



The Misdevelopment of Jersey City

How Luxury Residential Developers
Built Racialized Extreme Inequality



Introduction

Luxury developers have dramatically transformed Jersey City over the last few decades. A formerly industrial, working-class city, it is now one of the country's most expensive - and most unequal. Jersey City has been ranked fourth in the country for income inequalityⁱ. Between 2011 and 2022, income inequality increased by 19%ⁱⁱ.

Researchers attribute this growth of extreme inequality to the “explosive growth of luxury housing” driven by developers.ⁱⁱⁱ Analysis of our data suggests that since 2017 alone, 59 residential buildings (18,394 housing units) were built^{iv}. Another source finds that between 2019 and 2023, there was a 50% increase in new housing units completed in Jersey City^v. The vast majority (95%) of these are marketed as luxury buildings^{vi}. Around 50,000 more units are planned or under construction^{vii}.

The companies spearheading this transformation of Jersey City are KRE, Ironstate Development, Equity Residential, Brookfield Properties, LeFrak, and Veris Residential. These developers have been major players in city politics. As a result, the city is known for being “development-friendly”^{viii} and “unapologetically pro-growth”^{ix}.

However, the workers who service these luxury buildings have been excluded from sharing the prosperity they contributed to. As rents and prices soar, many of these workers are barely getting by with their low wages and lack of meaningful benefits. Meanwhile, developers who enjoyed substantial tax cuts are allegedly colluding to raise rents.

This white paper is intended to:

- shine a light on residential building service workers’ often-overlooked daily struggles;
- bring attention to the exploitative and in some cases illegal behavior of the developers who dominate Jersey City; and
- propose practical solutions to redress decades of worsening inequality and restore accountability and justice.



Luxury developers, both national and local, are prospering

A small pool of developers dominates Jersey City's redevelopment. They saw opportunities for tax breaks and the meteoric rent growth as creating a uniquely favorable environment to build in. Major players in Jersey City include multinational REITs as well as local Jersey City owners:

Multinational REITs

Equity Residential

- Chicago based REIT
- In 2023, their revenue from rents was \$2,873,964,000^x and CEO Mark Parrell made over \$11m^{xi}
- Jersey City residents are suing Equity Residential for \$700m^{xii} after being hit with 40% rent increases^{xiii}
- In 2022, Equity was fined almost \$2 million by the D.C. Supreme Court for deceiving tenants about the cost of their rents and overcharging them^{xiv}

Brookfield Corporation

- Multinational corporation
- In 2023, net income of \$5.1 billion^{xv}
- Brookfield has publicly committed to using responsible contractors that provide fair wages and benefits and to not discriminate against unionized contractors^{xvi}
- But in Jersey City their workers do not have a union and their workers have virtually no healthcare benefits

Local Jersey City owners

Ironstate

- Local real estate company and family business
- Political donations – substantial donations to Bob Menendez's legal fund, including 10k after he was federally indicted and charged with 18 counts of bribery and corruption^{xvii}
- In 2022, found to have violated to standard wage requirements and forced to pay out \$420,000 to workers in backpay^{xviii}.

Kushner Real Estate

- Local real estate company founded by Murray Kushner and Eugene Schenkman
- Frequent donations to local politicians, including 60k+ to Bob Menendez^{xix}
- Murray Kushner has been a major contributor to Republican Governor Chris Christie. This was noted prominently in the press in 2015 when the Christie administration granted KRE a package of tax incentives worth \$40 million.^{xx}



Jersey City has been extraordinarily lucrative for these developers. The combined value of all Jersey City apartments is \$6.6 billion^{xxxi} and rents are now second highest in the country^{xxii}. Between January 2020 and October 2023, median rents increased by 48%^{xxiii}. Owners now commonly charge \$5,000 a month for a one-bedroom apartment.^{xxiv}

Residential Workers Excluded from the Prosperity They Contribute to

Meanwhile, the disproportionately Black and Latino workers who service these buildings are struggling to make ends meet. Approximately 1,500 of these concierges, porters (cleaners) and maintenance staff work tirelessly to keep these luxury buildings clean, safe and secure.

Residents place high importance on having building staff they can trust^{xxv} and are willing to pay more for the service. This is evidenced by the fact that many luxury housing websites advertise “24/7 lobby attendant” as part of their offer^{xxvi}. Analysis of 400,000 Google reviews of multifamily buildings found that 64% of positive reviews mentioned on-site staff members in a positive light^{xxvii}.

It is the workers, then, who are providing the residents with this “luxury experience” that enable landlords to charge such high rents. Yet Jersey City’s owners continue to deny their workers decent wages and benefits. Many non-union porters make the minimum wage or barely above it, and concierges just \$1-2 more per hour.

Unlike residential property owners, owners of Jersey City office buildings have worked with their workers’ union, 32BJ SEIU, over the past two decades. The result is that office cleaners have made substantial progress towards a decent standard of living.

The Economic Policy Institute calculates that the income a family of two adults and two children needs to attain a “modest yet adequate standard of living” in Hudson County is \$76,500^{xxviii}. Consider the case of a typical service worker family. One parent makes the

state minimum wage, \$15.13/hour. If the second parent is a union office cleaner, the family earns \$74,200 and is approaching the modest standard. If the second parent is a non-union residential cleaner, the family earns \$63,700 and falls short of the modest standard.^{xxix}

The difference in wage between a union and non-union cleaner is often around \$5 an hour, or \$10,400 a year. This could have a huge impact on the lives of families. It could mean being able to afford a home with a bedroom for the children, a trip back home to see family, after-school activities, summer camp, and family outings. In summary, it could mean the difference between barely being able to afford the essentials and starting to provide a decent life for their children.

The most significant difference between standards for non-union residential building workers and union commercial building workers is the provision of employer-paid health insurance. 32BJ members have full-family medical coverage paid for entirely by their employers. Non-union workers often forgo necessary treatment and care because healthcare is so unaffordable. The EPI estimates that healthcare alone for a family of 4 costs around \$16,000 annually.

For many of these workers, affordable healthcare is the number one priority.



SPOTLIGHT ON: Ramon Fana, Porter at KRE

Ramon Fana was born and raised in the Dominican Republic. He started working at age 7 when his father left and has been working ever since. In search of a better life, he saved up to move to the US and took a job as a porter in a luxury residential building owned by Kusher Real Estate.

Ramon is trying to save enough money to allow him and his wife to retire, but gets paid barely above minimum wage. He knows that other people wouldn't stand for being treated the way he is. That is why he wants to join the union.

It has been hard for Ramon to save because of his family's medical costs. His wife, who works at Walmart, is in severe pain after major shoulder surgery. Ramon has been diagnosed with a leaky heart valve which, along with his asthma, makes work feel much harder.

Even the cheapest medical insurance package offered by KRE is completely unaffordable. Having to cover these costs out of pocket has led to thousands of dollars of debt – making the dream of retirement feel further and further away.

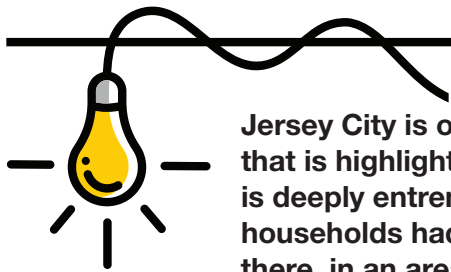


	Hourly wages	Health insurance	Job security	Benefits
Non-union residential workers in Jersey City	\$15-20	No affordable healthcare provision	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • At-will employees • No process to resolve workplace issues 	Few meaningful benefits across the board
Union office cleaners in Jersey City	\$20.55	Full family medical benefits with no cost to member	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Job contract • Fair process to resolve workplace issues 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Employer paid vacation • Training • Legal Service • Pension



Just across the river in New York, residential workers have been unionized for decades. They have the quality benefits and wages that afford them a truly decent standard of living. What's more, these workers are often employed by the very same building owners who are treating workers so poorly in New Jersey.

Without a union, workers have little power over their working conditions and no recourse when they are mistreated. Many report not having any breaks during shifts up to 8 hours, meaning they have to eat covertly while on duty. They also report frequently dealing with threats to their health and safety – particularly during the pandemic, when these workers put their lives on the line.



Jersey City is one of the most diverse cities in the country, something that is highlighted and celebrated by the mayor^{xxx}. But racial inequality is deeply entrenched. In Downtown Jersey City, a majority White area, households had a median income of \$258,349 in 2020^{xxxi}. Just west of there, in an area which is 97% non-White, the median household income was \$40,115^{xxxiii}. A non-union, low-standard residential industry worsens the city's extreme racial inequality.



SPOTLIGHT ON: Laura Campos, Cleaner for Babco

Laura Campos has been married for 40 years. She spends most of her free time with her husband. They rent an apartment in Newark. She was born and raised in Peru. Her family then moved to Spain. When her mom passed, she moved to the United States to start a new life.

She works in Jersey City, as a cleaner, for a contractor at a luxury residence. Without a car, she takes PATH to work. She has worked for 3 years for the contractor Babco. Despite working at a high-rent building, her employer provided little to no training.

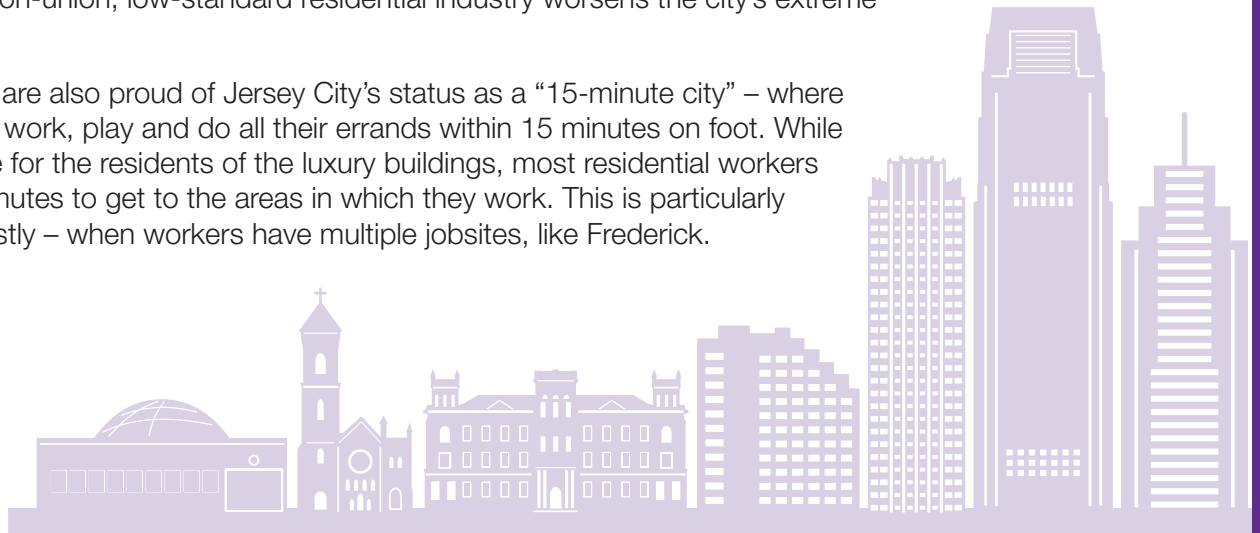
In ways many would not expect, her work is dangerous. “Knives and glass come flying down the garbage chutes, it’s so awful and scary.” Through their union, Laura and her co-workers are fighting to make the work safer.

Suddenly this year, after years of being an exemplary employee, Laura was fired by Babco. The union filed a federal unfair labor practice against the company. If the Labor Board determines that she was fired because of union activities, she will be entitled to reinstatement with back pay.



Jersey City is one of the most diverse cities in the country, something that is highlighted and celebrated by the mayor^{xxx}. But racial inequality is deeply entrenched. In Downtown Jersey City, a majority White area, where households had a median income of \$258,349 in 2020^{xxxi}. Just west of there, in an area which is 97% non-White, the median household income was \$40,115^{xxiii}. A non-union, low-standard residential industry worsens the city's extreme racial inequality.

Elected officials are also proud of Jersey City's status as a "15-minute city" – where people can live, work, play and do all their errands within 15 minutes on foot. While this may be true for the residents of the luxury buildings, most residential workers have long commutes to get to the areas in which they work. This is particularly taxing – and costly – when workers have multiple jobsites, like Frederick.



SPOTLIGHT ON: Frederick Williams, Concierge for Planned

Frederick Williams has lived in Jersey City's working class African American neighborhood since 1965. Over the years he's worked service jobs that helped the city to thrive: for NJ Transit, delivering packages, and as a security officer.

Today he works as a concierge, assisting residents in 3 luxury apartment towers. He loves helping people. Despite the luxurious surroundings, he is struggling to get by. He is paid \$16 per hour, just above the state minimum wage.

He spends a ridiculous \$100 a week just getting to work. The city's public transit system is not reliable enough or extensive enough to get him to work on time every day. Instead, he takes expensive Uber and Lyft rides.

His miserly wages are proving to be an obstacle to fulfill his greatest wish. After a long romance, he is finally engaged to the love of his life. Yet he does not have enough to afford a wedding, let alone to start a new life together.



Without a seat at the table, workers and residents are taken advantage of

In the long term, it makes business sense for owners to value their residents and workers. These are their primary stakeholders; without them, owners would have no business. But in the short term, they are incentivized to cut costs and maximize profits at the expense of all other stakeholders.

Exploiting tenants

Many Jersey City landlords allegedly use so-called “revenue maximization” algorithms, sold by proptech (property technology) companies like RealPage and Yardi Systems. The software processes a huge amount of centralized, real-time rent data from would-be competitors to help landlords collectively set rents.

RealPage executives boast the software allows landlords to raise rents by up to 14.5%: *“very few [property managers] would be willing to actually raise rents double digits within a single month by [calculating] it manually”*.^{xxxv}

Landlords who use proptech software have been accused of breaking federal anti-trust law and inflating rents through collusion. This has become the subject of several high-profile lawsuits and investigations, including a criminal investigation by the Department of Justice which is probing into whether landlords have been acting anti-competitively. The federal government is taking this very seriously. In June 2024, the offices of one landlord who uses RealPage were raided by the FBI^{xxxvi}. In August 2024, the Department of Justice sued RealPage for creating a de facto cartel among landlords^{xxxvii}.

Many Jersey City landlords use Realpage or Yardi’s services.^{xxxviii} Equity Residential, Brookfield Properties, Greystar and KRE are all named defendants in the lawsuits^{xxxix}. The rise of proptech tools has coincided with rising rents and a rising proportion of residents who are rent-burdened - 41% of Jersey City

residents are rent-burdened, meaning that they pay more than 30% of their income on rent^{xl}.

The Jersey City Rent Levelling Board found that Equity Residential was illegally overcharging residents, potentially for several years,^{xli}. In response, Equity Residential filed a federal suit against Jersey City challenging the decision^{xlii}.

Breaking labor laws

Many developers make grand claims about their responsible business practices and contributions to the community at public events and in investor-facing Environmental, Social and Governance (ESG) statements. Yet when the workers that service their buildings come together to ask for better standards at work, these developers continue to employ the same low-standard contractors and use aggressive union-busting techniques. These low-contrators include Babco, Adamas, NFC and Planned Companies. In September 2024, The NLRB’s Newark Region issued a complaint against Planned Companies which alleged that its use of no-poach agreements was inherently destructive of workers’ rights.

New Jersey’s residential workers have been organizing since 2018, and in that time 32BJ has filed 17 unfair labor practice complaints. Unfair labor practices are illegal actions taken by employers that interfere with, restrain or coerce employees who are exercising their rights to join a union. These have included charges relating to retaliation measures such as:

- harassment, threats and interrogation;
- retaliatory suspensions and terminations;
- cutting hours, changing schedules and imposing more onerous working conditions; and
- terminating the contract with a particular contractor and refusing to hire the existing employees.

This behavior is in stark contrast to how owners purport to treat their workers. Brookfield Properties, for example, has publicly committed to using responsible contractors that provide fair wages and benefits and to not discriminate against unionized contractors.^{xliii} However, they continue to ignore workers' demands for affordable healthcare.

Or consider the case of Nick and Madeline, a married couple who worked for Guardian Services at a Jersey City luxury building, 131 Dudley. Nick organized his co-workers to sign on to a job stability petition to his building owner Equity Residential. Days later Equity ordered Guardian to fire Nick and then Madeline. This happened in spite of Equity's vendor policy^{xliv} that requires its contractors to comply with labor laws and "treat others with respect and dignity".

NLRB Region 22 found merit in the charge that Equity Residential directed these unlawful terminations in retaliation for Nick's efforts to join a union. Equity contests these charges.

Short-changing the community

Developers have profited from, and lobbied strongly for, cuts to their property tax bills through Payment in Lieu of Taxes (PILOT) schemes. PILOTs limit the growth of the city's tax base, depriving the schools of much needed funds^{xlv}. Some small homeowners have expressed concern that these cuts have increased property taxes to make up shortfalls^{xlvi}.

To justify these compromises, tax abatements include certain requirements to ensure this is city money well spent. But some developers have ignored these requirements. In 2013, Equity Residential was found to have

under-reported profits and was ordered to pay \$2.3 million to Jersey City^{xlvii}. No audit has been conducted since, though they continue to benefit from tax abatements.

PILOTs in some cases also include requirements that developers pay workers the 'standard wage', set either by a collective bargaining agreement or, in the absence of such an agreement, 150% of the federal minimum wage. In 2022, Ironstate was found to have violated standard wage requirements, and forced to pay \$420,000 to remedy underpayments to workers^{xlviii}. In 2021, workers underpaid by Planned companies received \$102,000 in back-wages.

Critics of the PILOT schemes argue that tax abatements have been a major missed opportunity for Jersey City's budget; and have continued to be granted long after they were necessary to attract development^{xlix}. Professor Brigid d'Souza calculated that if taxed conventionally, developers of the 180 buildings still under PILOT agreements would have paid \$256m in taxes, where in actuality they have paid less than half that (\$103m)ⁱ.



Summary and solutions

While residential developers are prospering, Jersey City renters, building service workers and the wider community have not enjoyed meaningful improvements to their standards of living. Extreme economic inequality plays out starkly along racial lines.

Developers are even taking advantage of the higher income residents of luxury buildings. Owners who received substantial tax cuts are now repaying the favor by allegedly forming cartels and charging their tenants inflated rents. Meanwhile, their workers are denied living wages, healthcare and basic dignity at work.

This growing racialized inequality is bad for the community. When residents and workers are treated without respect, turnover increases and threatens the long-term sustainability of any business. We are calling for the following measures to address these issues:

- First, Jersey City's residential building workers need a seat at the table. It is well known that unionization is a proven way to reduce extreme inequalityⁱ. Jersey City should support a city-wide alliance of workers which enables them to have a voice at work and in the community.
- Second, we need a ban on landlords using a common algorithmic tool that facilitates collusion on rent-setting. Rents continue to outpace wage growth, and rent-gouging algorithms have widely come under scrutiny for their role in the affordable housing crisis. Class-action lawsuits could take years to resolve; it is important for local elected officials to take decisive action on an issue that affects so many of their constituents.
- Finally, Jersey City elected officials need to take further action to hold developers accountable. They need to closely monitor and audit tax abatement payments and listen to tenants who are facing sub-standard conditions in their buildings.

ⁱ Cities Where Income Inequality Is Highest and Lowest (Smart Asset, 2024). Data is from 2023 and comes from the University of Wisconsin Population Health Institute's County Health Rankings & Roadmaps. Available at: <https://smartasset.com/data-studies/income-inequality-2024>

ⁱⁱ Income Inequality in Hudson County, NJ (Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis, 2023). Data is from the U.S. Census Bureau. Available at: <https://fred.stlouisfed.org/series/2020RATIO034017>

ⁱⁱⁱ Inequality is skyrocketing. Empowering local workers can help fix it (Todd Vachon 2023). Todd E. Vachon is Assistant Professor of Labor Studies and Employment Relations at Rutgers University. Available at: <https://www.nj.com/opinion/2023/09/inequality-is-skyrocketing-empowering-local-workers-can-help-fix-it-opinion.html>

^{iv} Analysis of our database of residential buildings in Jersey City, based various sources collected by 32BJ, including Real Capital Analytics. No definitive data on housing production during this period is available, though RentCafe say that between 2020 and 2022, 8,083 units were added (<https://www.rentcafe.com/blog/rental-market/market-snapshots/apartment-construction-2023/>). According to analysis by Donal Malone, Associate Professor at Saint Peter's University, city data on housing production suggests that as of January 2023, there have been 93,688 luxury units proposed, approved, under construction and completed but no time period is given. Available at: <https://jerseycitytoday.org/2024/04/24/gentrification-math-the-false-promise-of-affordable-housing/> <https://data.opendatasoft.com/explore/dataset/development-maps-2023%40analyzejerseycity/information/>

^v What We Can Learn From Jersey City's Luxury Housing Boom (Bloomberg, 2024). Available at: <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/newsletters/2024-07-11/record-high-home-prices-how-jersey-city-illustrates-changing-nyc-market>

^{vi} Study Finds that Jersey City Leads on Luxury Apartment Construction (Jersey City Times, 2022). Analysis conducted by StorageCafe using 2012-2021 data from Yardi Matrix. Available at: <https://jcitytimes.com/study-finds-that-jersey-city-leads-on-luxury-apartment-construction/>

- vii This is an approximate estimate based on 32BJ analysis of new development announcements and planning applications. A 2020 article noted that Jersey City had a development pipeline of “*more than 30,000 residential units that were approved or proposed for three of its largest neighborhoods*”. Available at: <https://re-nj.com/jersey-city-forges-ahead-with-high-profile-development-pipeline-despite-pandemic/> and another notes that in 2023 alone 12,489 units were approved for construction. Available at: <https://www.nj.com/hudson/2023/01/hudson-county-2022-in-review-jersey-city-development-rose-to-new-heights-and-everyone-got-into-the-act.html>
- viii Hot property: Jersey City’s development boom (The Real Deal, 2024). Available at: <https://therealdeal.com/new-york/tristate/2024/03/03/jersey-city-development-boom-helps-state-outbuild-new-york/>
- ix Developers Bet New Yorkers Will Keep Fleeing to Jersey City’s Waterfront Apartments (CoStar, 2023). Available at: <https://www.costar.com/article/599279232/developers-bet-new-yorkers-will-keep-fleeing-to-jersey-citys-waterfront-apartments>
- x Equity Residential Fourth Quarter 2023 Results. Available at: <https://investors.equityapartments.com/news-events/press-releases-news/news-details/2024/Equity-Residential-Reports-Fourth-Quarter-2023-Results/default.aspx>
- xi Equity Residential Proxy Statement Schedule 14A (2024). Available at: <https://www.sec.gov/ix?doc=/Archives/edgar/data/906107/000095017024044809/eqr-20240416.htm>
- xii Equity Residential tenants demand \$700M, alleging illegal rent hikes (The Real Deal, 2024). Available at: <https://therealdeal.com/new-york/tristate/2024/07/03/portside-towers-tenants-sue-equity-residential/>
- xiii Jersey City Tenants Confront Landlord Over 40% Rent Hikes (Wall Street Journal, 2022). Available at: <https://www.wsj.com/articles/tenants-confront-landlord-over-40-rent-hikes-in-jersey-city-11669033932>
- xiv DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA v.EQUITY RESIDENTIAL MANAGEMENT, L.L.C., et al. Available at: <https://oag.dc.gov/sites/default/files/2022-05/Districtv.EquityJudgmentandOrder.pdf>
- xv Brookfield Corporation Reports Strong 2023 Results. Available at: <https://bn.brookfield.com/press-releases/brookfield-corporation-reports-strong-2023-results#associates-id>
- xvi Responsible Contractor Principles (Brookfield, 2020). Available at: <https://bbu.brookfield.com/sites/bbu-brookfield-ir/files/brookfield/bbu/esg/responsible-contractor-principles.pdf>
- xvii Contributions data from the ProPublica 527 Explorer. Available at: <https://projects.propublica.org/527-explorer/contributions/52615555>
- xviii Jersey City Signs Agreement with the Developers for 70 Columbus, 90 Columbus and the Vantage for Compliance to the City’s Standard Wage Ordinance (2022). Available at: <https://www.seiu32bj.org/press-release/jersey-city-wage-ordinance/>
- xix Contributions data from the ProPublica 527 Explorer. Available at: <https://projects.propublica.org/527-explorer/contributions/52615565>
- xx ‘Reward friends and punish enemies’: New Jersey gives tax break to longtime Christie donor Murray Kushner (Observer, 2015). Available at: <https://observer.com/2015/07/morning-news-digest-july-20th/>
- xxi This is by far the largest property tax base in the state, over double the next largest tax base. Property tax data is provided by the New Jersey Department Community of Affairs, available at: https://www.nj.gov/dca/dlgs/resources/Property_Tax_info.shtml
- xxii Zumper National Rent Report (Zumper, 2024). Available at: <https://www.zumper.com/blog/rental-price-data/>
- xxiii New Jersey Rent Surge Means It Makes Less Sense to Leave NYC (Bloomberg, 2023). Available at: <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2023-11-08/jersey-city-hoboken-rent-surge-means-leaving-nyc-isn-t-so-cheap?embedded-checkout=true>
- xxiv See, for example rental listings at: <https://livehaus25.com/availability/>; <https://ironstate.com/property/70-columbus/>; <https://streteasy.com/building/the-hendrix/2910>; and <https://www.zillow.com/apartments/jersey-city-nj/hudson-house-jc/Bf97Yp/>.
- xxv As opposed to “virtual doorman” technology which has raised concerns. For example, New York City tenants concerned over new virtual doorman systems (2018). Available at: <https://abc7ny.com/tenants-virtual-doorman-computer-privacy/5366569/>

Summary and solutions

^{xxvi} For example, <https://ironstate.com/property/the-gotham/>

^{xxvii} Staff matters, new survey of 400,000 online reviews says (Multifamily Dive, 2024). Available at: <https://www.multifamilydive.com/news/staff-survey-online-reviews-management-maintenance/717643/>

^{xxviii} This figure excludes healthcare and childcare.

^{xxix} Minimum wage in New Jersey amounts to c.\$31,470 annually. Union office cleaners make c.\$42,800 and non-union residential cleaners make c.\$32,200 annually.

^{xxx} “One doesn’t have to look very hard to see what we’ve known here all along, Jersey City is uniquely diverse and has been for generations,” Jersey City Mayor Steve Fulop said. This New Jersey city is still the most ethnically diverse in the entire country (NJ.com, 2022). Available at: <https://www.nj.com/hudson/2022/09/this-new-jersey-city-is-still-the-most-ethnically-diverse-in-the-entire-country.html>

^{xxxi} Census Tract 74, Data from the Census Bureau ACS 5-year Estimate from 2020. Available at: <https://data.jerseycitynj.gov/explore/dataset/census-tracts-2020/map>

^{xxxii} Census Tract 67, Data from the Census Bureau ACS 5-year Estimate from 2020. Available at: <https://data.jerseycitynj.gov/explore/dataset/census-tracts-2020/map>

^{xxxv} Rent Going Up? One Company’s Algorithm Could Be Why (ProPublica, 2022). Available at: <https://www.propublica.org/article/yeildstar-rent-increase-realpage-rent>

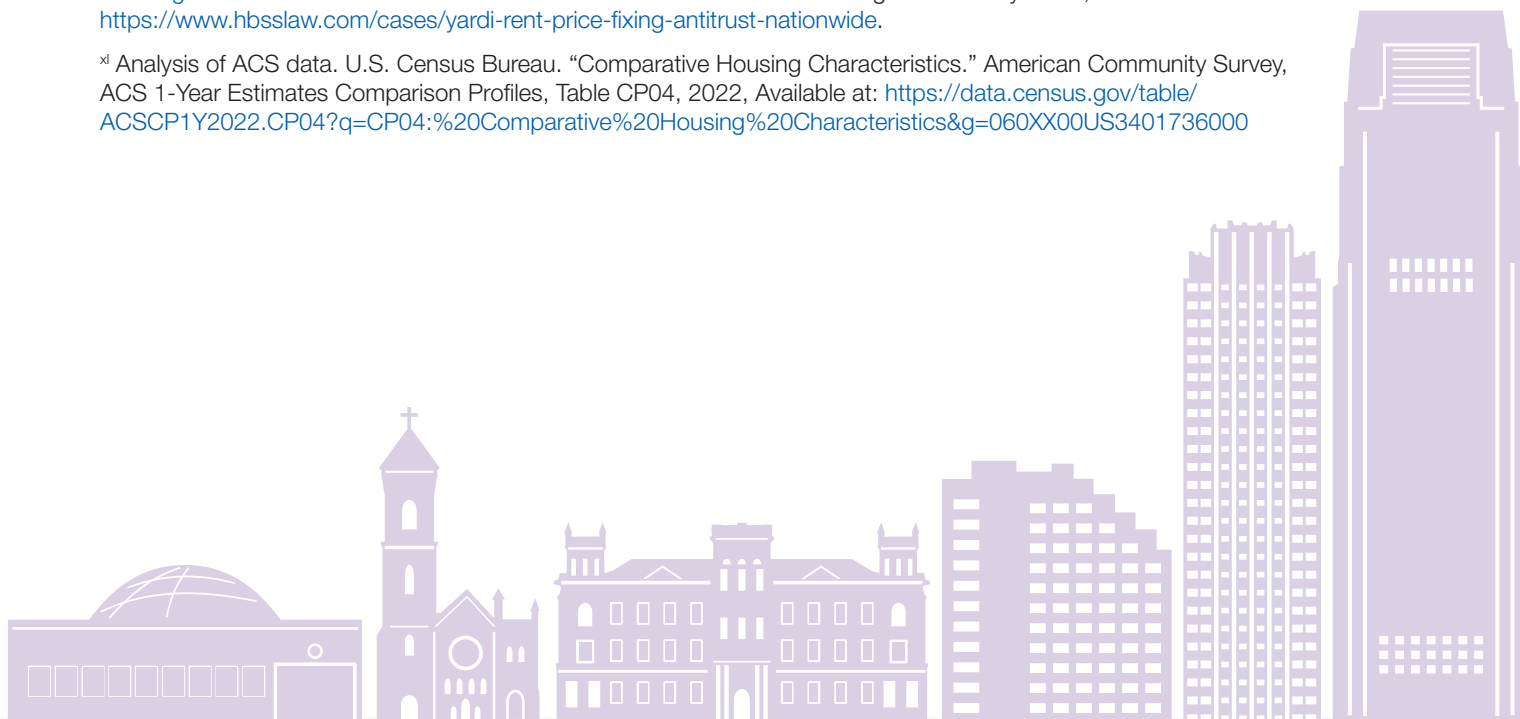
^{xxxvi} FBI raids landlord tied to rent price fixing scandal in 10 states (SFGate, 2024). Available at: <https://www.sfgate.com/realestate/article/fbi-raids-landlord-connection-realpage-price-19507654.php>

^{xxxvii} Justice Department Sues RealPage for Algorithmic Pricing Scheme that Harms Millions of American Renters (DoJ, 2024). Available at: <https://www.justice.gov/opa/pr/justice-department-sues-realpage-algorithmic-pricing-scheme-harms-millions-american-renters>

^{xxxviii} We found data from at least 70 Jersey City buildings (20,500 units) listed on the RealPage database, suggesting those owners may have shared their data to use the tool. They may or may not be using the rent-setting app. Database is available at: <https://www.realpage.com/explore/>

^{xxxix} Equity Residential is named in multiple lawsuits, including the DC Attorney General’s Lawsuit, available at: <https://oag.dc.gov/sites/default/files/2023-11/DC%20OAG%20RealPage%20Complaint%20-%20Filed.pdf>. Brookfield and Greystar are named in Silverman et al v. RealPage Inc et al, available at: <https://dockets.justia.com/docket/washington/wawdce/2:2022cv01740/317217>. KRE is named in a lawsuit against Yardi systems, available at: <https://www.hbsslaw.com/cases/yardi-rent-price-fixing-antitrust-nationwide>.

^{xl} Analysis of ACS data. U.S. Census Bureau. “Comparative Housing Characteristics.” American Community Survey, ACS 1-Year Estimates Comparison Profiles, Table CP04, 2022, Available at: <https://data.census.gov/table/ACSCP1Y2022.CP04?q=CP04:%20Comparative%20Housing%20Characteristics&g=060XX00US3401736000>



^{xli} Jersey City Rent Leveling Board Meeting October 19, 2023, available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oCgWfCSfJN4&list=PL3ty7DQXb7TFtpaAgdBkPed7NF_WWxzB5&index=2

^{xlii} The Towers at Portside Urban Renewal Company, L.L.C. and Equity Residential Management, LLC v. The City of Jersey City and the City of Jersey City Rent Leveling Board. Available at: <https://dockets.justia.com/docket/new-jersey/njdce/2:2023cv22291/536329>

^{xliii} Brookfield 2022 Sustainability Report, available at: <https://www.brookfield.com/sites/default/files/2023-06/BN-2022-Sustainability-Report.pdf>

^{xliv} Equity Residential Supply Chain and Vendor Policy, available at: https://s1.q4cdn.com/843629197/files/doc_downloads/2024/08/supply-chain-and-vendor-policy.pdf

^{xliv} An abatement is a contract between the city and a developer where the latter pays a “PILOT” (payment in lieu of tax) instead of regular tax. This means they pay a fixed annual payment to the city each year instead of paying taxes in the traditional way (which are usually subject to increases). Unlike regular property taxes, which are split between the city, the county, and the schools, PILOTs only go to the city. The structure of each PILOT is the result of a negotiation between the developer and the City, but Jersey City abatements have typically been structured so that 95% of the PILOT fees to the city, 5% to the county, and 0% to the schools. See more at: <https://civicparent.org/tax-abatements-2/>

^{xlv} Small homeowners bear brunt of abatements (NJ.com, 2023). Available at: <https://www.nj.com/opinion/2023/10/small-homeowners-bear-brunt-of-abatements-reject-water-deal-ordinance-in-jersey-city-we-can-enforce-term-limits-letters.html>

^{xlvii} Jersey City tax abatements audit yields millions in uncollected taxes (Observer, 2013). Available at: <https://observer.com/2013/09/jersey-city-tax-abatements-audit-yields-millions-in-uncollected-taxes/>

^{xlviii} Jersey City Signs Agreement with the Developers for 70 Columbus, 90 Columbus and the Vantage for Compliance to the City’s Standard Wage Ordinance (2022). Available at: <https://www.seiu32bj.org/press-release/jersey-city-wage-ordinance/>

^{xlix} Even the former executive director of the Jersey City Redevelopment Agency acknowledged that abatements continued to be granted long after they were necessary to attract development. <https://jcitytimes.com/a-new-study-revives-the-debate-over-property-tax-abatements/>

ⁱ Jersey City Tax Abatements, Visualized from the 2023 User Friendly Budget (Brigid D’Souza, 2024). Available at: <https://civicparent.org/2024/02/23/jersey-city-tax-abatements-visualized-from-the-2023-user-friendly-budget-civicparent-work-paper/>

ⁱⁱ Michael Wallace, Allen Hyde, Todd E. Vachon, States of inequality: Politics, labor, and rising income inequality in the U.S. States since 1950, Research in Social Stratification and Mobility, Volume 78, 2022, 100677, ISSN 0276-5624, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.rssm.2022.100677>.



Note

[illegible]

[illegible]

