## Workplace justice: new risks and policy solutions

#### **Rachel Deutsch**

Center for Popular Democracy rdeutsch@populardemocracy.org

## The Forced Arbitration Crisis

- As of 2017, over 60 million workers in the United States were blocked from suing their employers.
  - ▶ 55% of non-union private sector workers
  - ▶ 64% of low-wage workers.
- ▶ By 2024, more than 80 percent of private sector nonunion workers will be blocked from court by forced arbitration clauses with class- and collective-action waivers.
- Forced arbitration suppresses legal claims and hides systemic violations:
  - > 98% of claims disappear into a "black hole."
- Drastically reduces employers' incentive to invest in compliance.
- Burden of enforcement falls on public agencies.

#### Whistleblower Enforcement

- Workers stand in the shoes of the state to sue in court.
  - ► Values: Recognition of workers' expertise.
- Whistleblower brings a representative action, seeking penalties on behalf of state and all affected employees.
  - Values: Collective action now impossible for most low-wage workers
- Workers can authorize trusted community organizations to participate in litigation and enforcement.
  - ▶ Values: The most vulnerable workers can participate.

#### Whistleblower Enforcement

- Employers pay up.
  - ▶ Values: Deterrence of exploitation.
- State can participate in litigation, and receives most of the money.
  - ► Values: Partnership between workers & agency; building strong, accountable institutions.
- A portion of state revenue funds community labor outreach & education projects.
  - ► Values: Organizations rooted in our communities are the most effective in educating workers about their rights & helping them take action.

### It works!

- ▶ The whistleblower model has been used in the US since 1863.
- ► Today is the basis for the vast majority of recoveries under the False Claims Act (FCA) (federal and state)..
- Creates a culture of compliance by raising the likelihood of penalties for violations of serious labor violations.
- CA's PAGA brought in \$88 million to the state in 2019 alone.
- Justice for workers with forced arbitration clauses
  - ► In California, state and federal courts have ruled that PAGA claims cannot be waived in forced arbitration clauses.
  - ► The claim belongs to the state, which is not a party to the contract with the arbitration clause, and hasn't waived it's claim.

# Application in Seattle: Secure Scheduling

- OLS provides excellent technical assistance to employers study shows feasibility of compliance
- Efficient resolution of complaints
- ► What's missing: culture of compliance
  - "Access to Hours" for part-time workers
  - ▶ 1/3 of covered workers are involuntarily part-time
  - ► Many employers systemically violating the law

## Job security: Just cause employment

- Problem: arbitrary terminations
  - ► Retaliatory & discriminatory firings hard to prove
  - Destabilizing to low-wage working families
  - Discourage workers from organizing and enforcing their rights
- Just cause requires employers to demonstrate
  - Performance problem
  - ► Economic reason for layoffs or reductions in hours