

# Aligning Federal Policy to Local Needs

Wendy Ake, Emnet Almedom, Camille Braswell, and Elsadig Elsheikh



The Othering & Belonging Institute at UC Berkeley, formerly the Haas Institute for a Fair and Inclusive Society, is a vibrant hub of researchers, community leaders, policy-makers, artists, and communicators that advances research, policy, and work related to marginalized communities. It engages in innovative narrative, communications, and cultural strategies that attempt to reframe the public discourse around marginality and inclusion and respond to issues that require immediate and long-term action.

### About the Authors

**Wendy Ake** is the Just Public Finance Director at the Othering & Belonging Institute. Wendy's research focuses on expressions of financialization among nation states, practices of governance, and its reification of inequalities in wealth and political power. Wendy also directs projects related to targeted universalism that derive and situate practicable policy and practice that promise alignment for systemic change.

**Emnet Almedom** is a policy and research analyst at the Othering and Belonging Institute. Emnet's research and partnerships work focuses on economic justice policy, corporate accountability, and divest-invest models for public safety and for climate justice.

**Camille Braswell** is currently a Research Assistant at the Urban Institute working in a data-driven study of the intersection of place-based discrimination, environmental injustice and housing. Her educational pursuits have focused on public policy research at the intersection of environmental issues and racial inequalities born out of historical policymaking.

**Elsadig Elsheikh** is the Global Justice Program Director at the Othering & Belonging Institute. Elsadig's research focuses on the themes and socio-political dynamics related to neoliberalism, nation-state and citizenship, and structural mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion.

Additional research support was provided by Heidi Wallace, and Francesca Zepeda.

### Copy Editor

Stacey Atkinson

### Design & Layout

Christopher Abueg

### Citation

Wendy Ake, Emnet Almedom, Camille Braswell, and Elsadig Elsheikh, *Aligning Federal Policy to Local Needs: Survey Report* (Berkeley, CA: Othering & Belonging Institute, 2022), <https://belonging.berkeley.edu/aligningfederalpolicytolocalneeds>.

### Reviewers

We would like to thank the following individuals for their support in the review and development of this project:

- Jane Chung, The Worker Agency

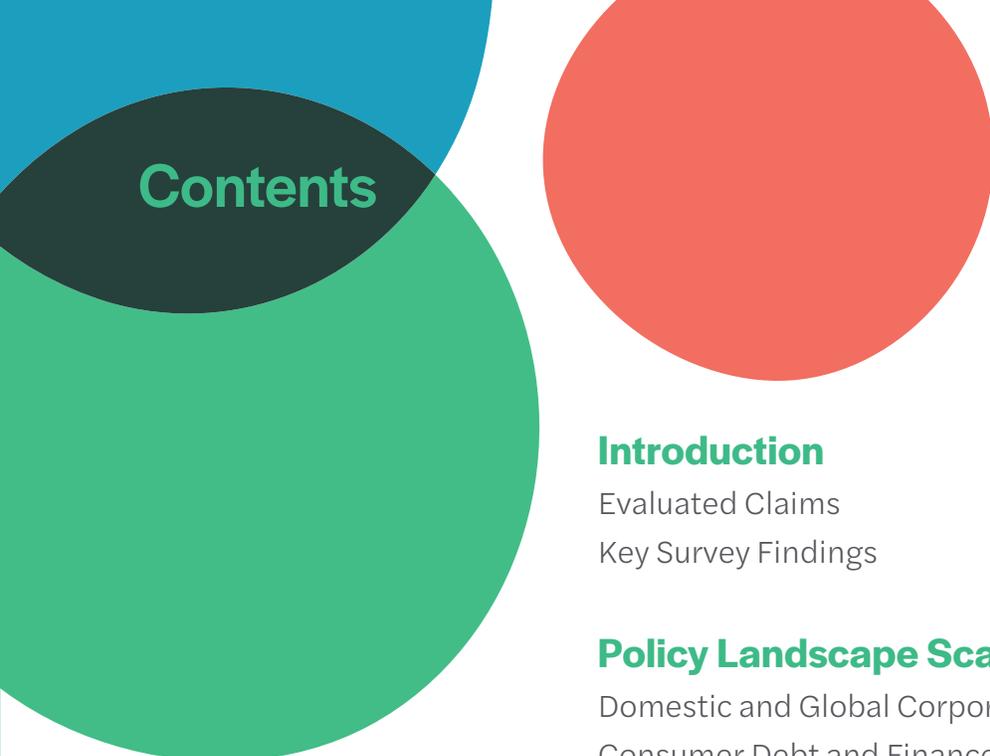
- Solange Gould, Human Impact Partners
- Vinhcent Le, The Greenlining Institute
- Tracy Lloyd McCurty, Black Belt Justice Center
- Isaac Ontiveros, National Nurses United
- Sarah Newell, Worker-Driven Social Responsibility Network
- Basima Sisemore, Othering & Belonging Institute
- Miriam Magaña Lopez, Othering & Belonging Institute
- Joshua Clark, Othering & Belonging Institute
- Stephen Menendian, Othering & Belonging Institute

This project was funded by the Rockefeller Foundation.

### Contact

Othering & Belonging Institute at UC Berkeley  
460 Stephens Hall  
Berkeley, CA 94720-2330  
Tel. 510-642-3326  
[belonging.berkeley.edu](http://belonging.berkeley.edu)

Published October 2022.



# Contents

<b>Introduction</b>	<b>2</b>
Evaluated Claims	3
Key Survey Findings	3
<b>Policy Landscape Scan</b>	<b>5</b>
Domestic and Global Corporate Power	5
Consumer Debt and Finance	6
Worker Rights	7
Democratic Rights	8
<b>Our Methods and Approach</b>	<b>10</b>
Survey Design	10
Survey Instrument	11
Survey Audience and Dissemination	11
Who We Heard From	11
<b>Survey Findings</b>	<b>13</b>
Corporate Power	13
Economic Globalization	16
Consumer Debt and Finance	17
Worker Rights	19
Democratic Rights	21
<b>Appendix 1: Policy Platforms Reviewed in Landscape Scan</b>	<b>23</b>
<b>Appendix 2: Survey Questions and Full List of Policies Included in Survey</b>	<b>26</b>
<b>Appendix 3: Data Books</b>	<b>31</b>
<b>Endnotes</b>	<b>32</b>

# Introduction

**DURING THIS GLOBAL PANDEMIC**, greater attention in public debate is directed to the ways in which local and state governments and community-based organizations play important roles in providing for the needs of those they serve. As future pandemics are probable and as the climate crisis unfolds, greater public attention is drawn to addressing the gaps between what the federal government accomplishes and the needs of local and state governments and community-based organizations.

The capacity of local, state, and community-based organizations can be constrained by structural limitations of those institutions—limitations that do not apply to the federal government. While facing structural limitations, the US federal government has unique capacities to provide and enable systems that support resilience at the state, local, and community level. Our team conducted a landscape review and survey to learn where federal policy can better meet local needs. This report includes discussion of the project’s impetus, landscape review, and survey methods and reviews the findings.

The Aligning Federal Policy to Local Needs Survey was conducted from **March 21 to April 8, 2022**. In this time, we heard from **250 respondents** across a spectrum of expertise.

By pairing the landscape scan and survey, we aim to identify policy priority areas and associated areas for structural change.

**The pandemic has shown the fragility of systems within the sphere of federal government influence.**

This profound lack of resilience is of global and national consequence as the climate crisis unfolds and as future epidemics or pandemics are highly probable. A popular understanding of what constitutes essential workers expanded. And an already increasing rate of workers left the service, education, and health-care sectors during the pandemic.<sup>1</sup> The pandemic has served to expand the reach and financial value of the technology sector. In one example, the pandemic underwrote expanded reliance on dominant software platforms for work from home and distance learning. In the absence of federal policies and systems that would have generated resilience at the local and state level, it has become even more clear that organizing at the local level is lifesaving.

There is a protection gap created by federal policy that could create and uphold systems that state, local, and community can draw on to generate resilience. The federal government is uniquely capable of providing necessary relief needed at the state, local, and community scale.

One dimension of the survey considers federal action that would address disproportionate influence of corporate power. Our team conducted online landscape research of major policy platforms to identify more than one hundred crosscutting federal policies specific to five structures tied to crisis resilience: corporate power, consumer debt and public finance, worker rights, democratic rights.

**Misalignment between local needs and federal policy are widespread, though progressive movements have made change on many fronts.** The federal government’s failure to create the systems and structures that can support state, local, and community resilience is well documented—as is popular support for major federal reforms. Major roadblocks to policy change and distributed governing power reify current federal policy protection gaps. Even when local efforts gain traction on policy that seeks to fill that gap, the fact that the federal government has a unique role in fixing the problem leaves those successful local efforts vulnerable. All of this is not lost on state and local government and community groups. It is clear that the federal government can play a unique and transformative role in providing for the needs of those it governs.

Movement organizations—such as People’s Action,<sup>2</sup> the Poor People’s Campaign,<sup>3</sup> and the Sunrise Movement—apply to their organizing efforts an intersectional analysis of issues<sup>4</sup> like income inequality, racism, and the climate crisis by highlighting the linkages among them. Similarly, this survey includes federal policies targeting sectors that research identifies as being tied to crisis resilience: agribusiness, energy, care, and technology sectors.

## Evaluated Claims

Through a survey tool and landscape review, we evaluated the following claims:

- **Federal government commitments to intervene in markets to expand corporate competitiveness limit the capacity of federal policy to meet the needs of state and local governments and community members.**<sup>5</sup> Our team conducted landscape research to identify crosscutting federal policies and solicited feedback from partners to further refine the set of policies for evaluation.<sup>6</sup>
- **Local movements struggle to connect to state, national, and global structures.**<sup>7</sup> We need better pathways to effecting political change at the scale of transnational corporate and economic power.<sup>8</sup>

The crosscutting federal policies we highlight would further the goals to meet local needs and open up opportunities to operate “glocally.”<sup>9</sup>

- **Current policy priorities set by policy advocates are not the same as policy priorities that could provide greater impact.** Disproportionate corporate power, rules of democratic participation, or the legislative process itself often determines or constrains the policies that may be advocated for. Our survey polled respondents on their perceived misalignment between policy advocates’ current priorities compared to future priorities.

## Key Survey Findings

### Domestic and Global Corporate Power

- Central to respondents’ narrative on addressing concentrated corporate power is corporations’ direct harm to planetary health, followed by harms to democracy, workers, and human health<sup>10</sup>
- Respondents support increases to corporate tax rates, including setting a global corporate tax rate and increasing the domestic tax rate
- Respondents believe that funding the Internal Revenue Service (IRS)—a crucial element to enforcement of accountability mechanisms like taxation—is underprioritized by policy advocates today
- For respondents with self-identified expertise in economic globalization, the highest priority policies relate to reforming the framework of investor rights, indicating that corporate power is central to respondents’ assessment of global economic rules
- Respondents also heavily support innovative policy approaches to transnational intellectual property rights frameworks, such as barring pharmaceutical firms from claiming monopoly rights to lifesaving medicines

### Consumer Debt and Finance

- Across respondents of different types of work, political leaning, and geography, medical debt is the most prioritized area for debt cancellation, followed by public and private student loan debt

- and water/utilities debt
- Respondents most prioritize interventions to provide free or affordable services, such as postsecondary education or services related to living costs
- Respondents believe financing postsecondary education as a form of reparations is the most underprioritized policy today
- Across all respondents with self-reported expertise in finance, expanding postal banking as an alternative to predatory alternative financial institutions had unanimous support

- Respondents believe that granting full voting power to the nonvoting members of Congress and supporting the process of decolonization and self-determination of US territories and tribes are underprioritized by policy advocates

### **Worker Rights**

- Respondents believe that basic expansions of worker rights, such as increasing the federal minimum wage and granting paid sick and family leave to all, are urgent and already prioritized by policy advocates
- Respondents support more expansive worker rights interventions, such as a targeted federal jobs guarantee and granting citizenship to undocumented workers, and believe these solutions are currently underprioritized
- There is high support to expand worker power and agency in the workplace, particularly worker representation on the boards of their workplaces
- Most respondents support a federal minimum wage that is two to three times above today's \$7.25 federal minimum wage, with high support for increases ranging from \$16 to \$30 per hour

### **Democratic Rights**

- Respondents most prioritized actions to address contemporary, corporate-driven changes to the rules of campaign financing, particularly placing limits on campaign spending and making all campaign contribution data public
- Respondents also highly ranked changes to the rules of political representation and access to the vote: independent redistricting commissions, automatic voter registration, and setting uniform rules for districting to protect communities of color
- Most respondents support granting the right to vote to people with felony offenses (87%), incarcerated people (83%), and noncitizens (62%)

# Policy Landscape Scan

**OUR TEAM CONDUCTED** online landscape research of major policy platforms and visions to identify more than one hundred crosscutting federal policies specific to five structures tied to crisis resilience: corporate power, consumer debt and public finance, worker rights, democratic rights. For a full list of the policy platforms we reviewed, see [appendix 1](#). For the full language of each policy included in the tables below, see [appendix 2](#).

## Domestic and Global Corporate Power

Through decades of legal evolution at the global and national level, corporations have changed in their purpose, power, and influence.<sup>11</sup> Relative to individuals represented in the US government, large multinational corporations hold disproportionate influence in determining policy.<sup>12</sup> Large multinational corporations are also primary beneficiaries of global trade agreements.<sup>13</sup> Orthodox thought in neoclassical economics and economic development centers on rational corporate actors and government action to perfect corporate competition in a market economy to predict economic benefit for households and individuals.<sup>14</sup> This creates a rationale for corporate-friendly policy and action to be consistent with policy that benefits households and individuals. Most recently, corporations—assisted by the courts—have upheld this belief by appealing to the social role of corporations as corporate citizens with corporate social responsibilities. This orthodoxy is effectively challenged by empirical evidence and increasing scrutiny from scholars across

disciplines and by including economics in popular debate and scholarly and popular writing.<sup>15</sup> For example, a recurrent theme within our landscape scan reflected the need for a policy response to structures and systems beyond and including corporations<sup>16</sup> themselves that allow tax evasion and tax fraud.<sup>17</sup> These policy options include raising tax rates and policy strategies that would create, monitor, and enforce reduction or elimination of large multinational corporation-driven contributions to the global climate crisis.<sup>18</sup>

We reviewed proposals from Public Citizen, the Institute on Taxation and Economic Policy, the Independent Commission for the Reform of International Corporate Taxation, the Institute for Local Self-Reliance, the International Peoples Treaty on the Control of Transnational Corporations, the Institute for New Economic Thinking, the Roosevelt Institute, and the Transnational Institute to identify these policy solutions in both the domestic and transnational regulatory spaces.

---

### Corporate Accountability Policies

- Increase domestic corporate tax rate
  - Tax multinational companies where they sell goods
  - Increase Internal Revenue Service funding
  - Create a global corporate tax rate
-

At the global scale, the primacy given to investor rights, shareholder primacy as they are expressed and enabled in foreign direct investment, has been used to structurally limit the development and strength of local economies within the US borders<sup>19</sup> and of national economies across the Global South. Free trade agreements are federal actions to expand the reach of markets to function, expanding the geographic and sectoral reach of corporations.<sup>20</sup> For example, recent trade agreements and federal action have increased protection of intellectual property rights and rules that impact the sector, enabling decreasing drug affordability and access, and additional inroads for trade policy provisions to expand the reach of large multinational pharmaceutical corporations.<sup>21</sup> Federal action on trade agreements has enabled the outsourcing of some jobs from the US to low-income countries and has also undermined US food safety and other consumer safeguards.<sup>22</sup> Economic globalization has deepened historic inequalities within and across national economies.<sup>23</sup>

The COVID-19 pandemic has directed more attention to the vulnerability created by the current design of globalization. For example, due to the 1994 World Trade Organization (WTO) Agreement on Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS), some estimate that millions of people in the Global South will not get vaccines until 2024.<sup>24</sup> Collectively, 120 low- and middle-income countries owe \$8.7 trillion of external debt, and servicing this debt will be a huge impediment to the recovery of the indebted countries and the global economy. Instead of a reduction in external debt, there have been massive increases in external debt during the pandemic.<sup>25</sup>

---

## Economic Globalization Policies

### Trade Agreements

- Replace fast-track authority for trade agreements with a more democratic process
- Negotiate trade agreements on the record and

in public

- Limit influence of corporations on trade advisory committees
- Dismantle the use of industry trade advisory committees
- Assess racial equity impact of trade policy
- Expand trade adjustment assistance to support workers whose livelihoods are impacted by trade agreements

### Investor Rights Frameworks

- Settle investor-state disputes in national tribunals per host country's legislation
- Give workers and the public legal standing against multinational corporations
- Grant individuals or communities the right to seek recourse against investors' human rights violations

### Intellectual Property Rights Frameworks

- Support waivers that bypass the TRIPS' legal framework
- Exempt least developed countries from TRIPS
- Repeal the TRIPS legal framework
- Dissolve the WTO
- Bar pharmaceutical firms from claiming monopoly rights to lifesaving medicines

---

## Consumer Debt and Finance

Corporations in the finance, insurance, and real estate industries have extraordinary power to extract value in our economy by avoiding taxes,<sup>26</sup> buying back stocks,<sup>27</sup> and buying control over companies and entire industries.<sup>28</sup> The financial system has developed increasingly complicated risk-management systems that insulate themselves and ostensibly the economy from risks that can include sociocultural characteristics—for example, modeling the decision-making processes of potential home buyers.<sup>29</sup> However, the tools to anticipate and insulate economic systems revealed the massive risk to which state and local governments and communities were exposed.<sup>30</sup> The need to have economic systems that expose local and state governments and communities to far less risk

are critical. This is becoming a more prominent topic in public debate with regard to the sustainability of systems under climate crisis and the effort to build resilient infrastructure and economies.<sup>31</sup> A growing field of heterodox economists and their participation in public debate expand the opportunities for reordering those systems to emerge and flow from new structures of economic thinking.<sup>32</sup>

We reviewed proposals from People’s Action, the Action Center on Race and the Economy, the Roosevelt Institute, Take on Wall Street, the Poor People’s Jubilee Platform, the Strike Debt Collective, and the Institute for New Economic Thinking to identify these policy solutions that engage the structural role of finance in the economy as well as the lived experience of debtors.

---

## Finance Policies

- Restore legislation for a financial system that serves the needs of people, such as limiting bank size<sup>33</sup>
- Cap amount of debt and accumulation of risk within a single financial institution
- Limit banks’ liabilities to a share of gross domestic product
- Limit capacity for creditors to collect full municipal debt in times of public revenue crisis
- Create a public credit-rating agency for publicly traded debt
- Expand postal banking as an alternative to predatory alternative financial institutions
- Convert private banks to long-term public ownership after a financial crisis
- Limit level of ownership that outside investors can have on community development projects

---

Related to the stronghold that speculative and extractive finance have on our economy, American families have been put in a tailspin of accumulating household debt, only exacerbated by the COVID-19 crisis. By April 2022, household debt balances stood

at \$15.84 trillion—an increase of \$1.7 trillion from the end of 2019—just before the COVID-19 pandemic.<sup>34</sup> By April 2022, per capita debt exceeded \$50,000.<sup>35</sup> When crises like the COVID-19 pandemic inevitably hit, most households are left unprotected in our hollowed-out social safety net.<sup>36</sup> Per the Federal Reserve Bank of New York’s quarter one data of 2022, the top categories of debt for all households were mortgage (70%), student loan (10%), auto loan (9%), credit card (5%), and home equity line of credit (2%).<sup>37</sup> Certain categories of debt are disproportionately felt by low-income households and households of color, particularly highlighted during the pandemic. These include payday loan, rent,<sup>38</sup> medical,<sup>39</sup> and water/utilities debt.

---

## Consumer Debt and Public Finance Policies

- Provide free postsecondary education as a public good provided by the government to all
- Provide free postsecondary tuition and fees for low-income students
- Invest more resources in Pell Grants that cover living expenses of postsecondary education for low-income students
- Finance postsecondary education as a form of reparations to those excluded by historic racist policy
- Provide free services related to living costs (e.g., housing, health care, water, energy)
- Create affordability funds for services related to living costs
- Create a public credit-rating agency for consumers

---

## Worker Rights

In the workplace in recent decades, worker rights have diminished in the United States, including the slow erosion of union power and density.<sup>40</sup> This difference is attributable to structural changes in the economy, shifts in public policy (e.g., implementation of right-to-work laws), and antiunion actions by

corporations.<sup>41</sup> The long history of expanding and rolling back labor rights continues to be accomplished through policy action, the courts, structural limitations to enforcing policy in place, and ultimately by the federal government's commitments to economic globalization and the attendant demands to expand market influence. A deep dive into the experiences of US workers—particularly underpaid and front-line workers, workers of color, and women workers—reveals how structural issues of access to economic security, health and safety, and worker agency and voice all intersect to shape material conditions.<sup>42</sup> Exclusions from labor law have effectively maintained racial and gender hierarchies, going back to excluding domestic workers and agricultural workers from the National Labor Relations Act and, more recently, exempting piecework from the Fair Labor Standards Act—an exemption for many workers in the garment, construction, and agriculture industry.<sup>43</sup>

We reviewed proposals from the Poor People's Campaign, the Movement for Black Lives' Red Black and Green New Deal, Farmworker Justice, Clean Slate for Worker Power, Roosevelt Institute, PolicyLink, and the Economic Policy Institute to identify these policy solutions that engage the gaps in worker protections, worker representation, and wages and benefits.

---

## Worker Rights Policies

### Worker Protections

- Increase funding for labor law enforcement
- Expand the right to unionize and collectively bargain
- Offer citizenship status to all undocumented workers
- Narrow who is classified as an independent contractor
- Expand labor protections for independent contractors
- Ban noncompete agreements

### Worker Representation

- Introduce sectoral bargaining
- Ensure worker representation on corporate boards

- Offer financial shares and grant voting power to all workers
- Ensure access to material resources, such as dues, for workers to organize<sup>44</sup>

### Wages and Benefits

- Increase federal minimum wage
- Peg the minimum wage to local cost of living
- Eliminate the subminimum wage for tipped workers
- Guarantee paid sick and family leave for all
- Institute a global living wage
- Apply targeted federal jobs guarantee

---

## Democratic Rights

Structures that expand and strengthen or constrain and weaken democratic systems are in need of federal action, including rules and policy that determine who can run for office, how to run and finance political campaigns, who can vote and how to access voting systems, and even how a representative democracy can function well at the state and local level.<sup>45</sup> Recent changes to the structure of the US representative democratic system include Supreme Court decisions like the *Citizens United v. Federal Election Commission* decision.<sup>46</sup> These more recent changes interact with historical practice, such as the Senate filibuster<sup>47</sup> or the exclusionary nature of nonvoting members of Congress,<sup>48</sup> which limits conceptions of democratic practice.<sup>49</sup>

We reviewed proposals from the Movement for Black Lives' Electoral Justice Project's BREATHE Act, Public Citizen, Demos' Inclusive Democracy Agenda, Highlander Center, and the Brennan Center to identify policy solutions that engage the need for reforms in campaign finance, access to the vote, and political representation.

---

## Democratic Rights Policies

### Campaign Finance

- Apply limits on campaign spending<sup>50</sup>
- Ensure all campaign contribution data is public

- Implement a public financing program for state and local campaigns

#### **Access to the Vote**

- Ensure automatic voter registration
- Grant right to vote to people with felony offenses
- Grant right to vote to incarcerated people
- Grant right to vote for all residents, not just citizens

#### **Political Representation**

- Eliminate Senate filibuster
- Eliminate Electoral College
- Apply uniform rules for districting to protect communities of color
- Require independent redistricting commissions
- End prison-based gerrymandering
- Grant statehood to District of Columbia
- Grant full voting power for all members of Congress
- Refrain from obstructing process of decolonization and self-determination for US territories and tribes

# Our Methods and Approach

**WE EMPLOYED** three methods of complementary data collection—online landscape research, survey research, and expert reviewers of the survey tool—to identify priorities and strategic paths ahead on the federal policies outlined in the previous section.

## Survey Design

The survey content was designed with the advisory support of external reviewers with expertise in our structural focus areas of domestic and global corporate power, consumer debt and public finance, worker rights, and democratic rights. We also identi-

fied and worked with reviewers with expertise in our specific sectors of focus: agribusiness, energy, care, and technology. Finally, we drew from reviewers in different institutional roles and relationships to federal policy, including policy advocacy, labor organizers, and grassroots community-based organizations.

In selecting the policies for consideration in the survey, we set the following parameters:

- *Responsibility*: be within US federal government’s powers or spheres of influence (i.e., intergovernmental political and economic bodies)
- *Crosscutting*: has impacts across industries, sectors, and geographies

Primary Area of Work	Political Leaning	Geography of Work	Area of Sector Expertise
Government	Leftist	National (US)	Agribusiness
Organizer	Progressive	Outside of the US	Care
Front-line worker	Liberal	Northeast (US)	Economic globalization
Impacted community member	Moderate	Midwest (US)	Energy
Policy advocate	Conservative	Southeast (US)	Finance
Researcher		Mid-Atlantic (US)	Technology
Funder		Rocky Mountains (US)	
Journalist		Southwest (US)	
		Pacific (US)	
		US territories	

- *Feasibility*: can range from policies with active campaigns and/or model legislation to policies with little traction
- *Level of specificity*: does not focus on the specifics of proposals (i.e., dollar or percentage amounts, time horizons) given the breadth of the policy topics
- *Universality*: can be universal or targeted

Respondents were asked to answer three types of questions: select-one multiple choice, rank all and rank order, and rank priority on a four-point Likert scale from no priority to high priority. For priority questions, respondents were asked to evaluate the *current* priority that policy advocates place on a certain policy action and then the priority that *should* be placed on that action.

To limit order bias, respondents were presented response options in a randomized fashion as automated by the web-based survey platform. To limit speculation, respondents were presented with brief “context statements” to contextualize less universally known policy proposals and brief “factual statements” for policy proposals related to changing a status quo policy. The survey team used their judgement to decide which policies needed context or factual statements, which were further refined with reviewer feedback.

## Survey Instrument

The survey was designed and disseminated through Qualtrics, a web-based platform used to create and conduct online surveys. Participants were asked to read and respond to an online consent form in which they had the option to agree or decline to participate in the survey at their discretion. The survey did not collect or archive any personal information, and respondents’ responses could not be identified or linked to their name or any other characteristics that would reveal their personal identity. The survey was anonymous, and no personal identifiers were collected, including IP addresses.

The survey questions are available in appendix 2, and data collected from the survey are available to review via the link in appendix 3. To participate in the survey, respondents were asked a series of questions to assess if they met the predetermined eligibility criteria. Respondents had to consent to participate in the survey and confirm that they were eighteen years of age or older. To further deepen our analysis, respondents were asked to self-identify their primary area of work, political leaning, geography of their work, and their area of expertise.

## Survey Audience and Dissemination

The survey was designed for an expert audience. We broadly define experts as individuals based in the **grassroots** (organizer, front-line worker, impacted community), **grasstops** (research, policy advocacy, philanthropy, journalist), and **government** (elected or staff) sectors. Data on the population size or general demographics on this broad survey audience does not exist.

The survey was disseminated by email through Qualtrics, social media platforms (e.g., Facebook, Twitter), networks of individuals, and organizations that supported and collaborated on the project. Survey outreach and dissemination was not selective and was intended to engage as many audiences as possible.

## Who We Heard From

The survey portion of our analysis was conducted from **March 21 to April 8, 2022**. In this time, we heard from **250 respondents** from across our designated spectrum of expertise.

**Primary Work:** We heard from respondents who work and live on differing scales related to local needs and federal policy.

- The largest categories of respondents (53%) identified themselves as impacted community

members (32%), organizers (14%), and front-line workers (7%). For the remaining analysis, this is grouped as a grassroots perspective.

- The second-largest category of respondents (33%) identified themselves as policy advocates (17%), researchers (14%), funders (1%), or journalists (1%). For the remaining analysis, this is grouped as a grassroots perspective.
- Finally, we heard from respondents who identified themselves as working in government (13%), at the local (6%), state (5%), and federal (1%) level. For the remaining analysis, this is grouped as a government perspective.

**Geography:** We primarily heard from respondents whose work focuses on a specific US region (74%), followed by respondents whose work focuses on a national perspective (26%), primarily in the United States.

- Of the 74% of respondents who focus on specific US regions, the majority (40%) primarily focus their work on the Pacific. The next largest groups primarily focus their work on the Midwest (17%), the Northeast (7%), or the Southeast (4%).

**Political Leaning:** We primarily heard from respondents who best identified their political leaning as progressive (72%), followed by liberal (18%) and conservative (10%).

**Sector Expertise:** Respondents finalized the survey with the invitation to evaluate policies related to specific sectors. We heard from respondents with self-identified sector expertise in care (47%), energy (33%), finance (26%), technology (21%), agribusiness (16%), and corporate globalization (11%).<sup>51</sup>

# Survey Findings

**THE ANALYSIS OF OUR SURVEY** of 250 respondents from various sectors, political leanings, and geographies focuses on the following trends:

1. Respondents' top priorities in each policy area
2. Gaps between advocacy today versus what is needed for the future
3. Areas of alignment and misalignment across types of respondents

In this section, we detail the most compelling findings that we believe to be indicative of areas to focus advocacy efforts and align across types of advocates. For a more in-depth look at survey responses by respondent type, please see the link in appendix 3 to our data books.

## Corporate Power

Planetary health is central to respondents' narratives on addressing concentrated corporate power, followed by democracy, workers, and human health. When asked to consider major policy proposals for addressing concentrated corporate power, respondents feel government regulation of corporations is most politically feasible, but government support for worker rights would most positively impact society. Respondents support increases to corporate tax rates, including setting a global corporate tax rate and increasing the domestic rate. Respondents believe that funding the IRS—a crucial element to enforcement of accountability mechanisms—is underprioritized by policy advocates today. This reflects a gap in terms of enforcement, which was reinforced in expert interviews.

**Planetary health is central to respondents' narratives on addressing concentrated corporate power.**

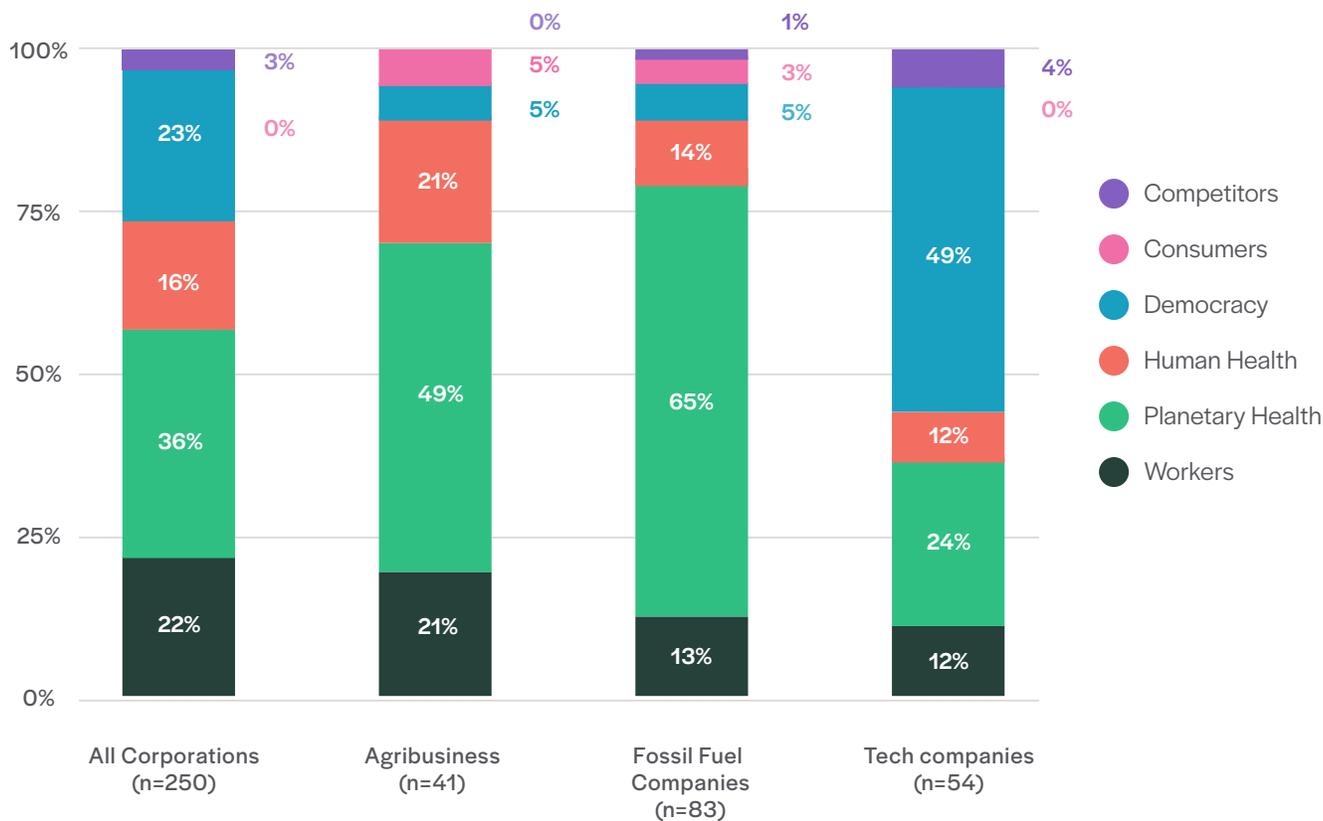
Harm to planetary health is central to respondents' narratives on addressing concentrated corporate power, followed by harms to democracy, workers, and human health.

- Just over a third of respondents (36%) see planetary health as the top category for measuring harms of concentrated corporate power.
- For measuring the harms of concentrated corporate power in the fossil fuel economy, over half of respondents (65%) with energy-sector expertise believe planetary health is the top category.
- Nearly half of respondents (49%) with tech-sector expertise believe concentrated tech power is most harmful to democracy.

**The expansion and enforcement of worker rights would most positively impact society, but is not perceived as politically feasible as government regulation of corporations.**

When considering major policy proposals for correcting corporate power misalignment, respondents feel government regulation of corporations is most politically feasible, but government support for worker rights would most positively impact society. Nationalizing of certain companies or industries ranked third for positive impact, but last for political feasibility.

## Harm to planetary health is top category for measuring harms of corporate power, followed by harm to democracy, workers, and human health



RANK	MOST POLITICALLY FEASIBLE	MOST POSITIVELY IMPACT
1	Increase government regulation of corporations	Increase government support for worker power
2	Increase government support for worker power	Increase government regulation of corporations
3	Make it more difficult for companies to acquire and merge with other companies	Nationalize certain companies or industries
4	Break large companies up into smaller but still privately held companies	Make it more difficult for companies to acquire and merge with other companies
5	Nationalize certain companies or industries	Break large companies up into smaller but still privately held companies

**Respondents support increases to corporate taxation and strategies to capture offshore wealth, but funding the IRS—a crucial element to enforcement of accountability mechanisms—is underprioritized.**

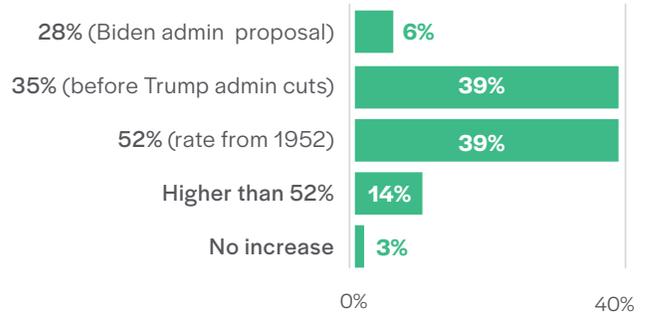
Respondents place medium-high priority on an increase to the domestic corporate tax rate (95%), taxing multinational corporations where they sell goods (95%), and increasing IRS funding (92%).

- Only 49% of respondents think increasing IRS funding is a medium-high priority today, compared to 92% of respondents who believe it is a medium-high priority for the future. Increasing IRS funding is the biggest gap between current and future priorities.

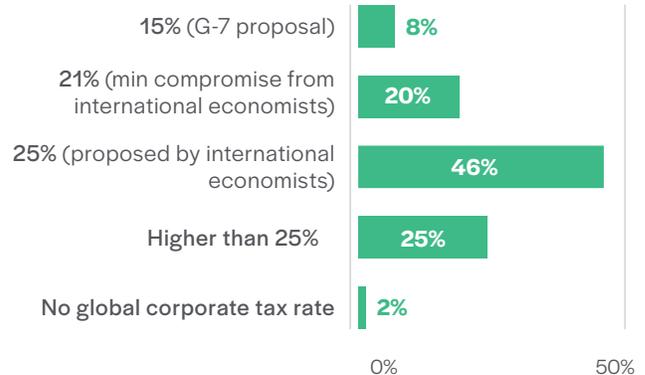
**Respondents support increases to corporate tax rates, including setting a global corporate tax rate.**

- Most respondents (91%) want to see a domestic corporate tax rate higher than the latest Biden administration’s proposal. An equal percentage of respondents (39%) want either the 35% tax rate from before the Trump administration’s tax cuts or the high 1950s tax rate of 52%.
- Most respondents (70%) want to see the highest global corporate tax rate proposed by the Independent Commission for the Reform of International Corporate Taxation (ICRICT) or higher.
- A small percentage of respondents (14%) are supportive of a *domestic* corporate tax rate higher than the historic highs of the 1950s, but a quarter of respondents (25%) are supportive of a *global* corporate tax rate higher than the rate proposed by the ICRICT.

**Most respondents (91%) want a tax rate higher than the latest Biden admin proposal, including a return to the high 1950s rate**



**Most respondents (70%) want the highest global corporate tax rate proposed by international economists**



POLICY	ALL n=250	
	Current	Future
Increase domestic corporate tax rate	68%	95%
Tax MNC where they sell goods	59%	95%
Increase IRS funding	49%	92%
Enforce a global corporate tax rate	58%	90%

## Economic Globalization

For respondents with self-identified expertise in economic globalization,<sup>52</sup> the highest priority policies are related to reforming the framework of investor rights, indicating that corporate power is central to respondents' assessment of global economic rules. Respondents most prioritized policy to grant individuals and communities standing rights to seek recourse against investors' human rights violations, but felt that this proposal is given relatively high priority by policy advocates today. In comparison, proposals to settle investor-state disputes per host

country's legislation are the most underprioritized policy area today. Respondents also heavily support innovative policy approaches to transnational intellectual property rights frameworks, such as barring pharmaceutical firms from claiming monopoly rights to lifesaving medicines.

**Policies to reform the global investor-state dispute system and policies to expand access to lifesaving medicines and technologies are underprioritized today.**

Across all respondents, the highest priority policies are related to reforming the framework of

POLICY	ALL n=27	
	Current	Future
<b>Trade Agreements</b>		
Replace fast track authority for trade agreements with more democratic process	48%	86%
Negotiate trade agreements on-the-record and in public	48%	87%
Limit influence of corporations on trade advisory committees	48%	86%
Dismantle the use of industry trade advisory committees	26%	68%
Assess racial equity impact of trade policy	43%	77%
Expand trade adjustment assistance (TAA) to support workers whose livelihoods are impacted by trade agreements	48%	83%
<b>Investor Rights Frameworks</b>		
Settle investor-state disputes in national tribunals per host country's legislation	35%	91%
Give workers and the public legal standing against multinational corporations	57%	91%
Grant individuals or communities the right to seek recourse against investors' human rights violations	57%	95%
<b>Intellectual Property Rights Frameworks</b>		
Support waivers that bypass the TRIPS' legal framework	36%	86%
Exempt least developed countries (LDCs) from TRIPs	50%	81%
Repeal the TRIPS legal framework	43%	73%
Dissolve the World Trade Organization (WTO)	39%	77%
Bar pharmaceutical firms from claiming monopoly rights to life-saving medicines	48%	91%

investor rights: **grant individuals or communities the right to seek recourse against investors' human rights violations (95%), settle investor-state disputes in national tribunals per host country's legislation (91%), and give workers and the public legal standing against multinational corporations (91%).**

Only 35% of respondents think settling investor-state disputes in national tribunals per host country's legislation is a medium-high priority today, compared to 91% of respondents who believe it is a medium-high priority for the future. This reform to the investor-state dispute settlement system<sup>53</sup> is the biggest gap between current and future priorities.

- The next following gaps in priority are to support waivers that bypass the TRIPS' legal framework<sup>54</sup> (36% vs. 86%) and bar pharmaceutical firms from claiming monopoly rights to lifesaving medicines (48% vs. 91%).

## Consumer Debt and Finance

Across different types of work, political leaning, and

geography, respondents most prioritized medical debt for debt cancellation. The next highest-ranking categories of debt were public student loan, private student loan, water/utilities, and rent. The high prioritization of medical, water/utilities, and rent debt indicates an understanding of the debt most accumulated during the pandemic, particularly by households of color. The low prioritization of mortgage debt is surprising, especially juxtaposed with the latest Federal Reserve Bank of New York's data indicating mortgage debt represents 70% of household debt held in 2022.<sup>55</sup> Creating a public credit agency for consumers had the lowest support (60%) as a future strategic priority. In comparison, 81% of respondents with self-reported expertise in finance placed high priority on creating a public credit agency for publicly traded debt, such as bonds issued by municipalities. Across all respondents with self-reported expertise in finance, expanding postal banking had unanimous support.

### Medical debt, public student loan debt, and private student loan debt are most prioritized for debt cancellation.

The top-three types of debt respondents identified as priorities for cancellation are **medical debt**,<sup>56</sup>

RANK	ALL RESPONDENTS	GOVERNMENT	GRASSROOTS	GRASSTOPS
1	Medical debt			
2	Student loan debt (public)			
3	Student loan debt (private)	Student loan debt (private)	Student loan debt (private)	Water/utilities debt
4	Water/utilities debt	Water/utilities debt	Rent debt	Student loan debt (private)
5	Rent debt	Rent debt	Water/utilities debt	Rent debt
6	Payday loan debt			
7	Mortgage debt			
8	Credit card debt			
9	Auto loan debt			

**public student loan debt**, and **private student loan debt**. Following that, **water/utilities debt and rent debt** ranked third or fourth for most respondents. Respondents from the grasstops category prioritized water/utilities debt (third) above private student loan debt (fourth). Respondents from the grassroots category prioritized rent debt (fourth) above water/utilities debt (fifth).

**In line with the high prioritization of student loan debt, financing postsecondary education ranked highest priority for respondents.**

**Respondents placed highest priority on policy actions related to financing postsecondary education as future strategic actions for policy advocates.** The top-three future strategic priorities include offering free postsecondary education to

POLICY	ALL n=250	
	Current	Future
Provide free post-secondary as a public good provided by the government to all	54%	88%
Provide free post-secondary tuition and fees for low-income students	59%	93%
Invest more resources in Pell Grants that cover living expenses of post-secondary education for low-income students	58%	88%
Finance post-secondary as a form of reparations to those excluded by historic racist policy	38%	90%
Provide free services related to living costs (housing, healthcare, water, energy)	27%	64%
Create affordability funds for services related to living costs	49%	88%
Create a public credit rating agency for consumers	29%	60%

POLICY	ALL n=66	
	Current	Future
Restore legislation for financial system that serves needs of people, such as limiting bank size	52%	90%
Cap amount of debt and accumulation of risk within a single financial institution	57%	90%
Limit banks' liabilities to a share of Gross Domestic Product (GDP)	24%	76%
Limit capacity for creditors to collect full municipal debt in times of public revenue crisis	32%	80%
Create a public credit rating agency for publicly traded debt	36%	81%
Expand postal banking as alternative to predatory alternative financial institutions (AFIs)	50%	100%
Convert private banks to long-term public ownership after a financial crisis	24%	64%
Limit level of ownership outside investors can have on community development projects	33%	90%

low-income students (93%), financing postsecondary education as reparations (90%), and investing more resources in Pell Grants that cover living expenses of postsecondary education for low-income students (88%).

- Only 38% of respondents think financing postsecondary education as a form of reparations is a medium-high priority today, compared to 90% of respondents who believe it is a medium-high priority for the future. The next following gap is in creating affordability funds for services related to living costs (49% vs. 88%).
- Creating a public credit agency for consumers had the lowest support (60%) as a future strategic priority. In comparison, 81% of respondents with self-reported expertise in finance placed high priority on creating a public credit agency for publicly traded debt, such as bonds issued by municipalities.

### **There is widespread support to expand postal banking as an alternative to predatory alternative financial institutions.**

For respondents with a self-identified expertise in finance, the top-three future strategic priorities are to **expand postal banking (100%)**, **limit the level of ownership outside investors can have on community development projects (90%)**, and **restore legislation for a financial system that serves the needs of people, such as limiting bank size (90%)**.

- Across all types of respondents with self-reported expertise in finance, postal banking received unanimous support as a future priority for policy advocacy in the finance sector.
- Only 33% of respondents think limiting the level of ownership that outside investors can have on community development projects is a medium-high priority today, compared to 90% of respondents who believe it is a medium-high priority for the future. The next following gap in priority is to limit banks' liabilities to a share of gross domestic product (24% vs. 76%).

## **Worker Rights**

Across worker rights policy actions, respondents most prioritized increases to the federal minimum wage, paid sick and family leave for all, and the right to unionize and collectively bargain. Most respondents support a federal minimum wage two to three times above today's \$7.25 federal minimum wage, with high support for increases ranging from \$16 to \$30 per hour. These basic improvements to wages and benefits and worker protections are strongly supported and seen as prioritized today. Respondents believe more expansive worker rights, such as citizenship status for undocumented workers, a targeted federal jobs guarantee, and a global living wage, have been underprioritized. This prioritization reflects the reality that the current political landscape still necessitates a focus on securing basic rights for workers.

### **Protecting workers means expanding basic rights: the right to unionize and the right to citizenship.**

In terms of worker protections, respondents' top-three future strategic priorities are to **expand the right to unionize and collectively bargain (97%)**, **increase funding for labor law enforcement (92%)** and **expand labor protections for independent contractors (91%)**.

- Only 30% of respondents think **banning noncompete agreements** is a medium-high priority today, compared to 74% of respondents who believe it is a medium-high priority for the future.
- The next biggest priority gaps are to **increase funding for labor law enforcement (48% vs. 92%)** and **grant citizenship status to all undocumented workers (38% vs. 81%)**.

### **There is high support for bolder visions to expand worker power and agency in the workplace, particularly worker representation on the boards of their workplaces.**

In terms of worker representation, respondents' top-two future strategic priorities are to guarantee

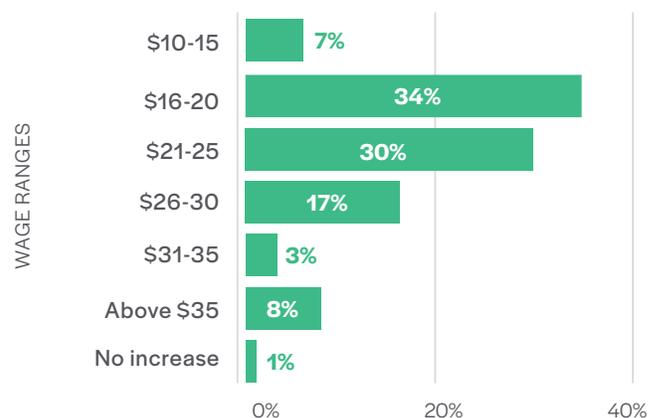
POLICY	ALL n=250	
	Current	Future
<b>Worker Protections</b>		
Increase funding for labor law enforcement	48%	92%
Expand the right to unionize and collectively bargain	61%	97%
Citizenship status to all undocumented workers	38%	81%
Narrow who is classified as independent contractor	48%	82%
Expand labor protections for independent contractors	57%	91%
Ban non-compete agreements	30%	74%
<b>Worker Representation</b>		
Introduce sectoral bargaining	35%	81%
Worker representation on corporate boards	39%	90%
Financial shares and voting power for all workers	33%	79%
Material resources (ex. dues) for workers to organize	41%	86%
<b>Wages and Benefits</b>		
Increase federal minimum wage	80%	98%
Peg the minimum wage to local cost of living	58%	94%
Eliminate the sub-minimum wage for tipped workers	57%	94%
Guarantee paid sick and family leave for all	75%	98%
Institute a global living wage	30%	71%
Targeted federal jobs guarantee	33%	83%

worker representation on corporate boards (90%) and access to material resources (e.g., dues) for workers to organize (86%).

- Only 39% of respondents think **worker representation on corporate boards** is a medium-high priority today, compared to 90% of respondents who believe it is a medium-high priority for the future. This is followed by **access to material resources (e.g., dues) for workers to organize** (41% to 86%).

**Basic improvements to wages and benefits are strongly supported and seen as prioritized today. Respondents believe bolder moves, such as a targeted federal jobs guarantee and a global living wage, have been underprioritized.**

**Most respondents want to see a minimum wage 2-3x above today's \$7.25 federal minimum wage**



In terms of wages and benefits, respondents' top-three future strategic priorities are to **guarantee paid sick and family leave for all** (98%), **increase the federal minimum wage** (98%), and **eliminate the subminimum wage for tipped workers** (94%).

- Only 33% of respondents think a **targeted federal jobs guarantee** is a medium-high priority today, compared to 83% of respondents who believe it is a medium-high priority for the future. This is followed by **instituting a global living wage** (30% vs. 71%).

- The majority of respondents (34%) support a federal minimum wage of \$16 to \$20 an hour.
- Grassroots and grasstops respondents were more likely than government respondents to support a minimum wage over \$35 an hour. Respondents from the grassroots (8%) and grasstops (10%) support a minimum wage over \$35 an hour.
- Respondents who work at the national level are the most likely to support (11%) a minimum wage above \$35 an hour.

**Most respondents support a federal minimum wage two to three times above today's \$7.25 federal minimum wage.**

POLICY	ALL n=250	
	Current	Future
<b>Campaign Finance</b>		
Limits on campaign spending	57%	96%
All campaign contribution data should be public	65%	98%
Public financing program for state/local campaigns	44%	85%
<b>Access to the Vote</b>		
Automatic voter registration	56%	94%
Grant right to vote to people with felony offenses	50%	87%
Grant right to vote to incarcerated people	37%	83%
Grant right to vote for all residents, not just citizens	20%	62%
<b>Political Representation</b>		
Eliminate Senate filibuster	66%	91%
Eliminate Electoral College	54%	91%
Uniform rules for districting to protect communities of color	48%	92%
Require independent redistricting commissions	52%	95%
End prison-based gerrymandering	38%	85%
Grant statehood to District of Columbia	55%	90%
Full voting power for all members of Congress	41%	92%
Refrain from obstructing process of decolonization and self-determination for U.S. territories and tribes	36%	90%

## Democratic Rights

Respondents most prioritized actions to address contemporary, corporate-driven changes to the rules of campaign financing, particularly placing limits on campaign spending and making all campaign contribution data public. Respondents believe that granting full voting power for all members of Congress and supporting the process of decolonization and self-determination is underprioritized by policy advocates today. Automatic voter registration has high support. Respondents are supportive of granting the right to vote to people with felony offenses and incarcerated people, but less supportive of granting the right to all residents. Respondents want to see fairness, independence, and full voting power in the rules to political representation.

### **Respondents most prioritized changes to campaign financing, particularly placing limits on campaign spending and making all campaign contribution data public.**

In terms of campaign finance, respondents' top-two future strategic priorities are to **place limits on campaign spending (96%)** and **make all campaign contribution data public (98%)**.

- Only 44% of respondents think a **public financing program for state/local campaigns** is a medium-high priority today, compared to 85% of respondents who believe it is a medium-high priority for the future.

### **Automatic voter registration has high support. Expanding the right to vote is most supported for people with felony offenses, followed by incarcerated people and all residents.**

In terms of access to the vote, respondents' top-three future strategic priorities are to **grant automatic voter registration (94%)**, **grant the right to vote to people with felony offenses (87%)**, and **grant the right to vote to incarcerated people (83%)**.

- Only 37% of respondents think **granting the right**

**to vote to incarcerated people** is a medium-high priority today, compared to 83% of respondents who believe it is a medium-high priority for the future. This is one of the highest priority gaps related to democratic rights.

- Most respondents support granting the right to vote to people with felony offenses (87%), incarcerated people (83%), and noncitizens (62%).

### **Respondents want to see fairness, independence, and full voting power in the rules to political representation.**

In terms of political representation, respondents' top-three future strategic priorities are to **require independent redistricting commissions (95%)**, **grant full voting power for all members of Congress (92%)**, and **set uniform rules for districting to protect communities of color (92%)**.

- Only 36% of respondents think **refrain from obstructing the process of decolonization and self-determination for US territories and tribes** is a medium-high priority today, compared to 90% of respondents who believe it is a medium-high priority for the future. This is the highest priority gap related to democratic rights.
- Respondents believe eliminating the Senate filibuster and Electoral College are high priority for the future and that policy advocates do prioritize eliminating the Senate filibuster today.

## APPENDIX 1

# Policy Platforms Reviewed in Landscape Scan

### Domestic and Global Corporate Power

We reviewed proposals from Public Citizen, the Institute on Taxation and Economic Policy, the Independent Commission for the Reform of International Corporate Taxation, the Institute for Local Self-Reliance, the International Peoples Treaty on the Control of Transnational Corporations, the Institute for New Economic Thinking, the Roosevelt Institute, and the Transnational Institute to identify these policy solutions in both the domestic and transnational regulatory spaces.

Abernathy, Nell, Darrick Hamilton, and Julie Margetta Morgan. “**New Rules for the 21st Century: Corporate Power, Public Power, and the Future of the American Economy.**” Roosevelt Institute, April 2019.

Abernathy, Nell, Mike Konczal, and Kathryn Milani. “**Untamed: How to Check Corporate, Financial, and Monopoly Power.**” Roosevelt Institute, June 2016.

Bernstein, Jared and Lori Wallach. “**The New Rules of the Road: A Progressive Approach to Globalization.**” Public Citizen, September 2017.

Berrón, Gonzalo and Brid Brennan. “**International Peoples Treaty on the Control of Transnational Corporations.**” Global Campaign and Transnational Institute, December 2014.

Hanauer, Amy. “**Corporate Tax Reform in the Wake of the Pandemic.**” Institute on Taxation and Economic Policy, April 2021.

Mitchell, Stacy, Susan Holmberg, et al. “**Rebuilding Small Business for a Robust Recovery: A Federal Policy Agenda.**” Institute for Local Self-Reliance, December 2020.

“**The Global Pandemic, Sustainable Economic Recovery, and International Taxation.**” Independent Commission for the Reform of International Corporate Taxation, May 2020.

“**The Pandemic and the Economic Crisis: A Global Agenda for Urgent Action.**” Institute for New Economic Thinking, March 2021.

### Consumer Debt and Finance

We reviewed proposals from People’s Action, the Action Center on Race and the Economy, the Roosevelt Institute, Take on Wall Street, the Poor People’s Jubilee Platform, the Strike Debt Collective, and the Institute for New Economic Thinking to identify these policy solutions that engage the structural role of finance in the economy as well as the lived experience of debtors.

Abernathy, Nell, Darrick Hamilton, and Julie Margetta Morgan. “**New Rules for the 21st Century: Corporate Power, Public Power, and the Future of the American Economy.**” Roosevelt Institute, April 2019.

“**A Moral Policy Agenda to Heal and Transform America: The Poor People’s Jubilee Platform.**” Poor People’s Campaign, July 2020.

“**Breaking Up with Bad Banks: How Wall Street Makes It Hard to Leave Them—and How We Say Goodbye.**” Action Center on Race and the Economy and Americans for Financial Reform, May 3, 2021.

Take on Wall Street. **Issues Page.** Accessed July 2021.

“**The Debt Resisters’ Operations Manual.**” Strike Debt, September 2012.

United Frontline Table. “**A People’s Orientation to a Regenerative Economy: Protect, Repair, Invest, and Transform,**” June 2020.

Vague, Richard. “**It’s Time for a Debt ‘Jubilee.’**” Institute for New Economic Thinking, September 11, 2020.

## Worker Rights

We reviewed proposals from the Poor People’s Campaign, the Movement for Black Lives’ Red Black and Green New Deal, Farmworker Justice, Clean Slate for Worker Power, the Roosevelt Institute, PolicyLink, and the Economic Policy Institute to identify these policy solutions that engage the gaps in worker protections, worker representation, and wages and benefits.

Abernathy, Nell, Darrick Hamilton, and Julie Margetta Morgan. “**New Rules for the 21st Century: Corporate Power, Public Power, and the Future of the American Economy.**” Roosevelt Institute, April 2019.

“**A Moral Policy Agenda to Heal and Transform America: The Poor People’s Jubilee Platform,**” Poor People’s Campaign, July 2020.

Block, Sharon and Benjamin Sachs. “**Clean Slate for Worker Power: Building a Just Economy and Democracy.**” Labor and Worklife Program, Harvard Law School, January 2020.

Costa, Daniel. “**Temporary Work Visa Programs and the Need for Reform: A Briefing on Program Frameworks, Policy Issues and Fixes, and the Impact of COVID-19.**” Economic Policy Institute, February 3, 2021.

“**Farmworker Justice 2020 Impact Report.**” Farmworker Justice, August 2021.

“**Jobs for All: A Prosperity Economy.**” PolicyLink, February 2021.

“**National Black Climate Mandate.**” Movement for Black Lives, April 2022.

## Democratic Rights

We reviewed proposals from the Movement for Black Lives’ Electoral Justice Project’s BREATHE Act, Public Citizen, Demos’ Inclusive Democracy Agenda, the Highlander Center, and the Brennan Center to identify policy solutions that engage the need for reforms in campaign finance, access to the vote, and political representation.

“**Dark Money.**” Brennan Center for Justice. Accessed December 2021.

Donaghy, Tim and Charlie Jiang. “**Fossil Fuel Racism: How Phasing Out Oil, Gas, and Coal Can Protect Communities.**” Greenpeace, Gulf Coast Center for Law and Policy, and Movement for Black Lives’ Red Black and Green New Deal, April 13, 2021. 33.

Lau, Brian. “**The Filibuster, Explained.**” Brennan Center for Justice, April 26, 2021.

“**The BREATHE Act Federal Bill Proposal.**” Movement for Black Lives’ Electoral Justice Project, September 2020.

“**The Inclusive Democracy Agenda.**” Demos, December 2020.

Williamson, Laura. “**Self-Determination of Political Status for Washington, DC, and the Territories,**” February 9, 2021.

Williamson, Laura and Adam Lioz. “**Small Donor Democracy: Fighting Big Money with People-Powered Elections,**” March 25, 2021.

Williamson, Laura and Amshula K. Jayaram. “**Universal Voter Registration: Eliminating One of the Biggest Barriers to Voting.**” Demos, December 2020.

Williamson, Laura and Brenda Wright. “**Right to Vote: The Case for Expanding the Right to Vote in the US Constitution,**” August 26, 2020.

Williamson, Laura and Naila Awan. “**Enfranchisement for All: The Case for Ending Penal Disenfranchisement in Our Democracy,**” March 25, 2021.

## APPENDIX 2

# Survey Questions and Full List of Policies Included in Survey

### Corporate Power

**Q1.** Corporations have \_\_\_\_\_ in the United States' economy. [too little power, about the right amount of power, too much power]

**Q2.** Corporations have \_\_\_\_\_ to determine how people participate in the economy, such as wages, workers' rights, and consumer choice. [too little power, about the right amount of power, too much power]

**Q3.** Corporations have \_\_\_\_\_ to influence politics, such as electoral outcomes and policy making. [too little power, about the right amount of power, too much power]

**Q4. Which categories should be used to measure the harms of concentrated corporate power? To rank, please drag each item up and down until the order of the items reflects your prioritization of the items.**

- Harm to planetary health (ex. impact on health of air, water, or climate)
- Harm to human health (ex. diminished living conditions)
- Harm to competitors (ex. inability to enter new markets and create alternatives)
- Harm to consumers (ex. increased price of goods)
- Harm to workers (ex. unsafe and unfair working conditions)
- Harm to democracy (ex. unresponsive governments)

**Q5. Which of these strategies for curbing corporate power do you believe is most politically feasible?**

*To rank, please drag each item up and down until the order of the items reflects your prioritization of the items.*

- Increase government regulation of corporations
- Increase government support for worker power
- Make it more difficult for companies to acquire and merge with other companies
- Break large companies up into smaller but still privately held companies
- Nationalize certain companies or industries

**Q6. Which of these strategies for curbing corporate power do you believe will most positively affect the well-being of people and society? To rank, please drag each item up and down until the order of the items reflects your prioritization of the items.**

- Increase government regulation of corporations
- Increase government support for worker power
- Make it more difficult for companies to acquire and merge with other companies
- Break large companies up into smaller but still privately held companies
- Nationalize certain companies or industries

**Q7. Please indicate the level of priority that you believe policy advocates have set on the following corporate accountability policy actions. Please evaluate from "Not a Priority" to "High Priority."**

**Q10. Please indicate what level of priority you believe should be set by policy advocates for each of the following corporate accountability policy actions. Please evaluate from "Not a Priority" to "High Priority."**

- A. The domestic corporate tax rate in the United States should be increased. *In the United States, the average effective tax rate on corporate profits has fallen from roughly 50 percent in the 1950s to 21 percent today due to the 2017 Tax Cuts and Jobs Act reduction.*
- B. Multinational corporations should pay taxes in the countries where they sell their goods and services, regardless of whether they are headquartered in those countries. *For example, a US company that sells products in the US would pay taxes based on US tax law even if they are headquartered in the Cayman Islands.*
- C. The IRS should receive additional funding to increase the number of audits of large and multinational firms, develop tools better adapted for innovations in corporate tax practices, and increase staff and training for conducting audits. *The IRS budget has decreased by \$2 billion since 2010. This results in an estimated \$18 billion in lost government revenue from tax collection.*
- D. The major intergovernmental bodies of advanced and advancing economies (G7 and G20) should agree to enforcing a minimum global corporate tax rate.

**Q8. To what rate should the domestic corporate tax rate be increased? Please select one.**

- 28% (Biden administration proposal)
- 35% (before Trump administration cuts)
- 52% (rate from 1952)
- Higher than 52%
- No increase

**Q9. To what level should a global corporate tax rate be set? Please select one.**

- 15% (G7 proposal)
- 21% (minimum compromise from international economists)
- 25% (proposed by international economists)
- Higher than 25%
- No global corporate tax rate

## Economic Globalization

**Q33. Please indicate the level of priority that you believe policy advocates have set on the following economic globalization policy actions.** Please evaluate from “Not a Priority” to “High Priority.”

**Q34. Please indicate what level of priority you believe should be set by policy advocates for each of the following economic globalization policy actions.** Please evaluate from “Not a Priority” to “High Priority.”

### Trade Agreements

- A. The fast-track authority should be replaced with a more democratic process for brokering trade agreements.
- B. The United States should negotiate trade agreements through on-the-record public processes as required of other federal regulation.
- C. Congress should implement safeguards to limit the influence of corporations on trade advisory committees and include better representation of the public interest.
- D. Congress should dismantle the use of Industry Trade Advisory Committees in US trade policy.
- E. Congress should require that assessments of trade policies and agreements include racial and ethnic demographic information. [TARGETED]
- F. The Department of Labor’s Trade Adjustment Assistance program should be reauthorized and reformed to increase its scope, expand funds and outreach, make it easier for workers to get into the program, and ensure that the most marginalized workers, like Black workers, benefit from the program.

### Global Investor Rights Frameworks

- A. Investor-state disputes should be settled before national tribunals, in accordance with the host country’s legislation.
- B. Workers and the public should have standing against multinational corporations, i.e., the ability to bring claims for breaches of certain investment protections to the tribunal.
- C. In the case of human rights violations by an inves-

tor or company, investment treaties should explicitly respect the rights of the affected individuals or communities to seek additional recourse at the international level.

### Global Intellectual Property Governance

- A. The US government should support waivers that bypass the World Trade Organization's (WTO's) Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights' (TRIPS') legal framework. *Such waivers would expand access to technological recipes and infrastructures to produce COVID-19 vaccines in the Global South countries.*
- B. The US government should support the indefinite exemption of least developed countries from TRIPS in order to expand global development of technological and health infrastructure.
- C. The US government should support the repeal of the WTO's TRIPS.
- D. The WTO should be dissolved and replaced with a new mechanism for regulating international trade that centers Indigenous peoples, front-line communities, and least developed countries who are experiencing the worst of the climate crisis.
- E. Trade agreements should bar pharmaceutical firms from claiming monopoly rights to lifesaving medicines.

## Finance

**Q41. Please indicate the level of priority that you believe policy advocates have set on the following finance policy actions.** Please evaluate from "Not a Priority" to "High Priority."

**Q42. Please indicate what level of priority you believe should be set by policy advocates for each of the following finance policy actions.** Please evaluate from "Not a Priority" to "High Priority."

- A. The federal government should restore and introduce legislation that shapes a financial system that serves the needs of people, such as limiting the amount of risk that banks can take or limiting the size of banks.

- B. The federal government should cap the amount of debt that banks can bear and the accumulation of risk within a single financial institution.
- C. The federal government should limit banks' liabilities to a share of gross domestic product in order to force a reduction in bank size.
- D. The federal government should limit the capacity for creditors to collect the full debt on municipal and other bonds for cities and states at particular trigger moments, such as missed payments or other markers of a public revenue crisis.
- E. The federal government should create and manage a public credit-rating agency for publicly traded debt, such as bonds issued by municipalities or private companies.
- F. The US federal government should expand existing pilots of postal banking to provide basic financial services and alternatives to predatory alternative financial institutions that are disproportionately sited in low-income communities of color.
- G. The US government should convert private banks to long-term public ownership after a financial crisis.
- H. Federal, state, and local governments should limit the level of ownership outside investors can have on community development projects, such as requiring a minimum of 51% interest held by the public or community of a given locality.

## Consumer Debt and Public Finance

**Q12. Which of these debts do you believe should be prioritized for debt cancellation? Please rank all options.** *To rank, please drag each item up and down until the order of the items reflects your prioritization of the items.*

1. Auto loan debt
2. Credit card debt
3. Medical debt
4. Mortgage debt
5. Payday loan debt
6. Rent debt
7. Student loan debt (public)

- 8. Student loan debt (private)
- 9. Water/utilities debt

**Q14. Please indicate the level of priority that you believe policy advocates have set on the following consumer debt and public finance policy actions.**

Please evaluate from “Not a Priority” to “High Priority.”

**Q15. Please indicate what level of priority you believe should be set by policy advocates for each of the following consumer debt and public finance policy actions.** Please evaluate from “Not a Priority” to “High Priority.”

- A. Postsecondary education should be a public good provided by the government free of cost. [UNIVERSAL] Postsecondary education includes associate’s degrees, bachelor’s degrees, technical and vocational programs, and master’s programs.
- B. The federal government should make investments in postsecondary education to eliminate the costs of tuition and fees for low-income students. [TARGETED BY INCOME]
- C. The federal government should invest more resources in Pell Grants to cover room, board, and non tuition expenses and to expand who is eligible to receive these grants. [TARGETED BY INCOME]
- D. The federal government should finance postsecondary education as one form of reparations to communities impacted by historic, racist policies, such as Black and Indigenous peoples. [TARGETED BY RACE]
- E. Individual or household payment for services related to living costs (housing, water, energy, health care, etc.) should be provided by the government free of cost. [UNIVERSAL]
- F. Individual or household payment for services related to living costs (housing, water, energy, health care, etc.) should be targeted by income using locally administered, federally funded affordability plans. [TARGETED BY INCOME]
- G. The federal government should create and manage a public credit-rating agency for consumers.

## Worker Rights

**Q18. To what amount should the federal minimum wage be increased? [Select one]**

- \$10–15
- \$16–20
- \$21–25
- \$26–\$30
- \$31–\$35
- Above \$35

**Q17. Please indicate the level of priority that you believe policy advocates have set on the following worker rights policy actions.** Please evaluate from “Not a Priority” to “High Priority.”

**Q19. Please indicate what level of priority you believe should be set by policy advocates for each of the following worker rights policy actions.** Please evaluate from “Not a Priority” to “High Priority.”

## Worker Protections

- A. Labor law enforcement should be granted increased funding and authority in order to investigate workers’ complaints and more proactively monitor workplace conditions. *Such enforcement agencies include the Department of Labor, Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, and other federal, state and local enforcement agencies.*
- B. All workers should have the right to unionize and collectively bargain, including domestic, agricultural, and undocumented workers; workers who are incarcerated; and workers with disabilities.
- C. Citizenship status should be granted to all undocumented workers.
- D. More narrow parameters should be adopted for classifying workers as independent contractors. *It is estimated that as many as 30 percent of employers misclassify some employees as independent contractors, a status which leaves workers out of critical labor protections.*
- E. Labor protections should be expanded for workers who are classified as independent contractors.
- F. Noncompete agreements should be banned for all workers. *Noncompete agreements ban workers at one company from going to work for, or starting, a*

*competing business within a certain period of time after leaving a job.*

### **Worker Representation**

- A. Sectors of the economy should be able to negotiate wages and workers' rights at the sectoral level rather than the firm level. *For example, fast-food workers' unions could negotiate wages and worker rights across the fast-food industry, rather than at the level of individual franchises.*
- B. Corporate boards should be required to have worker representatives with equal voting power.
- C. All workers should be given financial shares (in for-profit setting) and voting power in their workplace.
- D. Workers should have access to necessary material resources, such as union membership fees, to organize their workplace.

### **Wages and Benefits**

- A. The federal minimum wage should be increased. *As of July 2009, the federal minimum wage is \$7.25 per hour.*
- B. Minimum living wages should be pegged to the federal minimum wage plus flexible to local and hyperlocal cost of living.
- C. The subminimum wage for tipped workers should be eliminated. *For context, the wage for tipped workers has been frozen at \$2.13 since 1991.*
- D. Paid sick leave and paid family leave should be standard for all workers.
- E. A global living wage should be instituted. *This wage would not be uniform across all countries, but rather based on a common formula.*
- F. A federal jobs guarantee in critical industries should be instituted for the most economically marginalized. [TARGETED BY INCOME]

### **Democratic Rights**

**Q21. Please indicate the level of priority that you believe policy advocates have set on the following democratic rights policy actions.** Please evaluate from "Not a Priority" to "High Priority."

**Q22. Please indicate what level of priority you believe should be set by policy advocates for each of the following democratic rights policy actions.** Please evaluate from "Not a Priority" to "High Priority."

### **Campaign Finance**

- A. Limits should be set on money raised and spent by candidates and others in elections.
- B. All campaign contribution data should be publicly accessible, such as donations from groups currently under no legal obligation to disclose their donors even if they spend to influence elections.
- C. A public financing program powered by small dollar contributions should be instituted for state and local campaigns.
- D. People who are eligible to vote should be verified and registered automatically nationwide.

### **Access to the Vote**

- A. All people with felony offenses should be granted the right to vote in local, state, and federal elections.
- B. All incarcerated people should be granted the right to vote in local, state, and federal elections.
- C. All US residents—not just citizens—should be granted the right to vote in local, state, and federal elections.

### **Political Representation**

- A. The electoral college system should be eliminated.
- B. The Senate filibuster should be eliminated.
- C. Congress should create a uniform set of rules for how districts should be drawn, including requiring states to prioritize protections for communities of color and keeping geographically concentrated communities with shared interests (often referred to as "communities of interest") together.
- D. Congress should require states to use independent redistricting commissions to draw congressional maps.
- E. For federal districting considerations, incarcerated persons should be counted in their home communities rather than where they are incarcerated. *In prison-based gerrymandering, incarcerated persons are counted in the jurisdiction where*

*they are incarcerated rather than in their home communities.*

- F. Statehood should be granted to the District of Columbia, which would grant congressional representation to the district's residents.
- G. All members of Congress should be granted full voting power. *There are currently six nonvoting members representing Washington, DC, Puerto Rico, American Samoa, Guam, the Northern Mariana Islands, District of Columbia, and the US Virgin Islands. Nonvoting delegates from the Cherokee and Choctaw nation have also been named in unfulfilled treaty obligations.*
- H. Congress should refrain from obstructing the right of US territories and federally recognized tribes to pursue a process of decolonization and self-determination of their preferred political status. *Such communities include Puerto Rico, Guam, the US Virgin Islands, American Samoa, the Northern Mariana Islands, and 574 federally recognized tribes.*

## APPENDIX 3

# Data Books

Please visit the following link to a view-only Google Doc with **data books**, including further disaggregation by respondent type.

# Endnotes

- 1 *Unlivable: Increased Sexual Harassment and Wage Theft Continue to Drive Women, Women of Color, and Single Mothers Out of the Service Sector, One Fair Wage* (UC Berkeley Food Labor Research Center, April 2022), [https://onefairwage.site/wp-content/uploads/2022/04/OFW\\_Unlivable.pdf](https://onefairwage.site/wp-content/uploads/2022/04/OFW_Unlivable.pdf); Ian Cooke, “Who Is Driving the Great Resignation?” *Harvard Business Review*, September 15, 2021, <https://hbr.org/2021/09/who-is-driving-the-great-resignation>; Abhinav Chugh, “What Is the ‘Great Resignation?’ an Expert Explains,” *World Economic Forum* (November 21, 2021), <https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2021/11/what-is-the-great-resignation-and-what-can-we-learn-from-it/>.
- 2 *Relief, Recovery and Reimagination: A Federal Policy Agenda to Meet This Moment in Rural and Small Town America*, People’s Action (August 2020), [https://peoplesaction.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/08/PARReportReliefRecoveryReimagination\\_08.121.pdf](https://peoplesaction.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/08/PARReportReliefRecoveryReimagination_08.121.pdf).
- 3 *A Moral Policy Agenda to Heal and Transform America: The Poor People’s Jubilee Platform*, Poor People’s Campaign (July 2020), [https://www.poorpeoplescampaign.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/08/PPC-Policy-Platform\\_8-28.pdf](https://www.poorpeoplescampaign.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/08/PPC-Policy-Platform_8-28.pdf).
- 4 Maria J. Stephan, “How Domestic Civic Movements Could Reshape US Foreign Policy,” *Just Security* (February 25, 2021), <https://www.justsecurity.org/74877/how-domestic-civic-movements-could-reshape-us-foreign-policy/>.
- 5 James K. Galbraith, *The End of Normal: The Great Crisis and the Future of Growth* (New York: Simon & Schuster Paperbacks, 2015); Karl Polyani, *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2007); Adam Smith, *The Wealth of Nations* (New York: Collier, 1902); Joseph E. Stiglitz, *Globalization and Its Discontents* (W. W. Norton & Company, 2017); Stephen K. Aikins, “Political Economy of Government Intervention in the Free Market System,” *Administrative Theory & Praxis* 31, No. 3, (2009): 403–408.
- 6 See appendix 1 for the reports reviewed as part of the scan. These reports are also discussed on page 8 of this report.
- 7 Frances Fox Piven and Richard Cloward, *Poor People’s Movements: Why They Succeed, How They Fail* (New York: Random House US, 2012), <https://public.ebookcentral.proquest.com/choice/publicfullrecord.aspx?p=5336660>; Suzanne Staggenborg, *Social Movements* (Oxford University Press, 2022); David Jefferess, *Postcolonial Resistance: Culture, Liberation, and Transformation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008); Taiaiake Alfred, *Wasase Indigenous Pathways of Action and Freedom* (260 Vancouver, BC: University of British Columbia CRANE Library, 2015); Aziz Choudry, Mandisi Majavu, and Lesley Wood, “Struggles, Strategies and Analysis of Anticolonial and Postcolonial Social Movements,” *Interface Journal* 5, No. 1, (May 13, 2013): 1–10, <http://www.interfacejournal.net/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2013/05/Interface-5-1-Editorial.pdf/>; James V. Fenelon, *Culturicide, Resistance, and Survival of the Lakota* (“Sioux Nation”) (1998), <https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&scope=site&db=nlebk&db=nlabk&AN=790196>; Shiri Pasternak, *Grounded Authority: The Algonquins of Barriere Lake against the State* (2017), <https://public.ebookcentral.proquest.com/choice/publicfullrecord.aspx?p=4745540>.
- 8 Staggenborg, *Social Movements*; John D. Zald and Mayer N. Zald, *The Social Movements Reader: Cases and Concepts*, eds. Jeff Goodwin and James M. Jasper (Chichester, West Sussex, UK: John Wiley & Sons Inc., 2015), 159–174.
- 9 Loukia K. Sarroub, “Living ‘Glocally’ with Literacy Success in the Midwest,” *Theory into Practice* 47, No. 1, (2008): 59–67, <https://digitalcommons.unl.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?referer=&httpsredir=1&article=1038&context=teachlearnfacpub>; Loukia K.

Sarroub, “Glocalism in Literacy and Marriage in Transnational Lives,” *Critical Inquiry in Language Studies* 6, No. 1–2, (2009): 63–80; M. Livholts and L. Bryant, eds., *Social Work in a Glocalised World*, 1st ed. (Routledge, 2017), <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315628417>; Victor Roudometof, “The Glocal and Global Studies,” *Glocalizations* 12, No. 5, (2015), [doi:10.1080/14747731.2015.1016293](https://doi.org/10.1080/14747731.2015.1016293); Victor Roudometof, *Glocalization: A Critical Introduction* (Taylor & Francis, 2015), <https://www.taylorfrancis.com/books/9781315858296>.

10 Andy Haines, *Addressing Challenges to Human Health in the Anthropocene Epoch—an Overview of the Findings of the Rockefeller/Lancet Commission on Planetary Health*, Public Health Reviews (2016), <https://doi.org/10.1186/s40985-016-0029-0>; Andy Haines and Howard Frumkin, *Planetary Health: Safeguarding Human Health and the Environment in the Anthropocene* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108698054>; The Lancet Planetary Health, *The Lancet* 6, No. 6, (June 2022), <http://www.thelancet.com/journals/lanplh/issue/current>; The Lancet Planetary Health, “A Sixth Mass Extinction? Why Planetary Health Matters,” *The Lancet* 1, No. 5, (August 2017), [https://www.thelancet.com/journals/lanplh/article/PIIS2542-5196\(17\)30083-9/fulltext](https://www.thelancet.com/journals/lanplh/article/PIIS2542-5196(17)30083-9/fulltext); The Lancet Planetary Health, “Welcome to *The Lancet Planetary Health*,” *The Lancet* 1, No. 1, (April 2017), [https://www.thelancet.com/journals/lanplh/article/PIIS2542-5196\(17\)30013-X/fulltext](https://www.thelancet.com/journals/lanplh/article/PIIS2542-5196(17)30013-X/fulltext); Melvyn Dubofsky and Joseph A. McCartin, *Labor in America: A History* (Wiley-Blackwell, 2017), <https://public.ebookcentral.proquest.com/choice/publicfullrecord.aspx?p=4822500>; David Montgomery, *The Fall of the House of Labor: The Workplace, the State and American Labor Activism, 1865–1925* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Nell Irvin Painter, *Standing at Armageddon: The United States, 1877–1919* (W. W. Norton & Company, 2008), <https://www.overdrive.com/search?q=435B577C-E72B-4207-A07A-D8BD137CFA18>; Nell Irvin Painter and Allyson Johnson, *Standing at Armageddon: A Grassroots History of the Progressive Era* (Old Saybrook, CT: Tantor Media, 2020), <https://rbdigital.rbdigital.com/>;

Wendy Brown, *In the Ruins of Neoliberalism: The Rise of Antidemocratic Politics in the West* (Columbia University Press, 2019); Wendy Brown, *Undoing the Demos: Neoliberalism’s Stealth Revolution* (New York: Zone Books, 2017); Martin O’Connor, *Is Capitalism Sustainable?: Political Economy and the Politics of Ecology* (New York: Guilford Press, 1994); Aikins, “Political Economy of Government Intervention,” 403–408.

11 Naomi R. Lamoreaux, *The Great Merger Movement in American Business, 1895–1904* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); George David Smith and Davis Dyer, “The Rise and Transformation of the American Corporation,” in Carl Kaysen, *The American Corporation Today* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), <https://public.ebookcentral.proquest.com/choice/publicfullrecord.aspx?p=272796>; John A. Powell, and Stephen Menendian, “Beyond Public/Private: Understanding Corporate Power,” *Race, Poverty & the Environment* 19, No. 1, (2012): 45–48; Agudelo Latapí, Mauricio Andrés, Lára Jóhannsdóttir, and Brynhildur Davídsdóttir, “A Literature Review of the History and Evolution of Corporate Social Responsibility,” *International Journal of Corporate Social Responsibility* 4, No. 1, (2019).

12 For example, from 2002 to 2021, the US Fast Track Trade Authority empowered executive branch officials to negotiate and “fast track” trade agreements in collaboration with corporate trade advisors who have access to agreement texts kept secret from the public, press, and even Congress. Since 1974, the Industry Trade Advisory Committee system, under the US Trade Representative, similarly privileges corporate interest over worker and civil society interest. See Jared Bernstein and Lori Wallach, “The New Rules of the Road: A Progressive Approach to Globalization,” *Public Citizen*, September 2017.

13 *The Bottom Line or Public Health*, ed. William H. Wiist (Oxford University Press, 2010).

14 Thomas I. Palley, *Financialization: What It Is and Why It Matters*, The Levy Economics Institute and Economics for Democratic and Open Societies

(December 2007), [https://www.levyinstitute.org/pubs/wp\\_525.pdf](https://www.levyinstitute.org/pubs/wp_525.pdf); William Krist, "US Trade Policy in Crisis," in *Globalization and America's Trade Agreements* (Wilson Center, 2013), <https://www.wilson-center.org/trade-policy-crisis>; Stiglitz, *Globalization and Its Discontents*.

15 Felicia Wong, "The Emerging Worldview: How New Progressivism Is Moving Beyond Neoliberalism," Roosevelt Institute (January 15, 2020), <https://rooseveltinstitute.org/publications/the-emerging-worldview-how-new-progressivism-is-moving-beyond-neoliberalism/>.

16 Bastian Obermayer and Frederik Obermaier, *The Panama Papers: Breaking the Story of How the Rich and Powerful Hide Their Money* (Oneworld Publication, 2017); Jake Bernstein, *The Laundromat: Inside the Panama Papers Investigation of Illicit Money Networks and the Global Elite* (Picador Paper 2019).

17 Gabriel Zucman, "How Do US Taxes Compare Internationally?" Tax Policy Center Briefing Book (May 2020), <https://www.taxpolicycenter.org/briefing-book/how-do-us-taxes-compare-internationally>; Gabriel Zucman, "Global Wealth Inequality," *Annual Reviews* 11 (2019); Emmanuel Saez and Gabriel Zucman, *The Triumph of Injustice How the Rich Dodge Taxes and How to Make Them Pay* (W. W. Norton, 2019); Gabriel Zucman, Teresa Lavender Fagan, and Thomas Piketty, *The Hidden Wealth of Nations: The Scourge of Tax Havens* (University of Chicago Press, 2015).

18 See the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change reports; Joseph J. Spengler, *Facing Zero Population Growth: Reactions and Interpretations, Past and Present* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1978); Alfred Sauvy, *Zero Growth?* trans. A. Maguire (New York: Praeger, 1976); Kate Raworth, *Doughnut Economics: Seven Ways to Think Like a 21st-Century Economist* (Random House Business Books, 2017).

19 Grace Western et al., "The Impact of Trade

on Black Workers," The Groundwork Collaborative (June 2021), <https://groundworkcollaborative.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/The-Impact-of-Trade-on-Black-Workers.pdf>, 13.

20 Paul R. Krugman, Maurice Obstfeld, and Marc Melitz, *International Economics: Theory and Policy*, 9th ed. (Pearson, 2012); Paul R. Krugman, *Pop Internationalism* (The MIT Press, 1996); John H. Jackson, *The World Trading System*, 2nd ed. (The MIT Press, 1997); I. M. Destler, *American Trade Politics*, Peterson Institute for International Economics (Columbia University Press, 2005).

21 Mariana Mazzucato, *Entrepreneurial State* (Anthem Press, 2015); Mariana Mazzucato, *The Value of Everything Making and Taking in the Global Economy* (New York: Public Affairs, 2018); "The Impact of Pharmaceutical IP Provisions in EU Free Trade Agreements," IQVIA (November 12, 2021), <https://www.iqvia.com/insights/the-iqvia-institute/reports/the-impact-of-pharmaceutical-ip-provisions-in-eu-free-trade-agreements>; Deborah Gleeson et al., "Analyzing the Impact of Trade and Investment Agreements on Pharmaceutical Policy: Provisions, Pathways and Potential Impacts," *Globalization and Health* 15, No. 1, (November 28, 2019), <https://globalization-andhealth.biomedcentral.com/articles/10.1186/s12992-019-0518-2#auth-Deborah-Gleeson>; M. A. Hassali, J. Thambyappa, S. Nambiar, A. A. Shafie, and H. Löfgren, "TRIPS, Free Trade Agreements and the Pharmaceutical Industry in Malaysia," eds. H. Löfgren and O. D. Williams, in *The New Political Economy of Pharmaceuticals. International Political Economy Series* (Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2013), [https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137315854\\_8](https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137315854_8); Lita Araujo, Enrique Seoane-Vazquez, and Michael Montagne, "Effect of Free Trade Agreements on Pharmaceutical Market Competition: The Case of the 2009 US-Peru Free Trade Agreement and Its implementation as National Drug Policy," *Health Policy OPEN* 2 (2021), <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.hpopen.2021.100039>; Gleeson, *Analyzing the Impact of Trade and Investment Agreements.*"

- 22 Silverglade, Bruce A. “The Impact of International Trade Agreements on U.S. Food Safety and Labeling Standards.” *Food and Drug Law Journal* 53, no. 3 (1998): 537–41. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/26659678>. Shaffer, Ellen R., and Joseph E. Brenner. “International trade agreements: hazards to health?” *International Journal of Health Services* 34, no. 3 (2004): 467–481. Vogel, David. *Trading up: Consumer and environmental regulation in a global economy*. Harvard University Press, 2009.
- 23 “A Strategy for Global Justice,” (video) Justice Is Global (February 11, 2019), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z3eyODIFSmE&list=PLxr3Y-4lSIOTI-crhyu-QGNgdrt3BUfJAC>.
- 24 Safi Michael, “Most Poor Nations ‘Will Take until 2024 to Achieve Mass Covid-19 Immunisation,’” *The Guardian*, January 27, 2021, <https://www.theguardian.com/society/2021/jan/27/most-poor-nations-will-take-until-2024-to-achieve-mass-covid-19-immunisation>.
- 25 World Bank, *International Debt Statistics 2022* (Washington, DC: World Bank, 2021), <https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/36289>; “The Pandemic and the Economic Crisis: A Global Agenda for Urgent Action,” Institute for New Economic Thinking (2021), <https://www.ineteconomics.org/uploads/papers/INET-Commission-Interim-Report.pdf>; For additional information about the relationships between International Monetary Fund loan conditionality and resistance faced by recipient nations in Latin America, specifically Ecuador, see Walter Bianchi and Lucila Signal, “Argentina Government Warns Congress Not to Block IMF Deal,” Reuters, March 7, 2022; “IMF Executive Board Approves 30-Month US\$44 Billion Extended Arrangement for Argentina and Concludes 2022 Article IV Consultation,” International Monetary Fund (March 25, 2022), <https://www.imf.org/en/News/Articles/2022/03/25/pr2289-argentina-imf-exec-board-approves-extended-arrangement-concludes-2022-article-iv-consultation>; For International Monetary Fund analysis of policy challenges for Latin America, see Mauricio Cardenas, Luca A. Ricci, Jorge Roldos, and Alejandro M. Werner, “Fiscal Policy Challenges for Latin American during the Next Stages of the Pandemic: The Need for a Fiscal Pact,” International Monetary Fund (March 18, 2022), <https://www.imf.org/en/Publications/WP/Issues/2021/03/17/Fiscal-Policy-Challenges-for-Latin-America-during-the-Next-Stages-of-the-Pandemic-The-Need-50263>; See also “100 Percent Debt Cancellation? A Response from the IMF and World Bank,” IMF and World Bank Staffs (July 2001), <https://www.imf.org/external/np/exr/ib/2001/071001.htm>; Relatedly, see also Jamie Morena, “The Emerging Role of China in Extending Development Loans Internationally, Particular in Latin America: China Changes Its Latin America Lending Practices,” VOA News, May 11, 2022, <https://www.voanews.com/a/china-changes-its-latin-america-lending-practices/6567361.html>. For more detail see Diana Roy, “China’s Growing Influence in Latin America,” Council on Foreign Relations (April 12, 2022), <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/china-influence-latin-america-argentina-brazil-venezuela-security-energy-bri#>; See also Manji, Firoze Madatally, Firoze Manji, and Stephen Marks, eds. *African perspectives on China in Africa*. Fahamu/Pambazuka, 2007.
- 26 Take on Wall Street, “Taxes,” assessed [June 20, 2022], <https://takeonwallst.com/taxes/>.
- 27 Take on Wall Street, “Stock Buybacks,” assessed [June 20, 2022], <https://takeonwallst.com/issues/about/stock-buybacks/>.
- 28 Take on Wall Street, “Private Equity,” assessed [June 20, 2022], <https://takeonwallst.com/private-equity-hedge-funds/>.
- 29 Didier Sornette, *Why Stock Markets Crash: Critical Events in Complex Financial Systems* (Princeton University Press, 2017); Didier Sornette, Sergey Ivliev, and Hilary Woodard, *Market Risk and Financial Markets Modeling* (Springer Berlin, 2014); Henry M. Paulson, *On the Brink: Inside the Race to Stop the Collapse of the Global Financial System* (New York: Business Plus, 2014).

- 30 Paulson, *On the Brink*; Sornette, *Why Stock Markets Crash*.
- 31 Wong, “The Emerging Worldview”; Ha-Joon Chang, *Kicking Away the Ladder: Development Strategy in Historical Perspective* (Anthem Press, 2002); Ha-Joon Chang, “Breaking the Mould: An Institutionalist Political Economy Alternative to the Neo-liberal Theory of the Market and the State,” *Cambridge Journal of Economics* 26, No. 5, (September 2002): 539–559; Ha-Joon Chang, *Institutional Change and Economic Development* (New York: United Nations University Press, 2007).
- 32 Wong, “The Emerging Worldview.”
- 33 Alludes to legislation such as the Dodd-Frank Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act and proposals for a 21st Century Glass Steagall Act. See “Break Up the Banks and End Too Big to Fail,” *Take on Wall Street* (2019), <http://takeonwallst.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/Glass-Steagall-Hill-2019.pdf>.
- 34 Center for Microeconomic Data, “Quarterly Report on Household Debt and Credit,” Federal Reserve Bank of New York’s Research and Statistics Group (May 2022), [https://www.newyorkfed.org/medialibrary/interactives/householdcredit/data/pdf/HHDC\\_2022Q1](https://www.newyorkfed.org/medialibrary/interactives/householdcredit/data/pdf/HHDC_2022Q1).
- 35 Center for Microeconomic Data, “Quarterly Report on Household Debt and Credit.”
- 36 Matt Apuzzo and Monika Pronczuk, “Covid-19’s Economic Pain Is Universal. But Relief? Depends on Where You Live,” *New York Times*, March 23, 2020, <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/03/23/world/europe/coronavirus-economic-relief-wages.html>.
- 37 “Total Household Debt Increases in Q1 2022, Driven by Mortgage and Auto Balances,” Federal Reserve Bank of New York (May 2022), <https://www.newyorkfed.org/newsevents/news/research/2022/20220510#>.
- See cumulative debt holdings in the Federal Reserve Bank of New York’s “Quarterly Report on Household Debt and Credit”.
- 38 “Rent Debt Dashboard,” National Equity Atlas, accessed May 2022, <https://nationalequityatlas.org/rent-debt>.
- 39 Berneta L. Haynes, *The Racial Health and Wealth Gap: Impact of Medical Debt on Black Families*, National Consumer Law Center (March 2022), <https://www.nclc.org/images/pdf/medical-debt/RacialHealth-Rpt-2022.pdf>.
- 40 *Social Stratification and Mobility* 57 (July 17, 2018), <https://abdn.pure.elsevier.com/en/publications/trade-union-decline-deindustrialization-and-rising-income-inequal>; Jane McAlevey and Bob Ostertag, *Raising Expectations (and Raising Hell): My Decade Fighting for the Labor Movement* (London: Verso, 2014); Michael Yates, *Wisconsin Uprising: Labor Fights Back* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2012); Stanley Aronowitz, *The Death and Life of American Labor: Toward a New Worker’s Movement* (Verso Books, 2015); Benjamin Heber Johnson, Patrick Kavanagh, and Kevin Mattson, *Steal This University: The Rise of the Corporate University and the Academic Labor Movement* (New York: Routledge, 2003).
- 41 Kollmeyer, “Trade Union Decline.”
- 42 “Foundations for a Just and Inclusive Recovery: Economic Security, Health and Safety, and Agency and Voice in the Covid-19 Era,” Color of Change, TIME’S UP Foundation, and the Worker Institute at Cornell ILR (2021), <https://s27147.pcdn.co/wp-content/uploads/Foundations-for-Just-Inclusive-Recovery-Report.pdf>.
- 43 Fair Labor Standards Act, US Code 29 (1938) Sec. 780.313 Piece rate basis.
- 44 Alludes to policy solutions to the 2018 Supreme Court decision in *Janus v. AFSCME*; see <https://www.nelp.org/news-releases/u-s-supreme-courts-decision-janus-v-afscme/>.

45 Joshua Clark, “Anti-Democracy Cascades: Disproportional Representation in State Legislatures, and the Attack on Voters,” Othring & Belonging Institute (January 5, 2022), <https://belonging.berkeley.edu/anti-democracy-cascades>.

46 Sullivan, Kristin, and Terrance P. Adams. “Summary of Citizens United v. Federal Election Commission.” (2010). Monica Youn, *Money, Politics, and the Constitution: Beyond Citizens United* (New York: Century Foundation Press, 2011); Jane Mayer, *Dark Money: The Hidden History of the Billionaires Behind the Rise of the Radical Right* (Anchor, 2017).

47 Bondurant, Emmet J. “The Senate Filibuster: The Politics of Obstruction.” *Harv. J. on Legis.* 48 (2011): 467.

48 Mamet, Elliot. “Representation on the Periphery: The Past and Future of Nonvoting Members of Congress.” *American Political Thought* 10, no. 3 (2021): 390-418. Michael Lujan Bevacqua, Chamorros, Ghosts and Non-Voting Delegates: GUAM! Where the Production of America’s Sovereignty Begins (PhD diss., University of California, San Diego, 2009) Bevacqua, Michael Lujan. “Guam: Protests at the tip of America’s spear.” *South Atlantic Quarterly* 116, no. 1 (2017): 174-183.

49 Brown, *In the Ruins of Neoliberalism*; Brown, *Undoing the Demos*; Stephen E. Gottlieb, *Unfit for Democracy: The Roberts Court and the Breakdown of American Politics* (NYU Press, 2016); Adam Cohen, *Supreme Inequality: The Supreme Court’s Fifty-Year Battle for a More Unjust America* (Penguin Press, 2020); Nancy MacLean, *Democracy in Chains: The Deep History of the Radical Right’s Stealth Plan for America* (Penguin Books, 2018).

50 Alludes to policy solutions to the 2010 Supreme Court decision in *Citizens United vs. the Federal Election Commission*. See Tim Lau, “Citizens United Explained,” Brennan Center for Justice (December 12, 2019), <https://www.brennancenter.org/our-work/research-reports/citizens-united-explained>.

51 Note that respondents were able to select more than one sector expertise, so the total percentage breakdown is above 100%.

52 A relatively small sample of twenty-seven respondents self-reported expertise in globalization. This is an area to expand response rates in future iterations of the survey.

53 Started in the 1960s era of decolonization, the investor-state dispute settlement (ISDS) system is a mechanism included in many trade and investment agreements to settle disputes via private arbitration rather than public courts. Currently, only a foreign investor can initiate ISDS, not a state or citizen. In 2020, 67% of investor disputes were against a country in Eastern Europe, South America, sub-Saharan Africa, or Central America/the Caribbean.

See “Primer on International Investment Treaties and Investor-State Dispute Settlement,” Columbia Center of Sustainable Investment (January 2022), <https://ccsi.columbia.edu/content/primer-international-investment-treaties-and-investor-state-dispute-settlement>.

54 Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS) refers to a World Trade Organization-led international agreement about the protection of intellectual property rights and trade. Waivers to TRIPS would expand access to technological recipes and infrastructures to produce COVID-19 vaccines in Global South countries.

55 See Center for Microeconomic Data, “Quarterly Report on Household Debt and Credit.”

56 It is possible that this high prioritization of medical debt for cancellation is shaped by the fact that 47% of survey respondents self-reported expertise in the care sector. Fifty-nine of the 116 respondents who ranked medical debt first self-reported expertise in the care sector.

The Othering & Belonging Institute brings together researchers, community stakeholders, and policy-makers to identify and challenge the barriers to an inclusive, just, and sustainable society in order to create transformative change.