



UNMASKING THE HIDDEN POWER OF CITIES

USING THEIR AUTHORITIES, ENERGY AND
PROMISE TO SECURE THE COMMON GOOD

Roxana Tynan

Los Angeles Alliance for a New Economy

Nikki Fortunato Bas

Partnership for Working Families

Donald Cohen

In the Public Interest

June 2018

laane»
A NEW ECONOMY FOR ALL

IN THE PUBLIC
INTEREST


PARTNERSHIP
for
Working Families

TABLE OF CONTENTS

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	1
CITIES: THE NUMBERS	5
THE SEVEN POWERS OF CITIES	7
Direct Spending	7
Procurement and Contracting	9
Economic Development	12
Proprietary Power	14
Land Use	15
Regulatory Powers	16
Taxation	18
REBUILDING DEMOCRACY	19
CAPACITIES NEEDED FOR PROGRESSIVE POWER	30
FIGHTING PREEMPTION: HOW TO OVERCOME STATE INTERFERENCE	36
CONCLUSION	39
CITY CAPACITY CHART	41
PERE TECHNICAL APPENDIX	49
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	54
ENDNOTES	55

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

We are in an unprecedented moment in U.S. history. It is a time of resurgent racism and inequality, but also of newly energized and ambitious activism. We propose that the most effective way to take advantage of that momentum and reclaim American democracy is through investment in progressive organizing in the nation's cities. Throughout the country, cities provide the diversity, social bonds, union strength, coalitional relationships and experience necessary to achieve governing power in the interest of the common good.

Despite deep investments by right-wing interests to diminish government and promote a radically pro-corporate agenda, city-based organizations continue to win an extraordinary range of policies that improve people's lives, from wage increases and public school improvements, to affordable housing funding and climate resiliency solutions, to immigrant protections and criminal justice reform. Support to expand organizing in cities can drive and implement a new forward-looking vision for the country as a whole.

A few statistics illustrate the scale of potential power in cities and metro regions:

- Nearly half of the entire U.S. population—over 152 million people—lives in the metro areas surrounding the nation's top 50 cities.
- Those same metro areas are centers of diversity, containing over 60 percent of the nation's total population of color.
- They are also economic centers, generating \$9.2 trillion, or nearly 60 percent of the total U.S. gross domestic product (GDP).
- Local governments in the U.S. spend about \$1.8 *trillion* per year, roughly ten percent of the nation's GDP, and thus have a huge effect on regional economies.
- Local governments are significant sources of largely middle class jobs. They employ 14 million people, with a total payroll of \$50.8 billion per year.

As the saying goes, all politics is local. Polling data confirms that trust in government, essential to spreading and implementing a progressive agenda, is highest at the local level. City governments serve as policy laboratories, and they can drive a renewed faith in public solutions to our common problems.

Taking meaningful advantage of the powers and promise of cities requires two fundamental steps:

First, we need a strategic and focused investment in our cities' progressive infrastructure to counter the multi-decade intellectual and capital support of right-wing organizations. Successful organizing in our cities is the basis for an expanded progressive reach in counties and states. Resources should be directed to support multiracial, regionally embedded community-labor coalitions that are grounded in grassroots leadership and operate with an intersectional analysis of how race, gender and immigration status, for example, inform the challenges they confront and the solutions they develop.

Second, we must arm city policy makers, new and experienced in their roles as leaders, with an understanding of how to use the myriad tools of governance for the common good. Local government officials have enormous discretion to build a human-centered economy and a healthier environment.

Corporate and right-wing interests have long recognized the potential of cities to drive a progressive agenda and in response have [passed state preemption laws](#) that attempt to strip local authority. Although state and federal governments should remain targets of movement resources, this report offers proven strategies that allow local leaders and activists to seize control of their legislative priorities. It also describes the capacities that enable activists and coalitions to successfully move and expand their agendas *over a sustained period*. A strengthened regional organizing and leadership infrastructure is paramount to tilting power toward the people.

Progressive governing power can transform our institutions and communities when policymakers assert the extensive and largely untapped authorities of cities to advance a people-centered and environmentally friendly agenda. Transformative governing power is not just about smart policy; it also enables people, especially those who have been historically excluded or underrepresented, to actively participate in decision making as advocates, voters, elected and appointed officials, and civic leaders. Cities provide the broadest opportunities for democratic participation and civic engagement.

We assert that a modest and focused investment—far less than is spent on a state ballot measure—in the top 50 cities and their metro regions can become the seed of American renewal. Expanding organizing resources to the metropolitan regions that encircle cities allows

us to target the myriad of institutions that determine local policies—including counties, school boards, and air quality and water districts—and, ultimately, to drive statewide changes.

In assessing our ability to enhance organizing and leadership capacities, we sought to answer the following questions:

- Can local governments' powers be used to address larger-scale issues of economic inequality, climate change, and racism, sexism and homophobia?
- What is the reach of existing progressive capacity in the nation's 100 largest cities?
- Are leaders and organizers in urban areas operating from a regional and statewide power-building strategy that seeks to expand multiracial coalitions in cities, suburbs and exurbs?
- What capacities are needed to pursue and achieve regional power to move an equity agenda?
- How can progressive infrastructure in cities and counties chart a path toward rollbacks of state preemption laws?

We analyzed the nation's 100 largest cities and the counties and metropolitan regions they anchor. Our partner, [USC's Program for Environmental and Regional Equity](#) (PERE), used census and other data sources to paint a detailed picture of demographics, economics, and voting eligibility and participation in each of those cities, counties and metro areas. Our research team also analyzed economic, environmental and climate data.

We looked at the seven core legal powers of local governments to identify the potential scale of impact:

1. **Direct Spending**
2. **Procurement and Contracting**
3. **Economic Development and Sectoral Strategies**
4. **Proprietary Power**
5. **Land Use**
6. **Regulation**
7. **Taxation**

Further, we conducted interviews with leaders in a geographically diverse set of cities to identify how local actors are already effectively using those powers. We spoke with organizers and elected officials in: Denver, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, San Jose, Raleigh/Durham, Phoenix, Atlanta, Seattle, Houston, Nashville and Indianapolis.

Note: We deliberately use the term “city” in a variety of ways:

- As anchors of metro areas that operate as coherent economic and political regions.
- As specific government institutions that possess a set of legal powers and responsibilities.
- As a proxy for other local governments (e.g., school districts, water authorities, counties) that share geography and possess some fundamental governing responsibilities and powers capable of advancing the common good.

Summary of Findings

Cumulatively, cities hold the levers of power that can build an equitable economy and sustainable environment, thereby driving national policy advancements.

Cities have a set of governing powers that, if used to their fullest, could have significant national-scale effects on economic inequality, racial and social justice, and climate change. Cities have broad discretion to regulate industries and land use on both public and private properties—including major public assets such as ports, airports and municipal utilities. Through contracting, oversight and the expenditure of public funds, they can promulgate *and* enforce policies that ensure good jobs and livable communities. When disparate organizations have a full understanding of how public resources and authority can be leveraged to achieve their goals, they can form alliances to secure even bigger wins. For example, a labor-environmental-community coalition can unify around green infrastructure solutions that also support quality jobs.

Because cities and the metro regions they anchor hold a majority of the U.S. population, they can have an outsized impact on our nation's future. Cities can serve and inspire

as models of equitable policy and power, and local leaders should develop a set of principles that enshrine what it means to govern for the common good.

Cities are already incubating and demonstrating the popularity and effectiveness of progressive policies.

In cities throughout the country, multiracial community-labor alliances and other advocacy groups have won a range of progressive social, economic and environmental policies that benefit the many rather than the privileged few. Those successes at the city level have undercut the right wing's shopworn tactic of making alarmist predictions of dire economic harm. Instead, they demonstrate that progressive policies actually initiate positive effects on the economy, environment and community.

Cities are where we can begin rebuilding trust in government.

Cities are crucial to expanding progressive reach because they are where greater numbers of people have direct access to decision makers and connect with ground-level services. Cities are where policies salient to people's daily lives have greater visibility and relevance.

Cities also have the potential to create increased familiarity and empathy among diverse populations—essential elements to rebuilding faith in government and in public solutions. In order to achieve that potential, however, we must address problems of racial and economic segregation in our urban centers.

Cities are where policymakers learn the nuts and bolts of leadership and governance.

There are scores of state and federal legislators who began their careers on city councils, county boards of supervisors, and school boards. Serving in local government gives ambitious future leaders the opportunity to learn the complexities of public finance and policy, and how to work successfully with diverse constituencies and decision makers.

Broad-based coalition building is the foundation for powerful regional influence.

Organizing, advocacy and elected representation in cities can't shift state power without deep, multiracial organizing and action in suburbs and exurbs. Demographics and politics point to the urgency of building multiracial coalitions that engage increasingly

diverse suburbs in common purpose. We must start with—and build out from—our strength if we are to advance a state and national progressive agenda.

Strength and capacity at the local level are key to overcoming state and federal preemption.

Any forceful strategy to fight state preemption efforts must, by definition, begin at the local level, where conservatives have aimed preemption laws that incapacitate local authority to enact progressive policies. Regionally anchored organizations and coalitions can—and must—think comprehensively and strategically to identify the most promising paths towards preventing, evading and rolling back preemption laws. Strong anchor organizations that have a record of winning city-level campaigns are best situated to expand their organizing efforts to the wider community, drawing in non-traditional allies and residents of the suburbs and beyond in strategic initiatives and campaigns.

Significant, sustained investment in organizing and leadership capacity in cities and regions is integral to movement success.



Cities are where progressive capacity is concentrated, with the strongest collections of community, labor, environmental, and faith organizations working together and in concert with elected officials. They are where union density is highest, and where community organizing has had the most traction. Coalitions in cities across the country demonstrate the capacities, relationships and strategies needed to lead from both the “inside” and the “outside.” *They need the resources to sustain and expand their work to advance a progressive agenda.*

We simply cannot achieve permanent progressive power without on-the-ground organizing and outreach: talking to people; soliciting their ideas, energy and experience; forging relationships; building campaigns; and encouraging and aiding civic engagement. Ensuring that large numbers of people have a voice in the decisions that impact their lives requires investment in the trusted groups who have shown commitment to their communities’ priorities and wellbeing.

Building on progressive strength where so many Americans live turns regional successes into far-reaching state and national victories. With increased support for established organizations—further enabling everything from civic engagement to research and policy analysis to leadership development—we can supplant the power wielded by the right and implement our guiding values and vision.

CITIES: THE NUMBERS

Cities provide great opportunities for action, but they are also concentrated sources of some of the nation's greatest challenges. Below we highlight some assets and problems of America's largest cities.

Demographics

Much like Willie Sutton's famous explanation that he robbed banks because "that's where the money is," the reason to focus on cities is because that's where the people are. The Census Bureau [reports](#) that in 2013, the 19,000-plus U.S. cities (with a mere 3.5 percent of land area) housed 62.7 percent of the population.¹ That distribution is highly concentrated. The [ten largest cities](#) alone have a population of over 25 million, or eight percent of the U.S. population.² The percentage doubles at the top 50 cities, with over 48 million people, or 15.5 percent of the U.S. population. Nearly half of the entire U.S. population—over 152 million people—lives in the metro areas associated with the top 50 cities.

It will be another quarter-century before the U.S. is a [majority people-of-color](#) country³, but most of our largest cities have had majority people-of-color populations for years. Every city among the ten largest—and 64 percent of the top 50 cities—has a population that is majority people of color. A differential rate of change means metropolitan diversity will continue to outstrip national changes overall: from 2000 to 2016, the share of people of color in metropolitan areas grew by 8.5 percentage points, while the share of people of color in non-metropolitan areas grew by only 4.1 percentage points.⁴

Economics

If people are concentrated in cities and metro centers, economic activity is even more concentrated in those areas. The metro areas⁵ that house the 50 most populous cities generate \$9.2 trillion, or nearly 60 percent of the total U.S. gross domestic product (GDP). *The country's 100 largest metro areas account for 75 percent of all economic activity in the U.S.*

Although staggering, those figures fail to capture the depth and breadth of the economic assets concentrated in cities and metro areas. A 2007 Brookings report documents that the 100 largest metro areas produced 78 percent of all patents, and received 94 percent of all venture capital funding. Those areas contain more than two-thirds of major U.S. research universities and more than three-quarters of "knowledge economy" jobs. With

seaports and airports, they house the overwhelming majority of the nation's critical goods-moving and people-moving infrastructure, responsible for more than 75 percent of the nation's cargo and 92 percent of air passenger boardings.⁶

While cities and their surrounding metros have unparalleled assets and advantages, they also struggle with some of the most troubling economic challenges in the U.S.: poverty and inequality. Working poverty, in particular, is a disproportionately urban problem. In the ten largest cities, the problem is stark, with a rate of working poverty over 40 percent higher than the national average. Economic inequality is also higher in the 50 largest cities than in the nation overall. Recent city and state increases in the minimum wage will improve rates of working poverty, but many of those pay increases will not be fully implemented for several years. A recent UC Berkeley study found positive results from wage increases and other worker-friendly policies in California.

We are in the midst of a significant shift in regional population patterns. Where urban centers have previously been areas of concentrated poverty, they are becoming increasingly gentrified. Poverty is now moving to the suburbs—both in inner-ring suburbs of major cities and in smaller exurban towns that encircle those larger cities. The spread and displacement of impoverished families outside of central cities makes regional organizing and solutions imperative.

Climate Change

The [largest source](#) of the country's GHG emissions comes from burning fossil fuels for electricity, heat and transportation.⁷ According to the Environmental Protection Agency, [60 percent](#) of transportation-related GHG emissions come from "light duty" vehicles (passenger cars, SUVs and light pickups), and urban areas generate nearly [two-thirds](#) of those emissions.⁸ Similarly, urban areas are responsible for [three-quarters](#) of residential energy use.⁹

Heat and pollution exacerbate health problems, particularly for low-income residents and people of color.

Compounding the effects of pollution, patterns of urbanization have created heat island effects that have human, environmental and economic consequences. The urban heat island effect is caused by structures and

hardscape that absorb and hold heat, resulting in higher surface and atmospheric temperatures than surrounding, less developed areas. A [2014 analysis](#) by Climate Central found that single day urban temperatures in some metro areas were as much as 27 degrees F higher than surrounding rural areas.¹⁰

Air pollution in metropolitan areas is a significant health hazard. Every year in the U.S., [nearly as many people die](#) as a result of air pollution (9,320) as they do from alcohol-related car crashes (10,076).¹¹ Low-income communities and people of color face disproportionate harms. Partly a result of historic housing segregation policies, people of color are much more likely to live in close proximity to sources of air pollution, including power plants and toxic waste facilities.

Climate change and pollution exact another toll on low-income communities and people of color. As global warming increases energy demands and threatens water supplies, the rising costs of water and power utilities—not to mention health care—[disproportionately affects](#) low-income families and people of color.¹²

Cities can lead the way on climate change and inequality challenges.

Whereas cities are the sources of many of our environmental and socio-economic challenges, they are also on the forefront of progressive action. From successful campaigns to secure municipal commitment to clean energy goals and the procurement of clean fuel fleets, to expansion of green building standards and public transit-oriented developments, cities provide opportunities to make penetrating, lasting change. The benefits of that change are multiplied when cities connect their climate adaptation and mitigation work to equitable economic growth strategies.

It is also at the city level where we can best connect and build from the experience of frontline communities and the expertise of local environmental justice movements. A locally focused set of solutions is not only more winnable, it enables communities of color that have most suffered from environmental harms to stand at the center of the fight.

When government officials work in accord with community priorities that emphasize the wellbeing of people and the planet, they can have an exponential impact. Nowhere is that more critical than with climate change activism, the benefits of which ripple far out from urban centers.

As federal administration officials endeavor to undermine policies that protect people and our natural resources, cities and states, propelled by grassroots support, are stepping up to take action. After Trump announced the withdrawal from the Paris Climate Accord, over 400 U.S. Mayors, representing 70 million Americans, pledged to uphold the agreement under a [Mayors National Climate Action Agenda](#). Governors have also stepped into the breach, forming a [U.S. Climate Alliance](#), a bipartisan coalition of states committed to reducing GHG emissions consistent with Paris goals.

[Thirty-four states](#) have climate action plans, and hundreds of cities and counties are creating and enacting their own climate resilience solutions—some, such as Miami, Houston and New Orleans, with great urgency.

Local power can drive national solutions.

On climate change, jobs, criminal justice and many other issues, advocates working with local public officials are already advancing a progressive policy agenda. The following section demonstrates in greater detail the powers and potential of local governments and public entities to more equitably reshape our policies and the national economy.



THE SEVEN POWERS OF CITIES

For under-resourced advocates working in the trenches, very often on behalf of marginalized communities and issues, having a comprehensive framework for the powers at their disposal may vastly expand their idea of what's possible. Understanding the range of municipal and local powers can inform a progressive agenda that has energy, reach and longevity. Blue state, red state, purple state: government for the people, by the people, where they navigate their lives.

Local governments have a set of public powers that can affect every job, investment and family in a region. Although preemption—the use of state law to nullify or limit a local policy or authority (discussed in depth on page 36)—is a major challenge in a number of cities and states, the range of what can be done in cities is limited only by our political power and imaginations.

To provide a sense of scale of what municipal power can yield, [increases in local minimum wages](#) between 2012—the start of the “Fight for \$15” campaign—and 2016 gave nearly two million workers about \$8.3 billion in wage increases.¹³ Often, successful city campaigns prompted passage of minimum wage increases on the statewide level. (State measures have recently given some 15 million workers about \$51 billion in wage increases.) [By the end of 2018](#), 35 cities and counties and 21 states will have raised minimum wage standards, giving low-income workers and their families a path out of poverty and infusing tens of billions of dollars into regional economies.¹⁴

With latest U.S. Census estimates at about [\\$1.8 trillion](#) per year, [local government spending](#) represents roughly ten percent of the nation's gross domestic product.¹⁵ Local governments can regulate industries, leverage investments, take steps to address climate change, and support the integration of new immigrant communities. It is generally at the local level that federal legislation is actually implemented and enforced.

In the following section, we detail how the powers of cities can be used to further policies aimed at the common good, and we provide examples of the kinds of exciting advocacy work taking place in diverse cities throughout the U.S. A significant lesson learned is that exercising city powers to grow a fair economy and a clean environment only works when it is attached to an organizing strategy that expands democratic participation in decision-making.

7 Powers of Cities

1. Direct Spending
2. Procurement and Contracting
3. Economic Development and Sectoral Strategies
4. Proprietary Power
5. Land Use
6. Regulation
7. Taxation

1. Direct Spending

Based on 2012 data, the U.S. Census Bureau's last quinquennial [report](#) on state and local finance found that local governments—cities, counties, and education and other special districts—had spent nearly \$1.7 trillion in that fiscal year.¹⁶ Roughly [36 percent](#) of total local government spending came from the federal and state governments, a percentage that has been shrinking under Washington's austerity measures and devolution of program and funding responsibilities to local governments.¹⁷ Granular decisions about how to spend pass-through funds happen locally, but can be limited by preemption.

Local Government Expenditures (2012)	In billions
Education	\$598.1
Utilities	\$183.2
Police	\$97
Fire	\$42
Everything else (infrastructure, housing, parks, human services, economic development, etc.)	\$697.7

What does that spending buy in cities?

Good Jobs

Local governments are themselves sources of largely middle class jobs. According to the [2012 Census of Governments](#), local governments throughout the U.S. employ 14 million people, with a total payroll of \$50.8 billion per year.¹⁸ More than three-quarters are full-time

employees. (Close to one million Americans are employed by the largest 50 cities alone.) Schools account for just over half of all local government employees.

When unionized, jobs created in and by local governments enable millions of families to enjoy economic stability. In addition, they provide career ladders—particularly when linked to affirmative action efforts—for workers of color coming from socio-economically marginalized backgrounds.

The fight for paid parental leave in Oregon demonstrates the power of local governments to set strong job quality standards. In 2015, the Multnomah County Commission implemented a [paid parental leave policy](#) for its nearly 6,000 employees.¹⁹ The policy change was the result of active campaigning by AFSCME, Family Forward, and progressive elected officials. Two months later, the City of Portland passed a [similar policy](#).²⁰ Those wins focussed public attention on family leave issues, creating helpful momentum for a [long-term fight](#) to introduce and win ambitious paid family leave and insurance legislation at the state level.

Public Services

Police and fire services generally constitute half of municipal general fund spending. But cities also, for example: pick up trash, pave streets, fix street lights, trim trees, and offer library and recreational services. A city's ability to deliver basic services is often how residents judge their city's livability. Ensuring equity in the delivery of city services is one of the most powerful steps elected and appointed leaders can take to rebuild trust in government, improve communities, and make the case for increased public investment.

A recent successful campaign to combat government services inequities came as a result of the advocacy efforts of the [RePower LA](#) labor-community coalition. Responding to the group's demands, Los Angeles' municipal utility adopted a new tracking system to measure how fairly it serves communities throughout the city.



Experiments with participatory budgeting are pushing the envelope on what direct community control of public funds might entail. Cities like Greensboro, North Carolina, have engaged in a participatory budgeting process in which residents first nominate projects for funding from the city budget, then vote to select which projects actually receive funding. Past projects have included local solar charging stations and improvements to park facilities.²¹ Participatory budgeting is a rapidly growing practice, used in cities like New York, St. Louis and Chicago, and even in the Phoenix Unified School District.^{22,23}

The Safety Net

County governments are usually where communities' frontline health and human services needs are met. Money from the federal and state governments flows through counties for vital safety net assistance: public medical centers and community clinics, food stamps and supplements, basic income support, and other family and children's services. Fueled by racist goals and strategies, the right has spent decades campaigning relentlessly—and successfully—to dismantle safety net services for the most vulnerable Americans, while at the same time shepherding a massive increase in public spending on the military and prisons.

At the local level, however, we have seen successful initiatives to expand social services. In 2001, [Working Partnerships USA](#) (WPUSA) pioneered a first-in-the-nation effort to achieve universal health insurance for children on a countywide level. Today, the program provides health coverage to more than 161,000 Santa Clara County minors. Once enacted locally, WPUSA provided technical assistance to other California counties as they set up their own [Children's Health Initiatives](#) (CHI). CHI has now been replicated in thirty counties and has been proposed as a statewide program.

Education

The recent teachers' strikes in Arizona, West Virginia, Oklahoma and Kentucky have shined a spotlight on the extraordinary challenges facing the nation's underfunded public school districts. Reeling under decades of budget cuts, they often lack even basic resources in the classrooms to sustain quality education, and they struggle to meet priority goals of class size reduction, special needs instruction, student health and psychological care, and school safety. Those goals are impossible to meet if our public schools lack the resources to hire and retain high-quality teachers, nurses and counselors who are provided fair compensation.

Despite those difficulties, districts have choices that can benefit the educational outcomes of their students and the community at large. They can shift spending from security forces to classrooms. They can invest in [restorative justice programs](#) that cut off the school-to-prison pipeline. They can create [community schools](#) that integrate neighborhood, health and other social services in school programs. [Case studies](#) of Cincinnati, Austin, Baltimore, Portland (OR) and other districts have achieved striking successes that include increased enrollment, higher graduation rates, fewer suspensions, and community engagement and support.²⁴

2. Procurement and Contracting

Local government procurement and contracting (the purchasing of goods and services) affects multiple sectors of the economy. Local governments need to buy everything from fire trucks to uniforms to paper. Procurement and contracting are arenas in which local authorities often have broad legal latitude, even in states with preemption policies. According to the [Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development](#), total government procurement in the U.S. represents 12 percent of the nation's GDP, and states and local governments represent over 40 percent of that total amount.

Local government purchasing power supports jobs in the private sector, and it enables authorities to set standards for the quality of those jobs and who receives training and access to them. The challenge is that many local governments choose to purchase goods and services based on lowest cost rather than on community needs and input. Together, constituencies and workers must assert their right to participate in decisions that shape massive expenditures of taxpayer resources. Without that kind of intervention, governments too often buy, build, and contract out in ways that deprive low- and middle-income communities of good jobs and economic development.

[Jobs to Move America](#) (JMA) is a national research, strategy and advocacy center with a mission to transform government procurement functions. The goal is to spur a new movement that will: create major investment in workforce training; develop domestic manufacturing career paths for low-income workers (especially women, people of color, and other disadvantaged workers); promote economic development in major urban communities; and engage diverse organizations in regional networks.

JMA's work is anchored in three guiding principles. First, public spending (procurement) can be a tool for winning policies and actions that benefit communities. Second, communities closest to the problem being addressed must play a lead role in designing solutions. Finally, open and transparent government procurement processes can increase accountability and contribute to thriving local communities.

JMA developed the innovative [U.S. Employment Plan](#), which gives public agencies three policy tools to help ensure fair contracting practices that support disadvantaged workers. Despite federal procurement rules designed to prevent considerations of public value beyond cost, JMA has successfully worked with officials in the U.S. Department of Transportation to win formal endorsement of its policy agenda. JMA'S work has led to the creation and retention of some 52,000 jobs, covering over \$7 billion worth of transit projects in upstate New York, Chicago and Los Angeles.

An Indianapolis-based interfaith community group, IndyCAN (now [Faith in Indiana](#)) demonstrated how local organizing can creatively leverage cities' procurement and contracting power to advance a civil rights and criminal justice reform agenda. In 2015, Indianapolis' mayor proposed a legacy project: a \$1.75 *billion* jail expansion and new criminal justice complex to be built and operated by a public-private partnership. IndyCAN's members had spent years campaigning for "off-ramps" from the criminal justice system and "on-ramps" to good jobs. They saw the mayor's jail project as both a threat—increased incarceration—and an opportunity to use the city's spending power to leverage community benefits such as targeted hire, transitional jobs, and criminal justice reform. IndyCAN secured pledges from 10,000 Indianapolis voters to hold accountable any elected official who voted to put prison profits over people. As a result of its organizing and advocacy efforts, IndyCAN successfully got the city council to vote down the mayor's expanded jail proposal. Their efforts shifted the terms of the debate. Subsequently, the next mayor announced a series of criminal justice reforms that prioritize pretrial services and pre-treatment, and plans for a crisis intervention center as part of a much smaller new jail facility.²⁵

Infrastructure spending represents a significant slice of the procurement pie, and is a necessity for local economic growth. Without functioning transportation systems—from rail lines to roads—goods don't move, and our economy grinds to a halt. Rebuilding public water and power utilities is not only vital to residents' health and

safety, but it can also advance innovative and sustainable development.

Working with local communities, government officials must ask:

- Are proposed infrastructure projects providing access to the systems and structures people need to live full and healthy lives, like transportation, clean water, healthcare, and open space?
- Which companies are winning government contracts? Are companies owned by women and people of color given the opportunity and support to compete?
- Do infrastructure projects perpetuate cycles of poverty and inequality or do they support a clean and thriving future for all people by increasing access to quality job opportunities?

The scale of existing and potential spending across the country is huge. According to the American Society of Civil Engineers' [2017 Report Card](#) for America's Infrastructure, the U.S. is in need of about [\\$4.6 trillion](#) in infrastructure investment.²⁶ That number reflects a limited definition of infrastructure—the built environment—and does not include the kind of critical health care and social service infrastructure needed for livable communities.

It is now clear from President Trump's infrastructure proposal and responses from congressional members that the federal government won't provide desperately needed investments for cities, regions, rural areas or states. Trump's plan offers limited subsidies that will essentially force regional governments and agencies to consider privatizing assets, and actually cuts the overall amount of money the federal government spends on infrastructure. That move toward privatization dramatically increases the need for progressive expertise and organizing capacity at a local level.

Without strong equity, governance and sustainability standards, infrastructure needs should not be addressed through public-private partnerships (P3) or offers of subsidies or tax benefits to investors. Public-private partnerships use high-cost financing and often limit the ability of policy makers to make important decisions about housing, land use, transportation, climate policies and economic development. A profit-driven answer to building infrastructure won't bring broadband services to

rural areas or fix water systems in cities like Flint. In fact, the interests of corporations are often written into long-term P3 contracts through "non-compete clauses" that constrain democratic decision making and public policy options to protect and advance the common good.

State and local governments build American infrastructure, and regardless of the outcomes of national legislation they will continue to be responsible for the majority of the funding and virtually all of the public decision making. Thus, the infrastructure deficit may widen further as the responsibility to fund projects increasingly falls to state and local governments, many of which have faced declining revenues and consequent budget cuts. The [share](#) of transportation and water infrastructure spending from state and local governments increased from an average of 68 percent of total spending from 1960-1980 to 75 percent from 1990-2007.²⁷

Thankfully, throughout the country, voters have proved [enormously willing](#) to tax themselves in order to invest in infrastructure.²⁸ [More than two-thirds of transit funding measures on the 2016 November ballot passed.](#)²⁹ California's 2016 general election ballots included a record [427 local government spending measures](#) for such priorities as public school facilities, transit, and affordable housing.³⁰



Although voters' willingness to levy taxes generates needed revenue, it is not a viable solution for low-income regions like Detroit or other deindustrialized cities. Those areas must be part of a state or regional taxing area that can share the resources and burden of investment among economically diverse areas.

Transit Infrastructure: Stories from the Field

The Seattle region recently passed a 25-year, \$54 billion [transit proposition](#). The transit expansion supports the city's goal of reducing vehicle pollution by 75 percent by 2030. The rail project will cut over 360 million vehicle-miles-per-year, and the entire Sound Transit system will prevent 800,000 tons of annual urban emissions. [Puget Sound SAGE](#) worked to include equity outcomes from the measure, including surplus lands for affordable housing and a new in-fill station.⁷⁰ The group then turned out voters from communities of color that would benefit from the proposition's passage.

On the other side of the country, voters in Atlanta overwhelmingly supported the 2015 "[Renew Atlanta](#)" infrastructure bond that raised \$250 million for citywide repairs, improvements and upgrades to transportation and municipal facilities projects. The bond also links new jobs to environmental benefits.

The Atlanta area provides another great example of a transit infrastructure campaign. For ten years, Clayton County, in the southern part of Atlanta, had a skeletal bus system known as the C-TRAN, which was dismantled in 2010 during a budget crisis. Clayton is one of the most economically depressed counties of the Atlanta Metro region. [Transit for Clayton](#), a coalition of 25 environmental, religious, labor and civil rights groups, led by [Georgia STAND UP](#), helped pass a ballot initiative in 2014 to join the regional transit network known as MARTA. The measure called for a one-cent sales tax increase levied over 33 years that pays for 10 bus lines and a new commuter rail line to serve the area and connect it to regions with greater economic opportunities. It [won](#) by an overwhelming 74 percent of the vote.

MARTA is promoting transit-oriented development (TOD) on land it owns adjacent to its 37 existing stations. The agency's TOD guidelines enable it to establish "best value" criteria around its contracting and purchasing. It also applies an inclusionary affordable housing requirement, in which 20 percent of housing built on its property must be dedicated to low-income residents. Best value criteria provide an opening for community groups to press for targeted hiring practices and other community benefits.

Infrastructure spending, though, can be a means for creating job opportunities and economic security. Throughout the U.S., activist campaigns have successfully ensured that new infrastructure funding sources are tied to quality labor standards. The campaigns have won agreements that not only guarantee union standards, but also have targeted hiring policies for low-income and disadvantaged workers. Those kinds of protections help ensure that construction jobs don't get contracted out to "low road" companies in which job injuries and short-term employment habitually prevent workers from supporting their families and contributing to their communities.

The Denver-area advocacy group FRESC (the Front Range Economic Strategy Center)—now [United for a New Economy](#)—successfully leveraged over \$1 billion in public funds for reconstruction of Interstate 70 to secure labor and community benefits. The group won a 20 percent targeted hire [agreement](#) along with apprenticeship requirements. Through its history of work on transit-oriented development, FRESC had established relationships in the neighborhoods most affected by freeway widening and thus were able to harness widespread community backing. They worked closely with council member Debbie Ortega, who brought the demand for local jobs to the mayor and the Department of Transportation. Denver was part of an innovative pilot program that allowed a select number of cities to implement targeted hire on federally funded projects.

Contracting for services is another avenue to promote economic fairness and opportunity. Progressives have spent decades fighting the right-wing's crusade to privatize government services, the result of which is often low-wage, dead-end jobs, inferior work product, and back-ended costs. The living wage campaigns that took place throughout the country in the '90s and early 2000s were largely in response to relentless attacks on government services that were specifically intended to derail worker protections and the power of labor unions.

More than 100 cities have now enacted living wage policies for public and contracted employees. In addition to increased wage standards, the policies often include paid sick days and family leave, anti-retaliation language, and [responsible contractor stipulations](#) that require disclosure during the bidding process of a firm's history of labor and other legal violations. Those living wage victories helped lay the groundwork for the wave of local and state minimum wage victories over the past several years. For more information on wage policies,

please consult the [National Employment Law Project](#) and [Partnership for Working Families](#).

In 2015, Pittsburgh Mayor William Peduto signed an [executive order](#) mandating a \$15 minimum wage for all city and contracted employees. Although Pittsburgh is prohibited by state law from passing a citywide minimum wage increase, it can set standards for its own contracted workers. That wage increase set the stage for a big win at the University of Pittsburgh Medical Center (UPMC). With 80,000 employees and operating revenue of over \$14 billion, UPMC is the largest non-governmental employer in Pennsylvania. UPMC agreed to raise wages to at least \$15 per hour for its entire workforce only four months after Mayor Peduto signed his executive order and following a successful coalition campaign led by [Pittsburgh UNITED](#).

Contracting policies can also be a means of leveraging environmental and other community benefits. There are over 2,000 public utilities serving 21 million customers throughout the country, creating an opportunity for local governments to prioritize the expansion of clean and renewable energy production. Cities can use contracting and franchising negotiations with private or state-regulated utilities to establish sustainable energy requirements. For example, the city of Minneapolis set carbon reduction goals that require an increase of renewable energy production. However, private electric and gas utilities—run by Xcel Energy and CenterPoint Energy—operate outside the city’s jurisdiction and are regulated by the state. The city worked with state officials to leverage the expiration of the franchise agreement to negotiate an increase in renewable energy that would enable the city of Minneapolis to achieve its carbon reduction goal. The result is the [Minneapolis Clean Energy Partnership](#).

Further, advocates can use procurement practices to support new and better jobs tied to climate justice goals. As Los Angeles and New York City initiate new systems to regulate waste and recycling, thanks to community-labor coalitions led by groups like [ALIGN](#), the private sector can seize on opportunities to expand regional manufacturing of recyclables. Historically, most recycled cardboard or plastic bottles, for example, have been bought and remanufactured in China or India. Because L.A. and New York’s new systems aim to increase to above 90 percent the amount of trash recycled, local businesses can use regular and clean streams of recyclables for manufacturing purposes. In California, recycling manufacturing has already created [128,000 jobs](#).³¹

3. Economic Development

Cities have the potential to use financial and land use incentives to support “high road” businesses and create jobs.

Sectoral Strategies

Through regulation and investments, cities can support and shape the growth of priority sectors of the private market. Cities can use investment strategies to support major industries—such as healthcare, construction, hospitality and transportation—while also encouraging the passage of smart policies that support workers and communities. Research supporting the growth of sustainable local industries should explore incentives to enable their expansion. What kinds of infrastructure investments would be most helpful to those industries? Is a lack of a trained workforce limiting industry advancement? Is access to capital a challenge?

[Initiative 124](#), passed in Seattle in 2016, demonstrates how new regulations can be drafted to target key sectors of a regional economy. [Sponsored by UNITE-HERE Local 8](#) and led by [Puget Sound Sage](#), the successful campaign garnered 77 percent of the popular vote. Initiative 124: requires hotels to provide health insurance subsidies for low-wage workers (providing millions of dollars of benefits to employees and their families); protects hotel workers from sexual assault and harassment; limits workloads to avoid injury; and creates worker retention by ensuring that their jobs are protected when a hotel changes ownership. Those benefits are aimed at a workforce dominated by women and immigrants, in an industry that has benefited from the city’s investment both directly and indirectly through infrastructure improvements.

Monitoring and Leveraging Economic Development Tools for Public Benefit

Economic development at the city and regional level comes in many forms, with infrastructure spending a more advantageous way to support broad-scale growth for businesses. With adequate public participation, community benefits agreements and other accountability measures, public investments can spur healthy economic growth. Unfortunately, most local governments fail to track those types of resources to determine whether they yielded the promised results: new jobs, better pay, improved services. Without centralized tracking, it is incredibly difficult to get a handle on the scale of investments made by multiple

local authorities. [Good Jobs First](#) has led the field in deepening the public's understanding of subsidies, and their [Subsidy Tracker](#) website offers tools that enable communities to see how corporations are benefiting from local government largesse.

A 2012 *New York Times* [analysis](#) found that local and state governments had spent \$80.4 billion in business incentives that year.³² That figure included cash grants, corporate income tax credits, sales tax exemptions or refunds, property tax abatements, low-cost loans or government guarantees, and free services like worker training. The total does not count the significant financial value of land use entitlements such as density bonuses, which can radically increase the value of a given property. Enabling developers to build above prevailing height limits, for example, allows them to expand the real estate they can rent or sell.

As recently demonstrated by the fierce [bidding war](#) over the location of a new Amazon headquarters, a vexing challenge for cities as well as advocates is the [competition](#) between municipalities to secure the siting of big businesses. Corporations shop for the best tax and incentive packages that cities will provide, resulting in a transfer of public money to private coffers with no overall benefit. Neither revenues nor jobs are actually generated; resources are simply re-distributed geographically. Cities would do better spending discretionary funds on infrastructure improvements that create jobs and support more comprehensive economic growth.

The following are pro-business economic development tools, often opaque to the public, that can work for or against communities.

Subsidies to private businesses are often unpopular, and understandably so if they are made without built-in accountability measures and public input. Subsidies come in many forms. They can include [tax abatements](#) or write-offs, fee waivers or loans. Private businesses can access financial assistance from federal programs like the Department of Housing and Urban Development's [Section 108](#) loan guarantees and [Community Development Block Grant](#) funds, and from the [Small Business Administration](#). Subsidies may also come via programs such as [Enterprise](#) or [Promise](#) zones, for example.

Tax abatements can be used either to manipulate public funding sources or support community-friendly business growth. Cities have options to impose taxes on a range of services and activities, including: utilities, business licenses and gross receipts, and parking and sales. Many new taxes require a vote of the public, particularly in the case of sales tax increases. (Property taxes are often divided among state, county and city authorities, so cannot always be decided at the city level.) Depending on the taxing authority of a given region or city, elected representatives may provide business interests with tax abatements through a range of options that include tax cuts or tax waivers given over a designated period.

Public finance can include bond measures that local governments issue, using either specific new taxes or the city's general fund as sources of repayment. Operating almost entirely under the radar, an entire industry exists around municipal finance, and therefore requires strong public oversight. Managing those financial transactions has resulted in large profits for some of the country's biggest banks, not to mention work for an army of consultants. [Fix LA](#), for example, documented in 2015 that Los Angeles taxpayers were on the hook for \$334 million in fees for municipal financial services from Wall Street banks.

Gifts of public land can be extraordinarily difficult to track. City and local governments are usually significant landowners in any given region. Particularly in the context of transit-oriented development (TOD), public authorities can make a big impact on how development happens. Are TODs considered a means of developer enrichment? Or are they opportunities to leverage good jobs, affordable housing, and non-displacement policies to ensure existing residents are not driven out by higher housing costs?

Tax increment financing, or TIF, is a process in which redevelopment authorities acquire the right to use the projected increase in property taxes that occur as a result of new, government-sponsored development. TIF is a bonding mechanism to help finance new development. Projected increases in other taxes (for example, parking or utility taxes) may also be reinvested in new developments.

Fighting Subsidy Abuse in Chicago

In Chicago, [Grassroots Collaborative](#) has campaigned for years against tax increment financing (TIF) abuse by elected officials and the corporate sector. For example, nearly half of the \$1.3 billion in TIF funds allocated by Mayor Rahm Emanuel from 2011-2015 have gone to the Loop (Chicago’s central business district) and surrounding areas. “In other words,” says Amisha Patel, Grassroots Collaborative’s executive director, “a development tool that was meant to aid blighted communities instead works to create even more economic disparities in Chicago.”

In 2012, Grassroots Collaborative and allies scored a big victory when they successfully forced the Chicago Mercantile Exchange (CME), the world’s largest futures trading center, to return \$15 million in TIF money back to the city.

“We had released our report called *Downtown Prosperity, Neighborhood Neglect*,” says Patel. “The report received widespread attention for research that showed black and Latino workers losing downtown jobs, while the city was doling out millions to downtown corporations. And it came after months of creative actions against CME, which had won the money in part to rehab their bathrooms.” (One action included delivering golden toilets to both the CME and to City Hall.) “An entity that has made \$2 billion in profits in a single year was trying to get \$15 million in tax dollars to fix their toilets—and at the same time that Mayor Emanuel was closing schools and mental health clinics due to lack of funding!”

Winning back \$15 million, plus another \$19 million from United Airlines and CNA group, Grassroots Collaborative has proven that creative campaigns that expose government-approved corporate abuse of public dollars help ensure that economic development resources benefit the low-income and marginalized communities for which they are intended.

4. Proprietary Power

When cities or local authorities own major assets—like ports, airports, and utilities—they have the power as “market participants” to set standards on how business is conducted on their property. For example, proprietary power can enable cities to set living wage standards for airport concession workers. They can raise environmental standards by ensuring that all vehicles operating on that government property meet high emissions standards. Airports and ports are critical to successful goods movement and trade, and thus can have an outsized influence on regional economies.

Ports and airports in the top 100 Metropolitan Statistical Areas handle 75 percent of sea tonnage coming into the country and 79 percent of air cargo. Four-hundred-eighty-five commercial airports in cities support 9.6 million jobs, and generate more than \$1.1 trillion in economic activity. Publicly owned ports support 13.3 million jobs.

Utilities, too, can influence local markets. The Los Angeles Department of Water and Power, responding to community-labor coalition advocacy, has set ambitious goals to stop using coal by 2025. The LADWP has also created a model paid training program for green energy jobs. Services are aimed at low-income communities and provide the added benefit of lowering utility costs for customers. The San Francisco Public Utilities Commission has been a national leader in using its power to set standards that benefit the community.

Business Type	Number that are Publicly Owned
Airports ³³	4,935
Seaports ³⁴	127
Stadia ³⁵	14
Convention Centers ³⁶	300+
Hotels ³⁷	32
Power Companies ³⁸	2,013
Water Systems ³⁹	25,770
Internet Networks ⁴⁰	460

After a multi-year battle led by a coalition including the interfaith community organizing group [POWER](#), SEIU and Unite HERE, Philadelphia raised its airport minimum wage to \$12 per hour, benefiting a workforce predominantly comprised of people of color. Through protest and pressure on elected officials, POWER has had to continually fight to ensure that American Airlines and its subcontractors adhere to wage requirements. Similarly, labor-community coalitions in Seattle, Los Angeles, New York and Boston have directly challenged airlines like United, Delta and American—the largest corporate players in the transportation industry. Led by hard-to-organize subcontracted employees, those coalitions have turned precarious service work into family-sustaining jobs that pay living wages and offer employer-covered healthcare. At the national level, the airlines’ federal lobby may be tough to beat, but a networked strategy in individual markets has worked successfully to raise standards for airport workers who literally keep local economies moving.

Cities often own properties throughout their region, which they may not adequately track. One challenge for progressive advocates is to push back against the so-called “highest and best use” standard for the disposal and sale of public land. Puget Sound SAGE (Seattle) successfully advocated for legislation at the state level and again at the ballot box requiring the regional transit agency to sell 80 percent of its land after construction of the transit infrastructure was completed for affordable housing. Getting the highest price should not be the sole standard for determining sales. Municipal policies on surplus properties should account for community needs.

Cities can also use public property to expand clean energy. New York City’s [plan](#) to cut 80 percent of its emissions by 2050 includes a proposal to install solar panels on 100 of the city’s largest school buildings. That expenditure will create jobs and reduce annual greenhouse gas emissions by 26,000 metric tons.

5. Land Use

Cities have enormous power to determine land use—what can be built where—in any part of their jurisdictions, though some states preempt power in specific cases. Land use policy can be an incredible tool to effect progressive change. The chart below provides a sense of how many projects are approved in a given year and their value.

City	Building Permits	Est. Value Annually
Los Angeles ⁴¹	141,000	\$6.8 billion
Columbus ⁴²	11,815	\$1.78 billion
Albuquerque ⁴³	3,794	\$504 million
Houston ⁴⁴	17,000	\$7.6 billion
Jacksonville ⁴⁵	11,702	\$1.3 billion
Seattle ⁴⁶	48,536	(9,500 Of those > \$4 billion)
Raleigh ⁴⁷	7,038	\$1.8 billion

Zoning rules can discourage uses that have negative environmental or social consequences on communities. Alternatively, they can encourage development in industries that have, or could create, quality jobs—for example, by easing the process for land use approvals or cumbersome parking regulations.

Zoning rules can encourage smart growth: the kind of dense, transit-focused development that connects people to jobs, provides affordable housing, and limits environmental damage. In many states, zoning rules can *require* the development of affordable housing or limit displacement of existing affordable housing.

Affordable housing linkage fees and inclusionary zoning (requiring that a percentage of new units are affordable) are instruments to address a paramount challenge in cities across the nation: displacement of low-income residents of color when a neighborhood gentrifies. Those policies go hand-in-hand with tenant protection bills banning discrimination based on tenants’ sources of income.

In September 2017, the [Lincoln Institute of Land Policy](#) published a [study](#) that found that “373 jurisdictions reported a total of \$1.7 billion in impact or in-lieu fees for the creation of affordable housing. Jurisdictions also reported creating a total of 173,707 units of affordable housing, which predominantly excludes additional units created with the \$1.7 billion in fees[.]”⁴⁸

Policies to Address Gentrification

Building more affordable housing is indispensable to addressing gentrification, but it is clear that even when money exists—through in-lieu fees or housing bonds—we cannot build fast enough to meet the need. Municipalities have a [range of options](#) to protect the displacement of low-income residents. Rent control (a municipal regulatory power) and policies like “no net loss” are absolute necessities. Too, cities must address [criminalization in gentrifying neighborhoods](#), in which the demands and suspicions of newer residents can create an oppressive law enforcement presence on longtime residents.

6. Regulatory Powers

Raising a city minimum wage is a perfect example of how regulatory power—in legal parlance, “police power”—can be used to powerful effect. (“Police powers” are the broad powers governments have to adopt and enforce laws and regulations that protect public health and welfare—such as speed limits—and apply within the boundaries of the jurisdiction.) As a political matter, regulatory powers are widely accepted in arenas like health inspections, but enforcing wage standards is often viewed differently. We ticket and sometimes arrest kids for jumping a turnstile in the subway, but wage theft has proved much harder to prosecute and enforce. A central part of minimum wage campaigns must include efforts to set up and resource government enforcement agencies, enabling their partnership with community groups to ensure regional wage requirements.

Other examples of regulation sometimes include labor standards like requiring employers to offer paid sick time or adopt fair scheduling and fair chance hiring policies like “[Ban the Box](#).” Again, preemption efforts by organized corporate opposition are a threat to those kinds of pro-worker protections.

Community reaction to the recent boom in domestic natural gas production via hydraulic fracturing shows how local organizing can drive statewide policy change and even force national policymakers to engage on priority issues. In the face of federal and state regulators’ failure to protect public safety and health from fracking, grassroots activists and local policymakers have organized and passed policies banning or limiting fracking in communities across the country. Denton, Texas, a solidly Republican town, was one of the first local jurisdictions to [pass](#) a fracking ban. Although that

ban was ultimately [preempted](#) by the state legislature, the Denton win raised the profile of local anti-fracking work across the state and country. Shortly after the preemption, a newly radicalized [local activist said](#): “The industry might win this battle but I don’t know that they’re going to win the war. I’m talking to people from cities all over Texas who are going to fight back.”

Fracking bans have been [passed](#) in cities and counties in Ohio, Colorado, California, New York, New Mexico, Maryland and West Virginia. Although some of those bans have been preempted, not all have. Maryland’s Republican governor recently [signed](#) a fracking ban passed by the state legislature. New York Governor Andrew Cuomo [signed](#) a fracking ban after intense pressure from local environmental advocates—and after local bans had already put 63 percent of New York’s natural gas off limits.

Civil Rights Protections

Local government is responsible for abiding by state and federal civil rights laws, like Title IX (banning gender-based discrimination in education) and the Civil Rights Act. Although local governments are not responsible for enforcing federal laws, litigation efforts at the local level to ensure enforcement can arise from local organizing and advocacy.

Sanctuary Cities

Organizers and public officials in cities across the country have taken the work of protecting and supporting immigrants into their own hands even as the federal ICE (Immigration and Customs Enforcement) agency carries out a draconian, inhumane crackdown on immigrant families. More than 118 cities and counties across the country have declared themselves sanctuary cities, where police and other local public authorities will not cooperate with ICE or enforce immigration laws themselves.⁴⁹

Taking one step further, many cities have used their spending authority to create legal defense funds to *support* immigrants caught up in the federal dragnet. Atlanta, Columbus, Austin, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Chicago, Washington, D.C., New York City, Seattle and Boston have all committed significant funds to immigrant defense.^{50 51 52 53 54} The idea is beginning to catch at the state level, with the states of New York and California setting up their own immigrant defense funds⁵⁵

Choosing to spend government resources on services rather than on ICE detainers is an important element of sanctuary city policy. In 2014, Nashville mayor Karl Dean signed an executive order creating an [Office of New Americans](#). Similar to pro-immigrant centers in other cities, the office exists to help connect immigrants with municipal services and to support their safety and engagement within the larger community.

Law enforcement officials throughout the U.S. have been vocal about their need for immigrants' cooperation in criminal matters, [signing statements](#) and speaking out in opposition to measures that enforce local police cooperation with ICE. Other law enforcement officials see sanctuary city bans as intrusions into their policing authority. Sheriff Newell Normand of Jefferson Parish, Louisiana, a hard right Republican with a long history of cooperation with ICE, [railed](#) at a 2014 state hearing on a sanctuary city ban about the "overarching bullshit Republican philosophy from Washington, D.C.," that undermines his authority to manage his personnel as an independently elected sheriff.

This past fall, Houston police chief Art Acevedo "[blasted](#)" Texas' anti-sanctuary cities policy and its chilling effect on immigrants' cooperation with law enforcement. "It's so counterintuitive, counterproductive," Acevedo said at a national immigration forum in Washington. He talked of "pushing back into the shadows" millions of immigrants who are victims of and witnesses to crimes. "How is that a public safety measure?" he asked. He also has said that the immigration debate will hurt Houston's recovery from Hurricane Harvey.

Bail Reform

As the [Vera Institute of Justice writes](#), "America is at a tipping point. In a country that leads the world in locking up its own people, mass incarceration has emerged in recent years as a defining civil rights issue." Bryce Covert in *The Nation* [reports](#) that pretrial detention is a major reason why the U.S. has the highest incarceration rate in the world and that 70 percent of the jail population is arrestees. "The number of Americans sitting in jail without a conviction is larger than most other countries' entire incarcerated population."⁵⁶ Too poor to make bail, arrestees remain behind bars while awaiting trial.

The cash bail process not only swells the incarcerated population but also inflicts financial punishment on arrestees' mostly low-income families. Reforming the system is thus paramount to criminal justice reform, and it is gaining support across the nation, in conservative and progressive areas alike. Seventy-eight Alabama cities, accounting for more than 40 percent of the state's population, reformed their bail practices in response to legal pressure from the [Southern Poverty Law Center](#). Changes to criminal justice practices in New Orleans, driven by the [Orleans Parish Prison Reform Coalition](#), enable people charged with minor city offenses to be released without bail.

The bail reform movement has grown sufficient momentum that even law enforcement officers, from Harris County Sheriff Ed Gonzalez to San Francisco City Attorney Dennis Herrera, are coming out in support of it. "When most of the people in my jail are there because they can't afford to bond out, and when those people are disproportionately black and Hispanic, that's not a rational system," said Sheriff Ed Gonzalez.⁷¹

Often the result of outside legal pressure, efforts to end cash bail are happening across the country, in cities large and small, including: Clanton, Alabama; Velda City, Missouri; Saint Ann, Missouri; Moss Point, Mississippi; Dothan, Alabama; Ascension Parish, Louisiana; Dodge City, Kansas.⁵⁷

Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity Discrimination Prohibitions

At least 225 cities and counties have prohibited discrimination based on gender identity in all public and private employment.⁵⁸

The passage of [local ordinances](#) that prohibit discrimination based on gender identity shows how passing policy in dense urban areas can be leveraged to cover large portions of a state's population. For example, LGBTQ advocates and their allies in Florida have protected 60 percent of the state's population by passing ordinances in 11 counties and 25 cities.⁵⁹ In Arizona, the passage of anti-discrimination laws in just five cities covered a full 35 percent of the state's population.⁶⁰ In Idaho, where the state legislature has refused to pass sexual orientation and gender identity protections, 30 percent of the population

is still covered by anti-discrimination ordinances as a result of 12 local jurisdictions passing their own laws.⁶¹

Gun Restrictions

As Americans grapple with horrific mass shootings in churches, concert venues and schools, the demand for gun control has become one of the most pressing issues of our time. Local government attempts to restrict and regulate access to guns and ammunition have largely been [blocked](#) by state and federal preemption policies. In 2014, *Governing* published an [article](#) detailing the creative ways cities have tried to bypass NRA-backed preemptions and stem the epidemic of gun-related deaths. Measures include the confiscation of firearms of people on probation for domestic abuse, and background checks for the sale of firearms at gun shows.⁶²

7. Taxation

Instruments Cities Use to Generate Income:

- \$ Hotel taxes
- \$ Utility taxes
- \$ Trash pick-up fees
- \$ Business license fees
- \$ Real estate transfer fees
- \$ Property taxes

Corporations and right-wing activists have spent decades working to erect obstacles that block municipalities' ability to raise revenue—from the 1978 California Proposition 13, which capped property tax assessments and paved the way for other state-level “revolts,” to Colorado’s 1992 “Taxpayer Bill of Rights,” which imposed municipal revenue *and* spending caps. (For more on tax and expenditure limits, as well as other ways state politicians usurp local control, see the National League of Cities’ [“City Rights in an Era of Preemption.”](#))

State mandates to cap city revenues and expenditures are used by the right wing to starve government services. Local governments *can* work around those

restrictions to determine funding priorities. The 2012 passage of [Measure 2A](#) in Denver removed restrictions on the city’s tax base, although the city still requires a public vote on any tax increases. Without actually raising new taxes, Measure 2A allows Denver to retain and spend \$68 million annually that it already collects but, under previous policy, had to return to taxpayers (at considerable administrative cost) in order to remain below state-mandated revenue caps. The city can use those funds to erase its deficit, strengthen its economy, and restore popular services like libraries, parks and after-school and summer programs for children.

As federal resources diminish and city governments scramble to find creative and equitable ways to raise funds, voters have shown a remarkable willingness to tax themselves for the services and improvements they care about. In November 2016, residents in major cities across Ohio approved measures to raise taxes for priority programs. In Dayton, voters approved the first income tax hike in 32 years. The measure imposed a .25 percent income tax increase that, among other goals, will expand access to affordable preschool for the city’s four-year-olds. Voters in Cincinnati approved a five-year, \$48 million-per-year property tax levy that will generate funds to subsidize two years of preschool and support the city’s public schools. Cleveland voters approved a half-percent income tax increase (from 2 to 2.5 percent) to pay for budget shortfalls and enhance city services.

In Raleigh, the North Carolina League of Conservation Voters led a campaign they called PowerUp NC, based on neighborhood outreach and participatory research to identify the issues most important to residents. That outreach led to campaigns focused on affordable housing, and training for weatherization retrofits with the aim of cutting energy usage and promoting clean energy. The campaign for affordable housing was called the Penny for Housing Fund. It passed in [Durham](#), and then moved to [Raleigh](#).

For more examples of ways local governments can increase their fiscal resources, see [“Progressive Policies for Raising Municipal Revenue”](#) by Local Progress, a network of progressive municipal elected officials and a project of the [Center for Popular Democracy](#).

REBUILDING DEMOCRACY

America faces profound economic, social and environmental challenges. Since the late 1970s, structural economic changes have worsened inequality, widening the gap between the wealthy and everyone else. While the ranks of the working poor in both metropolitan and rural communities have increased, middle-class families in cities, suburbs and exurbs are experiencing unprecedented economic anxiety. Gentrification and soaring land values in urban centers are displacing low-income families, particularly in communities of color, further increasing inequality.

The right wing has exploited those fears and tensions to create deep societal divisions, with the explicit goal of using race, religion and nationality as wedges to undermine a broad, cohesive demand for policy solutions aimed at the common good. Extreme forces have unleashed a kind of unabashed, virulent racism that not only exposes how deeply cultural and institutional biases are embedded in American law and society but serves to further destabilize and polarize the nation. Organizers in cities must confront that racism and nativism directly and honestly in order to move a broad agenda.

Privatization, the extraction of public wealth, increasing financialization of the economy, deregulation, and tax breaks for corporations and the wealthy translate to sweeping private control over vital public goods (i.e., education, infrastructure, clean air and water) and weaken the pillars of American democracy. The right wing's forty-year frontal attack on the value and necessity of the public sector has created widespread disdain and mistrust of government, particularly at the federal level, ensuring the supremacy of radical libertarian governing principles.

Weaponized with racist overtones, the right wing's assault on our democratic institutions has been undergirded by its extensive organizing infrastructure. It has pursued legislation that expressly serves to suppress voting rights and dilute the voices of people of color, the poor, and urban residents. Investment in robust and sustained civic engagement is imperative to rebuilding a progressive movement that can successfully defeat an entrenched anti-government, pro-corporate agenda.

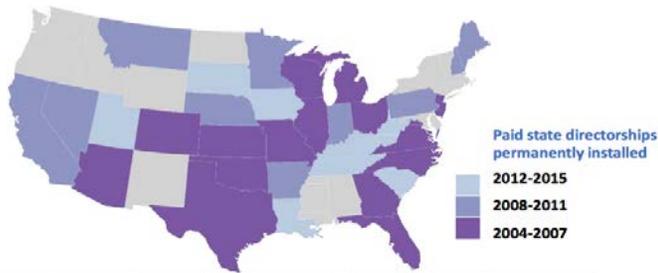
A Closer Look at the Right Wing Infrastructure

Since 2010, progressive advocates have had to reckon with the knowledge that they'd lost significant ground—not just in the federal government but also in the states and judiciary—to far-right forces. As the post-Vietnam-era progressive movement splintered into a multitude of issues and constituencies, diffusing financial, intellectual and organizational resources, billionaire corporate conservatives cannily built a well-funded, disciplined and multi-tiered network of activists and institutions across the country. Not only did they successfully shift power at every level of government, they also seized control of how Americans talk about and view the role of government in our democracy.

The [rightward lunge](#)⁶³ of conservative forces over the past four decades has been given heft and reach throughout the states with massive investments by two billionaire brothers from Kansas who inherited their father's oil and refining business. The brothers vastly expanded the business they renamed upon their father's death Koch Industries, now a \$115-plus billion operation. Raised by a founder of the John Birch Society who held Society meetings in the basement of their Wichita home, Charles and David Koch embraced the group's anti-government, free-market ideology and naturally evolved into radical libertarians.

The Kochs recognized that to mold national policies into their hardline free market vision, they would have to build a political movement at the local and state level while simultaneously influencing investments in federal candidates. The brothers pumped hundreds of millions of dollars into constructing a network, dubbed the "Kochtopus," that Theda Skocpol and Alexander Hertel-Fernandez, researchers from Harvard and Columbia universities respectively, have [characterized](#) as having "massive scale, tight integration, ramified organizational reach, and close intertwining with the GOP at all levels." Skocpol and Hertel-Fernandez report that since the early 2000s, a period in which the Koch brothers' combined net worth rose from about [\\$10 billion](#) to nearly [\\$100 billion](#), there has been a sharp shift in the organizational channels through which political resources flow through Koch-affiliated consortia.

THE RAPID GROWTH OF AMERICANS FOR PROSPERITY



	Budget (millions \$)	National & state staff	Millions activists nationwide	Activists per staffer	State directors	% U.S. pop in staffed states
2005	3.8	19	0.2 est.		5	16%
2007	9.2	58	0.7	12,069	15	47%
2009	27.1	74	0.9	12,162	19	61%
2011	50.8	106	1.58	14,868	25	70%
2013	57.6	115	2.24	19,443	28	75%
2015	150	500	2.43	4,858	34	80%

Sources: Archived AFP webpages; media reports.

“nation-spanning federation comparable in size and resources to the Republican Party itself.”⁶⁶ They [write](#) that AFP “exhibits an ideal combination of autonomy from, and embeddedness within, GOP circles, a unique situation that helps the Koch network serve as an ideological backbone and right-wing force for today’s Republican Party.”

“Basically, our field directors are community organizers. People used to make fun of President Obama’s background, but community organizing works,” said Mark Lucas, Iowa regional director for the Koch-funded Americans for Prosperity.

The Koch-bolstered, cross-state conservative apparatus is what Skocpol and Hertel-Fernandez call the “right’s powerhouse troika”: the American Legislative Exchange Council, the State Policy Network, and Americans for Prosperity.

Legislative Arm

Formed in 1973, the American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC) created policy task forces to both assist and influence state legislators. The organization has drafted hundreds of bills that its member politicians have carried and enacted in their state legislatures, many of which are designed to preempt actions by municipal governments on anything from sanctuary city policies to worker protections, including living wage and paid sick leave requirements. In 2014, the American City County Exchange (ACCE) was created as an offshoot organization to bolster the state-level work and [counteract](#) progressive wins at the local government level.⁶⁴

Policy Arm

Starting in the early ‘90s, ALEC drew support from a newly incorporated [State Policy Network](#) (SPN) that put weight behind its policy agenda through a web of more than 150 right-wing think tanks and centers, many of which are funded by the Koch’s.⁶⁵ The purpose of SPN is to provide policy, communications and litigation support to ALEC, giving it “legitimacy.”

Organizing Arm

Finally, in 2004, the Kochs set up a 501(c)(4) political advocacy group called [Americans for Prosperity](#) (AFP). [According to Skocpol and Hertel-Fernandez](#), AFP is a

By 2016, AFP’s budget was around \$225 million and claimed to have some 650 paid staffers and about 2.5 million grassroots activists. AFP’s focus on local infrastructure has paid enormous dividends and should demonstrate to progressives the value of making equally long-term investments in leadership and organizing at the local level.

Restoring Faith in Government

The Kochtopus represents just one aspect of the 40-year attack on government led by a constellation of aligned right wing institutions, grassroots issues groups, academics, intellectuals, corporate leaders, and politicians. They have been enormously successful at fostering a negative view of government and its basic role in American society. Long before President Donald Trump’s barrage of Twitter rants attacking government institutions and employees, the right-wing machine developed and carried out a disciplined and multi-faceted strategy to accomplish a simple objective: convince the American public that government is “the problem” in the hopes of shrinking it, reducing regulatory and tax burdens, and capturing control of public resources. They have enjoyed tremendous success. In 1958, the National Election Survey [found](#) that 73 percent of Americans said they had faith in the federal government; in 2017, that number dropped to just 20 percent.⁶⁷

It’s the central challenge we face as progressives: the need to rebuild trust and faith in government to solve our common problems and challenges. Cities and regions are uniquely positioned to lead a renewal.

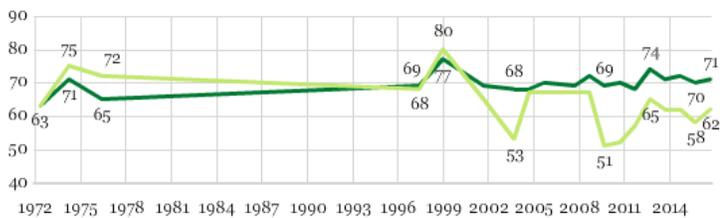
The good news is that the public expresses far greater confidence in their local governments than in the executive and legislative branches in Washington. A 2016 Gallup [poll](#) found that 71 percent of Americans trust local governments to handle problems, and 62 percent trust state governments. (Only [13 percent](#) of Americans approve of Congress, the lowest confidence in *any* institution Gallup tests.)

It's also instructive to compare attitudes toward the federal government among urban, suburban and rural populations. According to a 2015 [Washington Post analysis](#) of [Pew data](#), "People who live in urban areas (28 percent) are slightly more likely to trust the federal government than those who live in rural areas (22 percent)." Interestingly, the urban/rural split disappears regarding faith in local government: 41 percent of urban residents and 40 percent of rural residents trust their local governments.

How much trust and confidence do you have in ...

% Great deal/Fair amount of trust

- The local governments in the area where you live when it comes to handling local problems?
- The government of the state where you live when it comes to handling state problems?



GALLUP

Investing in Civic Engagement

As Koch-funded tentacles extend into communities across the U.S. to push right-wing organizing and advocacy efforts, progressives face the urgent need to develop an equally sophisticated and capable infrastructure in cities and metropolitan regions.

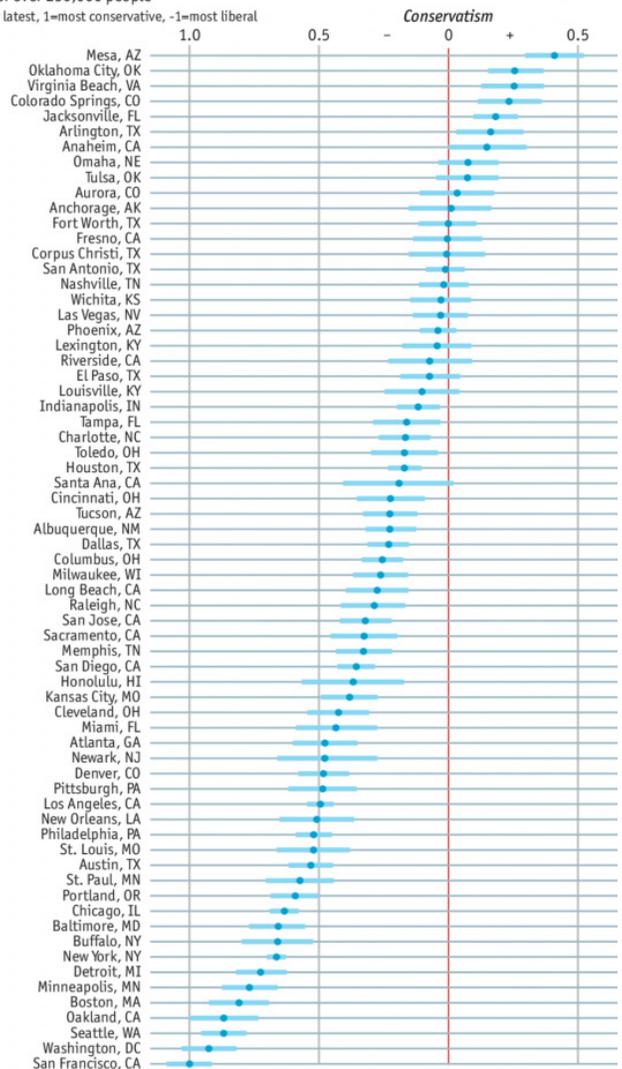
Sustained investment in turning out underrepresented voters is imperative to restoring American democracy at all levels of government. Long-term, issue-based engagement with the electorate in cities and their surrounding metropolitan areas can successfully advance progressive policies beyond regional powers to state and federal government.

Demographic indicators point to great organizing potential. Urban areas are home to an increasingly diverse electorate, offering new opportunities to expand

voter participation among historically underrepresented communities. [In 2006](#), New Mexico became the first state where white voters are no longer the majority of the eligible voting population. Voter registration drives in Arizona resulted in [150,000 more new Latino voters](#) in 2016 than in 2012, a 27 percent change.

Conservatism in America

Cities of over 250,000 people
2011 or latest, 1=most conservative, -1=most liberal



Source: "Representation in Municipal Government" by Chris Tausanovitch and Christopher Warshaw March 2014, *American Political Science Review* (forthcoming)

Robust civic engagement in cities is an essential element of restoring American democracy. In a December 2016 piece for *The Hill*, policy analyst Diana Lind [notes](#) that "residents of most major American cities typically vote at rates 5 to 15 percent lower than their suburban neighbors," and that therefore "cities represent an

untapped opportunity[.]” Lind’s analysis underscores the need for the kind of nonpartisan civic engagement programs in cities that we believe can rebuild a vibrant democracy.

The following chart is intended to give an illustration of how voter education may improve engagement in urban areas. In the 2016 presidential election, almost 700,000 people failed to cast ballots in the Pennsylvania counties of Philadelphia and Allegheny alone.

County	Registered Voters	Total Presidential Vote	Didn't vote
Philadelphia	1,102,560	680,227	422,333
Allegheny	942,631	643,173	299,458

[Portland State University](#) analyzed data from the nation’s largest cities and voter turnout in local elections, finding that turnout is “abysmally low,” that “residents 65 and older were 15 times more likely to cast a ballot than younger residents between the ages of 18 and 34,” and that “turnout varies dramatically among neighborhoods.”⁶⁸ The data elucidate not just the importance of greater organizing capacity in large cities, but also why investing movement resources in non-partisan voter engagement on issues in a mid-to-large-sized city can quickly accelerate the spread of a progressive issue agenda.

Another issue that has hampered the power and reach of the progressive agenda: progressive voters tend to be clustered in urban areas and the coastal states. The inefficient distribution of their votes dilutes their power not only in conservative states but also, more acutely, in determining outcomes on statewide ballots and state and federal races throughout the country. In other words, on their own cities can’t determine the success of a progressive policy agenda at the state or federal level. But as anchors for voter education and mobilization efforts in the surrounding metro areas, they can become decisive.

Increased civic engagement in an urban center can drive the larger region’s politics, economy and environment. In fact, within cities and counties are dozens of elected and appointed bodies that not only have oversight of vital policy arenas but also provide opportunity, experience and track records for new leaders. To the right is a chart of the number of governing bodies within just the top ten metro regions.

MSA Name	County	City	Independent School District or Educational Service Agency	Special District	Township	Total Political Entities
New York-Newark-Jersey City, NY-NJ-PA	20	413	561	496	226	1716
Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim, CA	2	122	139	219		482
Chicago-Naperville-Elgin, IL-IN-WI	14	348	413	725	210	1710
Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	13	207	118	225		563
Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD	10	165	198	261	210	844
Houston-The Woodlands-Sugar Land, TX	9	123	72	855		1059
Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	14	84	1	28		127
Miami-Fort Lauderdale-West Palm Beach, FL	3	103	6	174		286
Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Roswell, GA	29	143	39	147		358
Boston-Cambridge-Newton, MA-NH	4	35	72	199	162	472

The Path Forward

We looked at four states in which the potential to build and improve organizing capacity can clear a path to advance a progressive policy agenda at the state level, roll back preemption laws, and eliminate unlawful gerrymandering that suppresses democratic participation. Our analysis is a “rough cut” and aims to inspire local anchor organizations’ assessments of regional organizing methods that can shift the statewide landscape.

In cities throughout the country, we’ve seen how winning policies that unite working- and middle-class voters develops leaders and builds public support for solutions that government can create. The logical next step is to expand organizing and coalition-building to a greater number of metropolitan areas, pushing broader progressive outcomes.

The following research is intended to provoke the kind of analysis that organizations might consider in order to expand regional power. It is not a detailed investigation of voter turnout statistics and potential. It does not address the reach and potency of existing on-the-ground progressive capacity.

Our starting point in each case was based on discussions with in-state analysts and organizers who identified areas of the state where capacity is needed to lift up pro-democracy values and advance an equity agenda at the state level.

Effective civic engagement integrates leadership development, voter registration and turnout, and year-round engagement and education of the populace. Our cursory analysis confirms the need for a multi-sided approach to expanding the progressive movement in a diversity of geographies—urban, suburban and even rural.

Arizona

Arizona has become a divided state at all levels of government. Increased organizing could level the playing field between pro-corporate and pro-democracy issue advocacy and enhance the potential for enacting progressive policy.

The majority of Arizona’s populations is clustered in three counties: Maricopa (anchored by Phoenix), Pima (anchored by Tucson), and Coconino (anchored by Flagstaff). The chart below lists the eight primary cities that account for 80 percent of the population of Maricopa County. Maricopa is by far the largest county in the state, with 61 percent of the state’s population. Together the three counties represent 78 percent of the state population. The demographic breakdown of those areas (below) demonstrates the need for multiracial organizing.

Aggressive voter registration efforts and organic demographic shifts are already shifting the composition of the state electorate and creating more vibrant, active democratic participation. For example, according to local organizers, several thousand young Latinos in the state become eligible to vote every month. Immigrant organizing and recent actions by teachers in the state, for example, are demonstrating a new potential for progressive action.

Arizona					
State Population		6,392,017			
County	Population	City	Population	City as percent of county	County as percent of state
Maricopa County	3,868,981	Peoria	154,065	5%	61%
		Glendale	226,721	7%	
		Phoenix	1,445,632	47%	
		Scottsdale	217,385	7%	
		Tempe	161,719	5%	
		Chandler	236,123	8%	
		Mesa	439,041	14%	
		Gilbert	208,453	7%	
Subtotal Maricopa			3,089,139	100%	
Pima County	987,910	Tucson	520,116	53%	15%
Coconino	134,421	Flagstaff	65,870	49%	2%
Total	4,991,312		6,764,264		78%

Colorado

The state legislature is also narrowly divided between pro-corporate and pro-democracy forces. The Colorado House of Representatives recently approved a repeal of the state law that preempts local minimum wage ordinances. However, the repeal is expected to lose narrowly in the Senate, thus local organizers are expanding their organizing and education in suburban and mountain areas.

The majority of the population is clustered in nine Front Range counties, including four surrounding the Denver area. The nine counties account for 80 percent of the state population (the four Denver-area counties account for 45 percent of the state total). The shifting demographics of those areas, as in other states, also point

to the need for expanded multiracial regional organizing, anchored by groups like United for a New Economy in Denver.

Pennsylvania

With many small towns and rural areas, Pennsylvania has a wide split between progressive and conservative regions. We assessed the several regions and counties that local analysts suggested were essential to being able to advance a progressive policy agenda in the state.

We looked at the state’s two largest counties—Allegheny and Philadelphia (containing the state’s two largest cities, Pittsburgh and Philadelphia, respectively)—as well as critical suburban, exurban and rural counties (Lehigh, Luzerne, Northampton and Erie).

Colorado

State Population **5,029,196**

County	Population	City	Population	City as percent of county	County as percent of state
El Paso	636,878	Colorado Springs	416,427	65%	13%
Denver	620,018	Denver	600,158	97%	12%
Arapahoe	585,827	Aurora	325,078	55%	12%
Jefferson	565,524	Denver suburb			11%
Adams	491,337	Denver suburb			10%
Douglas	322,387	Denver suburb			6%
Boulder	319,372				6%
Larimar	299,630	Ft Collins	143,986	48%	6%
Pueblo	159,063	Pueblo	106,595	67%	3%
Total	4,000,036		1,592,244		80%

Pennsylvania

State Population 12,702,379

Major City County	Population	City	Population	City as percent of county	County as percent of state
Philadelphia County	1,538,497	Philadelphia	1,526,006	99.2%	12.1%
Allegheny County	1,227,308	Pittsburgh	305,704	24.9%	9.7%
		Clairton	6,796	0.6%	
		Duquesne	5,565	0.5%	
		McKeesport	19,731	1.6%	
Subtotal Major City Counties	2,765,805		1,863,802		21.8%
Suburban, Exurban and Rural County	Population	City	Population	City as percent of county	County as percent of state
Lehigh County	354,746	Allentown	118,032	33.3%	2.8%
		Bethlehem (split with Northampton)	74,982	21.1%	
Luzerne	321,423	Wildes Barre -	41,498	12.9%	2.5%
		Nanticoke	10,465	3.3%	
		Pittston	7,739	2.4%	
Northampton (part of lehigh valley?)	299,371	Easton	26,800	9.0%	2.4%
		Bethlehem (Splite with Lehigh)			
Erie	280,823	Erie - northwest PA	101,786	36.2%	2.2%
		Corry	6,605	2.4%	
Subtotal Suburban, Exurban and Rural	1,256,363		387,907		9.9%
Totals	4,022,168		2,251,709		31.7%

Pathway to State POWER: Organizing at the Regional Level

POWER is an interfaith coalition of congregations across Philadelphia that recognizes the value in instituting a regional and statewide organizational structure. As Pennsylvania’s urban populations have become increasingly non-white, authority over agencies has shifted away from cities. In Philadelphia, for example, the municipal government has lost power over the transit authority, the convention center, and the parking authority.

POWER’s executive director, Reverend Greg Holston, notes: “Victories have been won at the state level around increased funding for education—but only because those campaigns were grounded in local organizations, rooted in the communities we serve and partnered together in powerful coalitions. The 2014 governor’s race focused on education. POWER started organizing in Philadelphia around a fair funding formula, while a statewide coalition came together built on local groups like ours that could move people *locally*. Statewide groups can lose their grassroots connection, and therefore their capacity to move people into action and civic engagement.

Groups like ours made sure that didn’t happen.”

“As far as moving an agenda in the state legislature, you have to go out to the suburbs and rural areas—and there are progressives out there! But if you’re not talking to them, they aren’t going to join. Rush Limbaugh has been talking to those folks for the last 40 years, and we haven’t. The commitment has to be to going out there and staying out there, creating local power with local people. And it has to be local people who drive the conversations. Our people who are working in Dauphin County and York County, they live out there. So you need a combination of building on your organizational strength in cities and expanding out those strategies to the larger region.”

Nevada

Nevada is a progressive success story that demonstrates the value of—and continuing need for—longterm organizing in Las Vegas and Reno. Progressives have built significant organizing capacity and have been able to exert influence at the state level. Nevada’s power structure trends with Clark (Las Vegas) and Washoe (Reno) counties, containing fully 89 percent of the state population.

Nevada

State Population 2,700,551

County	Population	City	Population	City as percent of county	County as percent of state
Clark County	565,524	Henderson	257,729	13%	73%
	491,337	Las Vegas	583,756	30%	
	322,387	North Las Vegas	216,961	11%	
Subtotal Clark	319,372		1,058,446	54%	
	299,630				
Washoe County	159,063	Reno	225,221	53%	16%
Total	2,391,498		2,342,113		89%

Governing for the Common Good Case Study: San Jose

Based in Santa Clara County, CA, [Working Partnerships USA](#) (WPUSA) is one of the most effectual regional anchor organizations across the country. They bring together research, smart policy, community and coalition building, and a sophisticated understanding of inside-outside strategies. We've identified the core strengths that make WPUSA successful.

A clear idea of what it means to govern.

WPUSA and their allies take governing seriously. The group has a comprehensive policy agenda, but it also understands that governing involves much more than the actions of specific legislative and administrative public entities. Policy making happens from both “inside” and “outside,” with the ideas, action and commitment of the entire community. WPUSA operates from an intentional and aspirational view of governing that includes:

- community standards and norms;
- promotion of a policy agenda to advance those standards;
- creation and institutionalization of good governance practices in public agencies;
- partnerships with governing bodies and communities to create a fairer and healthier region; and
- strategic efforts to steer public discourse, engage constituencies, and make steady and sustainable progress to reshape the regional economy.

Conscious, pro-active and continuous leadership development programs for inside and outside advocacy.

WPUSA has trained over five dozen of Silicon Valley's top elected, labor and community leaders on current events, policy, economic challenges, and opportunities for leadership. It has also trained leaders statewide on how to better serve communities through municipal budgeting.

Commitment to broad-based coalitions that have the power to win.

Each of the initiatives described in the following box were carried out by coalitions led by WPUSA. The range of partner organizations represents a diverse array of community organizing groups, neighborhood associations, issue advocacy organizations, unions, small business groups, and policy makers willing to invest in advocacy and organizing.

A focus on accomplishments that make a difference in people's lives.

WPUSA has an impressive track record of policy wins. The following is more than a list of individual campaigns; it's a comprehensive social and economic justice agenda that uses all levers of local power, both public and private. The list below describes public policy accomplishments using the powers of local government in a wide slew of areas, including jobs and wages, affordable housing, public transportation, criminal justice, discrimination and more.



Working Partnerships USA Policy Wins

Description of Policy Win	Impacts
Job Protections	
Minimum wage increase to \$15 by 2019 in five Silicon Valley cities.	157,400 workers, \$480 million added to local economy.
Opportunity to Work initiative, which prohibits employers from hiring new staff without first offering additional hours to current, qualified part-time workers.	64,000 workers and their families.
Worker retention ordinance that protects subcontracted service workers in City of Santa Clara: new contractors must retain previous staff for 90 days and provide performance review to facilitate continued employment of qualified workers.	Thousands of workers, including over 3,000 at Levi's Stadium alone.
Passage of community workforce agreement policies that: prevent wage theft, ensure worker health and safety, increase hiring opportunities for disadvantaged communities on public works projects.	14,500 workers and their families, \$4.8 billion over 5 years.
Closed loophole to ensure application of county living wage ordinance to all procurements.	Over 5,000 workers employed under contracts. Over \$2.5 billion is spent per year by County on contracts.
Affordable Housing	
Passage of Measure A, a \$950 million countywide affordable housing bond.	Approximately 20,000 residents, \$950 million bond.
"Just cause" eviction protection for renters in the city of San Jose.	400,000 renters and their families. Renters save an estimated \$2.8-\$28 million annually in expenses related to unjust evictions.
Passage of ordinance prohibiting housing discrimination against Section 8 voucher recipients in unincorporated areas of Santa Clara County.	Up to 17,000 Section 8 voucher holders in the county. Up to \$544,000 per year for market-rate housing.
Prevention of "banking" provisions in Santa Clara Co. that would allow unused rent control increases to be applied in the future.	Renters living in approx. 44,300 rental units. The \$22 million annual value of rent control would have been rendered meaningless by banking provisions.
Housing Impact Fees created in four cities.	Raised over \$50 million annually for affordable housing.
The first inclusionary requirement in San Jose, increasing the economic diversity and affordability of housing.	New development will include affordable housing units.

Transit Infrastructure	
Passage of \$6.3 billion transportation infrastructure tax, including \$500 million for low-income and senior transit riders.	131,900 average daily ridership. Capital projects will create thousands of quality, living wage jobs.
Other Rights and Protections	
Passage of Safe Zone resolutions by 17 school and community college districts to protect rights of immigrant, Muslim, and LGBTQ students and their families.	230,000 students and their families.
Securing \$1.5 million in County funding for legal aid for undocumented immigrants in danger of deportation.	Over 130,000 undocumented immigrants in Santa Clara Co.
Criminal Justice	
Winning adoption of a 16-point pre-trial justice reform plan to reduce the number of county inmates sitting in jail but not convicted of a crime.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community Bail Fund; • Community Release Project; • Data collection on bail industry and county pretrial justice efforts outcomes; • Release program for low-level misdemeanors; • Risk assessment tool for domestic violence cases to assess the risk of reoffending.
Health Care	
Children's Health Initiative (CHI). In 2001, created a first-in-the-nation effort to achieve universal health insurance for children on a countywide level.	Extended health coverage to more than 161,000 Santa Clara County kids. Provided technical assistance to other California counties. CHI has now been replicated in 30 counties.

CAPACITIES NEEDED FOR PROGRESSIVE POWER

We have described cities' huge ongoing and potential impact on the economy and environment. We have underscored their importance in engaging residents to fight for a democracy that serves the common good rather than narrow corporate interests. Cities have the power—and scale—to improve people's lives through progressive policies, even in the face of state preemption threats. Organizations and coalitions in cities like San Jose, CA (detailed above), have already achieved measurable successes enacting a wide range of policies that benefit working families, and they have the political and organizing infrastructure to expand governing capacity.

When cities succeed in instituting people-centered policies, it is because they are responding to outside demands for fairness and opportunity. Municipal entities and the people who run them are ultimately accountable to the communities they serve. Grassroots organizers and advocates serve as a ballast that tips government away from special interests and toward the people.

In the section below, we lay out the basic elements needed to win progressive policies and build permanent power. The ability to succeed does not require having all elements in place. But long-term investment in the following “core capacities” is integral to bigger wins and sustained progress.

Grassroots Organizing

Everything begins and ends with effective grassroots organizing. The needs, priorities, and leadership of those most affected by the major challenges we face—economic inequality and climate change—must drive the agenda. Credible organizations that can mobilize large numbers of people *and* engage in deep leadership development must be at the core of any successful coalition.

Turning Grassroots Organizing into Regional Victories in Indiana

[IndyCAN](#) has made grassroots organizing the foundation upon which they identify and build winning campaigns. Their success demonstrates what can be accomplished even in challenging political environments when groups invest in ongoing organizing.

The organization contemplated avenues of advocacy that would directly address anti-government, pro-corporate, and fear-based narratives which had long been driving policy in the state. “Indiana’s legislature is notoriously favorable to big business interests rather than to addressing the needs of families and individuals,” says Shoshana Spector, IndyCAN’s executive director.

The group decided that moving a progressive agenda required building influence in the state legislature. “Gerrymandering and voter suppression,” says Spector, “means voter mobilization is key.” Grassroots organizing would not only be a countervailing force to an imbalance of corporate influence but a means to develop new leadership at the state and local level that would promote a policy agenda reflective of community priorities.

After conducting dozens of meetings with elected officials and community members—literally soliciting the ideas and priorities of thousands of people—IndyCAN launched a [Ticket to Opportunity](#) public transit campaign.

“The public transit need was something that a broad sector of the community could understand and get behind,” says Spector. “In Indianapolis, to get a good job, you have to travel to the suburbs. And getting there is simply out of reach for our most marginalized members. A transit campaign allowed us an opportunity to organize those most impacted by inequality: immigrants who don’t have driver’s licenses, and people who have had their driver’s licenses revoked because they were unable to pay onerous fees imposed by the criminal justice system.”

Despite a strong opposition in the state legislature, IndyCAN secured state authorization allowing the city of Indianapolis to hold a referendum on transit expansion in 2016. It then persuaded the city council to put the referendum on the local ballot.

“In a state that voted double digits for Trump, we passed a new tax measure for public transit expansion based on a narrative of racial equity,” says Spector. “Key to our success was that we had 1,200 volunteers who talked to 40 thousand voters. We tripled voter turnout among African Americans.”

Since winning the transit expansion, IndyCAN has expanded and become a statewide organization with chapters in five counties and a new name: Faith in Indiana.

Coalition Building

A power analysis of the regional landscape—a tool developed by Anthony Thigpenn and [SCOPE](#) in L.A. allows advocates to measure their capacity to move an agenda. Power analysis enables identification of: potential allies, opposing individuals and groups, decision makers' sympathy for or aversion to progressive policies, and constituencies needed to be organized to win. The process of mapping existing or potential allies and foes is also a great way to develop relationships among leaders and organizations.

A lesson from urban progressive movements over the past several decades is that labor unions and community groups benefit from close collaboration. The labor movement, despite its current challenges, still has more resources and political power than other sectors of the progressive movement. On their own, labor unions' money and power are insufficient to winning our most ambitious policy goals; but in coalition with other allies, they provide crucial resources and a worker-focused perspective.

An effectual coalition must also be multiracial and include groups with an array of interests. It must have the resources to engage and mobilize large numbers of grassroots leaders who can influence current decision makers. And it should build a pathway for coalition

leaders to become future decision makers.

Successful coalitions need to have their eyes on the prize: winning and governing. Real governing power comes when both “inside” and “outside” forces work cooperatively around the goal of governing. Coalitions need a clear understanding of the importance and role of leaders on the inside, especially when those elected or appointed officials are our allies who have become stewards of public institutions and need our help to govern. Coalitions must also have leaders and organizations driving public discussions from the outside, who keep large numbers of people engaged in the give-and-take of policy making.

It is critical to construct a shared vision for progressive governing—not only a list of issues that coalition participants support, but also a set of shared values that govern the approach to advocacy on any particular issue. An enduring infrastructure is built on trust that develops over time and through shared values, work and struggle.

Because it is unlikely that one organization will have expertise in every area, coalitions provide the means for groups to share and maximize the capacities that already exist: organizing (the foremost capacity) and mobilizing, leadership development, advocacy, research, policy development, communications, legal support, and funding sources. Each organizational partner needs an understanding of its particular contributions and role, and in so doing the whole becomes greater than the sum of its parts.

Sustained governing power requires progressives to build relationships with unlikely allies. For example, activists may collaborate with health care organizations and professionals who may see themselves as apolitical but who care about targeted issues, such as access to healthcare, poverty as a social determinant of health, and environmental harms to community health. Small businesses may not view the Koch-funded Americans for Prosperity, the National Federation of Independent Business (NFIB), or even their local chambers of commerce as representing their interests, especially when it comes to supporting locally sourced and/or sustainable goods.

Although a partnership with an unlikely ally may be dependent on a particular outcome, and thus short-lived, coalitions have a better chance of gaining power and creating sustained change if they can build

transformational relationships with a cross-section of interests. Bringing diverse constituencies to the table and fostering their input and creativity ensures better developed and more comprehensive policies.



Spotlight on Nashville

Nashville is undergoing a wave of new development an effort to spread the benefits of the boom, a group of community and labor organizations, with the support of the Partnership for Working Families, EL Advisors, and the Open Society Foundation, formed the Stand Up Nashville Coalition. The Coalition brings faith groups, worker centers, labor unions, immigrant rights groups, and community-based organizations together around a shared vision of what the region's economic development should look like. Stand Up Nashville is simultaneously pursuing a narrative shift around development and smart economic policies.

"The only way you change the South from red to blue is to do things like what we are doing with Stand Up Nashville," says Odessa Kelly, co-chair of the Coalition. "When you think of change and tradition in the South, it's not just about reaching people who are suffering the most; it's about reaching people like me who are getting by but are unwittingly contributing to things staying the same. Stand Up Nashville constantly teaches us that we are the 'checks and balances' on the system."

Kelly says that the Coalition underscores the importance of people feeling empowered to envision solutions to the problems in their everyday lives. "Every day [the Coalition] is building relationships with people. But they're not just relationships about the problems our

communities face. We're helping people develop a habit of really examining those situations and searching for solutions. For people of color, it's always implied that we are beneficiaries of the system—not that we *are* the system. And once we shift that perspective, that's when we start to change things. When we change the perspective, then we change what people desire and want, and that's how we make changes on the state and national level. The right to desire a better life is recognizing you're not living on borrowed time or borrowed land. It's *all* yours. I had to understand that the only way to have racial justice is to have that perspective. You have to have an equitable economic base to grow from. That's why the coalition is important; it gives you a connection to a real base of ownership."

In January 2018, Stand Up Nashville won its first victory. Prior to a vote for approval, developers applying for city subsidies are now required to provide a public report that lays out the benefits of the project. Developers must furnish figures on how many jobs will be created and detail how Nashville residents can access those jobs. Those kinds of 'sunshine' initiatives often represent the first front in expanding community control over economic development.

The coalition also got a requirement written into an RFP (request for proposal) for the new airport expansion, stipulating that all bidders include a workforce development agreement to provide access to airport jobs for Nashville residents.

Other local organizations similar to Stand Up Nashville are part of a wave of creative campaigns launched to increase accountability from developers around jobs and housing outcomes. [Workers' Dignity](#), a worker center, is asking major hospitality employers to sign on to a "Cleaning Workers' Bill of Rights," and it is collaborating with ironworkers on a campaign that joins unorganized, mostly immigrant ironworkers with hotel housekeepers to win living wages and safe working conditions during and after construction.

Research and Analysis

Progressive advocates are well-served when they have an understanding of their regional economy and its relationship to government policy making and resource allocation. That knowledge allows them to determine *and* strengthen priority campaigns.

Developing a full picture of a regional economy requires identification of growth sectors as well as current and potential job distribution and training opportunities. Likely there are academics and experts in the regional economy who can identify existing analyses and help advocates map the landscape.

Corporate research is another necessary tool. The capacity to develop a full picture of regional corporate players, private equity companies, and pension fund investments, for example, can be challenging without expertise. National organizations aligned with the progressive movement, including unions and think tanks, can provide the needed technical proficiency that arms grassroots coalitions with knowledge to fight for their agenda. Call upon [Little Sis](#) for [toolkits](#) and trainings on corporate research.

A regional economic analysis should also take into account current environmental challenges, especially those that harm low-income and vulnerable communities and exacerbate climate change impacts. It is helpful to identify not just the area's big polluters but also the businesses that are committed to responsible environmental practices.

The next step is to understand how government intersects with the regional economy and environment. A good place to begin is to document upcoming infrastructure investments and major new economic developments. To chart a course for a future campaign, a coalition should: understand the range of economic development programs being used in local government; have an inventory of publicly owned land, including, airports, ports and convention centers; and develop some understanding of major city and county public contracts.

Economic development subsidies are often good vehicles for initial advocacy campaigns. Progressive coalitions can use those public subsidies to demand community benefits agreements: binding requirements in which community and labor groups may negotiate job quality and access standards, affordable housing requirements, environmental standards, and/or the inclusion of other community benefits like parks and child care centers. The agreements provide an opportunity to build a multi-sector coalition around an

individual project, which may prove to be an easier target than a far-reaching policy change that affects an entire business sector (though that may be the ultimate objective). Look to experts like [Good Jobs First](#) to help you understand your subsidy landscape.

Experience in multiple cities underscores how imperative it is to build relationships with staff inside municipal government in order to secure early and continuing information about potential economic development decisions. Sustaining those inside relationships requires trust and respect and is crucial to a successful organizing strategy.

In Boston, a coalition led by [Community Labor United](#) has made a new collaborative research project a key building block in its effort to win an ambitious ten-year agenda for lasting progressive change in the city and state. The coalition is mapping the political and economic power structures in the state, and how those powers transect. That research will identify the opportunities and challenges the coalition may encounter as it moves to push back on privatization and protect public goods and services. With support from [Little Sis](#) and the [Partnership for Working Families](#), the coalition is training staff, union members and volunteers to conduct research, and it is pooling findings to develop a big picture view. The dozens of trainees include members of the Massachusetts Teachers Association, staff and students at the University of Massachusetts Boston Labor Resource Center, youth activists, as well as researchers from a number of unions and community organizations. By taking that training approach, the coalition is building relationships, capacity, and a strong basis for strategy through research.

Legal Support

Advocates should seek to partner with lawyers who are oriented to performing legal work in the service of organizing and powerbuilding goals.

Good lawyers can help an organization's members develop new, creative and legally defensible policy levers. When the Stand Up Nashville Coalition began looking for ways to require community benefits in exchange for public investment in private development, they quickly ran up against Tennessee's extreme state interference laws. A team of lawyers that paired veteran local counsel with national experts from the Partnership for Working Families worked with the Coalition to develop the "Do Better" bill. The policy passed in January 2018 and serves as a public accountability tool to help rate and compare developers' proposals (on criteria including local jobs and affordable housing) before elected officials approve public subsidies. Stand Up Nashville's legal team strengthened

the efficacy of a report card by making suggestions for converting the City's initially broad, aspirational requirements on developers to very specific, measurable commitments and disclosures from which the public may evaluate developers' compliance with employment and health and safety laws, among other qualifications.

Strong legal support can help coalition members clarify the difference between technical issues that require a legal response, and political issues that require a power-based solution. Campaign opponents, city attorneys and elected officials often raise legal concerns as a reason that a new policy is not possible. Strong legal support can help respond to potential legal issues on their face, but also help campaigners understand when those concerns are not legitimate.

Passage of new policy can be quickly unwound without careful planning and follow-up on implementation and enforcement. On the front end, working with lawyers who have experience with policy specifics in multiple jurisdictions can help craft tight, workable policy while anticipating and fixing legal roadblocks and loopholes. On the back end, advocates should plan to keep lawyers engaged to help navigate both expected legal challenges and unexpected developments as policy gets implemented.

The best lawyers with whom to collaborate support organizers' decisions about when to use legal leverage, and when not to. For example, the legal team advising the campaign for a community benefits agreement (CBA) in one California city identified the possibility of bringing a California Environmental Quality Act (CEQA) claim against the city for inadequately disclosing the environmental impacts of the development project that was the subject of the campaign. Prior CBA campaigns had made use of CEQA claims, or the clear threat of such claims, as leverage. With the lawyers' support, and after a full exploration of the possible outcomes, however, the campaign's leadership decided not to bring the claim, knowing that such action would, in that particular case, poison the waters with city decision makers and make a negotiated solution less likely.

Civic Engagement

Successful advocacy is grounded in organizing and coalition building. Developing long-term political power requires year-round voter engagement, which does not happen when outside organizations parachute into communities solely at election time. Coalitions and grassroots community groups will always be compelling leaders in civic engagement efforts. They need to be resourced and supported to build in-house

capacities: managing voter lists, developing improved canvassing skills, and securing legal advice to stay within the bounds of allowable 501(c)3 and (c)4 activities. The [Alliance for Justice](#) can provide technical support and resources.

Leadership Development

As we are focused on the paths toward governing power, it's important to note that local governments are where leaders learn how to govern. The viability and longevity of the progressive movement *require* sustained efforts at developing grassroots leaders who effectively advocate for and organize communities, and who can serve in government positions, whether staff, appointed or elected. Leadership development and training is needed not just for people seeking elected office, but for organizers, campaign directors and grassroots leaders—for all levels of leadership necessary to move an agenda for the common good. A great story from Phoenix (below) demonstrates the kind of experience and training from which local leaders benefit and develop strength.

Growing Power in Arizona

Athena Salman joined Central Arizonans for a Sustainable Economy (CASE) as an intern when she was a junior at Arizona State University (ASU) in 2011. Along with two other CASE interns, she formed an ASU group, affiliated with CASE, called the Student Organizing Committee. The Committee mobilized other students to support immigrant worker organizing, but they also had an ambitious goal to make an imprint on the 2011 Phoenix city council elections. The Committee played an integral role in the execution of a non-partisan Latino get-out-the-vote program that helped raise Latino voter participation by 80 percent over the past mayoral election.

In 2012, Athena took a job in a hotel where she became an organizing committee member and shop steward for UNITE HERE Local 631, CASE's closest union partner. In addition to helping build UNITE HERE's hotel membership, Athena continued as a volunteer leader on the labor-community partnership led by CASE and UNITE HERE. The partnership recruited more than 2,000 high school students to collect 35,000 voter registration applications in Latino neighborhoods across greater Phoenix.

In 2016, using organizing skills she learned at CASE and UNITE HERE, Athena ran for and won a seat in the Arizona House of Representatives. There she has already become an outspoken and respected leader for women's rights, racial equity and economic justice.

Investment in Progressive Reach

Even if all of the above capacities (grassroots organizing, coalition building, research and analysis, legal support, civic engagement, and leadership development) are in place, progressive coalitions cannot be successful without the resources to maintain and grow their constituencies. The progressive agenda cannot be won without the commitment of people who have faith in their institutions and their power to effect change—through their voices and their votes. None of that happens without day-in, day-out organizing and engagement. It requires knowledge of a community and the ability to meet people where they are, soliciting and sharing experiences, ideas and values. Allegiances are built not by social media campaigns or direct mail, but with trust and dedication, with an investment in the people who are driven to stand up and speak out, who can reach out a hand to lift others, and who reflect the diversity of the populace.

Again, the right wing has been successful in base building, political organizing, and leadership development. They recognized that substantial resources were needed to create the idea that they have groundswell support for their far-right policies. Americans for Prosperity, the Koch's organizing arm, has an operating budget over \$200 million and has invested in 650 on-the-ground staff members operating throughout the country. The progressive movement is sorely behind.

We conducted an unscientific survey of 15 of the major national organizing networks: Partnership for Working Families, Center on Popular Democracy, Center for Community Change, PICO National Network, People's Action, Gamaliel, Jobs with Justice, National Day Laborers Organizing Network, National Domestic Workers Alliance, Restaurant Opportunity Center, Right to the City, Grassroots Global Justice, Climate Justice Alliance, National Guestworker Alliance, and Working Families Party. We looked at their affiliates, and then went online to their affiliates' websites to estimate the number of staff members that groups have on the ground in the 100 largest cities. (see page 41).

We discovered that most of the local organizations that participate in those networks are under-resourced. With relatively little investment—providing funds to hire two or three organizers—those groups can spread their reach into the surrounding suburban areas. The progressive movement does not need dramatic reinvention or

reorganization to harness the enormous energy on the left. We need to buttress an existing grassroots network of organizing groups that have already built permanent relationships within their surrounding communities.

FIGHTING PREEMPTION: HOW TO OVERCOME STATE INTERFERENCE

The ability of cities to lead, innovate, protect their residents, and drive progressive change faces a serious and growing threat. In the past several years, corporate and other special interests have aggressively campaigned for state legislators to bind municipal power, with the idea that it would block cities from enacting the kind of progressive legislation that improves human (not corporate) welfare. The American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC), a Koch brothers-funded organization which advances corporate and conservative causes at the state level, has largely driven this attack. ALEC poached its tactic from the tobacco and gun lobbies, which advanced a state preemption strategy in the '80s and '90s.

The new effort to suppress local democracy is, unfortunately, succeeding in too many places. Today, 41 states restrict local regulation of ride-sharing companies; 28 states restrict local minimum wage measures; 27 states prohibit or limit local rent control and 7 states the prohibit local inclusionary zoning; 23 states restrict local construction labor agreements; 20 states restrict local employee benefits measures like earned sick time; 10 states prohibit local fair scheduling laws; 8 states prohibit sanctuary city measures; 5 state ban local rules promoting equity in hiring. Partnership for Working Families tracks state preemption laws on an [interactive website](#).

The wide and rapid spread of preemption laws is a powerful reminder of the now [well-documented](#) corporate capture of state legislatures. Companies like Uber have poured overwhelming sums into state lobbying efforts, taking ALEC's strategy to a whole new level and effectively deregulating their industry. The Partnership and the [National Employment Law Project](#) detailed that strategy in a recent [report](#).

The wave of state interference also involves overwhelmingly white and male-dominated state legislatures that have adopted laws most harmful to women and people of color. For example, a recent Partnership [report](#) exposes seven overwhelmingly white state legislatures that acted to preserve Jim Crow racial wage gaps when they blocked majority African-American cities from raising the minimum wage.

There are hundreds of bills currently pending in state legislatures across the country to further limit cities'

power. In some quarters, the effort to quell municipal power has reached the far extremes. In 2016, Arizona adopted legislation that allows the withholding of state funds from a local government that takes any action a lone state lawmaker finds inconsistent with state law. In 2017, Texas Governor Greg Abbott began actively advocating for the complete removal of local government authority to take actions without the permission of the state.

The Legal Landscape

Research by the [Legal Effort to Address Preemption](#), now the Local Solutions Support Center, which includes the Partnership's attorneys, has helped clarify the legal relationship between cities and states throughout the country. In general, *most cities have broad "home rule" authority to take a wide range of actions*. Forty states delegate significant authority to cities; however, most states have similar authority to restrict or prohibit local action. That helps explain why state interference has proven a potent tactic for ALEC and other corporate and right wing actors. (There is no small irony in radical libertarians pouring enormous resources into efforts to impose restrictions on home rule.) However, there are several exceptions to the general authority of states to interfere, and they grow in importance as states' actions become more extreme and invidious and compromise fundamental rights.

First, a few states, including California and Ohio, have strong structural protections against interference built into their constitutions. In those states, courts have struck down state interference as inconsistent with home rule principles.

Second, cities threatened with interference may have other legal protections under state law. Those protections include:

- procedural home rule provisions giving authority to localities over local governance, including personnel issues and matters within their proprietary interest;
- prohibitions against laws that target individual cities or merely restrict local action without adding state regulation.

Third, both federal and state law protect against discriminatory state measures, such as those that restrict local civil rights laws, are motivated by racial animus, or violate the Establishment Clause (banning Congress

from passing legislation respecting an establishment of religion).

Finally, there are substantial legal protections against the kind of state overreach—like Arizona’s radical preemption law, mentioned above—that threatens the withdrawal of state funds or, for example, imposes individual liability on local legislators in order to block priority legislation.

Surviving Interference and Turning the Tide

There are a number of effective strategies available to support cities’ continued leadership and to push back on state interference in local policies. Strategies include:

Avoiding State Restrictions

As noted, a number of state laws protect local authority within certain spheres, especially when it comes to self-governance and managing cities’ own personnel, funds and property. In some cases, that legal support is buttressed: several states have carved out distinct local authority (such as the power to set contract terms) from state laws that otherwise limit local power. Localities can pursue policy goals within those protected spheres. For example, they may be able to set strong wage and benefit standards for city personnel and contractors, and thereby avoid running afoul of, or inviting, state restrictions. In addition, advocates can pursue restriction-proof approaches such as community benefits agreements and other agreements between private actors that do not rely on local government action.

Affirmative Litigation

The description of the legal landscape above includes a number of bases on which localities and advocates may challenge state interference. In December 2017, an Ohio appellate court sided with the city of Cleveland and upheld a ruling that invalidated a state law preempting the city’s local hire ordinance on the grounds that the state law violated Ohio’s constitutional home rule provisions. In Alabama, advocates and local and state officials challenged a state law preempting Birmingham’s minimum wage ordinance, arguing that a predominantly white state was taking away the authority of a predominantly black city to protect its residents, in violation of federal Equal Protection principles and the Voting Rights Act. The lawsuit traced the history of Alabama’s constitution, illuminating the fact that the

state’s rules disempowering cities relative to the state were designed to advance white supremacy. Although the suit did not succeed at the trial court level, the plaintiffs have appealed and the case has garnered widespread attention to the racial justice issues at the heart of the battle between certain states and cities.

Campaigns to Prevent State Interference

Advocates and cities have succeeded in stopping state interference bills in every region of the country. For example, last year in Louisiana advocates and city representatives were able to stop a bill that would have preempted New Orleans’ inclusionary zoning ordinance. The Partnership for Working Families’ analysis of anti-preemption campaigns suggests that there is ample room to educate state legislators—of all political stripes and throughout the country—about the negative consequences of state interference and the questionable legality of many preemption proposals.

Campaigns to Repeal or Modify State Interference

Advocates and cities are beginning to develop more sophisticated campaigns to roll back state interference. As litigation continues over whether Pennsylvania’s home rule statute prohibits the city of Pittsburgh’s paid sick days ordinance, community coalitions POWER and Pittsburgh UNITED are pursuing a statewide organizing campaign to modify the statute. The groups aim to allow for more local policy making and to repeal the statute that prohibits local minimum wage laws. In North Carolina, the widespread outrage over HB2 (the state legislation best known for preempting local civil rights protections for LGBTQ individuals, but which also attacks local employment standards) helped fuel a campaign to repeal that law. Most recently, that effort led to a small, though disappointing, partial repeal of the law, thus the campaign for a full repeal continues.

It is worth noting that the most efficient approach is a straightforward repeal of a preempting statute, but campaigns may also advance statewide standards (for example, a minimum wage) and provisions that expressly allow localities to go further. In 2006, Arizona voters adopted a statewide ballot measure protecting the ability of localities to set wage and benefit standards. That measure blocked enforcement of a state law that prohibits city minimum wage ordinances. In a first promising step, the Colorado House of Representatives recently adopted a repeal of the state’s local minimum wage preemption statute. Organizers have launched a

several-year plan to secure support for the repeal by the full legislature.

Campaigns for Structural Change in the City-State Relationship

Those interested in protecting cities' ability to lead and innovate can also take a longer view of the task and seek to strengthen the home rule provisions in state constitutions and statutes. They may also adopt projects to educate and train judges and government attorneys to take a more favorable view of cities' authority, which they have ample room to do under much of the messy and malleable legal doctrine in the area. To be clear, those would not be campaigns to protect local authority for any use. Localities in every state have used their authority to extremely harmful effect. Such campaigns, therefore, must advance an approach to local democracy that protects local authority only where its exercise is inclusive and equitable.

Big Picture Strategy

Although it is important for localities to aggressively challenge preemption in court, we are also clear that simply striking down particular laws—especially on the narrow grounds likely available in most instances—will not be nearly sufficient to protect cities from the powerful wave of state interference driven by entrenched corporate influence and systems of oppression. Instead, enabling cities to continue to lead will require a sea change in the political landscape of a large number of states. The only realistic drivers of that change will be the anchor urban coalitions targeted and impacted by those preemption laws. The only way for city-based organizations to succeed is through multi-region campaigns, built on multiracial organizing coalitions, that galvanize widespread support for local authority to advance progressive measures. Where possible, those campaigns should target the corporate actors behind state interference laws and employ frames that focus on race and gender dynamics.

CONCLUSION

The multiplicity and gravity of the challenges we face—as individuals, communities and a nation—can only be solved with the energy of millions of people acting together. If we want to rewrite the rules of our economy and society to create a just, sustainable and prosperous nation, we need to harness the energy in America's cities, where real power can add up to national solutions.

Polls consistently [show](#) that most voters align with central elements of the progressive agenda.⁶⁹ People want good jobs, basic economic security, healthcare, decent housing, clean air and water, and real opportunity to pursue their dreams. But public support of those economic, social and environmental goals does not automatically lead to the power to enact an agenda.

The chaos and unhinged malevolence of the Trump administration is often orchestrated distraction, designed to fracture our collective focus on the fundamental rights and needs of Americans. And yet the populace is clearly awakening to the threat to our democracy that long preceded—but is dramatically underscored by—President Trump. The urgent need to shift public attitudes about the role of government and to secure the inviolability of foundational democratic principles would exist regardless of the 2016 election's outcome. After four decades of engineered authoritarian attacks on the country's democratic ideals, the progressive movement urgently needs to focus on the demand that **our government institutions act on behalf of the majority and advance the common good.**

In summary, achieving meaningful gains requires progressives to:

Pursue governing power.

Progressive, multiracial, multi-issue coalitions must pursue governing power in cities across the country, beyond the coasts. Strong coalitions are anchored by groups proficient at organizing large numbers of people in communities, workplaces, and religious institutions. The coalitions should have a regional focus, looking beyond individual cities to suburbs and small towns, while consciously building toward statewide power. Progressive activists must break out of their single-issue silos to grow a sophisticated grassroots movement with a proactive governing agenda.

Build capacity needed to govern.

Local, regional and statewide organizations and coalitions must build the following capacities in order to succeed: first and foremost, grassroots organizing; leadership development that includes a pipeline to elected and staff government positions; civic engagement; research and policy development; legal expertise; communications; and fundraising.

To underscore, *there must be real grassroots engagement and organization.* If we aren't talking to people—lots of people—nothing else matters. The movement must achieve greater scale, using every tool available to reach large numbers of people. But we have to stay rooted in face-to-face organizing and leadership development as the permanent anchor and engine of large-scale organization.

Invest far more resources in cities across the country.

Ironically, the right wing, which has long sneered at the concept of community organizing, has over the past decade invested far more resources than the left into grassroots advocacy and training. The progressive movement will only achieve success if money and staff are distributed where they are needed most: at the ground level in diverse regions of the country. Whether funding is filtered through national organizing networks or provided directly, resources must support the grassroots work being done cities throughout the country.

Understand and wield the powers of governance.

In the wake of the November 2016 election, tens of thousands of people have expressed interest in running for local and state elected offices around the country. It's not enough to win one seat, or even the majority of seats, on a city council, school board or county board. *Elected representatives need to understand and use the authority at their disposal to govern for the common good.* They must embrace their power to address problems of inequality, climate change, housing needs, public health, and public education. Likewise, advocates working on the outside of government need to understand what opportunities they have to influence change on a policy and program level.

Stand unified against all forms of bigotry being used to divide the nation.

Institutional and quotidian racism, rabid xenophobia and religious intolerance, insidious and overt gender and sexual orientation bias, gross economic injustice—all are inseparable as social and economic dynamics in this country and therefore should be equally inseparable centerpieces of a progressive governing agenda. The bottom line is that we simply can't succeed without true unity, reflected in our priorities, our leadership, and our vision.

Putting it All Together

There isn't one campaign, one strategy, one organization, or one city that can rebuild American democracy on its own. In order to achieve widespread fairness and equity in our institutions, progressives need an expansive view of the movement and their own ability to effect change—in communities throughout the country. A successful progressive movement requires a sophisticated understanding of power, an aligned governing philosophy, the commitment and resources to expand and sustain its organizing reach, coalitional strength grounded in true diversity, and—no less—faith and persistence in our values.

CITY CAPACITY CHART

Population 2010					
	City Name	City Pop	Cities Total	State Total	% City
ALASKA					
1	Anchorage Municipality	291,826			
			291,826	710,231	41.1%
ALABAMA					
2	Birmingham City	212,237			
			212,237	4,779,736	4.4%
ARIZONA					
3	Chandler City	236,123			
4	Glendale City	226,721			
5	Mesa City	439,041			
6	Phoenix City	1,445,632			
7	Scottsdale City	217,385			
8	Tucson City	520,116			
			3,085,018	6,392,017	48.3%
CALIFORNIA					
9	Bakersfield City	347,483			
10	Fresno City	494,665			
11	Irvine City	212,375			
12	Anaheim City	336,265			
13	Long Beach City	462,257			
14	Los Angeles City	3,792,621			
15	Santa Ana City	324,528			
16	Riverside City	303,871			
17	San Bernardino City	209,924			
18	Sacramento City	466,488			
19	Chula Vista City	243,916			
20	San Diego City	1,307,402			
21	Fremont City	214,089			
22	Oakland City	390,724			
23	San Francisco City	805,235			
24	San Jose City	945,942			
25	Stockton City	291,707			
			11,149,492	37,253,956	29.9%
COLORADO					
26	Colorado Springs City	416,427			
27	Denver City	600,158			
28	Aurora City	325,078			
			1,341,663	5,029,196	26.7%
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA					
29	Washington City	601,723			
			601,723	601,723	100%
FLORIDA					
30	Jacksonville City	821,784			

CITY CAPACITY CHART

City Infrastructure Information		County		
Organizations	Staff	County Name	County Pop	% County
		Anchorage Municipality	295,907	
Faith in Action (PICO), Adelante Wrkrs Ctr (NDWA), Arise CCP (Statewide), Hispanic Interest Coalition of AL(CCC)	22	Jefferson County	657,998	
		Maricopa County	3,868,981	
		Maricopa County	3,868,981	
CASE (PWF), LUCHA (CPD,PA), Puente (NDWA)	13	Maricopa County	3,868,981	
		Maricopa County	3,868,981	61%
Tucson JWJ	0	Pima County	987,910	15%
Faith In Action Kern Cty (PICO)	1	Kern County	849,467	
Faith In Community (PICO), CFJ, Centro La Familia(MIV), Fresno Ctr of New Americans(MIV)	9	Fresno County	940,974	
		Orange County	3,053,932	
OCCORD (PWF), OCCCO (PICO)	13	Orange County	3,053,932	
LAANE(PWF), LB ICO(PICO), Filipino Migrant Ctr(NDWA), CFJ,KGA	14	Los Angeles County	9,885,201	
Every network except Gamaliel represented	348	Los Angeles County	9,885,201	
		Orange County	3,053,932	
Warehouse Workers Resource Center (PWF), CCAEJ(CA Calls)	14	Riverside County	2,236,086	
Inland Cong. United for Change (PICO)	1	San Bernardino County	2,063,143	
ACT (PICO), PICO CA, Capitol Region (Gamaliel)	21	Sacramento County	1,435,277	
		San Diego County	3,138,550	
SDOP(PICO), CPI(PWF/CPD), EHC(GGJ), Gamaliel, Just Transition Alliance(GGJ), All of Us or None(GGJ), Mid-City CAN(MIV)	48	San Diego County	3,138,550	
		Alameda County	1,531,324	
Most networks represented (not JWJ, CCC), CFJ	148	Alameda County	1,531,324	
Every network represented	114	San Francisco County	815,016	
PACT(PICO), WPUSA(PWF), CFJ, SIREN(CCC), AAC(MIV)	40	Santa Clara County	1,811,297	
PACT(PICO)	1	San Joaquin County	695,130	
		El Paso County	636,878	12.7%
Together CO(PICO), UNE(PWF), CO JWJ, CO Progressive Coalition(PA,R2C), Padres y Jovenes Unidos(R2C,GGJ), Centro Humanitario(NDWA), 9-5(CCC), CIRC(CCC)	63	Denver County	620,018	12.3%
Colorado Peoples Alliance (PA)	7	Arapahoe County	585,827	11.6%
JWJ, SPACES(CPD), EJ & Climate Change Initiative(CJA), One DC(RtC), EMPOWER DC (CCC)	29	District of Columbia	619,624	
New Florida Majority N(CPD)	3	Duval County	871,803	5%

CITY CAPACITY CHART

Population 2010					
	City Name	City Pop	Cities Total	State Total	% City
31	Hialeah City	224,669			
32	Miami City	399,457			
33	Orlando City	238,300			
34	St. Petersburg City	244,769			
35	Tampa City	335,709			
			2,264,688	18,801,310	12.0%
GEORGIA					
36	Atlanta City	420,003			
			420,003	9,687,653	4.3%
HAWAII					
37	City and County of Honolulu	953,207			
			953,207	1,360,301	70.1%
ILLINOIS					
38	Chicago City	2,695,598			
			2,695,598	12,830,632	21.0%
INDIANA					
39	Fort Wayne City	253,691			
40	Indianapolis City (balance)	820,445			
			1,074,136	6,483,802	16.6%
KANSAS					
41	Wichita City	382,368			
			382,368	2,853,118	13.4%
KENTUCKY					
42	Lexington-Fayette urban county	295,803			
43	Louisville/Jefferson County metro government (balance)	597,337			
			893,140	4,339,367	20.6%
LOUISIANA					
44	Baton Rouge City	229,493			
45	New Orleans City	343,829			
			573,322	4,533,372	12.6%
MASSACHUSETTS					

CITY CAPACITY CHART

City Infrastructure Information		County		
Organizations	Staff	County Name	County Pop	% County
		Miami-Dade County	2,566,718	14%
New FLA Majority S(CPD, R2C, NDWA, GGJ), Community Justice Project(R2C), PowerU(RtC), FLA Immigrant Coalition S (CCC), SFJWJ	28	Miami-Dade County	2,566,718	14%
Faith in FLA(PICO), Central FLA JWJ, Organize Now(CPD)	32	Orange County	1,170,125	6%
Consumer Action Network (PA)	3	Pinellas County	917,611	5%
		Hillsborough County	1,270,293	7%
Georgia Standup(PWF), Atlanta JWJ, ABLE(Gamaliel), Atlanta NDWA, ECO-Action(CCC), GA Citizens Coal on Hunger(GGJ), Project South(GGJ)	25	Fulton County	949,777	10%
Faith In Action (CPD)	3	Honolulu County	965,629	71%
Grassroots Collaborative (PWF), Chicago JWJ, Action Now(CPD), ICIRR(CPD), ONE Northside(PA), Citizen Action Illinois(PA), Gamaliel Metro Chicago, Jane Addams Snr Ctr(PA), Little Village EJ Org(CJA), Centro Autonomo(R2C), ARISE(NDWA), Latino Union of Chicago(NDLON), SOUL(PA), Chicago Coal for Homeless(CCC), Chicago Workers Collab(CCC), SACCC(PA)	110	Cook County	5,212,589	41%
		Allen County	358,583	6%
IndyCAN(PICO), Central Indiana JWJ	4	Marion County	910,900	14%
Sunflower Community Action(CPD,PA), Hope Street Youth Development(CCC)	7	Sedgwick County	500,715	18%
		Fayette County	301,313	7%
Kentucky JWJ, Kentucky Alliance(CCC)	0	Jefferson County	746,295	17%
		East Baton Rouge Parish	441,523	10%
MICAH Project(PICO), NO Workrs Ctr(NGA,NDLON), Families & Friends of LA's Incarcerated Children (R2C), Safe Streets/Strong Communities(RtC)	35	Orleans Parish	360,692	8%

CITY CAPACITY CHART

Population 2010					
	City Name	City Pop	Cities Total	State Total	% City
NEW YORK					
67	Buffalo City	261,310			
68	New York City	8,175,133			
69	Rochester City	210,565			
			8,647,008	19,378,102	44.6%
OHIO					
70	Cincinnati City	296,943			
71	Cleveland City	396,815			
72	Columbus City	787,033			
73	Toledo City	287,208			
			1,767,999	11,536,504	15.3%
OKLAHOMA					
74	Oklahoma City City	579,999			
75	Tulsa City	391,906			
			971,905	3,751,351	25.9%
OREGON					
76	Portland City	583,776			
			583,776	3,831,074	15.2%
PENNSYLVANIA					
77	Philadelphia City	1,526,006			
78	Pittsburgh City	305,704			
			1,831,710	12,702,379	14.4%
TENNESSEE					
79	Memphis City	646,889			
80	Nashville-Davidson (balance)	601,222			
			1,248,111	6,346,105	19.7%
TEXAS					
81	Austin City	790,390			
82	Corpus Christi City	305,215			
83	Arlington City	365,438			
84	Garland City	226,876			
85	Irving City	216,290			
86	Plano City	259,841			
87	Dallas City	1,197,816			
88	Fort Worth City	741,206			
89	El Paso City	649,121			
90	Houston City	2,099,451			
91	Laredo City	236,091			
92	Lubbock City	229,573			

CITY CAPACITY CHART

City Infrastructure Information		County		
Organizations	Staff	County Name	County Pop	% County
Coalition for Econ Justice(JWJ), Global Justice Ecology Project(CJA), PUSH Buffalo(PA), Voice of Buffalo(Gamaliel)	29	Erie County	919,209	5%
Every network represented	324	New York County	8,273,130	43%
Rochester ACTS(Gamaliel), Rochester Metro Justice(PA)	4	Monroe County	747,000	4%
OOC(CPD,PA), Ohio Prophetic Voices(PICO), Peoples Coalition for Equality(R2C), Communities United for Action (PA), AMOS(PICO), Progress OH(PA), CUFA	7	Hamilton County	800,940	7%
Common Good OH(CPD),Cleveland JWJ	2	Cuyahoga County	1,270,098	11%
Organize OH	4	Franklin County	1,179,411	10%
Toledo JWJ, FLOC(GGJ)	3	Lucas County	439,770	4%
		Oklahoma County	730,168	19%
		Tulsa County	608,605	16%
Portland JWJ, Unite OR(PA), Enlace(CCC), MACG(CCC), Oregon Action(CCC), African Womens Coalition(WSC), APANO(WSC), Basic Rights Oregon(WSC), Community Alliance of Tenants(WSC), OPAL(WSC), OCCP(WSC), OCADSV(WSC), Oregon Student Association(WSC), Partnership for Safety & Justice(WSC), The Bus Project(WSC), VOZ (WSC)	110	Multnomah County	748,148	20%
POWER(PICO,PWF), Action United(CPD), Philadelphia JAJ, Energy Justice Netwk(CJA), ROC Philly PA Immigrant and Citizenship Coalition(CCC), PUP(CCC), Youth United for Change(CCC), KWRU(GGJ)	33	Philadelphia County	1,538,497	12%
Pittsburgh United (PWF), One Pittsburgh(CPD), PIIN(Gamaliel), Just Harvest (CCC)	25	Allegheny County	1,227,308	10%
Midsouth Peace & Justice Ctr(CCC)	6	Shelby County	933,902	15%
Middle TN JWJ, NOAH (Gamaliel), Tennessee Citizen Action (PA), TIRRC (NDWA), Dignidad Obrera (NDWA), Nashville Homeless Power Project (CCC), TAP (CCC), TIRRC (CCC), Urban EpiCenter (CCC)	31	Davidson County	635,606	10%
Workers Defense Fund (CPD,NDLON)	20	Travis County	1,062,214	4%
		Nueces County	343,053	1%
		Tarrant County	1,848,096	7%
		Dallas County	2,408,488	10%
		Dallas County	2,408,488	10%
		Collin County	812,879	3%
Workers Defense Fund (CPD,NDLON), Faith In TX(PICO), TX New Era Ctr JWJ	11	Dallas County	2,408,488	10%
		Tarrant County	1,848,096	7%
Border Agricultural Workers Project	1	El Paso County	818,431	3%
TOP (CPD)	26	Harris County	4,176,674	17%
		Webb County	255,213	1%
		Lubbock County	283,361	1%

CITY CAPACITY CHART

Population 2010					
	City Name	City Pop	Cities Total	State Total	% City
93	San Antonio City	1,327,407			
			8,644,715	25,145,561	34.4%
VIRGINIA					
94	Chesapeake City	222,209			
95	Norfolk City	242,803			
96	Virginia Beach City	437,994			
			903,006	8,001,024	11.3%
WASHINGTON					
97	Seattle City	608,660			
98	Spokane City	208,916			
			817,576	6,724,540	12.2%
WISCONSIN					
99	Madison City	233,209			
100	Milwaukee City	594,833			
			828,042	5,686,986	14.6%

Acronym Key

CCC - Center for Community Change

CJA - Climate Justice Alliance

CPD - Center on Popular Democracy

Gamaliel National Network

GGJ - Grassroots Global Justice

JWJ - Jobs With Justice

NDLON - National Day Laborers Network

NDWA - National Domestic Workers Alliance

NGA - National Guestworkers Alliance

PA - Peoples Action

PICO National Network

PWF - Partnership for Working Families

ROC - Restaurant Opportunity Center

RtC - Right to the City

S - statewide

WFP - Working Families Party

WSC - Western States Center

Note: red numbers mean a likely significant undercount of staff

CITY CAPACITY CHART

City Infrastructure Information		County		
Organizations	Staff	County Name	County Pop	% County
Esperanza (R2C), Southwest Wrkrs Union (NDWA,GGJ,CJA), Fuerza Unida(GGJ)	25	Bexar County	1,754,167	7%
		Chesapeake city	225,401	3%
VA Organizing-statewide(PA), Empower Hampton Rds(Gamaliel)	18	Norfolk city	243,641	3%
		Virginia Beach city	442,826	6%
SAGE(PWF), Washington CAN(PA,CCC), SeattleROC, Casa Latina(NDWA,NDLON), Working Washington(CPD), Got Green(GGJ,CJA), One America(PA), Alliance for a Just Society(CCC), Northwest Immigrant Rights Project(CCC), SYPP(WSC)	153	King County	1,971,313	29%
Odyssey Youth Center(WSC)		Spokane County	473,529	7%
MOSES(Gamaliel)	0	Dane County	496,295	9%
Citizen Action(PWF,PA), Wisconsin Jobs Now(CPD), WISDOM/MICAH(Gamaliel)		Milwaukee County	951,566	17%

PERE TECHNICAL APPENDIX

	Population						Unemployed					
	All	NHWhite	Black	Latino	API	%POC	All	NHWhite	Black	Latino	AAPI	POC
Albuquerque City, NM	553,576	249,485	14,807	239,542	14,273	55%	6.8%	5.9%	5.8%	7.7%	7.3%	7.7%
Anaheim City, CA	342,973	92,078	7,956	182,251	53,818	73%	9.2%	9.6%	16.4%	9.3%	7.7%	9.1%
Anchorage Municipality, AK	298,178	182,697	16,371	24,500	29,980	39%	5.7%	4.2%	15.5%	3.4%	4.8%	8.8%
Arlington City, TX	375,305	146,272	79,668	115,042	26,386	61%	7.8%	6.8%	11.0%	7.1%	5.9%	8.5%
Atlanta City, GA	440,641	178,998	206,179	27,527	19,066	59%	10.3%	4.5%	19.1%	5.9%	4.4%	16.2%
Aurora City, CO	339,480	146,428	56,016	105,773	17,469	57%	9.4%	7.9%	13.3%	9.3%	8.3%	10.7%
Austin City, TX	864,218	418,874	62,542	311,045	50,288	52%	5.8%	4.6%	10.5%	7.4%	4.1%	7.3%
Bakersfield City, CA	358,700	123,723	24,843	180,268	20,095	66%	10.1%	7.2%	18.3%	11.6%	8.4%	11.9%
Baltimore City, MD	622,271	173,901	389,901	27,778	16,027	72%	11.6%	6.6%	15.1%	7.1%	5.9%	14.1%
Baton Rouge City, LA	229,353	88,878	119,714	8,570	8,669	61%	7.9%	3.8%	11.2%	N/A	7.4%	10.7%
Birmingham City, AL	211,705	44,997	153,760	8,575	1,830	79%	13.1%	5.6%	16.6%	5.3%	N/A	15.7%
Boston City, MA	639,594	294,657	145,524	117,458	58,488	54%	8.8%	5.6%	14.4%	12.0%	7.9%	12.2%
Buffalo City, NY	259,959	118,359	96,065	26,091	10,638	54%	10.7%	6.7%	17.4%	13.2%	6.4%	15.5%
Chandler City, AZ	245,231	147,539	11,266	56,908	20,156	40%	5.8%	5.0%	14.3%	6.0%	5.2%	7.1%
Charlotte City, NC	774,807	350,411	259,286	104,523	39,861	55%	8.7%	5.7%	14.3%	7.3%	7.0%	11.6%
Chesapeake City, VA	228,168	135,839	66,408	11,069	7,520	40%	6.1%	4.8%	8.4%	11.7%	3.4%	8.1%
Chicago City, IL	2,712,608	853,425	866,102	792,048	155,223	69%	11.0%	5.9%	20.3%	10.8%	6.8%	14.4%
Chula Vista City, CA	253,031	49,859	11,156	146,013	38,817	80%	10.1%	8.8%	12.7%	11.9%	5.3%	10.4%
Cincinnati City, OH	297,117	147,917	126,496	9,110	5,342	50%	12.4%	6.6%	20.7%	12.0%	3.8%	19.3%
City and County of Honolulu, HI	975,690	189,334	22,179	86,655	488,987	81%	4.6%	4.8%	9.7%	6.7%	3.9%	4.6%
Cleveland City, OH	392,114	135,416	200,538	39,303	6,330	65%	16.6%	11.1%	22.1%	16.5%	5.8%	20.5%
Colorado Springs City, CO	433,547	307,017	24,245	70,521	12,170	29%	7.6%	6.6%	13.4%	10.1%	4.4%	10.5%
Columbus City, OH	811,943	486,308	220,770	45,887	26,979	40%	8.7%	6.4%	14.7%	8.0%	4.8%	12.8%
Corpus Christi City, TX	312,680	96,447	12,288	194,609	5,707	69%	5.9%	5.0%	8.2%	6.3%	3.3%	6.3%
Dallas City, TX	1,240,985	361,188	295,092	539,902	26,789	71%	7.5%	4.9%	13.5%	6.6%	6.5%	8.9%
Denver City, CO	633,777	332,633	62,250	198,247	22,388	48%	6.8%	5.1%	13.1%	9.2%	4.9%	9.6%
Detroit City, MI	695,437	61,262	559,812	51,991	8,412	91%	23.4%	17.8%	24.6%	17.6%	N/A	24.0%
Durham City, NC	240,107	101,038	89,675	32,001	10,779	58%	6.9%	4.2%	11.0%	5.8%	5.3%	9.2%
El Paso City, TX	669,771	98,682	21,088	534,566	8,074	85%	7.0%	5.8%	7.1%	7.2%	2.2%	7.2%
Fort Wayne City, IN	255,784	173,453	42,441	22,473	8,721	32%	9.4%	7.6%	15.8%	12.1%	15.3%	14.5%
Fort Worth City, TX	778,573	341,235	125,099	266,926	27,242	56%	6.9%	5.5%	12.8%	6.6%	4.6%	8.3%
Fremont City, CA	221,654	58,391	8,100	33,826	109,907	74%	7.0%	8.3%	11.3%	6.9%	5.8%	6.5%
Fresno City, CA	506,132	151,054	36,554	239,850	63,857	70%	13.9%	11.6%	19.2%	15.0%	12.3%	15.1%
Garland City, TX	232,305	77,654	30,088	89,240	25,329	67%	7.7%	7.6%	10.9%	6.4%	7.4%	7.8%
Glendale City, AZ	231,978	120,081	12,426	82,097	9,014	48%	8.7%	8.0%	11.9%	9.3%	4.7%	9.7%
Greensboro City, NC	276,225	126,330	109,485	20,749	11,632	54%	8.4%	6.3%	11.8%	5.1%	5.2%	10.4%
Henderson City, NV	266,245	179,805	14,438	40,144	23,234	32%	9.0%	8.5%	14.5%	11.7%	5.5%	10.2%
Hialeah City, FL	232,311	8,211	8,876	214,433	487	96%	11.1%	8.7%	23.8%	10.7%	N/A	11.1%
Houston City, TX	2,167,988	556,609	466,567	964,765	148,989	74%	7.5%	4.6%	14.0%	6.6%	5.3%	8.6%
Indianapolis City (balance), IN	835,097	487,473	224,161	80,297	18,721	42%	9.5%	7.6%	15.4%	7.6%	5.8%	12.7%
Irvine City, CA	229,850	102,678	4,417	27,073	84,182	55%	5.9%	7.0%	N/A	4.0%	5.0%	4.9%
Irving City, TX	224,859	64,005	28,338	102,059	25,753	72%	7.1%	7.6%	10.1%	5.7%	5.6%	6.8%
Jacksonville City, FL	837,533	459,831	248,661	68,631	35,875	45%	9.9%	7.9%	15.1%	8.8%	5.7%	12.6%
Jersey City City, NJ	255,861	55,119	60,621	70,922	62,840	78%	9.2%	6.2%	14.9%	10.3%	6.6%	10.2%
Kansas City City, MO	465,005	252,399	136,780	48,459	11,334	46%	8.1%	5.6%	13.5%	9.1%	6.4%	11.9%
Laredo City, TX	245,048	8,474	562	234,420	1,365	97%	4.7%	7.3%	N/A	4.6%	N/A	4.6%
Las Vegas City, NV	597,353	266,162	67,026	201,291	41,042	55%	11.8%	11.2%	15.6%	11.6%	9.4%	12.2%
Lexington-Fayette urban county, KY	304,473	220,865	44,201	20,863	11,302	27%	6.9%	6.0%	12.6%	7.9%	2.7%	9.9%
Lincoln City, NE	265,811	221,373	9,491	16,801	10,463	17%	4.4%	3.7%	N/A	14.2%	3.5%	8.5%
Long Beach City, CA	468,594	131,792	59,751	194,449	64,535	72%	9.9%	8.4%	14.7%	10.4%	7.2%	10.7%
Los Angeles City, CA	3,862,210	1,078,329	349,353	1,893,691	445,376	72%	9.8%	9.2%	15.9%	9.7%	7.5%	10.1%
Louisville/Jefferson County metro government (balance), KY	605,762	412,558	135,005	29,083	13,739	32%	8.9%	6.9%	15.4%	11.0%	5.7%	13.8%
Lubbock City, TX	236,868	131,707	16,219	79,279	4,788	44%	5.1%	3.8%	7.0%	6.7%	8.5%	6.7%
Madison City, WI	239,848	181,725	16,092	16,056	18,894	24%	5.4%	5.0%	N/A	N/A	8.7%	6.9%
Memphis City, TN	656,715	179,751	414,196	41,238	10,776	73%	11.6%	6.1%	14.9%	8.5%	5.4%	14.0%
Mesa City, AZ	452,091	289,884	14,499	122,240	9,817	36%	7.7%	6.8%	13.6%	9.0%	10.1%	9.3%
Miami City, FL	416,432	49,480	66,134	294,497	3,787	88%	11.3%	6.5%	22.4%	10.5%	6.7%	12.1%
Milwaukee City, WI	598,078	204,884	241,341	109,960	22,819	66%	12.3%	6.8%	19.5%	11.0%	5.9%	16.4%
Minneapolis City, MN	394,424	241,270	68,752	38,418	23,082	39%	7.2%	4.4%	21.4%	5.5%	8.7%	13.8%
Nashville-Davidson (balance), TN	624,261	355,291	172,575	61,662	19,632	43%	6.9%	5.4%	10.6%	6.0%	6.0%	9.2%
New Orleans City, LA	368,471	122,695	208,663	20,272	10,428	67%	9.9%	5.5%	14.1%	7.7%	5.9%	12.8%
New York City, NY	8,354,889	2,734,044	1,887,162	2,408,237	1,100,161	67%	8.6%	6.1%	11.9%	9.9%	7.1%	9.9%
Newark City, NJ	278,750	30,059	137,259	96,812	5,041	89%	16.6%	9.4%	22.6%	12.1%	N/A	17.6%
Norfolk City, VA	244,745	107,086	102,497	17,336	8,198	56%	9.3%	8.2%	11.3%	5.6%	5.4%	10.1%
North Las Vegas City, NV	223,336	65,152	44,127	90,108	15,700	71%	10.9%	7.9%	15.4%	10.9%	11.7%	12.4%
Oakland City, CA	402,339	111,285	100,290	101,774	68,957	72%	9.7%	5.4%	18.1%	9.4%	8.4%	12.0%
Oklahoma City City, OK	600,729	317,865	91,574	121,625	22,683	47%	6.1%	5.1%	10.1%	6.2%	2.9%	7.6%
Omaha City, NE	435,454	296,379	54,669	58,146	12,778	32%	5.3%	4.2%	12.2%	6.6%	3.3%	8.2%
Orlando City, FL	250,224	92,940	87,035	57,537	6,756	63%	9.8%	7.6%	13.9%	9.5%	4.7%	11.6%
Philadelphia City, PA	1,546,920	560,202	646,669	201,069	101,889	64%	12.5%	8.4%	16.9%	14.7%	9.4%	15.5%

PERE TECHNICAL APPENDIX

All	150% Working Poverty					Income			Voting	
	NHWhit	Black	Latino	AAPI	POC	Gini	30% re	30% owner bu	CVAP	
5.0%	2.4%	8.2%	7.1%	8.3%	7.5%	0.469	51.6%	26.3%	70.5%	
6.0%	1.9%	N/A	9.8%	2.6%	7.7%	0.442	63.5%	37.9%	54.6%	
2.2%	1.1%	5.0%	2.3%	6.7%	4.3%	0.410	46.0%	24.3%	70.9%	
6.0%	2.4%	6.3%	13.0%	6.1%	9.5%	0.435	54.9%	25.0%	61.8%	
4.4%	1.6%	6.8%	10.3%	1.8%	6.7%	0.562	51.0%	31.0%	76.2%	
6.4%	3.0%	5.3%	11.8%	8.8%	9.0%	0.421	55.9%	30.0%	61.0%	
5.3%	2.1%	6.1%	11.7%	2.3%	9.3%	0.495	50.5%	25.8%	65.8%	
7.8%	3.5%	4.4%	11.9%	4.2%	10.2%	0.459	55.6%	30.8%	59.2%	
4.1%	2.4%	4.8%	6.9%	3.2%	4.8%	0.501	54.9%	33.1%	74.4%	
7.4%	3.5%	9.5%	N/A	2.9%	9.3%	0.509	55.5%	23.9%	75.4%	
7.4%	3.8%	7.6%	N/A	N/A	8.5%	0.502	58.2%	32.2%	76.6%	
2.6%	1.2%	3.1%	5.2%	4.2%	4.0%	0.537	50.8%	33.7%	69.8%	
4.3%	2.5%	5.4%	7.0%	11.9%	6.0%	0.501	54.9%	25.0%	72.9%	
3.8%	2.1%	4.5%	10.3%	3.5%	7.4%	0.409	42.6%	23.0%	66.1%	
5.3%	2.3%	6.4%	14.5%	5.1%	8.1%	0.503	48.5%	26.6%	65.9%	
3.9%	2.8%	7.0%	N/A	0.0%	5.6%	0.407	51.7%	32.0%	73.3%	
5.0%	1.6%	5.5%	9.8%	5.5%	7.3%	0.520	51.8%	38.1%	66.1%	
4.2%	1.0%	3.1%	6.0%	2.5%	5.0%	0.418	60.9%	42.0%	59.6%	
4.9%	2.5%	8.3%	4.1%	1.4%	7.7%	0.540	53.4%	28.6%	74.9%	
2.4%	2.0%	0.9%	1.7%	2.8%	2.5%	0.416	56.8%	33.7%	70.8%	
5.9%	3.7%	6.7%	8.6%	8.3%	7.2%	0.509	57.3%	32.5%	74.2%	
3.8%	2.7%	7.2%	7.0%	4.4%	6.7%	0.442	50.8%	25.9%	71.6%	
5.1%	3.3%	7.5%	13.2%	7.9%	8.2%	0.482	52.2%	25.7%	70.9%	
6.3%	3.3%	6.2%	7.7%	7.6%	7.6%	0.460	48.7%	21.8%	70.1%	
8.3%	2.0%	7.1%	15.8%	4.2%	11.8%	0.543	49.1%	29.2%	56.9%	
4.4%	1.9%	6.0%	9.5%	4.7%	7.9%	0.503	49.7%	26.4%	69.3%	
6.5%	4.2%	6.3%	11.5%	N/A	6.7%	0.497	67.1%	35.7%	71.3%	
4.4%	1.3%	5.3%	15.4%	2.1%	7.1%	0.474	48.8%	23.3%	67.5%	
8.8%	3.8%	4.7%	10.0%	1.7%	9.6%	0.484	49.3%	22.6%	59.2%	
5.4%	3.5%	7.6%	15.4%	11.6%	10.5%	0.440	46.2%	16.1%	70.1%	
5.6%	2.1%	5.8%	11.8%	6.2%	9.4%	0.455	48.7%	23.4%	60.2%	
1.2%	1.1%	N/A	1.9%	1.0%	1.2%	0.411	41.2%	31.6%	58.1%	
6.4%	3.0%	6.6%	9.0%	7.0%	8.2%	0.484	60.6%	33.3%	58.6%	
8.2%	2.3%	6.6%	16.5%	4.5%	11.4%	0.408	52.4%	27.6%	55.5%	
7.1%	3.6%	6.9%	13.2%	6.5%	11.4%	0.445	52.9%	27.2%	63.3%	
6.2%	2.7%	7.0%	19.2%	18.8%	9.4%	0.499	51.7%	27.2%	71.6%	
2.4%	1.9%	4.9%	4.2%	2.1%	3.4%	0.431	43.9%	32.5%	74.1%	
11.9%	N/A	N/A	12.1%	N/A	12.1%	0.440	71.7%	45.4%	48.4%	
7.4%	1.7%	7.0%	12.9%	4.6%	10.1%	0.530	48.7%	25.5%	55.9%	
5.2%	3.0%	7.2%	15.1%	6.3%	8.7%	0.471	53.5%	23.3%	69.7%	
1.7%	1.4%	N/A	4.8%	1.0%	1.9%	0.457	51.0%	33.0%	64.5%	
9.8%	2.2%	9.6%	15.7%	6.9%	12.9%	0.451	41.0%	28.3%	50.1%	
4.2%	2.8%	5.9%	8.1%	4.3%	6.0%	0.469	54.9%	30.3%	72.4%	
4.5%	3.5%	4.1%	7.1%	3.5%	4.8%	0.489	47.4%	47.6%	59.0%	
4.0%	2.5%	5.6%	10.0%	9.1%	6.9%	0.484	49.6%	24.3%	72.2%	
9.5%	3.2%	5.7%	11.1%	N/A	10.9%	0.477	57.3%	31.0%	48.0%	
5.0%	2.0%	4.9%	10.1%	2.0%	7.5%	0.460	52.5%	32.2%	63.8%	
4.5%	2.4%	8.7%	19.4%	3.9%	10.6%	0.490	51.1%	19.4%	73.0%	
4.4%	3.6%	13.7%	13.3%	4.3%	9.8%	0.438	46.9%	18.0%	73.3%	
6.1%	1.8%	4.6%	11.1%	3.7%	8.0%	0.471	57.0%	36.9%	62.3%	
7.8%	2.2%	3.8%	13.6%	3.4%	10.2%	0.522	61.0%	45.9%	57.0%	
4.6%	3.3%	7.2%	12.1%	6.3%	7.9%	0.477	48.7%	22.5%	73.1%	
6.2%	3.3%	7.2%	10.8%	6.3%	10.0%	0.491	54.7%	20.0%	73.5%	
3.4%	2.3%	N/A	N/A	N/A	6.9%	0.478	55.6%	27.6%	75.7%	
5.9%	1.9%	7.8%	18.4%	2.2%	8.5%	0.505	59.6%	32.8%	70.6%	
4.3%	2.4%	5.5%	10.5%	3.9%	9.0%	0.444	54.1%	27.5%	67.3%	
10.9%	2.1%	10.0%	12.9%	N/A	12.2%	0.568	66.0%	43.6%	51.8%	
7.8%	3.2%	8.2%	14.4%	16.8%	10.5%	0.458	57.9%	35.7%	67.4%	
3.7%	1.7%	7.1%	14.1%	5.0%	8.2%	0.505	50.5%	28.5%	72.0%	
5.6%	3.3%	7.9%	14.4%	6.8%	9.1%	0.483	50.1%	26.3%	71.3%	
5.1%	1.9%	7.2%	6.3%	7.9%	7.1%	0.551	59.2%	32.3%	76.0%	
5.4%	2.1%	4.7%	9.3%	7.1%	7.1%	0.537	53.2%	39.6%	62.4%	
6.2%	5.2%	4.9%	8.0%	9.2%	6.3%	0.468	57.7%	57.9%	57.2%	
5.5%	3.3%	7.6%	8.3%	3.5%	7.3%	0.460	56.1%	35.7%	76.2%	
6.0%	2.6%	6.5%	9.8%	2.0%	7.5%	0.413	55.2%	35.1%	57.2%	
4.4%	1.2%	4.2%	8.5%	5.3%	5.9%	0.524	54.6%	38.4%	65.3%	
7.2%	3.7%	9.2%	16.9%	6.2%	11.4%	0.479	49.4%	22.7%	66.9%	
5.1%	2.6%	9.8%	17.0%	5.5%	11.9%	0.460	48.4%	22.6%	68.8%	
7.3%	3.5%	9.5%	11.2%	6.4%	10.1%	0.474	61.0%	37.1%	68.8%	
4.0%	2.0%	4.5%	8.5%	8.7%	5.7%	0.508	56.7%	31.2%	71.9%	

PERE TECHNICAL APPENDIX

	Population						Unemployed					
	All	NHWhite	Black	Latino	API	%POC	All	NHWhite	Black	Latino	AAPI	POC
Phoenix City, AZ	1,490,758	688,936	96,842	604,209	48,837	54%	8.6%	7.2%	13.8%	9.8%	7.2%	10.2%
Pittsburgh City, PA	306,045	198,955	74,698	8,122	14,464	35%	8.1%	6.4%	15.1%	6.7%	4.2%	12.4%
Plano City, TX	271,166	152,379	20,182	39,439	51,384	44%	5.4%	5.2%	9.4%	3.3%	5.4%	5.6%
Portland City, OR	602,568	434,600	35,444	57,481	45,809	28%	8.8%	8.0%	16.4%	9.4%	8.9%	11.4%
Raleigh City, NC	423,287	235,918	115,462	48,261	15,275	44%	7.2%	4.6%	12.8%	9.9%	5.0%	11.0%
Reno City, NV	231,103	146,182	5,701	56,085	14,455	37%	10.2%	9.6%	N/A	11.0%	11.7%	11.5%
Riverside City, CA	313,041	97,710	17,700	165,781	20,895	69%	10.8%	9.2%	12.3%	11.8%	8.2%	11.7%
Rochester City, NY	210,461	77,022	82,671	36,323	7,176	63%	10.9%	6.4%	15.6%	14.5%	8.9%	15.1%
Sacramento City, CA	476,075	161,941	62,802	128,208	96,882	66%	11.5%	8.2%	18.7%	12.9%	10.9%	13.7%
San Antonio City, TX	1,385,438	369,134	88,164	874,088	32,227	73%	7.0%	5.4%	9.7%	7.6%	4.4%	7.6%
San Bernardino City, CA	213,044	34,390	25,423	139,253	7,857	84%	15.4%	15.4%	19.3%	15.1%	9.9%	15.4%
San Diego City, CA	1,341,510	601,306	83,185	391,207	215,297	55%	7.9%	6.7%	13.7%	10.1%	6.0%	9.0%
San Francisco City, CA	829,072	342,958	45,562	126,563	278,762	59%	6.8%	5.2%	15.2%	7.4%	7.8%	8.3%
San Jose City, CA	986,320	293,143	27,916	341,984	288,827	70%	8.6%	6.8%	10.5%	10.2%	8.6%	9.5%
Santa Ana City, CA	331,266	30,144	3,277	260,096	35,221	91%	8.3%	10.7%	N/A	7.8%	9.6%	8.0%
Scottsdale City, AZ	223,519	180,902	3,374	22,187	7,329	19%	5.9%	5.8%	N/A	4.4%	4.8%	6.7%
Seattle City, WA	637,850	421,826	45,640	40,993	92,812	34%	5.5%	4.9%	10.2%	7.2%	5.5%	7.0%
Spokane City, WA	210,142	175,279	4,995	11,905	6,074	17%	8.4%	8.0%	N/A	15.0%	3.0%	10.5%
St. Louis City, MO	318,727	136,214	153,210	11,797	8,830	57%	12.2%	6.4%	20.6%	7.5%	4.0%	18.6%
St. Paul City, MN	291,728	160,123	42,106	27,732	47,205	45%	7.8%	5.3%	18.8%	10.3%	7.2%	12.6%
St. Petersburg City, FL	248,429	159,136	60,788	15,466	7,476	36%	9.3%	8.1%	12.4%	6.8%	14.9%	11.8%
Stockton City, CA	297,223	70,839	30,455	123,035	61,291	76%	15.0%	10.4%	24.3%	15.7%	15.8%	16.7%
Tampa City, FL	348,934	152,036	94,190	86,000	8,957	56%	9.7%	6.2%	17.4%	10.3%	9.1%	13.3%
Toledo City, OH	283,932	172,193	76,300	22,043	3,487	39%	12.6%	10.1%	20.1%	11.2%	N/A	17.7%
Tucson City, AZ	525,031	249,181	22,832	217,664	15,681	53%	10.1%	7.8%	10.3%	12.7%	7.0%	12.4%
Tulsa City, OK	395,599	240,541	54,632	49,200	9,654	39%	6.9%	6.4%	11.1%	4.1%	4.3%	7.7%
Virginia Beach City, VA	445,623	283,613	82,441	32,333	28,353	36%	4.9%	4.5%	7.1%	5.4%	2.9%	5.7%
Washington City, DC	633,736	223,863	309,119	62,745	22,576	65%	9.4%	3.2%	17.5%	7.7%	2.4%	14.1%
Wichita City, KS	385,518	252,081	36,741	64,809	14,117	35%	8.0%	6.3%	16.3%	8.9%	11.3%	12.3%
Winston-Salem City, NC	234,469	106,475	81,822	37,152	4,268	55%	10.0%	6.7%	15.8%	9.1%	N/A	13.1%

PERE TECHNICAL APPENDIX

150% Working Poverty						Income			Voting	
All	NHWhit	Black	Latino	AAPI	POC		Gini	30% rer	30% owner bu	CVAP
6.9%	2.6%	6.9%	14.1%	4.6%	11.8%		0.480	51.8%	30.7%	59.9%
3.4%	2.3%	6.7%	2.7%	2.5%	5.4%		0.513	49.8%	20.0%	79.2%
3.1%	1.9%	3.5%	10.0%	1.8%	4.7%		0.430	39.4%	21.5%	63.5%
3.4%	2.4%	4.4%	10.9%	4.5%	6.5%		0.490	54.3%	32.0%	74.4%
6.3%	2.2%	9.6%	20.0%	6.7%	11.8%		0.489	50.6%	24.0%	69.1%
4.7%	2.0%	N/A	12.6%	4.4%	10.4%		0.491	52.5%	30.3%	68.3%
5.6%	2.2%	3.1%	8.4%	4.1%	7.3%		0.442	62.5%	35.3%	61.5%
4.8%	3.4%	5.1%	6.8%	13.4%	6.0%		0.484	62.0%	27.6%	71.4%
4.5%	1.8%	5.2%	6.9%	6.0%	6.2%		0.474	55.3%	32.8%	66.2%
6.5%	2.6%	6.2%	8.5%	4.6%	8.0%		0.467	48.9%	23.0%	65.8%
9.3%	4.2%	4.4%	11.7%	N/A	10.3%		0.459	65.4%	37.2%	55.4%
3.8%	1.6%	3.1%	9.0%	2.6%	5.8%		0.475	54.4%	36.0%	67.1%
3.3%	1.1%	2.1%	8.1%	2.5%	4.7%		0.510	44.5%	35.3%	73.4%
3.4%	1.4%	3.6%	6.5%	2.5%	4.3%		0.452	53.5%	35.6%	60.0%
11.3%	2.6%	N/A	13.7%	4.8%	12.3%		0.409	63.2%	40.7%	41.4%
5.1%	2.1%	12.3%	10.5%	4.2%	9.7%		0.500	45.0%	31.8%	78.3%
1.9%	0.9%	6.9%	4.4%	3.7%	4.4%		0.482	46.4%	29.3%	76.5%
3.3%	2.9%	N/A	4.4%	7.8%	5.4%		0.467	54.3%	26.2%	74.8%
5.0%	2.6%	7.2%	8.0%	10.0%	7.2%		0.506	54.5%	28.0%	75.6%
4.7%	2.2%	7.0%	12.0%	9.5%	8.9%		0.481	51.7%	25.6%	66.8%
4.0%	2.5%	7.6%	7.2%	2.0%	7.1%		0.503	56.1%	33.2%	77.1%
5.4%	1.4%	3.5%	8.1%	6.8%	6.9%		0.467	61.0%	34.1%	57.7%
5.3%	2.6%	8.3%	8.1%	3.6%	7.8%		0.534	57.3%	31.3%	70.4%
4.6%	3.5%	6.9%	9.2%	N/A	7.4%		0.457	56.3%	24.9%	74.8%
5.6%	2.8%	3.8%	9.6%	10.9%	8.8%		0.464	55.9%	29.8%	69.9%
6.0%	3.7%	11.1%	17.0%	4.1%	10.2%		0.497	47.0%	23.1%	68.8%
2.8%	2.1%	4.7%	3.9%	3.8%	4.1%		0.406	51.3%	32.4%	73.5%
2.5%	0.7%	3.4%	6.4%	0.9%	3.6%		0.528	48.4%	27.6%	75.0%
6.3%	4.2%	6.5%	15.0%	N/A	11.5%		0.447	49.6%	19.7%	68.1%
7.1%	3.0%	8.4%	18.3%	N/A	11.1%		0.514	52.5%	24.5%	68.3%

PERE TECHNICAL APPENDIX DEFINITIONS AND SOURCING

NON-VOTER DATA

Source: PolicyLink/PERE National Equity Atlas Database. Underlying data sets include the Integrated Public Use Microdata System (IPUMS), U.S. Census Bureau, Geolytics; Woods & Poole Economics, U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis, U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, and the National Center for Education Statistics. 2012 data in many cases reflecting a 2008-2012 roll-up.

Population by Race/Ethnicity	2010-14 IPUMS
Total Jobs	All full-time and part-time jobs by place of work, excludes unpaid workers. BEA 2012
Public Jobs	Public and private employment by individual - both major sectors exclude farm work. BLS 2012.
GDP	GDP measures the dollar value of all goods and services produced in the region. (2008-2012)
Unemployment	The unemployment rate is the number of people who are out of work divided by the number who are in the labor force, defined as working or actively seeking employment (over the last four weeks). Data represents a 2010-2014 average. Universe includes the civilian noninstitutional population ages 25-64.
Working Poverty	The percent of full-time workers living at 150% of the federal poverty level (FPL) of all people of working age (25 to 64). Poverty status is determined at the family level but assigned to individuals in the microdata. Data represents a 2010-2014 average.
Gini Coefficient	The Gini coefficient for household income. It ranges from 0 (perfect equality—e.g. all households have the same income) to 1 (perfect inequality—e.g. one household has all of the income). Data represents a 2010-2014 average.
Renter/Owner Burden	Housing burdened as a percentage of owner- and renter-occupied households by race/ethnicity of householder. Housing burdened is defined as spending more than 30 percent of household income on housing costs. No data is available for owner-occupied households in 2000. Data represents a 2010-2014 average. Universe includes occupied households with housing costs, excluding non-traditional owner-occupied households (e.g. multiunit structures and trailers).
VOTER DATA	
CVAP	Citizen Voting Age Population (CVAP) as a Share of the Total Population
	All tabulations (except the US data point) are USC PERE tabulations of 2010-2014 ACS 5-year summary.
	Source: US CVAP data from American Factfinder 2.0 2014 ACS 1-year; US Census Bureau, Current Population Survey, November 2014.
ABBREVIATIONS	
NHWhite	Non-Hispanic White
Black	African American or Black
Latino	Latino
AAPI	Asian American/Pacific Islander
POC	People of color
#NULL!	No data available
Top 100 cities based off of population from '10-'14 PUMS sample.	

Acknowledgements

This paper was a group effort, and would not have been possible without the support and guidance of the following people:

- Karen Klabin, researcher/writer who edited this paper
- Vanessa Carter, Senior Data Analyst and Writing Specialist at the USC Program for Environmental and Regional Equity (PERE), who helped to organize the paper and provided critical data on city demographics and economies
- Manuel Pastor, Director of the USC Program for Environmental and Regional Equity (PERE) who enabled PERE's support of this paper
- Jon Zerolnick, Research Director at Los Angeles Alliance for a New Economy (LAANE), who provided much of the research for the paper
- Flor Barajas-Tena, public policy analyst who provided much of the research for the paper
- Hays Witt, strategy consultant who helped coordinate research and conduct interviews with allies from a wide range of cities
- Jackie Cornejo, Southern Region Equitable Development Strategist at the Partnership for Working Families (PWF), who interviewed city allies
- Ben Beach, Legal Director at the Partnership for Working Families (PWF), who wrote the chapter on preemption and helped to review the paper
- Sebrina Owens-Wilson, Campaign Director at the Partnership for Working Families (PWF), who shared information on climate issues and helped to review the paper
- Chad Sells, Senior Web Developer at Los Angeles Alliance for a New Economy (LAANE), who designed this paper

The following people generously agreed to be interviewed about the work they are doing moving progressive city agendas:

- Aiden Graham, North Carolina AFL-CIO, Raleigh-Durham
- Felicia Griffin and Desiree Westlund, United for a New Economy, Denver
- Howard Greenwich, Puget Sound Sage, Seattle
- Cynthia Hernandez, Miami AFL-CIO, Miami
- Reverend Greg Holston, POWER, Philadelphia
- Andy Jacob and Ron Ruggiero, SEIU Local 105, Denver
- Madeline Janis, Jobs to Move America, Los Angeles
- Odessa Kelly, Stand Up Nashville, Nashville
- Hany Khalil, Texas Gulf Coast Area Labor Federation, Houston
- Rick Levy and Jeff Rotkoff, Texas AFL-CIO, Houston
- John Lored, consultant working in Arizona
- Derecka Mehrens, Working Partnerships USA, San Jose
- Justine Oller, North Carolina League of Conservation Voters, Raleigh-Durham
- Barney Oursler, Pittsburgh United, Pittsburgh
- Laura Perez Boston, Texas Organizing Project, Houston
- Kurt Petersen, UNITE HERE Local 11, Los Angeles
- Shoshana Spector, Indy CAN, Indianapolis
- Stephanie Teatro, Tennessee Immigrant & Refugee Rights Coalition (TIRRC), Nashville
- Brandon Walsh, Central Arizonans for a Sustainable Economy (CASE), Phoenix
- Bill Vandenberg, Open Society Foundations, New York City

This report was made possible with support from Ford Foundation and Open Society Foundation.

Endnotes

- 1 <https://www.census.gov/newsroom/press-releases/2015/cb15-33.html>
- 2 https://census.gov/content/dam/Census/newsroom/releases/2015/cb15-89_graphic.jpg
- 3 <https://www.census.gov/newsroom/press-releases/2015/cb15-tps16.html>
- 4 <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/the-avenue/2017/06/27/census-shows-nonmetropolitan-america-is-whiter-getting-older-and-losing-population/>
- 5 A Metropolitan Statistical Area, or MSA, is a description for a geographic cluster of cities that does not necessarily fall neatly within county borders. They are useful for thinking about regional economies, but are not political entities.
- 6 <https://www.brookings.edu/research/metronation-how-u-s-metropolitan-areas-fuel-american-prosperity/>
- 7 <https://www.epa.gov/ghgemissions/sources-greenhouse-gas-emissions>
- 8 <https://www.epa.gov/greenvehicles/fast-facts-transportation-greenhouse-gas-emissions>
- 9 <https://www.eia.gov/consumption/residential/data/2009/index.php?view=consumption#summary>
- 10 <http://assets.climatecentral.org/pdfs/UrbanHeatIsland.pdf>
- 11 <http://www.thoracic.org/about/newsroom/press-releases/journal/health-of-the-air-ats-nyu.pdf>
- 12 <https://aceee.org/press/2016/04/report-energy-burden-low-income>
- 13 <http://www.nelp.org/content/uploads/Fight-for-15-Four-Years-62-Billion-in-Raises.pdf>
- 14 <http://www.nelp.org/publication/raises-from-coast-to-coast-in-2018-minimum-wage-increases/>
- 15 <https://www.census.gov/govs/local/>
- 16 https://www2.census.gov/govs/local/summary_report.pdf
- 17 <http://www.taxpolicycenter.org/briefing-book/what-are-sources-revenue-local-governments>
- 18 https://www2.census.gov/govs/apes/2012_summary_report.pdf
- 19 <https://multco.us/benefits/paid-parental-leave>
- 20 <https://www.portlandonline.com/Fritz/index.cfm?a=556770&c=49205>
- 21 <http://www.greensboro-nc.gov/modules/showdocument.aspx?documentid=36215>
- 22 <https://www.participatorybudgeting.org/what-happens-when-students-lead-pb/>
- 23 <https://www.participatorybudgeting.org/pb-map/>
- 24 https://populardemocracy.org/sites/default/files/Community-Schools-Layout_e.pdf
- 25 <https://www.wthr.com/article/criminal-justice-center-denied-final-updown-vote>
- 26 <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-39410561>
- 27 https://static.newamerica.org/attachments/4248-the-infrastructure-deficit/State_and_Local_infrastructure_spending_ff3c4b496e8a4510b380fb97f4ffb543.PNG
- 28 <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/the-avenue/2016/11/09/infrastructure-ballot-measures-win-big-in-2016-election-but-significant-gaps-remain/>
- 29 <http://newsline.artba.org/2016/11/09/voters-approve-record-number-of-state-and-local-transportation-investment-ballot-measures/>
- 30 <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-california-election-ballot/california-ballot-has-record-number-of-local-revenue-measures-idUSKCN11S2GY>
- 31 <http://laane.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/Cleaning-Up-Waste-1.pdf>
- 32 <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/12/02/us/how-local-taxpayers-bankroll-corporations.html?pagewanted=all>
- 33 https://www.faa.gov/airports/airport_safety/airportdata_5010/
- 34 "U.S. Seaport Agency Census," Excel spreadsheet provided by Rex Sherman, researcher at American Association of Port Authorities, personal communication, June 15, 2016.
- 35 Stephen J. Dixon, "Publicly Owned Single Purpose Stadiums and Multipurpose Arenas: A Comparative Analysis of Economic Characteristics and Use Diversity," a dissertation submitted to Rutgers Graduate Program in Planning and Public Policy, May 2013.
- 36 Heywood Sanders, Professor of Public Administration, University of Texas-San Antonio, personal communication, June 16, 2016.
- 37 Robert Nelson, Professor of Hospitality Business Management, University of Delaware, personal communication, June 15, 2016.

- 38 American Public Power Association, "U.S. Electric Utility Industry Statistics" Fact Sheet taken from 2015-2016 Annual Directory & Statistical Report.
- 39 Food and Water Watch, "The State of Public Water in the United States," February 2016.
- 40 Four-hundred-sixty U.S. communities have invested in publicly owned internet network infrastructures (Institute for Local Self-Reliance, "Community Network Map.") In over 200 communities, the ISP itself is publicly owned. (Some networks are not yet operational.) Steve Ross, corporate editor of Broadband Communities Magazine, personal communication, July 8, 2016.
- 41 fiscal year 2016, Los Angeles Department of Building and Safety
- 42 fiscal year 2015, Columbus Department of Building and Zoning Services
- 43 fiscal year 2015, Albuquerque Department of Planning
- 44 fiscal year 2016, Houston Planning and Development Department
- 45 fiscal year 2015, Jacksonville Building and Inspection Division
- 46 fiscal year 2015, Seattle Department of Construction and Inspections
- 47 fiscal year 2015, Raleigh Development Services Department
- 48 <https://www.lincolinst.edu/publications/working-papers/inclusionary-housing-united-states>
- 49 https://www.scribd.com/document/342459907/ICE-Declined-Detainer-Outcome-Report-Jan-28-to-Feb-3-2017-1#from_embed
- 50 <https://www.atlantaga.gov/Home/Components/News/News/9240/>
- 51 <http://www.dispatch.com/news/20171030/columbus-council-approves-money-to-help-immigrants-fight-deportation>
- 52 <https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2017/05/should-taxpayers-sponsor-attorneys-for-undocumented-immigrants/525162/>
- 53 <https://www.seattle.gov/iandraftaffairs/programs/legal-defense-fund-and-network>
- 54 <https://www.bostonglobe.com/metro/2017/09/13/city-announces-immigrant-defense-fund/YNhkivpOUR4F1DXL30iCkK/story.html>
- 55 <http://www.mercurynews.com/2017/06/16/california-budget-deal-includes-deportation-defense-for-undocumented-immigrants/>
- 56 <https://www.thenation.com/article/america-is-waking-up-to-the-injustice-of-cash-bail/>
- 57 <http://equaljusticeunderlaw.org/wp/current-cases/ending-the-american-money-bail-system/>
- 58 <https://www.hrc.org/resources/cities-and-counties-with-non-discrimination-ordinances-that-include-gender>
- 59 http://www.lgbtmap.org/equality_maps/profile_state/FL
- 60 http://www.lgbtmap.org/equality_maps/profile_state/AZ
- 61 <https://williamsinstitute.law.ucla.edu/wp-content/uploads/Idaho-ND-September-2017.pdf>
- 62 <http://www.governing.com/topics/public-justice-safety/gov-cities-new-way-gun-violence.html>
- 63 <http://terrain.gov.harvard.edu/files/terrain/files/the-koch-network-and-republican-party-extremism.pop-sept2016.pdf>
- 64 http://www.slate.com/articles/business/metropolis/2016/09/how_alec_acce_and_pre_emptions_laws_are_gutting_the_powers_of_american_cities.html
- 65 <http://stinktanks.org/national/>
- 66 <https://www.vox.com/2016/8/3/12368070/democrats-losing-state-level>
- 67 <http://www.people-press.org/2017/05/03/public-trust-in-government-1958-2017/>
- 68 <http://whovotesformayor.org>
- 69 <http://prospect.org/article/most-americans-are-liberal-even-if-they-don't-know-it>
- 70 <https://www.seattlemet.com/articles/2016/9/14/sound-transit-three-campaign-kicks-off-with-big-agenda-and-a-nagging-footnote>
- 71 <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/03/09/us/houston-bail-reform-sheriff-gonzalez.html>

