

The Agenda to Raise Pennsylvania's Pay

The body of this report documents that wages for the vast majority of Pennsylvania workers have stagnated or declined since 1979, and wage stagnation's reach has broadened over the last dozen years to include college-educated workers. With similar trends at the national level, there is now widespread agreement across the political spectrum that [wage stagnation is the country's key economic challenge](#).ⁱ

As pointed out in the previous section, this is not a crisis of overall income growth. Over the same period that most workers' wages have stagnated, Pennsylvania productivity has risen 71 percent. In short, the *potential* has existed for adequate, widespread wage growth over the last three-and-a-half decades—but these economic gains have not trickled down to the vast majority of workers.

[Wage stagnation is not inevitable](#).ⁱⁱ It is the direct result of public policy choices on behalf of those with the most power and wealth that have intentionally suppressed wage growth.

Because wage suppression stems from intentional policy choices, it can be reversed by making different policy choices. To boost Pennsylvanians'—and Americans'—wages, policymakers must intentionally tilt bargaining power back toward low- and moderate-wage workers. The following policies will generate robust wage growth and ensure that Pennsylvania's prosperity is broadly shared.

I. Establish a Vision and Action Plan for Raising Pennsylvania's Pay

1. Establish a "Jobs That Pay" task force and action plan

Gov. Wolf's inaugural address made "jobs that pay" a central priority of his administration. To develop an action plan to grow such jobs, the administration should form an interagency "Jobs That Pay Task Force." This Task Force would be similar in spirit to U.S. Vice President Joe Biden's [Middle Class Task Force](#) (online at <https://www.whitehouse.gov/strongmiddleclass/about>). It should flesh out how to implement this Agenda to Raise Pennsylvania's Pay, identify additional measures and inculcate in state agency leaders and policy staff the habit of considering how state actions can be leveraged to improve middle-class pay.

II. Enact Policies to Directly Boost Pay

2. Raise the state minimum wage

In 2016, the inflation-adjusted minimum wage is about one third below its 1968 level,ⁱⁱⁱ even though productivity has doubled since 1968 and the [education and skills](#) of those in the bottom fifth have greatly improved.^{iv} Moving the minimum wage to \$12 by 2020 would benefit [about a quarter of the Pennsylvania workforce](#) directly and indirectly, nearly nine out of 10 of them adults (i.e., not teenagers); moving the minimum wage to [\\$15 per hour now](#) would benefit 40 percent of the workforce and still leave the minimum wage below 60 percent of what it would be if it had risen since 1968 in tandem with inflation plus productivity growth.^v

While Pennsylvania builds the political will for a large, overdue catch-up increase in the minimum wage, the state could partner with philanthropy in at least one region to help businesses lift their wages to \$15

per hour voluntarily. A portion of the state technical assistance available to businesses through industrial resource centers (IRCs) and workforce development programs could help businesses lift their wages and tap into the worker commitment and higher productivity that result from “good jobs” strategies.^{vi}

3. Raise sectoral pay levels in caregiving, trucking and manufacturing

For 50 years, Pennsylvania’s “prevailing wage” law has required companies performing state-funded public construction projects to pay wage levels well above the state minimum wage. This law helps ensure that the large scale of state-funded public construction—a significant share of the non-residential construction industry market—in tandem with legal requirements to accept the “lowest bid” do not tilt the state’s construction industry toward cut-throat low-wage, low-skill, low-productivity competition.^{vii} Without a state prevailing wage law, the wages of white men in Pennsylvania without a four-year college degree would have fallen even more since 1979.^{viii}

The construction industry is not the only sector in which the state has the power—through funding and regulation—to tilt competition towards the high road. In the following sectors, too, Pennsylvania should seek to raise industrywide wage standards.

- Long-term care and early childhood education. In these caregiving industries, higher wages lower workforce turnover and stabilize the critical relationship between the caregiver or educator and the consumer or young child. When combined with effective training and supportive management, higher compensation can have a profound impact on quality. In early childhood, higher wages pay for themselves many times over in the long run by reducing social costs and increasing tax payments.^{ix} In long-term care, raising pay to \$15 per hour has a small impact on total costs, and there would be offsetting savings.^x Pennsylvania Representative Ed Gainey has introduced legislation to encourage nursing homes to pay \$15 per hour.^{xi} Given the concentration of women in caregiving jobs, “quality wage” standards in caregiving would help close the gap between women’s and men’s wages.
- Trucking: Pennsylvania has the third most truck drivers in the country, and a particularly high concentration of such drivers outside southeast Pennsylvania and Allegheny County.^{xii} A series of studies have established that higher pay improves safety in the long-haul trucking industry, in part because it improves retention of experienced drivers and because drivers no longer need to work unsafe number of hours to earn a decent living.^{xiii} One way Pennsylvania could help lift pay of truck drivers in part by cracking down on misclassification of drivers as independent contractors.^{xiv} The state could also focus some of its strategic industry-specific enforcement of wage and hour regulations (see below) in part on the construction industry. The state could explore the feasibility of setting minimum pay standards above the minimum wage similar to construction industry prevailing wage laws. Along these lines, because higher pay improves safety, Australia recently established a “Road Safety Remuneration System” to set pay and working conditions for truck drivers.^{xv} Lifting pay for truck drivers operating within Pennsylvania would particularly benefit men and the central and rural parts of the state.^{xvi}
- Manufacturing and distribution: the state of Pennsylvania provides millions of dollars annually in business subsidies, tax breaks, and training, mostly for manufacturing companies. These funds should require all employees to earn at least \$15 per hour within one year of employment, or by the completion of a registered apprenticeship program for employees hired as apprentices.

4. Promote state and local earned sick leave and paid family leave

Since the 1970s, the share of families in which all adults work, including families with children and with aging parents, has grown sharply.^{xvii} This has heightened work-family stress, while also forcing families to make difficult choices between their income and the time they have for a child or others who need care. A growing number of cities and states have begun to assist today's workers and their families in achieving a better balance between work and family. Thirty-four states and cities now [provide earned sick leave](#),^{xviii} including [Philadelphia on May 13, 2015](#),^{xix} and the city of Pittsburgh (although Pittsburgh's bill is still tied up in the courts).^{xx} States and cities have also begun to adopt paid family and medical leave and the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania just won a [grant from the U.S. Department of Labor](#) to study the feasibility of establishing a statewide paid family leave program.^{xxi} The state of Pennsylvania should join the movement for earned sick leave and paid family and medical leave.

5. Enact a predictable scheduling law to stabilize the pay of low-wage workers

Pennsylvania should also enact another family-friendly labor standard recently adopted in San Francisco and under consideration in Washington D.C.—a prohibition on last-minute or “just-in-time” scheduling, which as *The Washington Post* notes “...can wreak havoc on the lives of workers...”^{xxii} As well as enabling families to perform their family responsibilities, fair scheduling would stabilize pay for the lower-income workers with the least predictable schedules.

6. Consider the need for long-term policies to raise pay and reduce work time if “the robots are coming”

Over the past several years, an international debate has emerged about the possibility of mass worker displacement by robots and artificial intelligence (e.g., driverless vehicles). Keystone Research Center is on record as skeptical of some claims about worker displacement. That said, we do not have a crystal ball and thus considering how policy could cope with a massive reduction in available paid work hours makes sense. Such a trend should be cause for celebration because, after all, it would amount to a huge increase in productivity that society could distribute in the form of higher wages per hour, shorter work weeks, more vacation weeks, or higher social benefits (such as a “Universal Basic Income”).^{xxiii} Research and the development of long-term policy options to address this issue could be assigned to the Jobs That Pay Task Force.

III. Strengthen Worker Voice and Promote High-Road Business Strategies

7. Strengthen worker voice and collective bargaining rights

The single largest factor suppressing wage growth for middle-wage workers over the last few decades has been the [erosion of collective bargaining](#), which has affected both union and nonunion workers alike.^{xxiv} Federal law governs collective bargaining rights for most of the private sector, and has the most authority to ensure that workers gain the leverage they need to bargain for better wages and benefits, and to set high labor standards for all workers.^{xxv} Yet the state does control labor rights in the non-federal public sector and has significant regulatory, funding, and procurement authority that can impact worker voice and bargaining power more broadly. The state should use this authority to strengthen worker voice and bargaining rights.

- Don't award state contracts to labor-law violators. The federal government has just enacted new regulations that require companies to disclose violations of 14 different labor standards from the previous three years when bidding for new contracts of \$500,000 or more and that also require procurement officials to consider "serious, willful, repeated, or pervasive" past wrongdoing in awarding contracts.^{xxvi} Pennsylvania should piggyback on this federal step forward, requiring similar notification of companies bidding for contracts with the state and taking this information into account when awarding contracts.^{xxvii}
- Support positive labor-management models and innovative efforts to adopt good jobs strategies. The flip side of not supporting labor-law violators is helping companies and unions strengthen or transition to positive relationships that result in good jobs for employees, organizational success for the business, and stronger families and communities.
- Use the bully pulpit to raise the visibility of broad-based unions that can restore equity. Where the state does not have significant legislative or executive authority, a governor and his or her administration can still use the bully pulpit to educate the public and boost workers' collective confidence. For example, a growing number of unions and workers recognize that area-wide unions in industries that cannot relocate (such as janitorial services, security guards, health care, caregiving, hotels, restaurants, fast food, taxi or ride-share drivers, supermarkets) could restore equity in America by raising pay substantially. These sectors collectively account for most low-to-moderate wage U.S. jobs today. Speaking clearly about the potential of area-wide sector unions to transform poor jobs to family-supporting ones would also reinforce the new workers' movement that has gathered pace in Pennsylvania and nationally in recent years (sometimes operating under the banner of "Fight for \$15 and a Union"). President Obama, for example, has used the bully pulpit to highlight the potential of broad-based unions to lift workers' wages, saying, "[if I were busting my butt in a service industry today, I'd join a union...](#)"^{xxviii}

8. Support strong enforcement of labor standards including the new federal overtime rule

The [enforcement of labor standards](#) in the United States is so weak that hundreds of thousands of employers routinely fail to pay minimum wage or overtime, fail to protect employees from workplace hazards, fail to pay payroll taxes or worker's compensation premiums, or fail to provide family and medical leave.^{xxix} [Wage theft](#) alone costs employees tens of billions of dollars a year, and lack of worker's compensation coverage, unemployment insurance coverage, or Social Security coverage can cost them billions more.^{xxx} Pennsylvania should join the growing number of states and localities adopting proactive, strategic industry-specific enforcement strategies to root out systemic violation of labor standards and assist businesses in transitioning to strategies that do not require wage theft to achieve decent profits.

Pennsylvania can also help ensure effective enforcement of a new labor standard that will arguably boost the pay of middle-income workers more than any policy change in decades. In May, the U.S. Department of Labor (DOL) raised the salary threshold under which working people can [earn overtime pay](#).^{xxxi} Under the new rule, effective December 1 of this year, most salaried workers—including managers and professionals—making less than \$47,476 will now be entitled to overtime pay. According to estimates from the Economic Policy Institute, this change will directly benefit just [under half a million Pennsylvania workers, or 22.6% of the commonwealth's two million salaried workers](#). These workers are distributed throughout the state and in all demographic groups. Pennsylvania should use its Wage Payment and Collection Law (WPCL) to assist the federal government in enforcing this new rule. The

WPCL requires wages to be paid on a regular, periodic basis, in full, less permissible deductions, and in the agreed-upon form to all workers in the same grade or class (cash, check, direct deposit, etc.). Under the new Obama rule, wage underpayment could give rise to a Pennsylvania WPCL claim, which imposes personal liability on corporate officers responsible for the management of a corporation's finances and payroll. The Pennsylvania WPCL also provides for double damages in certain instances. Actions under the WPCL may be instituted through the courts or through Department of Labor and Industry administrative proceedings.

IV. Boost Job Growth and Reduce Unemployment

9. Invest in Pennsylvania's infrastructure

In January 2008, before the nation knew it was in the Great Recession, the Keystone Research Center [stated publicly that Pennsylvania should invest in infrastructure](#) to capitalize on low interest rates and low construction costs certain to result from our already-faltering economy.^{xxxii} While construction costs have recovered, interest rates remain at historic lows, so it is *still* a good time for Pennsylvania to invest in infrastructure. On state-funded infrastructure projects, Pennsylvania should also invest in high-quality, registered construction apprenticeship programs to help train the next generation of construction trades workers and promote the diversification of the pipeline to family-supporting construction careers.

10. Invest adequately and equitably in schools, restoring public sector jobs lost in 2011-14.

The deep cuts in education funding in Pennsylvania in 2011 [led to an estimated 27,000 job losses in the public education sector](#) and contributed substantially to Pennsylvania's plunge to the bottom of the state job-growth rankings from the beginning of 2011 to the end of 2014.^{xxxiii} Increasing education funding would restore many school jobs and strengthen and sustain the economic recovery. It would also translate into tangible educational improvements—smaller classes, more school nurses, and more teachers for arts and other programs cut in the past few years. An increase in funding is also needed to fully fund Pennsylvania's fair funding formula established by the bipartisan Basic Education Funding Commission, and to lift Pennsylvania out of last place for funding equity between rich and poor districts.^{xxxiv} The increase in jobs in schools would especially benefit women, who make up a higher share of school jobs.

11. Implement a "Bring Good Manufacturing Jobs Back to Pennsylvania" Strategy

While manufacturing accounts for a smaller share of all jobs than in the past (currently a bit less than one in 10 in Pennsylvania), it remains vital to the state's economy. Pennsylvania manufacturing jobs pay an average annual compensation of over \$65,000 per year. The manufacturing sector also accounts for over 90 percent of the state's exports, and 70 percent of all research and development. Since 2010, employment in manufacturing has grown slightly, partly because more U.S. companies have come to see the downsides of distant sourcing. Pennsylvania should seize the moment and implement a bipartisan "Bring Good Manufacturing Jobs Back to Pennsylvania" strategy. This could be overseen by a public-private Pennsylvania Advanced Manufacturing Partnership that includes representatives of manufacturers and labor. It could include policy components to:

1. Retain and reshore manufacturing jobs;

2. Finance working capital and innovation;
3. Build skills for 21st century making; and
4. Boost demand for Pennsylvania manufacturing products through infrastructure investment, buy Pennsylvania and buy American procurement policies, maximizing manufacturing jobs linked to Pennsylvania's Shale gas, and giving Pennsylvania companies better access to U.S. fair trade laws.

A Pennsylvania manufacturing strategy would especially benefit men and Pennsylvanians living in rural areas because these two groups account for a disproportionate share of manufacturing jobs.

12. Ban the box

While policies that expand employment like infrastructure spending benefit all workers by tightening labor markets truly promoting equity in employment and opportunity also requires policies specifically targeted at hard to employ groups.

Decades of excessive policing and over-criminalization have left tens of thousands of people across the Pennsylvania with criminal records that operate as a barrier to employment when employers use questions about criminal convictions to narrow the hiring pool. “Ban the box”— is a policy reform that delays background check inquiries by employers until after the employer has made an offer of employment.^{xxxv} It's a simple low-cost reform that removes an arbitrary barrier that might prevent an otherwise qualified candidate from getting a job and research shows these policies have increased job opportunities for workers with criminal convictions.^{xxxvi}

13. Subsidized jobs

There is broad bipartisan support for the notion that the best way to fight poverty is with a job. Hard-to-employ groups such as ex-felons, low-income parents and people with disabilities, however, often struggle to find employers willing to invest in the training necessary to make these workers productive. [Community Legal Services of Philadelphia](#) and their community partner Redeem are launching a campaign to promote as a solution to this problem Pennsylvania and Philadelphia subsidized jobs program. (Readers who want to endorse this proposal can do so [here](#).) Subsidized employment programs given employers an extra incentive to employ hard-to-employ groups by covering some of the wages of these workers. Once on the job these workers begin to accumulate hard and soft skills that make them more likely to stay in the labor market once job subsidies end. Subsidized jobs programs also save taxpayers money: they cost much less than incarcerating someone, for example, and larger long-term savings result when participants becomes permanently more strongly attached to productive employment.^{xxxvii}

V. Retain and Grow Family Supporting Careers

14. Expand use of work sharing

In 2011, Pennsylvania became one of the now 28 states that allow “work sharing”—i.e., partial claims for unemployment if employers reduce hours because of depressed demand. Under this provision, if an employer's need for employees drops from five to four, all five employees can work 80 percent and

draw 20 percent unemployment benefits. Work sharing has strong bipartisan support, in part because it allows employers to retain valued employees. By reducing the number of “separations” between worker and firm, work sharing helps retain family-supporting jobs and careers in recessions. While Pennsylvania has increased its informational materials on work sharing, the take up rate remains low.^{xxxviii} Building on the state’s efforts, and in partnership with business and labor and utilizing sector-specific employer training consortia such as Industry Partnerships and apprenticeship programs, Pennsylvania should develop a plan to expand work sharing.

15. Expand training linked to careers that pay

Pennsylvania is a national leader in building multi-firm sectoral training consortia (known as industry partnerships) and also has more extensive multi-firm apprenticeships than most states, especially in the construction trades but also in manufacturing. These multi-firm training collaborations can grow public-private shared investment in workers’ skills. They can also develop portable industry-recognized credentials and job-matching institutions (e.g., job boards, job fairs, or hiring halls) that enable employers to find qualified workers and more laid-off workers to find another good job that utilizes their unique skillset. Pennsylvania should expand family-supporting careers through increased public-private investment in industry partnerships linked to companies with good jobs.^{xxxix}

VI. The Top 1 Percent

16. Make the Pennsylvania tax system fairer

Pennsylvania has one of the most unfair state and local tax systems in the country, with middle-income families paying two-and-half times as much of their income in taxes as the top 1 percent, with low-income families paying nearly three times as much.^{xi} Fairer taxes would increase the take-home pay of middle- and low-income families. Asking top income Pennsylvanians to pay their fair share would also provide resources to invest in schools and finance infrastructure bonds. Pennsylvania could make the tax system more fair by:

- Raising the tax rate on income from wealth,^{xii}
- Eliminating the Pennsylvania constitution’s uniformity clause so that the state can exempt the first part of income from taxes and enact graduated income tax rates such as exist in all of Pennsylvania’s surrounding states.^{xiii}
- Enacting a severance tax that would fall primarily on out-of-state consumers and on natural gas companies.

ⁱ This section adapts to the state level *The Agenda to Raise America’s Pay*, released by the Economic Policy Institute and online at <http://www.epi.org/action/the-agenda-to-raise-americas-pay-2016/>. For the analytics underlying the need for national and state agendas to raise America’s and Pennsylvania’s pay, see, in addition to the body of the present report, [Josh Bivens](#), [Elise Gould](#), [Lawrence Mishel](#), and [Heidi Shierholz](#), *Raising America’s Pay: Why It’s Our Central Economic Policy Challenge*, Economic Policy Institute, June 4, 2014; <http://www.epi.org/publication/raising-americas-pay/>

ⁱⁱ Lawrence Mishel, *Causes of Wage Stagnation*, Economic Policy Institute, January 6, 2015; <http://www.epi.org/publication/causes-of-wage-stagnation/>

ⁱⁱⁱ The U.S. Department of Labor website (<https://www.dol.gov/featured/minimum-wage/chart1>) reports the minimum wage in nominal and inflation-adjusted terms for each year from 1938 to 2012; the inflation-adjusted

value in 2012 trails that in 1968 by 30 percent. Adjusting for inflation between 2012 and July, 2016 (using the CPI-U-RS inflation index available at www.bls.gov means that the national (and Pennsylvania) minimum wage now trails that in 1968 by 33 percent (and would be \$10.80 per hour today). Alternatively, inflation the \$1.60 per hour nominal minimum wage using the increase in the CPI-U-RS from 1968 (on average) to July 2013 indicates that today's minimum wage should equal \$11.03 per hour to equal the 1968 inflation-adjusted value; that implies the minimum wage today trails the 1968 level by 34 percent.

^{iv} Lawrence Mishel, *Low-Wage Workers Have Far More Education than They Did in 1968, Yet They Make Far Less*, Economic Policy Institute, January 23, 2014; <http://www.epi.org/publication/wage-workers-education-1968/>

^v For estimates of the number of Pennsylvania workers who would benefit from minimum-wage increases to four different levels (\$8.75, \$10.10, \$12, and \$15 per hour), see "Table 1" online at http://keystoneresearch.org/sites/default/files/KRC_Table1_4Proposals.pdf. U.S. labor productivity has increased 133 percent since 1968 (www.bls.gov). Since the minimum wage would need to equal \$10.80-\$11.02 to adjust for inflation alone since 1968, it would have to exceed \$25 per hour to compensation for both inflation plus productivity growth.

^{vi} Companies that pursue "good jobs" strategies pay significantly above industry average wages and benefits and also adopt operating and organizational practices that capitalize on having experienced workers who want to help their employer achieve high performance. See Zeynep Ton, *The Good Jobs Strategy: How the Smartest Companies Invest in Employees to Lower Costs and Boost Profits*, New Harvest, January 14, 2014.

^{vii} For summaries of research documenting that prevailing wage laws improve pay, skills, training and productivity—but do not raise state construction costs—go to <http://keystoneresearch.org/issues-guides/prevailing-wage>

^{viii} Although the diversity of employment in the Pennsylvania construction has increased significantly since the late 1970s, most trades workers (and other occupations) in the industry remain white men.

^{ix} According to Pennsylvania Partnerships for Children, "High-quality pre-kindergarten is a proven investment—every dollar spent returns up to \$17 in reduced crime, education and social services savings, as well as resulting in higher earnings and increased taxes paid in adulthood." <http://www.papartnerships.org/work/early-learning>

^x Keystone Research Center estimates that raising wages of all nursing home workers would increase nursing home costs by 4 percent. In addition, this change would generate offsetting savings because of reduced workforce turnover and reduced prescription drug costs because of happier residents. For the state and federal government, and for taxpayers, the cost of means-tested public assistance for low-wage workers would also decline. See Stephen Herzenberg, *Double Trouble: Taxpayer-Subsidized Low-Wage Jobs in Pennsylvania Nursing Homes*, Keystone Research Center, April 2015, p. 10; http://keystoneresearch.org/sites/default/files/KRC_DoubleTrouble.pdf

^{xi} Pennsylvania Rep. Ed Gainey has introduced legislation that would give nursing homes paying at least \$15 per hour to all their employees a "living-wage certification." He has also introduced separate legislation requiring nursing homes not meeting this standard to pay a portion of the cost of public benefits for which their low-wage workers qualify. See Stephen Herzenberg, *Nursing Homes Jobs That Pay*, Keystone Research Center, November 2015; http://keystoneresearch.org/sites/default/files/201511_NHFollowUp_FINAL.pdf

^{xii} For a profile of "U.S. heavy and tractor-trailer truck drivers," including Pennsylvania's third-place ranking for employment and a map showing that most of rural, central, and southwest Pennsylvania have between 1.25 and 2.5 times as many of these drivers relative to total employment as does the United States as a whole, see <http://www.bls.gov/oes/current/oes533032.htm>. See also <http://www.bls.gov/ooh/transportation-and-material-moving/heavy-and-tractor-trailer-truck-drivers.htm>.

^{xiii} For a summary of three U.S. studies, see Michael H. Belzer, "The Effects of Economic Forces on Motor Carrier Safety," Motor Carrier Safety Advisory Committee, PPT presentation, Federal Motor Carrier Safety Administration, December 7, 2009. For a more recent review of research in the United States and Australia, see Mooren Lori, Ann Williamson, and Raphael Grzebieta, "Evidence that truck driver remuneration is linked to safety outcomes: a review of the literature," *Proceedings of the 2015 Australasian Road Safety Conference* 14, 16 October, 2015, Gold Coast, Australia. Medium or long term, some observers believe that driverless vehicles may jeopardize the employment of truck drivers. Thus, wage standards for truck drivers above the minimum wage could, in the near-term, make it possible to enforce limits on driving excess hours in a week and in the long term ensure that drivers maintain a decent living as automation reduces working hours.

^{xiv} Personal communication with Michael Belzer, Wayne State University.

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- ^{xv} See <https://www.fairwork.gov.au/about-us/legislation/road-safety-remuneration-system>
- ^{xvi} Truck drivers in the United States are 95 percent male and about 60 percent non-Hispanic white (<http://www.bls.gov/cps/cpsaat11.pdf>). Based on the overall share of the workforce that is Hispanic and African-American in Pennsylvania, and on the geographic distribution of truck drivers, it is likely that well over 75 percent of Pennsylvania truck drivers are white.
- ^{xvii} For data on the rising labor force participation rates of women, including those with children at home, see Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Women in the Labor Force: A Data Book*, especially Table 1, pp. 11-12 and Table 2, p. 23; <http://www.bls.gov/cps/wlf-databook-2013.pdf>
- ^{xviii} <http://familyvaluesatwork.org/media-center/paid-sick-days-wins>
- ^{xix} Tricia Nadolny, "Paid sick leave signed into Philadelphia law," February 14, 2015; http://articles.philly.com/2015-02-14/news/59123442_1_sick-leave-seasonal-workers-greenlee
- ^{xx} Pittsburgh also enacted paid sick leave in 2015, but a [judge struck down the bill on December 23, 2016](#). This decision is still being appealed.
- ^{xxi} U.S. Department of Labor, "Paid Leave Analysis Grants"; <https://www.dol.gov/wb/media/paidleavegrants.htm>
- ^{xxii} The San Francisco "Retail Worker Bill of Rights," which includes a "predictable scheduling" provision, went into effect on July 3, 2015. See also Lydia DePillis, "The next labor fight is over when you work, not how much you make," *Washington Post*, May 8, 2015; online at <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/wonk/wp/2015/05/08/the-next-labor-fight-is-over-when-you-work-not-how-much-you-make/>. For a study of the impact of just-in-time scheduling on employees in Washington D.C., see Ari Schwartz, Michael Wasser, Merrit Gillard, and Michael Paalberg, *Unpredictable, Unsustainable: The Impact of Employers' Scheduling Practices in DC*, D.C. Jobs with Justice and partners, June 2015; http://www.dcjwj.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/DCJWJ_Scheduling_Report_2015.pdf
- ^{xxiii} For materials on the debate about the future of work including whether the "robots are coming" and how to manage it if they are, go to <http://www.earncentral.org/futureofworkinthestates.htm>. Start with the "overview" document which also provides an introduction to the other links at this web page.
- ^{xxiv} Lawrence Mishel, *Unions, inequality, and faltering middle-class wages*, Economic Policy Institute, August 29, 2012; <http://www.epi.org/publication/ib342-unions-inequality-faltering-middle-class/>
- ^{xxv} <https://www.nlr.gov/rights-we-protect/jurisdictional-standards>
- ^{xxvi} New York Times Editorial Board, "Fair Pay, Safe Workplaces, Republican Objections," August 26, 2016; <http://www.nytimes.com/2016/08/27/opinion/fair-pay-safe-workplaces-republican-objections.html>
- ^{xxvii} For companies that bid for federal as well as Pennsylvania contracts, and that have already disclosed information to the federal government, the state could allow companies to grant the state access to the information shared with the federal government and negotiate a Memorandum of Agreement with the federal government.
- ^{xxviii} <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SzvtCTJ7UY0>
- ^{xxix} Gordon Lafer, *The Legislative Attack on American Wages and Labor Standards*, Economic Policy Institute, October 31, 2013; <http://www.epi.org/publication/attack-on-american-labor-standards/>
- ^{xxx} Brady Meixell and Ross Eisenbrey, *An Epidemic of Wage Theft Is Costing Workers Hundreds of Millions of Dollars a Year*, Economic Policy Institute, September 11, 2014; <http://www.epi.org/publication/epidemic-wage-theft-costing-workers-hundreds/>
- ^{xxxi} <http://keystoneresearch.org/media-center/press-releases/new-overtime-rule-will-benefit-nearly-half-million-pa-workers-keystone-r>
- ^{xxxii} Mark Price and Stephen Herzenberg, *A Building Storm: The Housing Market and the Pennsylvania Economy*, Keystone Research Center, January 31, 2008; <http://keystoneresearch.org/publications/research/building-storm-housing-market-and-pennsylvania-economy>. See also Elizabeth McNichol, *It's Time for States to Invest in Infrastructure*, Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, February 23, 2016; <http://www.cbpp.org/research/state-budget-and-tax/its-time-for-states-to-invest-in-infrastructure>
- ^{xxxiii} Mark Price and Stephen Herzenberg, *The State of Working Pennsylvania 2014*, Keystone Research Center; <http://keystoneresearch.org/swp2014>
- ^{xxxiv} Michael Churchill, *PA Basic Education Funding Commission Formula Means Districts Needs at Least \$3.2 Billion More in State Funding*, the Public Interest Law Center, May 2016; <http://www.pilcop.org/befc-adequacy-calculation/>

the City of Philadelphia has a Ban the Box ordinance ^{xxxv} modelled on similar laws in New York City and New Jersey; <http://www.phila.gov/HumanRelations/DiscriminationAndEnforcement/Pages/BantheBoxLawAtAGlance.aspx>

^{xxxvi} For more on the effectiveness of these policies see Maurice Emsellem and Beth Avery, *Racial Profiling In Hiring: A Critique of New “Ban The Box” Studies*, National Employment Law Project; <http://www.nelp.org/publication/racial-profiling-in-hiring-a-critique-of-new-ban-the-box-studies/>

^{xxxvii} We thank Sharon Dietrich of Community Legal Services in Philadelphia for suggesting this policy. For a review of the research on the effectiveness of subsidized jobs programs see Indivar Dutta-Gupta, Kali Grant, Matthew Eckel, and Peter Edelman, *Lessons Learned from 40 Years of Subsidized Employment Programs: A Framework, Review of Models, and Recommendations for Helping Disadvantaged Workers*, Georgetown University Law Center on Poverty and Inequality, Spring 2016 <https://www.law.georgetown.edu/academics/centers-institutes/poverty-inequality/current-projects/loader.cfm?csModule=security/getfile&PageID=269877>

^{xxxviii} The Pennsylvania Department of Labor and Industry’s educational materials on work sharing are online at <http://www.uc.pa.gov/employers-uc-services-uc-tax/shared-work/Pages/default.aspx>. For more information on work sharing, including on its wide use in Germany and the inclusion of support for work sharing in the Obama 2017 budget, see the web page of the Center for Economic and Policy Research (<http://cepr.net>).

^{xxxix} Among the ways this could be done are increasing the state budget line item for industry partnerships, now less than \$2 million compared to \$20 million at its peak; reauthorizing of the state’s “Reemployment Fund” which provides flexible training dollars and will sunset in 2017; enacting industry partnership tax credit, one version of which passed the Senate Finance committee in the 2011-12 legislative session; and leveraging federal and philanthropic dollars.

^{xl} See Institute for Taxation and Economic Policy, *Who Pays? Pennsylvania State and Local Taxes in 2015*; online at <http://www.itep.org/whopays/states/pennsylvania.php>

^{xli} On this option, see Stephen Herzenberg and Mark Price, *Who Pays for an Increase in the PIT on Income From Wealth?* Pennsylvania Budget and Policy Center, July 1, 2016; <https://pennbpc.org/sites/pennbpc.org/files/WhoPaysPITonWealth.pdf>

^{xlii} A uniform exemption on Pennsylvania’s income tax for the first \$30,000 of income could raise over a billion dollars in revenue and reduce income taxes paid on average by bottom 80 percent of Pennsylvania taxpayers by nearly \$500 per taxpayer. See Stephen Herzenberg and Mark Price, *Pennsylvania Should Raise Needed Revenues in Fair Ways: Short- and Long-term Approaches to Fixing Pennsylvania’s Unfair Tax System*, Pennsylvania Budget and Policy Center, April 11, 2011; <http://pennbpc.org/pa-should-raise-needed-revenues-fair-ways-short-and-long-term-approaches-fixing-pennsylvania%E2%80%99s-unfair>. Preliminary (unpublished) analysis of the geographical impact of this change shows that most rural counties would pay substantially less in taxes, thereby increasing their take-home pay.