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Anti-Discrimination Remedies Do Not Harm Small Business Growth

- *Based on statistical tests, there is no evidence that anti-discrimination remedies negatively affect growth in small businesses nationwide.*
- *States with stronger anti-discrimination laws have better small business numbers than those with less-stringent laws.*

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August 4, 2015

Introduction

A detailed analysis of state laws that provide remedies to workers who prove workplace discrimination found that these laws had no statistical effect on the growth in small businesses, despite opponents' claims in Colorado. The Bell reviewed each state's laws related to remedies for workplace discrimination and classified the states according to the number of remedies provided, limits placed on the remedies and the size of businesses covered by the laws. We also gathered information on the number of firms with fewer than 20 employees in each state from the years 2007 through 2012 — the most recent data available.

Based on a series of statistical tests, we found no statistically significant differences in the creation of small businesses in those states with remedies and those without remedies. In addition, there was no statistically significant difference in the creation of small businesses among states based on the strength of their remedies for victims of workplace discrimination. In fact, we found that states with stronger anti-discrimination laws had better small business numbers than those with less-stringent laws. Because this analysis included most of the Great Recession and its immediate aftermath, all but three states reported losing small businesses between 2007 and 2012. The states with stronger laws had fewer losses in the number of small businesses.



Colorado Led the Way with Anti-Discrimination Act of 1957

Colorado was one of the first states to enact a law prohibiting workplace discrimination. The Colorado Anti-Discrimination Act of 1957 created a state division to investigate and address workplace discrimination based on race, creed, color, national origin or ancestry in any size business. If allegations were supported by evidence, remedies available to these protected classes of people included equitable relief like back pay, front pay or reinstatement. Over the years, Colorado expanded the protected classes to include religion, gender, disability, sexual orientation and marital status.

Although the Colorado Anti-Discrimination Act of 1957 was a great stride forward in protecting workers from discrimination, pursuing the legal means available through the law was cost-prohibitive to many workers. Many workers could not afford attorneys to aid their cases or miss work to attend hearings, and the law did not reimburse them for attorney's fees or provide compensatory or punitive damages, so they were left with few options to address the discrimination they faced in the workplace.

Federal anti-discrimination laws provide remedies including equitable relief, compensatory damages, punitive damages and attorney fees. Those affected by workplace discrimination can file their cases in either state or federal court. However, the federal laws only apply to businesses with 15 or more workers. Additionally, federal laws only recognize protected classes based on race, color, religion, sex, national origin, disability or individuals between 40 and 70 years of age.¹ As a result, it is difficult for workers in small firms or those alleging discrimination based on sexual orientation to pursue a federal case because of the 15-worker threshold and more limited protected classes.

Job Protection and Civil Rights Enforcement Act of 2013 Aligned Colorado with Nation

Most states, including Colorado, enacted laws to address the costs of pursuing workplace discrimination cases. With the passage of the Job Protection and Civil Rights Enforcement Act of 2013 (HB13-1136), Colorado once again became a leader in attacking workplace discrimination. It helped reduce the high cost workers faced trying to address discrimination by adding remedies like compensatory damages, punitive damages and attorney fees — no matter the size of the business. Furthermore, it also added people older than 70 to the list of state-protected classes.

Colorado's anti-discrimination laws are now aligned with most states, including nearly all of Colorado's regional neighbors and federal laws, in regard to remedies. Forty-two other states and the District of Columbia provide at least one meaningful remedy for successful workplace-discrimination cases. Thirty-eight states and the District of Columbia offer attorney fees, and 35 states offer compensatory and/or punitive damages. Six states and the District of Columbia offer



all three — compensatory damages, punitive damages and attorney fees — to people employed in a business with one or more workers. Only two of those states have caps on these damages, and neither has caps as low as Colorado.²

In an effort to limit the potential effects of the expanded remedies on small businesses, Colorado's law capped the total amount of compensatory and punitive damages based on the size of the employers. Total damage awards are limited to \$10,000 for employers with one to four employees and \$25,000 for employers with five to 14 employees. In addition, courts are directed to consider the size and assets of the employer and the egregiousness of the intentional discriminatory or unfair employment practice when assigning damages.

No Evidence that Anti-Discrimination Remedies Negatively Affect Small Businesses Nationwide

Opponents of adding remedies for workplace discrimination claim that these laws place undue costs on businesses, thus limiting the number of and growth in small businesses in the states. To assess these arguments, the Bell compiled census data on the number of businesses with fewer than 20 employees in each state for the years 2007 through 2012 (**Appendix 1**). We focused on growth in businesses with fewer than 20 workers because it was the census data category closest to the 15-worker threshold for coverage under federal anti-discrimination laws. These are the types of businesses most likely affected by state anti-discrimination remedies. Larger businesses are covered by federal anti-discrimination laws, which have strong remedies.

We then compared statewide growth (or decline) in the number of small businesses with the strength of each state's remedies for workplace discrimination. To do this, we created a composite strength score based on four categories: size of business covered, provision for attorney fees, allowance for compensatory damages, and allowance for punitive damages (**Appendix 2**).

To understand how the strength of these laws might affect small business development, we ran a series of statistical tests comparing the growth in number and the growth by percent of small businesses in each state between 2007 and 2012. In all cases, there was no significant difference in business growth between states with stronger anti-discrimination laws and those without.

We first ran a t-test, a statistical analysis to determine if there is a statistically significant difference in small business growth among states based on whether they provide remedies for workplace discrimination. We compared the overall percent change in the number of small businesses between states that have no additional remedies and those with any state remedy. The results showed no statistically significant difference in small business growth. Both groups had an overall decline of 6 percent in small businesses from 2007 to 2012.³ We ran the same test to compare the change in the number of small businesses. Again, there were no statistically significant differences.⁴ In fact, states with no remedies had a mean loss of 5,846 businesses, while those with all four remedies studied had a mean loss of 4,629 businesses.



Next, we ran a three-way Analysis of Variance (ANOVA), a statistical analysis to determine the effects of various types of remedies for workplace discrimination on the growth in small businesses and whether they are statistically significant. We compared the percentage growth and the growth in the number of small businesses for three groups of states: those with no additional remedies, those with one to three additional remedies and those with all four additional remedies (attorney fees, compensatory damages, punitive damages and coverage for businesses as small as one person).

For percentage growth, each group experienced a mean loss of about 6 percent in small businesses and there was no statistically significant difference between groups.⁵ The same was true when looking at the number of small businesses in each state. Each group had a mean loss of close to 5,000 small businesses with no statistically significant difference between groups.⁶

Based on this analysis, we conclude there is no correlation between stronger workplace remedies for discrimination and small business growth as measured by either percentage growth or growth in the number of small businesses.

No Increase in Filings when Protected Classes are Added

Numerous states made efforts to modernize their state anti-discrimination laws by adding remedies or expanding protected classes. We gathered data on the filing rates for discrimination cases in a select group of states that made legislative changes to their workplace anti-discrimination laws in the past decade by incorporating new protected classes or adding remedies (**Appendix 3**). States were selected because they either added protected classes or remedies to their statutes. For example, Maryland modified its anti-discrimination law to offer compensatory and punitive damages in 2007 and saw no substantial jump in complaints filed between 2006 and 2009. In fact, filings decreased between 2009 and 2011. Oregon, Maine, Iowa and Illinois added sexual orientation and gender identity as protected classes between 2005 and 2007. None of these states experienced noteworthy jumps in filings. In the case of Oregon, filings went down the year after the legislation passed. Increased filings appear to be more strongly correlated with the Great Recession, a period of time when the job market was extremely tough.

Strong Anti-Discrimination Remedies Do Not Hurt Small Business Growth

We found no statistically significant differences in the number or percentage growth of small businesses in states with additional anti-discrimination remedies and those without. We were also unable to find any major increases in filing rates in states that added remedies or additional protected classes. Arguments that strong anti-discrimination remedies hurt small business growth, such as the claims used in the 2015 attempt to repeal the Job Protection and Civil Rights Enforcement Act of 2013 in Colorado, are not supported by the evidence. In fact, the findings refute those arguments.



We believe it is in our best interest as a state to continue to protect our citizens from workplace discrimination and to provide remedies to those who prove in a court of law that they have been discriminated against. The Job Protection and Civil Rights Enforcement Act of 2013 protects Coloradans from harmful discrimination and, based on our analysis of other states' experiences, does so without affecting small business growth.

Endnotes

¹ Concerning the creation of remedies in employment discrimination cases brought under state law, Legislative Council Fiscal Note on HB13-1136, July 25, 2013, <http://bit.ly/1GyTz8V>

² Analysis of state anti-discrimination laws, The Bell Policy Center, April 2015. See appendix 1.

³ The results of this t-test, a test used to compare means between two groups, indicates no significant difference in the rate of small business growth ($T(49)=0.25, p = .81$). In other words, the average percent of business growth in states with no protections is too similar to that of states with some protections to be explained by differences in anti-discrimination policies.

⁴ $T(49) = 0.25, p = .80$ In this case, comparing the number of businesses created in each grouping also showed no significant difference. The high p-value indicates that no conclusions can be drawn about the correlation between stronger laws and less businesses.

⁵ A three-way ANOVA compares means between three groups to see if there are any significant differences between each group and the other groups. Our results indicate there were none ($F(2, 48)=0.03, p=.967, R^2 = 0.0014$.) The small R^2 -value indicates that there is no significant correlation between remedies and small business growth.

⁶ The ANOVA results on the number of businesses created in each grouping also showed no significant difference ($F=(2, 48)=0.09, p=.915, R^2 = 0.0037$) . Again the small R^2 -value indicates a lack of correlation



Appendix 1: State Laws on Remedies for Workplace Discrimination

State	Number of employees needed for coverage	Attorney Fees Covered	Compensatory Damages	Punitive Damages	NUMBER OF ESTABLISHMENTS WITH EMPLOYMENT SIZE <20						Overall % Change
					2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	
Alabama	15				69,996	68,196	66,153	64,942	63,531	62,762	
					Percent change	-2.57%	-3.00%	-1.83%	-2.17%	-1.21%	-10.33%
Alaska	1	X			14,952	14,718	14,617	14,674	14,672	14,749	
					Percent change	-1.57%	-0.69%	0.39%	-0.01%	0.52%	-1.37%
Arizona	15/1*	X			97,400	94,436	90,293	89,015	87,427	87,596	
					Percent change	-3.04%	-4.39%	-1.42%	-1.78%	0.19%	-10.07%
Arkansas					46,592	45,595	44,598	44,243	43,523	43,408	
					Percent change	-2.14%	-2.19%	-0.80%	-1.63%	-0.26%	-6.84%
California	5/1**	X	Uncapped	Uncapped	651,248	638,535	624,530	621,896	620,726	630,586	
					Percent change	-2.00%	-2.19%	-0.42%	-0.19%	1.59%	-3.22%
Colorado***	15				117,058	115,392	112,703	112,226	110,895	112,122	
					Percent change	-1.42%	-2.33%	-0.42%	-1.19%	1.11%	-4.21%
Connecticut	3	X	Uncapped		66,380	65,132	63,291	62,735	61,646	61,378	
					Percent change	-1.88%	-2.83%	-0.88%	-1.74%	-0.43%	-7.54%
Delaware	4	X	Uncapped		16,784	16,475	16,066	16,095	15,928	15,476	
					Percent change	-1.84%	-2.48%	0.18%	-1.04%	-2.84%	-7.79%
District of Columbia	1	X	Uncapped	Uncapped	12,692	12,554	12,377	12,572	12,569	12,513	
					Percent change	-1.09%	-1.41%	1.58%	-0.02%	-0.45%	-1.41%
Florida	15				395,216	379,105	366,827	369,273	367,662	375,221	
					Percent change	-4.08%	-3.24%	0.67%	-0.44%	2.06%	-5.06%
Georgia	15				161,580	156,600	150,330	149,820	146,828	147,286	
					Percent change	-3.08%	-4.00%	-0.34%	-2.00%	0.31%	-8.85%
Hawaii	1	X	Uncapped	Uncapped	23,117	22,584	22,122	21,808	21,295	21,229	
					Percent change	-2.31%	-2.05%	-1.42%	-2.35%	-0.31%	-8.17%
Idaho	5		Uncapped	\$1,000	35,980	34,635	33,103	32,438	31,493	31,598	
					Percent change	-3.74%	-4.42%	-2.01%	-2.91%	0.33%	-12.18%
Illinois	15/4/1****	X	Uncapped		230,848	226,845	222,445	223,140	221,285	221,696	
					Percent change	-1.73%	-1.94%	0.31%	-0.83%	0.19%	-3.96%



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					2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	
Indiana	6	X			101,285	98,736	96,198	95,681	93,609	93,035	
					Percent change	-2.52%	-2.57%	-0.54%	-2.17%	-0.61%	-8.15%
Iowa	4	X	Uncapped		57,145	56,204	55,069	55,075	54,344	54,199	
					Percent change	-1.65%	-2.02%	0.01%	-1.33%	-0.27%	-5.17%
Kansas	4		\$2,000		53,239	52,079	50,871	50,576	49,554	49,469	
					Percent change	-2.18%	-2.32%	-0.58%	-2.02%	-0.17%	-7.08%
Kentucky	8/5*****	X	Uncapped		61,897	60,675	59,305	59,553	58,367	57,669	
					Percent change	-1.97%	-2.26%	0.42%	-1.99%	-1.20%	-6.83%
Louisiana	15				71,075	70,230	69,534	69,578	68,736	68,836	
					Percent change	-1.19%	-0.99%	0.06%	-1.21%	0.15%	-3.15%
Maine	1	X	<Title VII	<Title VII	31,783	30,944	29,988	29,947	29,446	29,186	
					Percent change	-2.64%	-3.09%	-0.14%	-1.67%	-0.88%	-8.17%
Maryland	15				99,318	96,416	93,979	93,476	91,698	91,908	
					Percent change	-2.92%	-2.53%	-0.54%	-1.90%	0.23%	-7.46%
Massachusetts	6	X	Uncapped	Uncapped	125,772	123,065	120,472	119,997	118,936	120,073	
					Percent change	-2.15%	-2.11%	-0.39%	-0.88%	0.98%	-4.52%
Michigan	1	X	Uncapped		165,779	160,153	154,866	154,239	151,473	150,743	
					Percent change	-3.39%	-3.30%	-0.40%	-1.79%	-0.48%	-9.06%
Minnesota	1	X	3X Actual Damages	\$25,000	107,622	104,812	103,210	102,647	101,406	101,465	
					Percent change	-2.61%	-1.53%	-0.55%	-1.21%	0.06%	-5.72%
Mississippi	15				41,980	40,811	39,632	39,559	38,705	38,435	
					Percent change	-2.78%	-2.89%	-0.18%	-2.16%	-0.70%	-8.44%
Missouri	6	X	Uncapped	Uncapped	106,092	103,753	102,850	102,848	99,894	98,420	
					Percent change	-2.20%	-0.87%	0.00%	-2.87%	-1.48%	-7.23%
Montana	1	X	Uncapped		29,779	29,247	28,572	28,284	27,920	28,196	
					Percent change	-1.79%	-2.31%	-1.01%	-1.11%	0.81%	-5.32%
Nebraska	15				37,100	36,457	36,119	36,312	35,862	36,176	
					Percent change	-1.73%	-0.93%	0.53%	-1.24%	0.88%	-2.49%
Nevada	15				42,914	41,596	40,291	40,063	39,689	40,063	
					Percent change	-3.07%	-3.14%	-0.57%	-0.93%	0.94%	-6.65%



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					2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	
New Hampshire	6	X	Uncapped		28,188	27,520	26,754	26,524	26,003	25,885	
					Percent change	-2.37%	-2.78%	-0.86%	-1.96%	-0.45%	-8.16%
New Jersey	1	X	Uncapped	Uncapped	184,577	179,269	173,349	172,291	170,203	170,377	
					Percent change	-2.88%	-3.25%	-0.66%	-1.21%	0.10%	-7.69%
New Mexico	4	X	Uncapped		32,566	31,797	30,844	30,332	29,748	29,554	
					Percent change	-2.36%	-3.00%	-1.66%	-1.93%	-0.65%	-9.25%
New York	4		Uncapped		402,429	399,765	398,887	403,440	404,335	406,623	
					Percent change	-0.66%	-0.22%	1.14%	0.22%	0.57%	1.04%
North Carolina	15				157,269	153,708	149,016	148,979	145,815	146,451	
					Percent change	-2.26%	-3.05%	-0.02%	-2.12%	0.44%	-6.86%
North Dakota	1	X			15,303	15,221	15,129	15,427	15,765	16,445	
					Percent change	-0.54%	-0.60%	1.97%	2.19%	4.31%	7.46%
Ohio	4	X	Uncapped	Uncapped	176,933	171,583	166,232	164,646	161,735	160,126	
					Percent change	-3.02%	-3.12%	-0.95%	-1.77%	-0.99%	-9.49%
Oklahoma	1	X			64,049	63,606	62,798	62,839	62,095	62,371	
					Percent change	-0.69%	-1.27%	0.07%	-1.18%	0.44%	-2.61%
Oregon	1	X	Uncapped	Uncapped	83,093	81,131	78,573	78,112	76,997	77,445	
					Percent change	-2.36%	-3.15%	-0.59%	-1.43%	0.58%	-6.80%
Pennsylvania	4	X	Uncapped		209,134	205,633	202,844	201,908	199,334	198,880	
					Percent change	-1.67%	-1.36%	-0.46%	-1.27%	-0.23%	-4.90%
Rhode Island	4	X	Uncapped	Uncapped	22,614	22,096	21,283	21,032	20,622	20,390	
					Percent change	-2.29%	-3.68%	-1.18%	-1.95%	-1.13%	-9.84%
South Carolina	15				73,705	72,043	69,496	68,585	66,893	67,152	
					Percent change	-2.25%	-3.54%	-1.31%	-2.47%	0.39%	-8.89%
South Dakota	1		Uncapped		19,137	18,839	18,656	18,728	18,501	18,532	
					Percent change	-1.56%	-0.97%	0.39%	-1.21%	0.17%	-3.15%
Tennessee	8	X	Uncapped		89,157	86,991	84,601	83,915	81,870	81,715	
					Percent change	-2.43%	-2.75%	-0.81%	-2.44%	-0.19%	-8.35%
Texas	15				348,567	346,045	343,449	346,477	346,994	352,775	
					Percent change	-0.72%	-0.75%	0.88%	0.15%	1.67%	1.21%
Utah	15				52,944	52,244	50,595	50,274	50,110	50,880	
					Percent change	-1.32%	-3.16%	-0.63%	-0.33%	1.54%	-3.90%
Vermont	1	X	Uncapped	Uncapped	17,050	16,829	16,358	16,266	15,984	15,820	
					Percent change	-1.30%	-2.80%	-0.56%	-1.73%	-1.03%	-7.22%



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					2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	
Virginia	6/1*****	X	< Pain & Suffering Damages	2X Wages Owed	137,240	134,612	130,866	130,524	127,999	128,398	
					Percent change	-1.91%	-2.78%	-0.26%	-1.93%	0.31%	-6.43%
Washington	8	X	Uncapped		136,228	133,446	129,397	128,704	126,548	127,291	
						-2.04%	-3.03%	-0.54%	-1.68%	0.59%	-6.56%
West Virginia	12	X	Uncapped	Uncapped	27,415	26,362	25,609	25,278	24,565	24,143	
					Percent change	-3.84%	-2.86%	-1.29%	-2.82%	-1.72%	-11.94%
Wisconsin	1	X			100,927	98,516	96,082	95,062	93,519	92,650	
					Percent change	-2.39%	-2.47%	-1.06%	-1.62%	-0.93%	-8.20%
Wyoming	2				15,873	15,788	15,437	15,452	15,433	15,559	
					Percent change	-0.31%	-2.22%	0.10%	-0.12%	0.82%	-1.74%

* In cases of sexual harassment, employers with 1 or more employee

** In cases of harassment claims, employers with 1 or more employee; public and private employers

*** Colorado did not have attorney fees, compensatory damages or punitive damages for the period of the study, 2007-2012, but these remedies went into effect in 2015 due to the Job Protection and Civil Rights Enforcement Act of 2013

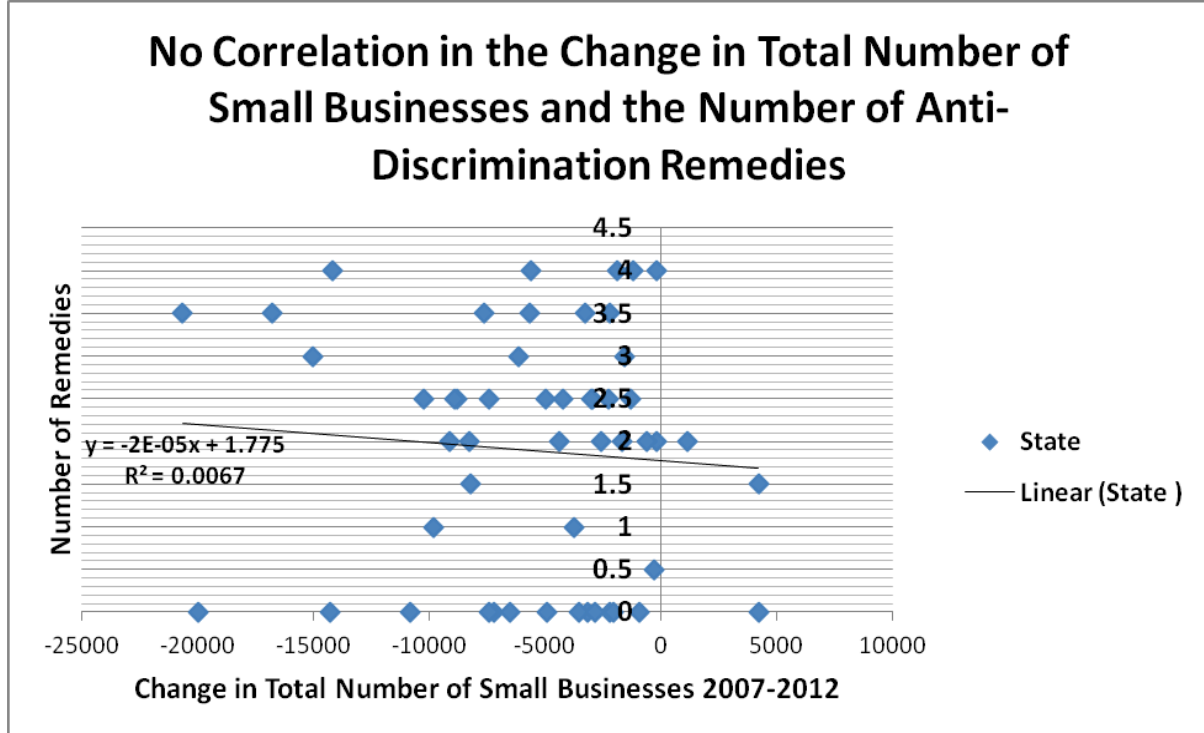
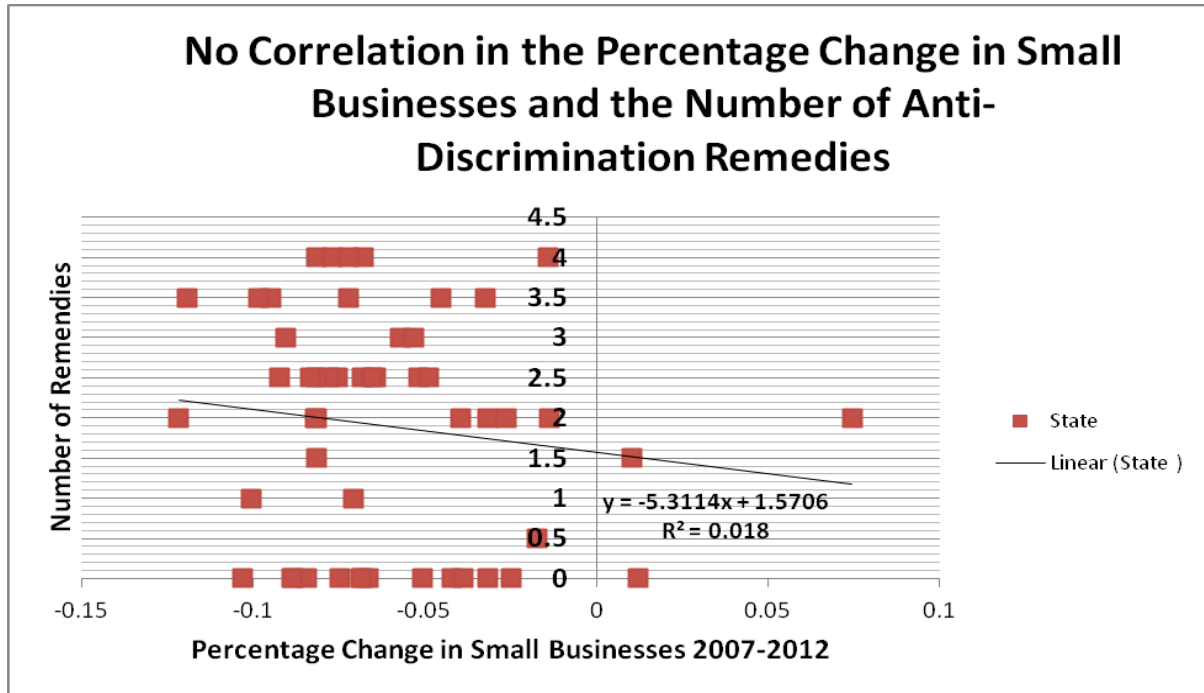
**** For the Equal Pay Act, employers with 4 or more employees; 1 or more employees in cases of disability discrimination, sexual harassment and retaliation claims

***** In cases of discrimination based on disability, employers with 15 or more employees

***** For disability discrimination, employers with 1 or more employee



Appendix 2: Scatter Plots on the Relationship between Small Businesses and Anti-Discrimination Remedies





Appendix 3: States with Recent Changes to Workplace Anti-Discrimination Laws

Colorado			
Current Legislation:	Employers with 1 or more employee; compensatory and punitive damages; attorney fees		
Change:	*2007, added sexual orientation and gender identity to protected classes *2015, added compensatory damages, punitive damages and attorney fees		
<u>Fiscal Year</u>	<u>Total Employment Charges Filed With CCRD</u>	<u>Percent Change</u>	<u>Number Change</u>
FY 05-06	584		
*FY 06-07	593	1.5%	9
*FY 07-08	635	7.1%	42
FY 08-09	712	12.1%	77
FY 09-10	599	-15.9%	-113
FY 10-11	575	-4.0%	-24
FY 11-12	516	-10.3%	-59
FY 12-13	601	16.5%	85
FY 13-14	689	14.6%	88
Source:	*Colorado Civil Rights Commission & Civil Rights Division 2014 Annual Report		

Maryland			
Current Legislation:	Employers with 15 or more employees; compensatory and punitive damages capped at Title VII limits; attorney fees		
Change:	*2007; added compensatory damages, punitive damages and attorney fees		
<u>Fiscal Year</u>	<u>Number of Complaints Received by MCCR</u>	<u>Percent Change</u>	<u>Number Change</u>
FY 05-06	632		
*FY 06-07	643	1.7%	11
*FY 07-08	663	3.1%	20
FY 08-09	709	6.9%	46
FY 09-10	598	-15.7%	-111
FY 10-11	480	-19.7%	-118
FY 11-12	606	26.3%	126
FY 12-13	601	-0.8%	-5
FY 13-14	545	-9.3%	-56
Source:	*Maryland Commission on Civil Rights Annual Reports 2006-2014		



Oregon			
Current Legislation:	Employers with 1 or more employees; uncapped compensatory and punitive damages; attorney fees		
Change:	*2007; added sexual orientation and gender identity to protected classes		
Fiscal Year	Total Employment Charges Filed With OCRD	Percent Change	Number Change
*FY 06-07	1855		
*FY 07-08	2018	8.8%	163
FY 08-09	1882	-6.7%	-136
FY 09-10	1986	5.5%	104
FY 10-11	1942	-2.2%	-44
FY 11-12	1817	-6.4%	-125
Source:	Data inquiry with Oregon Bureau of Labor and Industries		

Maine			
Current Legislation:	Employers with 1 or more employees; compensatory and punitive damages capped at Title VII limits; attorney fees		
Change:	*2005; added sexual orientation and gender identity to protected classes		
Fiscal Year	Total Employment Charges Filed	Percent Change	Number Change
FY 03-04	613		
*FY 04-05	516	-15.8%	-97
*FY 05-06	503	-2.5%	-13
FY 06-07	544	8.2%	41
FY 07-08	604	11.0%	60
FY 08-09	653	8.1%	49
FY 09-10	492	-24.7%	-161
FY 10-11	618	25.6%	126
FY 11-12	528	-14.6%	-90
FY 12-13	483	-8.5%	-45
FY 13-14	513	6.2%	30
Source:	*Maine Human Rights Commission Annual Report 2014		



Iowa			
Current Legislation:	Employers with 4 or more employees; uncapped compensatory damages; punitive damages allowed pursuant to case law; attorney fees		
Change:	*2007; added sexual orientation and gender identity to protected classes		
<u>Fiscal Year</u>	<u>Employment Cases Docketed by ICRC</u>	<u>Percent Change</u>	<u>Number Change</u>
FY 05-06	1526		
*FY 06-07	1413	-7.4%	-113
*FY 07-08	1453	2.8%	40
FY 08-09	1644	13.1%	191
FY 09-10	1458	-11.3%	-186
FY 10-11	1539	5.6%	81
FY 11-12	1373	-10.8%	-166
FY 12-13	1226	-10.7%	-147
FY 13-14	1195	-2.5%	-31
Source:	*Iowa Civil Rights Commission Annual Report 2014		

Illinois			
Current Legislation:	Employers with 15 or more employees; 4 or more under Equal Pay Act, 1 or more for disability/sexual harassment/retaliation claims; uncapped compensatory damages; attorney fees		
Change:	*2006; added sexual orientation and gender identity to protected classes		
<u>Fiscal Year</u>	<u>Total Employment Charges Filed</u>	<u>Percent Change</u>	<u>Number Change</u>
FY 04-05	3672		
*FY 05-06	3430	-6.6%	-242
*FY 06-07	3287	-4.2%	-143
FY 07-08	3522	7.1%	235
FY 08-09	4007	13.8%	485
FY 09-10	3779	-5.7%	-228
FY 10-11	3439	-9.0%	-340
FY 11-12	3613	5.1%	174
FY 12-13	3236	-10.4%	-377
FY 13-14	3028	-6.4%	-208
Source:	*Illinois Department of Human Rights Annual Reports 2005-2014		