurisdictions have already enacted laws to encourage new buildings and major renovations to meet LEED standards.

#### **Pollinator Protection**

Bees are dying off at an alarming rate. Studies confirm that toxic neonicotinoid pesticides (also known as neonics) contribute to honey bee mortality, as well as to declines in native pollinators, birds and aquatic life. In addition to killing bees outright, even low levels of these toxic pesticides impair bees' ability to learn, find their way back to the hive, collect food, produce new queens and mount an effective immune response. The Pollinator Protection Act limits the use of bee-killing pesticides.

## **Government Performance**

#### **OUR PROGRESSIVE VISION**

State and local governments play a powerful role in regional economies as employers and contractors. They can make or destroy jobs. They can also encourage the creation of stable, well-paying positions—or positions that leave workers' families in poverty. A progressive government will:

- (1) ensure that the workers of both the government and its contractors are paid wages and benefits that support a decent standard of living:
- (2) guarantee that economic development subsidies are used sparingly and only to create middle-class jobs; and
- (3) operate with transparency and the highest ethical standards.

## **Government as employer**

Most state and local governments encourage a "race to the bottom" system of hiring, meaning they pay their employees and the employees of government contractors as little as possible. But this makes no economic sense. Low-wage, low-benefit jobs don't build the tax base, they drain it by forcing workers to rely upon taxpayer-funded programs, such as subsidized housing, health care, child care and school lunches. Public dollars should be spent to promote the public good. A progressive government accomplishes this by avoiding the privatization of government services unless there is a clear showing of substantial savings, paying a living wage, guaranteeing basic benefits like health insurance and earned sick leave, not accepting bids from contractors with a history of fraud, waste, abuse or illegal practices, and ensuring that contractors deliver what they've promised.

#### **Progressive economic development**

States and localities desperate for economic growth have typically allowed any company promising jobs to access economic development subsidies or other benefits, no matter how few or low-paying these jobs might be. All too often, development subsidies constitute little more than welfare for the rich. A progressive government reserves subsidies for development that fits a narrow and longterm strategy (e.g., a bio-tech cluster), requires the jobs to pay middle-class wages and benefits, and ensures that companies that receive subsidies and then fail to deliver on their promises must refund to the government some or all of the monies received.

## Open and ethical government

A democracy cannot function properly unless its citizens know what policies are being considered by the government, hear the arguments being made from all sides, and have the opportunity for timely input on these matters. Similarly, a democracy does not function when decisions are based on any type of corruption or undue influence. Even the appearance of secrecy or impropriety can poison the public goodwill that is necessary for self-government. A good government, therefore, will have a vigorous open meetings law, a broad freedom of information act, as much online disclosure as possible, and tight restrictions on both direct and indirect gifts to public officials.

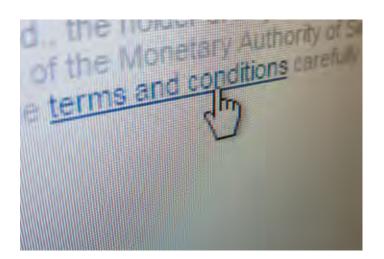


## **Restrictions on privatization**

Since the Reagan era, state and local governments have been handing over a myriad of public functions to private corporations. The main argument for privatization is that it reduces costs. But this argument is rarely true, either because the contractor simply charges more than civil servants would cost or because the contractor pays such low wages that the employees and their families have to be supported by SNAP, Medicaid, Earned Income Tax Credits, and other programs. State and local governments should create a truly competitive bid process that does not assume outsourcing is always best.

## Raising standards for firms receiving government support

Economic development subsidies, by definition, give special preference to one business over others. So when such subsidies are granted, they should meet a high standard for creating quality jobs that will provide long-term benefits to the community. The Job Creation and Job Quality Standards Act lays out minimum requirements for any kind of





subsidy program. The Taxpayer Protection Act provides citizens with a money-back guarantee if a company, after receiving subsidies, fails to meet its promised economic development goals.

## Job piracy cease-fire

It is not unusual for states, cities or counties to use economic development subsidies to lure businesses from neighboring jurisdictions, and this can degenerate into tit-for-tat job piracy. These government-against-government disputes hurt taxpayers and are unnecessary. The state of Missouri passed a law offering to stop subsidies to Kansas businesses along the border if Kansas does the same. This is a terrific model that could apply to either state or local governments.

#### Online disclosure

Both state and local governments are realizing that online disclosure has become cheaper than ever and, once posted, it obviates the need for government workers to spend a lot of time satisfying document requests. Governments can and should disclose online: information about proposed laws and regulations; RFPs; contracts or subsidies granted; real estate, zoning and property-tax records; licenses and permits; and which government services are available and how to access them.

## Health

#### **OUR PROGRESSIVE VISION**

Every American should be able to get the health care they need, when they need it, at a price they can afford. But for years, insurance companies charged too much, their policies were full of holes, and coverage was easily denied or revoked. The Affordable Care Act changed that, providing families with a measure of health security. But there is still much to be done:

- (1) provide coverage to every American as a matter of right;
- (2) encourage healthy behavior and protect others from unhealthy behaviors; and
- (3) allow people to make their own health care choices.

#### Health care for all

Even though the Affordable Care Act has substantially lowered the number of uninsured Americans, at least 30 million people remain without health coverage. A progressive state or local government will do everything possible to assist and encourage people to take advantage of the ACA. Obviously, the first problem is the nearly two dozen states that have refused the ACA's Medicaid expansion and thereby denied free health coverage to about 5 million people. But every jurisdiction can publicize ACA open enrollment, hold enrollment events, make information available through schools, libraries, and other government agencies, make sure that "navigators" and assisters are easily accessible to all, involve traditional insurance agents, and correct the misstatements that are keeping some from even considering enrollment. In addition, states and cities can expand their own programs to address chronic disease prevention and management, make oral

health services more widely available, and support community health centers. "Healthy San Francisco" is a program that covers residents whether or not they are eligible for the ACA, such as providing coverage for unauthorized immigrants.

## **Encouraging healthy behavior**

Preventable behaviors such as tobacco use, poor diet and physical inactivity, and alcohol or other drug use are the underlying cause of half of deaths in the United States, according to a recent study. A progressive government encourages healthy behaviors while leaving ultimate decisions to the individual. The biggest preventable killer remains tobacco, which claims more than 480,000 victims every year. Jurisdictions can discourage smoking by raising the tobacco tax, implementing workplace smoking and e-cigarette bans, and offering smoking cessation programs. States, localities and school boards can improve nutrition and physical fitness programs available in schools and also increase opportunities for athletics, walking and biking in communities. States and localities can raise alcohol taxes, crack down on sales to minors, and rethink whether their drug laws and enforcement systems are an efficient way to discourage the use of dangerous drugs.

## Helping people make their own health care choices

Too often, people who are sick or dying are not given choices that should be theirs to make. If a doctor thinks that a patient with glaucoma, multiple sclerosis, nausea from chemotherapy or chronic pain would benefit from medical marijuana, the patient should have that choice. If patients would benefit from palliative care, they should be told. And if a terminally ill person wants to have some control over the time of his or her own death, that should be their decision, not the government's.



## **Restrict e-cigarettes**

E-cigarettes are battery-powered devices that mimic cigarettes. A heating element vaporizes a nicotine liquid, which is inhaled by the user. Both the benefits and risks of ecigarettes are rather uncertain, but nicotine is certainly an addictive substance and some teenagers who were otherwise nonsmokers are using e-cigarettes. There are two major policy issues at the state and local levels: whether workplace smoking bans should apply to e-cigarettes and whether marketing toward and sale to minors should be prohibited. Eight states and more than 500 localities have specifically forbidden e-cigarettes where smoking is already banned, in part because their safety is not established and because their use causes public confusion as to where smoking is allowed. Forty-six states outlaw the sale of e-cigarettes to minors.

## **End-of-life palliative care**

All too often, terminally ill people are not provided adequate information about their physical condition or counseling about palliative care and end-of-life options. Too often they feel abandoned by the healthcare system and suffer unnec-





essary physical or psychological pain. People have a right to know when treatments offer only a tiny chance of prolonging their lives for a few weeks or months. And they have a right to know about palliative therapies which could make them feel a lot better for their remaining time. A few states now require healthcare providers to address the needs of the terminally ill. In New York, for example, when a disease is terminal and patients are unlikely to survive six months, doctors must inform them of this, and advise them of available medicines and treatments that comfort rather than cure. Palliative treatment can ease anxiety and pain, and can be administered at home, a hospice, or a specialized hospital unit. A good law also encourages the creation of interdisciplinary palliative care teams to provide medical, spiritual, psychological and practical support to patients and their families. And just incidentally, by eliminating medical procedures that patients don't want, it also saves many millions of dollars.

## **Promote lower costs for prescription drugs**

While the inflation rate was less than one percent in 2015, drug prices climbed by more than ten percent. Prescription drug costs are the fastest-growing component of health care in many jurisdictions. A new law in Vermont requires drug companies to justify the most egregious Rx price increases. Companies must disclose which of the most frequently prescribed drugs have the greatest price increases and the state attorney general is directed to determine the reasons for those increases, ultimately making the information public.

# **Public Safety**

#### OUR PROGRESSIVE VISION

The most fundamental job of government is to protect its citizens from crime. A progressive government focuses on strategies that make us safer and serious felonies deserve serious punishment. But there is a great deal that can be done to prevent crime while also ensuring justice:

- (1) reform police procedures, including interrogations and use of force, that lead authorities toward the wrong suspects;
- (2) reform judicial procedures that hurt the innocent, thereby helping the guilty;
- (3) reform prison procedures that increase recidivism; and
- (4) reform criminal laws to prevent the commission of crimes.

#### Police reform

With the advent of DNA evidence, it has become clear that many innocent people have been prosecuted and imprisoned. Part of the problem is old-fashioned police procedures—an overconfidence in unreliable eyewitnesses and an emphasis on profiling and random-but-targeted stops. Progressive states and localities must adopt fairer and more accurate procedures. The most common element in convictions overturned by DNA evidence has been eyewitness misidentification. This is why police need to reform procedures for lineup identifications. In addition, they should require electronic recording of all interrogations and attach cameras to police cars and uniforms. Law enforcement should have clear rules against racial profiling and military weaponry, as well as limiting the use of force.

#### **Judicial reform**

Tough court procedures don't necessarily make law-abiding citizens any safer, and can in fact have the opposite effect. A progressive government pursues bail reform, sentencing reform and juvenile justice reform to make it less likely that minor offenders turn into hardened criminals. Similarly, expungement of minor arrest or conviction records can also help prevent recidivism.

#### **Prison reform**

The U.S. prison population has exploded in the past few decades, from about 300,000 prisoners in 1980 to more than 1.5 million today. Another 750,000 are in local jails or juvenile detention. Thirty-one states employ private prisons, presumably on the theory that they're cheaper, but there is no legitimate evidence to prove this claim. At the same time, private prisons seek healthier prisoners because they are less expensive to house, and shy away from providing education and training programs in order to maximize profits. Prison privatization should be banned, or, if that's not possible, more strictly regulated.

#### **Smarter criminal laws**

The 1980s and 1990s "War on Drugs" took much discretion away from judges and enormously increased the length of sentences. Yet, a growing body of research proves that treatment, rather than incarceration, is the most effective tactic to fight drug abuse. Diverting nonviolent drug offenders to treatment programs reduces recidivism and saves money. Similarly, mandatory minimum sentences should be relaxed so that judges can deliver real justice based on the actual circumstances of each case. While these "get tough" measures have been ineffective, real danger has come from the nearly unchecked proliferation of guns. Every single day, dozens of Americans are murdered, hundreds are shot, and nearly one thousand are robbed or assaulted with a gun. It's just common sense that every state should require a background check for all gun sales, preferably including fingerprinting and safety training as well.

For direct hyperlinks to model bills, go to www.progressiveagenda.org



## **Electronic recording of interrogations**

Every year, hundreds of innocent Americans are convicted of crimes because of false confessions. Many more are arrested because of false confessions and later the charges are dropped. There are many reasons why innocent people "confess," ranging from exhaustion to mental illness. Psychologists report that standard police interrogation tactics regularly elicit false confessions from the mentally disabled, mentally ill, juveniles and those who suffer from alcohol or drug problems. Electronic recording of interrogations helps to protect the innocent and convict the guilty. Ten states and many cities and counties now require electronic recording of interrogations. In fact, then-State Senator Barack Obama sponsored the first state law requiring electronic recording of interrogations in 2003.

## Cameras on police cars or uniforms

Fatal police shootings in cities across the country have prompted new calls for police to monitor themselves with video cameras. The use of police cruiser-mounted cameras is becoming widespread, and there are also "body cameras" which attach to officers' uniform lapels. The idea behind this technology is that both police officers and criminal suspects are less likely to misbehave if they know they're being recorded. In a study by Cambridge University, police in the city of Rialto, California saw an 89 percent decline in the number of complaints against officers during a yearlong test use of body cameras. The number of times police used force against suspects also declined.



#### Ban stun cuffs

A stun cuff is a small box strapped to a prisoner (usually at the ankle) which, when police press a remote controlled trigger, emits a 50,000-volt shock that immobilizes the wearer. This device is good for little more than torture as prisoners can already be fully controlled with the use of handcuffs and leg irons. Stun cuffs should be banned.

## **Demilitarize the police**

More than 8,000 local police forces, including at least 117 college police agencies, have received more than \$5 billion in military equipment from the federal government under the "1033 Program." Local police now routinely use automatic weapons and heavily armored military vehicles, camouflage combat fatigues, flash-bang grenades and night-vision rifle scopes. State and local governments should curtail militarization. To do this, every official should ask their own law enforcement agencies whether they own or have ordered military equipment. If so, they should find out how much the storage and maintenance costs are, what police do with the equipment, and whether there is a training program to make sure those military weapons and accessories are not misused. Jurisdictions should ban such weaponry or at least set up strict procedures to ensure proper oversight for the acquisition and possession of military equipment.

#### **Criminal forfeiture**

Many law enforcement agencies have abused the civil asset forfeiture process, which has allowed police to seize, and too often keep or sell, property they claim was involved in a crime. Often property owners are not even arrested, much less convicted, of a crime, but their cash, vehicles and other property are seized and never returned. The Institute for Justice model law eliminates civil forfeiture and replaces it with criminal forfeiture, which limits police authority to keep property to situations where assets were derived directly from or used in crime and a criminal conviction occurs.

# Reproductive Rights

#### **OUR PROGRESSIVE VISION**

People need to make their own important life decisions for themselves and their families. These include decisions about whether and when to become a parent. To make these decisions responsibly, individuals need access to:

- (1) complete and medically accurate information;
- (2) birth control;
- (3) constitutionally protected abortion services; and
- (4) reasonable accommodations on the job to avoid discrimination based on a woman's pregnancy, termination of pregnancy, or childbirth.

In sum, all Americans should have the freedom and opportunity to make the best decisions for themselves and their families.

## Medically accurate information

Americans deserve medically accurate information about reproductive health so they can make responsible decisions. But anti-abortion advocates rely on falsehoods. Abortion does *not* cause cancer. Emergency contraception does *not* cause an abortion. Women's ability to conceive does not shut down as the result of rape. States and cities should guarantee medically accurate information to women at hospitals and health care centers, and prevent consumer fraud, misrepresentation and outright lies from "Crisis Pregnancy Centers." It's also important to provide comprehensive sex education to schoolchildren, since they may not have access to accurate information anywhere else.

#### **Birth control**

In recent years it has become clear that the anti-abortion agenda is as hostile to birth control as it is to abortion. But Americans overwhelmingly support access to birth control. States can and should guarantee emergency contraceptives to survivors of sexual assault, require pharmacies to stock emergency contraception, prohibit health care workers from refusing to issue or fill prescriptions for contraceptives, and provide greater access to long-acting reversible contraceptives (LARCs), like IUDs and implants.

#### Access to abortion

The U.S. Constitution guarantees women the right to safe and legal abortion services without interference from politicians. And yet, there has been an onslaught of political efforts to erase this constitutional right. States should protect access to clinics that provide abortion services, eliminate restrictions that violate principles of informed consent, guarantee there are no double standards that hinder abortion clinics, allow all qualified providers to perform abortions or prescribe the abortion pill, mandate equity in abortion insurance coverage, and respect women's abortion decisions.

#### No discrimination

Whether a woman carries a pregnancy to term, miscarries, or has an abortion, she should not be subject to any type of harassment or discrimination. Pregnant workers have been denied reasonable accommodations from their employers and forced to leave their jobs. Nursing mothers who need to express breast milk during the work day have been denied accommodations and been forced to choose between breast feeding and employment. None of this should be permitted which is why states and localities should adopt the Pregnant Workers Fairness Act.



It is a prime tactic of the anti-abortion movement to deceive women and misrepresent medical facts about abortion. Most of the 2,500 "Crisis Pregnancy Centers" (CPCs) across the United States are in business to deceive women who are seeking all-options medical care. Although all Americans have a First Amendment right to say what they want, truthful or not, states can and should enact legislation to prevent CPCs from lying about medical facts, misrepresenting themselves as licensed medical professionals, or committing consumer fraud in advertising.

## Prevent anti-abortion violence and harassment

Clinics that offer reproductive health are continually subjected to violence, threats of violence and harassment. There have been 37 murders or attempted murders due to anti-abortion violence over the past four decades, as well as hundreds of bombings and arson attacks. Abortion providers, clinic workers and patients are, quite reasonably, afraid for their personal safety. That's why states and localities should pass laws to comprehensively protect abortion clinics.

## Increase the number of abortion providers

Both aspiration abortions and the abortion pill are extremely safe and simple. Aspiration abortion is one of the safest medical procedures in the nation while medication abortion is safer than Tylenol, aspirin or Viagra. The American College of Obstetricians and Gynecologists (ACOG) recommends allowing advanced practice clinicians (APCs)—nurse practitioners, certified nurse-midwives and physician assistants-to perform aspiration abortions and supervise medication abortions. States should permit both.

## Long-acting reversible contraceptives (LARCs)

The Colorado Department of Public Health and Environment reported that the state's teen birth rate was nearly cut in half during the first five years of its Family Planning Initiative, which increases access to long-acting reversible contraceptives (IUDs and implants). Both the birth rate and abortion rate for women ages 15-19 fell 48 percent from 2009 through 2014. LARCs are 20 times more effective in preventing pregnancy than the pill, contraceptive patch, or vaginal ring, yet only 7.2 percent of women use LARCs. Every state and city should adopt policies to increase access to LARCs.

## Fairness to pregnant workers

Federal law is supposed to prevent discrimination by employers against their pregnant employees. But loopholes and adverse court decisions mean that pregnancy discrimination continues. That's why several states and localities have enacted the Pregnant Workers Fairness Act, commonsense legislation that allows pregnant women to continue working with limited accommodations, if warranted, as long as they don't pose an undue hardship on businesses. Accommodations may mean use of a different chair, more frequent breaks, assistance with manual labor, temporary transfers to less hazardous work, time off to recover from childbirth, or appropriate facilities for expressing breast milk.

## **Social Services**

#### **OUR PROGRESSIVE VISION**

As a society we have a responsibility to assist people in our communities who are vulnerable and can't meet their basic needs. Whether they are children, the elderly, disabled, or victims of illness, crime, natural disaster or something else, we cannot deny our fellow citizens the basic necessities of life. Three policies are crucial:

- (1) expand basic services to cover all the vulnerable people who need them;
- (2) stop the war on drug users that has cut them off from assistance; and
- (3) help charities that provide social services, such as food, housing, clothing, job training, and legal representation.

#### Serve the vulnerable

State and local governments fund and deliver many of our most important social services—feeding the hungry, housing the homeless, providing health care to the uninsured, caring for the elderly, helping the unemployed find jobs, and much more. But these services were drastically cut after the Great Recession of 2008-09 and even as the economy strengthened, the outlook for funding social services remains bleak. And yet, we as a society have an obligation to protect vulnerable people, the sick and disabled, and especially our children. It's hackneyed but true—the children are our future. Our country will be much better off when we ensure that every child is provided such services as high-quality early childhood care, good nutrition, health insurance, recreational opportunities, afterschool and summertime programs—the basic services they need to have a fair chance to succeed in life. We also need to prepare our communities to accommodate and serve an increasingly aging population.

## Stop the war on drug users

About 24 million Americans have used illegal drugs, yet only a small percentage are punished for it. Those who are prosecuted tend to be treated harshly—in fact, more harshly than makes sense from a medical or law-enforcement perspective. Because of the "War on Drugs"-era criminal penalties, some 300,000 people are currently imprisoned for drug crimes, at great expense to taxpayers. There's also been a trend toward drug testing of those who seek social services like SNAP and TANF. And federal law assumes there should be a complete denial of social services to people who have been convicted of a drug offense. It's time to stop the war on the victims of drug addiction and replace it with policies that are more likely to protect public health and safety.

## Support nongovernmental programs

There are nearly one million charities in the U.S. and they provide a very large portion of the social services received by low-income Americans. Human services nonprofits hold about 200,000 government contracts totaling about \$100 billion. Most of these charities were hit hard by the Great Recession and are still struggling. And yet, donors keep wanting nonprofits to "do more with less." Governments need to increase the amount spent on grants and contracts, pay contracts on time, and help nonprofits navigate through administrative requirements.

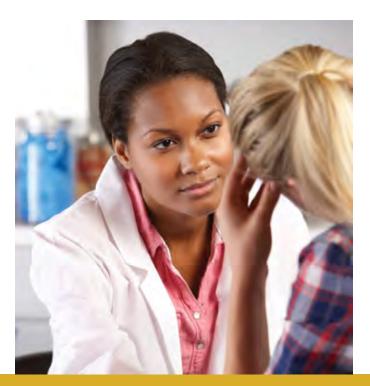


## Prenatal nursing care

Prenatal care has a tremendous impact on a child's wellbeing and potential in life. Babies born with fetal alcohol syndrome or low birth weight, for example, may be permanently disadvantaged. That's why it's so important to provide vigorous prenatal care to women who live in poverty. Colorado's Prenatal Plus, which is a part of the state's Medicaid program, provides nurse-midwives to support and educate expectant mothers, case managers to provide referrals for financial help, parenting classes, medical benefits and housing information, and dieticians to help with weight gain goals and nutrition during pregnancy and breastfeeding. Studies show that Prenatal Plus makes a substantial difference.

## Serve ex-drug offenders

The Welfare Reform Act in 1996 included a little-noticed but devastating provision: as part of the political drumbeat about a "War on Drugs," the Act imposed a lifetime denial of federal TANF and SNAP benefits for people convicted of felony





drug offenses. No other felony is penalized this way; bank robbers receive benefits, marijuana possessors don't. States are allowed to reject this policy but only a handful of states have entirely opted out of the federal ban on TANF and **SNAP services**. About half the states have partially opted out and the rest retain the full ban on drug offenders. Outside of the "War on Drugs" hysteria, these bans on services make no sense. There is no evidence that they act as a deterrent to drug involvement and benefits denials actually tend to make it more likely that ex-offenders will have to commit further crimes just to survive. States should opt out of these denials of fundamental services.

## Agency to support nonprofits

Governments now rely on nonprofit organizations to provide a great deal of social services, from food, health care and housing to criminal justice supports, consumer advocacy, and assistance in public education. State and local governments need to increase funding to nonprofits that have a record of success. But in addition to that, because charities want to focus on serving those in need rather than on paperwork, governments should create agencies or ombudsmen that focus on making nonprofits' interactions with government easier, e.g., simpler RFPs, easier reporting, and streamlined licensing systems. They should also find other ways to assist charities, such as allowing them to use government purchasing procedures to get discounts, making empty government office space available for little or no cost, and other in-kind contributions that would only marginally burden government agencies.

## **Taxation**

#### **OUR PROGRESSIVE VISION**

On the federal, state and local levels, our tax policies must be fair to everyone. The fact is, our tax system is thoroughly unfair; it is rigged with loopholes and giveaways that benefit a few, usually rich, individuals and big corporations, at the expense of all the rest of us. Everyone should pay their fair share, and to accomplish that, we must:

- (1) require disclosure of tax giveaways;
- (2) eliminate those giveaways that unfairly benefit the rich and powerful;
- (3) raise tax rates on the rich and where otherwise needed; and
- (4) cut taxes for people who cannot reasonably afford to pay them.

## Require disclosure of tax giveaways

Americans believe, by overwhelming margins, that our tax system is unfair and that rich individuals and large corporations are not paying their fair share. In order to fix the system, we need publicly available information. Governments should list all tax expenditures and require that each must sunset unless regularly renewed. In addition, topline information from the tax returns of large companies should be publicly disclosed. Individuals and big corporations are getting wealthier while simultaneously paying less in taxes. To address the problem, we need to know that they're doing it and how they're doing it.

## Eliminate unfair tax giveaways

Almost every government's tax code is riddled with giveaways for the rich and powerful, many of which constitute little more than legalized tax evasion. Citizens want to make these systems fairer. This requires information, analysis, and the political will to put average taxpayers first. State and local governments should hire more auditors, investigators and attorneys to collect from big corporate scofflaws and empower whistleblowers to challenge tax giveaways.

#### Raise rates on the rich

Conservatives tend to focus their complaints on the federal income tax because nearly every other type of tax, especially on the state and local levels, is regressive. States with income taxes should make their brackets more progressive and add a surtax on extra-high incomes. States should raise inheritance taxes on the very richest estates. At the same time, there are a few "sin" taxes which could be raised not for the revenue but to discourage dangerous behaviors like **smoking**, **drinking** and **gambling**—and the extra monies could be used to treat people who are addicted to nicotine, alcohol and gambling.

#### Cut taxes on those who can't afford them

Just as some high-income individuals and businesses are paying too little in taxes, there are some low-income people who are paying too much. States should raise the Earned Income Tax Credit and the dependent care tax credit. States and localities should ensure that there is a property tax circuit breaker and a tax deferral system that prevents lowand moderate-income Americans from losing their homes.



Americans believe that large corporations are not paying their fair share of taxes, and they're right. The situation in Illinois is a typical example: two-thirds of corporations pay no state income tax at all, only eight percent of state revenue comes from corporate income taxes, and the corporate share of taxes has been declining over the years. The first step to fix our broken system is transparency. We don't know enough details about how corporations manage to evade taxes. We need public disclosure. To be specific, all publicly traded companies should disclose a summary of the amount they pay in state income taxes, including their tax rate and basis (income, credits and deductions). It is true that we don't and shouldn't require such disclosure of individuals, but corporations are not people. Corporations are legal structures, created by state law, and they do not need or deserve the privacy rights of individuals.

## **Sunset tax expenditures**

A "tax expenditure" is a form of stealth government spending. Giving exemptions, deductions or credits to certain groups or for certain activities has the same effect as handing them money, and governments divert billions of dollars this way. Tax expenditures never receive the same scrutiny that budget expenditures do. While budget line items are reviewed and adjusted every year, few governments have any mechanism for reviewing tax expenditures. The fact is, many tax expenditures are unjustified giveaways to the rich, many were not properly targeted to achieve their stated objective, and others were justified when enacted but no longer make economic sense. Thus, each tax exemption, deduction and credit should be examined periodically to weigh its costs, benefits and relevance to community goals. The only effective way to bring fairness to the tax expenditure system is to require each to undergo a thorough review and be re-approved through the legislative process. This is accomplished by requiring that all tax expenditures sunset every few years.

## Hire tax investigators

Many wealthy individuals and corporations evade taxes. One study indicated that people who make between \$500,000 and \$1 million per year underreport their incomes by more than 20 percent. That means states and localities lose billions of dollars each year to tax evasion. The fact is, most government tax collection agencies don't have enough auditors and enforcers to get the job done. The solution is to hire more enforcers and their work will pay for itself.

#### Raise the inheritance tax

Over the past several years, progressives have been completely outmaneuvered on the inheritance tax. Many believe the federal estate tax applies to them, even though 99.5 percent of Americans are exempt. Nevertheless, the richest one percent in America own over one-third of all the combined wealth in our country-stocks, bonds, businesses, real estate, and personal property like cars and jewelry. The richest five percent own nearly two-thirds of all wealth. We cannot make a dent in the problem of economic inequality without a vigorous inheritance tax and the effort will never have momentum until states lead the way.

# **Voting & Elections**

#### **OUR PROGRESSIVE VISION**

In America, the right to vote is a fundamental freedom. And because we are the leading democracy in the world, our election system ought to be completely free, fair and accessible. The way we conduct elections today is obsolete. We need to eliminate long lines, cut costs, make it more convenient for eligible citizens to vote, maintain the integrity of the voting system, and stop the rich and powerful from exercising undue influence on the process. In short, we must:

- (1) guarantee that every citizen can register;
- (2) ensure that every citizen can vote; and
- (3) crack down on the way campaign financing corrupts governments.

## Ensure every citizen can register

In a democracy, every citizen ought to vote and the first step is universal registration. A progressive system registers voters automatically, for example, when anyone who is eligible to vote gets a driver's license or receives a public service. Registration should also be offered at state and local government offices, online through the Internet, and at polling places on Election Day. And no one outside of prison should be disenfranchised because of a criminal conviction.

## Ensure every citizen can vote

There should be no barriers to prevent eligible citizens from voting. Governments should permit both early voting and no-excuse-needed absentee ballots. Election materials should be available in other languages where needed. Voting machines should be absolutely reliable, counting every vote. Governments should crack down on any voter intimidation or use of fraud for voter suppression. Americans should have the freedom to vote made clear in state constitutions. And to ensure that every vote counts equally in presidential elections, states should adopt the National Popular Vote.

## Reform campaign financing

Money has an outsized influence on our current electoral system, endangering our representative democracy. Poll after poll shows that voters think the political system is controlled by big companies, political action committees, and rich individuals. And they are right. Candidates in most gubernatorial and state legislative races receive the bulk of their campaign funds from large donations or from non-party entities like PACs. Because of the Supreme Court's Citizens United ruling and the activism of ultra-right wing billionaires, the amount of money pouring into political campaigns through independent expenditures has grown exponentially. The growing cost associated with running for office makes campaigns prohibitively expensive for most Americans, thus restricting the freedom to run for office to a small minority of the population. In addition, with the rising cost of running for office, candidates need to spend more time fundraising, which restricts their ability to meet with and listen to their constituents. The system is broken and the only real solution is public financing of election campaigns. New York City's law, for example, requires participating candidates to limit campaign spending; in exchange, a public fund will match small donations. Connecticut provides a good public financing model as well.

For direct hyperlinks to model bills, go to www.progressiveagenda.org

## **Online registration**

Every election cycle, millions of Americans find that they cannot exercise their right to vote because of inefficient or outdated registration systems. Because of human or system error-a misplaced form or a data-entry mistake-paperbased voter registration systems bar many citizens from accessing the ballot box. At the same time, the systems of paper registration forms that jurisdictions continue to use simply cost too much; they require millions of person-hours by government employees or contractors to maintain and use. Fortunately, states can curb these costs while also producing fewer errors by adopting automated online voter registration systems. By converting to an automated online system, states can eliminate the need for almost all physical forms related to registration and minimize the need for employee form-processing. The registration system should include a secure and accessible online portal for individuals to register to vote, update their voter registration information, and check necessary voting information such as polling location. So far, 31 states offer online registration.





#### **Protection from intimidation**

Too many Americans are prevented from exercising their right to vote because of voter intimidation or suppression, or mistakes by election officials. Although voter intimidation is illegal under the federal Voting Rights Act, most violators are never punished. In addition, federal law does not prohibit willfully fraudulent voter suppression tactics and it does nothing to prevent or address mistakes. States can adopt a Voter Protection Act, which employs three avenues to ensure that every eligible voter can vote: First, impose heavy penalties for both voter intimidation and fraudulent suppression. Second, require every polling place to post a Voter's Bill of Rights (as some states do). Third, reduce mistakes by creating an Election Day Manual of Procedures that sets out election rules, and make it available to both voters and officials at the polls.

#### Clean elections

Americans are disgusted by the way massive campaign contributions corrupt the democratic process and give unfair advantages to the wealthy and well-connected. The Supreme Court's Citizens United ruling and the activism of ultra-right wing billionaires makes the situation even worse. Americans want and expect us to do something about it. Public funding of state and local elections works. New York City's law, for example, requires participating candidates to limit campaign spending. In exchange, a public fund will match each dollar a city resident contributes to the candidate up to \$175 with six dollars in public funds for a maximum of \$1,050 in public funds per donor. This kind of system increases the value of small donations and encourages more people at varying income levels to participate in the electoral process.

# **Wages & Benefits**

#### **OUR PROGRESSIVE VISION**

Our economy remains unsteady because government policies are rigged to favor the rich and powerful over the middle class and working families. All levels of government need to encourage or require that the lowest-level jobs provide at least a living wage and that middle-class jobs support a middle-class standard of living. Four policies are fundamental. laws that:

- (1) set a floor on wages for different types of
- (2) guarantee a minimum set of job benefits;
- (3) ensure that hiring and retention processes are fair: and
- (4) protect the right to collective bargaining in order to secure for employees a fair share of the profits.

## Fair wages

Between the end of World War II and the beginning of the Reagan Administration, the wages of average American workers rose at the same rate as nationwide productivity. But since then, wages have stagnated and nearly all new wealth has been captured by the rich. Recently, over a dozen states and localities have responded by raising the minimum wage. Seven states have the same minimum wage for tipped workers as everyone else, which is a matter of simple justice. State and local jurisdictions have also implemented a living wage for government employees and contractors. Although it's not yet been attempted, it is entirely possible to dissuade employers from paying a poverty-level wage through a surtax on large businesses like Walmart that pay workers so little that they have to rely on publicassistance programs.

#### Fair benefits

American workers used to take for granted that their jobs would include fair benefits like health insurance, sick days and paid vacation. Today, progressives have to fight for every benefit. Recently, states and cities have mandated paid sick leave, while others have set up family leave systems or required overtime pay. California also created a program that helps workers set up retirement accounts.

## Fair rules for hiring and retention

Because of the unsteady economy and the lack of union representation, employers are using more and more arbitrary and unfair tactics against both job applicants and existing employees. Some employers have demanded that job applicants or employees give them their social network usernames and passwords, or "friend" the employer, or submit to credit checks, or disclose arrest or criminal histories when those are irrelevant to the job, and progressive governments have stepped in to stop these practices.

## Collective bargaining

Although public policy can require a series of minimum wages and benefits, that is no substitute for collective bargaining. Only labor unions can insist that workers receive a fair share of a company's profits that their hard work creates. While this is mostly a federal issue, states and localities can ensure that their own employees have the right to bargain collectively, expand collective bargaining rights for specific types of jobs, and prohibit public funds from being used to influence union organizing.





## Wage theft

Wage theft is an epidemic among low-wage workers. One study found that more than two-thirds experienced at least one pay-related violation in their previous work week, including some workers who were paid less than the minimum wage and others who were not paid overtime wages owed to them. Wage theft leads to poverty and homelessness for both workers and their families. Although it's usually already illegal, low-wage workers are the least able to enforce their rights. They often don't have the knowledge or resources to obtain legal help, and they fear retaliation if they try to demand what they deserve. These workers need new legislation with tougher penalties and realistic enforcement mechanisms so they will have both the incentive to report wage theft and the confidence that the system will protect them.



Nearly half of employers now require job applicants to consent to a credit check. Sometimes current employees are asked to do the same. And yet, credit checks are not designed as an employment screening tool and there is no research that suggests people with poor credit reports become poor employees. There are many reasons why Americans





might have bad credit scores. Often it's because of an injury or illness where treatment caused a lot of bills. In recent years, many small business owners racked up bad credit scores because of the effects of the financial downturn. And sometimes bad credit was caused by identity theft or simple reporting mistakes that remain in the records of one of the credit bureaus. In addition, the practice discriminates against individuals who don't have affluent families to bail them out of debt. That's why several states and cities have enacted laws to forbid employers from conducting credit checks on workers or job applicants.

#### **Ban the Box**

After the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, an increasing number of federal, state and local governments required employees and contractors to submit to criminal background checks. In recent years, private employers have also demanded criminal history checks of both job applicants and existing employees. The National Employment Law Project (NELP) estimated that 65 million Americans—or one in four adults—have a criminal record that may show up on a routine background check. Because people of color are disproportionately affected, the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) recommends that employers not ask about convictions on job applications. A number of jurisdictions have passed legislation to remove conviction history questions from job applications—a measure commonly known as "ban the box." Generally, "ban the box" laws allow employers to inquire about an applicant's criminal history some time after the job application or initial interview.





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