

THE COSTS OF DATA CENTERS TO OUR COMMUNITIES—AND HOW TO FIGHT BACK

As tech bro CEOs take over our government, their data centers are stealing our resources even closer to home. It's time to organize.





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ABOUT US



Kairos Fellowship is a non-profit organization building a multiracial movement to hold tech accountable. Our campaigns team takes on Big Tech's harms to Black, brown, queer, and trans communities. We offer political education, collaborative campaigning, and rapid response around issues including the impacts of AI, corporate power, climate x tech, militarism, and beyond. Email campaigns@kairosfellows.org for more.

MediaJustice≡

MediaJustice builds power to challenge how corporations and the government use media and technology to shape our collective future. We envision a world where media and technology amplify the voices of oppressed people, serve the many rather than the few, and empower social movements to create lasting change.

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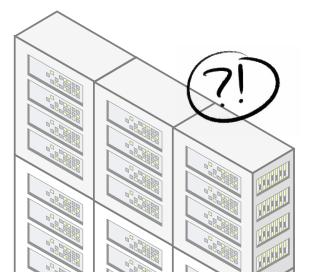
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WHAT ARE DATA CENTERS?

Data centers, Big Tech's latest extraction scheme, are the physical manifestation of our digital activity: **giant warehouses full of computer servers, chips, and equipment that power AI and other technologies.** In the process, data centers consume immense amounts of electricity, water, and land.

Anytime you use "the cloud," you're likely accessing information stored in a data center, whether it's to load a map on your smartphone, ask ChatGPT a question, or post on social media. This applies at a much larger scale to companies and governments, which rely on data centers to run their online systems and tools, including Al and cryptocurrency.

Data centers are disproportionately owned and operated by massively wealthy tech corporations, like Amazon, Meta, Google, and Microsoft. This is no accident: data centers increasingly require enormous amounts of capital, land, and resources, and Big Tech as a sector has consolidated power to control significant amounts of data center construction, growth, and operations.¹





WHAT'S UP WITH AI?

Artificial intelligence (AI) systems require data centers that are uniquely and horrifically resource-intensive, consuming vastly more water and energy to fuel the computing power and storage capacity they require.² In their battle to build the biggest and most dominant AI, Big Tech companies are rushing to gobble up the scarce resources that data centers use: land, infrastructure, power, and water.³ Analysts predict that by 2030 AI will consume nearly as much energy as the entire country of Japan uses now—and only half of this power will be able to be generated from renewable energy sources.⁴

Generative AI—which can produce "new" content including text, images, and videos, by analyzing and mimicking patterns in vast amounts of our existing data—is the thirstiest, hungriest, and fastest-growing technology driving Big Tech's data center growth.

Al is not a neutral or net good technology.

Al is being used to accelerate unconscionable abuses: exacerbating housing discrimination of Black communities, increasing scams targeting vulnerable elders, heightening state and corporate surveillance, monitoring workers' every move, and even aiding genocide.⁵ While some tech companies claim Al can help stop climate change, this obscures the reality that Al use is accelerating the climate crisis and that the fossil fuel industry is primarily using these technologies to maximize oil and gas extraction.⁶ Data centers are a critical part of the infrastructure that allows these harms to happen.



WHAT DO DATA CENTERS COST OUR COMMUNITIES?

Big Tech's data centers steal from everyday people, as our governments give increasing control of our infrastructure, resources, and lives to corporations. The data center boom has unbearable consequences both for the neighbors right next door, and for those in the community who share the same power grids, air, water, and school districts, and disproportionately affects Black and brown communities. Here are some of the costs that our communities pay for Big Tech's data centers.





1. THE SAFETY OF OUR HOMES

Data centers' massive energy use destabilizes our electricity grid,¹⁰ increasing the risk of our houses catching on fire and blackouts that cause our food and insulin to spoil in the fridge.

2. OUR SCHOOLS AND OTHER ESSENTIAL PUBLIC SERVICES

States routinely give hundreds of millions in tax breaks to the world's wealthiest companies for them to build data centers," wasting tax revenue from our own pockets that should have funded our schools and other local services like healthcare, parks, and libraries.



3. OUR WALLETS

Data centers are set to raise the price of our monthly electricity bills, thanks to deals between utility companies and Big Tech that force everyday people to pay the costs of the companies' increased energy use. Researchers estimate U.S. consumers will pay billions of dollars to build the new power plants and infrastructure needed to serve Big Tech, as data center energy use is expected to triple by 2030.

CASE STUDY:

GIVING AWAY \$100+ MILLION IN OHIO PUBLIC SCHOOL FUNDING

In 2024, Ohio gave ~\$123 million away to data centers in the form of sales tax exemptions, and individual Ohioan cities additionally subsidize data centers property taxes up to 100%.15 Public schools are funded primarily from state sales tax and local property taxes, meaning Big Tech is taking money from Ohioans that could be used to fund additional teachers and school staff, upgrade aging school buildings, and buy new books for students.16



4. OUR HEALTH



5. OUR PLANET

Big Tech's data centers contribute to immense public health impacts, including cancer and asthma; by 2030, air pollution from data centers alone could cause an additional 600.000 asthma cases annually in the U.S. and an estimated 1,300 premature deaths.¹⁷ Data centers create pollution onsite by burning diesel fuel for backup power, and rely on dirty energy sources for consistent power, including oil, gas, and coal, which release greenhouse gases and pollutants. These health impacts are not borne equally; polluting power plants are most often located near poor, working class, Black, and brown communities.18

Data centers threaten to reverse our climate progress. We simply can't produce enough renewable energy at the speed at which new data centers are connecting to the power grid. Instead, tech companies are turning to dirty fuel sources, the government is pushing for a reinvestment in coal,19 and utility companies are bringing dangerous nuclear facilities back online in Pennsylvania, drilling new gas wells in Texas, and postponing coal plant closings in Nebraska.²⁰ Google has reported a 48% increase in greenhouse gas emissions since 2019, which the company attributes to "increased data center energy consumption and supply chain emissions."21

6. OUR WATER

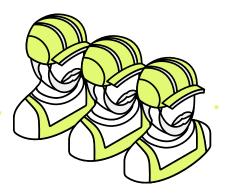
A single data center can use up to 5 million gallons of potable water each day, equivalent to the daily use of a 50,000-person town.²² Big Tech and other companies are intentionally building dozens of data centers in some of the world's driest regions, since data centers need inland areas with low humidity and cheap electricity.²³ This expansion threatens already-limited water supplies that residents rely on; Maricopa county, Arizona, a fast-growing data center hub with facilities owned by Meta, Microsoft, and Google, is facing drought conditions so extreme that the state has revoked construction permits for new homes due to lack of groundwater.24

CASE STUDY: DATA CENTER

DATA CENTERS PUSH COAL PLANTS BACK ONLINE IN GEORGIA

Georgia's utility company, Southern Company, pledged in 2021 to retire most of its coal plants to reach a net-zero emissions goal by 2050. This year, it retracted the promise, citing an unprecedented spike in electricity demand from new data center construction in the state.²⁵ Coal pollution raises nearby communities' rates of asthma and respiratory disease, is a major contributor to global warming, and even contributes to kids missing more school from being sick.²⁶ These negative impacts affect some more than others; Black and brown people and poor people are more likely to bear the brunt of dirty energy harms in their communities even as national coal use falls.27





7. OUR LAND

Data centers need inordinate amounts of land for their footprint and the power lines to connect them to power sources.²⁸ For example, a planned data center complex in Buckeye, Arizona, will be the size of 1,600 football fields.²⁹ In urban areas, the data center land grab threatens to make already scarce housing more expensive, and in rural areas, it is displacing farmland.30 Many of the minerals and rare earth elements needed to power the AI boom, like uranium and lithium, are mined on Native lands at great costs to Indigenous communities and often without permission from tribal leadership.31

8. SUSTAINABLE JOBS

Companies justify tax breaks for data centers with the promise of new jobs, but data centers create 100 times fewer jobs than other types of economic development, ranked by the amount of energy used.³² Some states' own analyses show that few permanent jobs are created.³³



9. OUR BASIC RIGHTS

Big Tech uses data centers to power the AI systems that they sell, including technologies that are increasingly used for policing and surveillance at our workplaces, schools, places of worship, and beyond.

CASE STUDY: FAILED JOB PROMISES IN INDIANA

In Indiana, Amazon initially promised that their data center development in the state would create over 1.000 jobs.³⁴ Digging into the local subsidy agreement, however, revealed that Amazon will hire only 400 people directly, and only when the project is at "full development" after the eventual buildout of a whopping 16 data centers.³⁵ The 600 additional jobs promised will be employees of subcontractors.36 Generally, these subcontracted roles tend to be temporary positions.37

THERE'S SO MUCH TO FIGHT. WHY TAKE ON DATA CENTERS NOW?

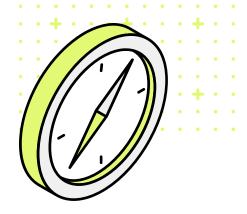
Companies are rapidly expanding data center construction right now, including building hyperscale data centers that use even more energy, in some cases as much as 20,000 households.³⁸ As of March 2025, the US already had over 5,400 data centers, or 60% of data center capacity worldwide.³⁹ This is expected to grow immensely, with the insatiable demand of Al and cryptocurrency. Amazon, Microsoft, and Google plan to increase the number of data centers they operate by 78%, building on every continent except Antarctica,⁴⁰ and the numbers could be even higher as companies generally keep specifics about data center development a secret.

We don't have to look far into the future to see the consequences of this frenzied buildout—we can look to other countries that have already experienced rapid data center construction. In Ireland, data centers consumed 21% of the entire country's electricity in 2023,⁴¹ driving up costs, threatening rolling blackouts, and employing only 16,000 people or 0.3% of the country's population.⁴²

Once data centers are built (or expanded), they essentially lock our utilities into drastically increased energy and water use. 43

This has both dire climate consequences and economic impacts, as the prices that everyday people pay for energy and water can permanently increase—while we get nothing beneficial in return. And although companies and electeds are touting economic investment, reports show data centers create very few jobs.⁴⁴

We must stop this growth before it's too late.



This is a moment where our state laws and local policies are lagging behind reality, and we can help them catch up. Many states grant the companies building data centers—often the wealthiest corporations on the planet—massive tax breaks to attract these facilities to their jurisdictions, despite all the negative impacts. In some states, communities and officials have raised concerns and are launching investigations into data center growth and resource use, 45 which we can build upon by bringing people together and building power.

We have a critical opportunity to reach the people who are or will be most impacted, and organize to make sure that the decisions and policies about data centers, tax breaks, and tech infrastructure benefit communities, not corporate interests. We are in a dire moment and must protect our communities from pollution, the theft of both our natural and financial resources, and disinvestment—and take power back from the tech corporations.

CASE STUDY: OREGON TOWN SUES TO KEEP DATA CENTER'S WATER USE SECRET

The city of The Dalles, Oregon, sued a local newspaper to prevent reporters from obtaining records that would reveal how much water Google was using for a cluster of data centers, saying the information was a "trade secret" and therefore exempt from Oregon's privacy laws.46 After the city finally settled with the newspaper and dropped the lawsuit, the exposed records revealed that the data centers had consumed 355 million gallons of The Dalles' municipal water in 2022, which represented 29% of the city's total water consumption.47 The number had tripled in the previous five years.

WHO DO DATA CENTERS REALLY BENEFIT?

A relatively small group of wealthy companies control and profit from data centers, pushing the costs onto everyday people.

Some of the largest data centerowning companies in the world are household names, like Google, Microsoft, Amazon Web Services (AWS), and Meta.⁴⁸ Others are less well-known, like Equinix, Digital Realty, Oracle Cloud, IBM Cloud, SAP, Iron Mountain, and Coreweave. Some, like Meta, build and operate data centers for their own use, while others rent out data center capacity to clients. While everyday people do use data center services for things like storing photos in "the cloud" or accessing email, we are not the main reason for—or beneficiaries of—this massive resource grab. Data center operators primarily serve "enterprise clients" (large businesses), like the military, Big Oil including ExxonMobile, Al companies, and cryptocurrency exchanges.



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"There should be no way a \$5 billion project can move forward without a single community [meeting]. This is literally what corporate colonialism looks like."

- KESHAUN PEARSON, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, MEMPHIS COMMUNITY AGAINST POLLUTION 49

HOW THE TECH "BROLIGARCHY" PROFITS FROM DATA CENTERS

Data centers are a major part of corporations and billionaires' consolidation of power and resources, at the expense of everyday people. The "billionaires' row" behind Donald Trump at his second inauguration—Amazon's Jeff Bezos, Meta's Mark Zuckerberg, and X's Elon Musk—all have significant, and growing, data center empires and are responsible for some of the largest data center projects currently planned.⁵⁰ Simultaneously, the Trump administration has increased the government's investment and support for data center expansion.⁵¹ Here are two examples:

Musk's xAI data center threatens historically Black communities in Memphis:

Elon Musk-the richest person on the planet-made a secret deal with Memphis city officials to build the largest AI data center in the world, called Colossus, in June 2024.52 There were no public meetings, environmental reviews, or discussions with residents, including some city council members.⁵³ xAl's Colossus is near Boxtown, a historically Black community that is already the most polluted neighborhood in Memphis, and threatens to further harm residents' access to clean air, water, and electricity.

Trump backs billionaires' expansion of AI with Stargate:

In January 2025, Trump announced the development of Stargate, a \$500 billion AI venture backed by OpenAI and other tech companies. Stargate has already broken ground on massive data centers in Texas under the development name Project Ludicrous,⁵⁴ with little attention paid to environmental or other impacts.⁵⁵ The private partners set to profit from the project include:⁵⁶

- Oracle, founded by Trump supporter and former Tesla board member Larry Ellison
- OpenAl, whose CEO Sam Altman is major Trump ally
- SoftBank, whose CEO Masayoshi Son, in a press conference with Trump, committed to investing up to \$200 billion in the U.S. ⁵⁷
- Crusoe Energy Systems, whose shareholders include Peter Thiel, the Winklevoss twins, and former Tesla board member Antonio Gracias; the latter three were major contributors to Elon Musk's America PAC for Trump's 2024 candidacy.⁵⁸

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16 Trump's 2024 candidacy.

SO WHY ARE WE PAYING BIG TECH TO BUILD DATA CENTERS?

Big Tech needs data centers to fuel their expansion, but do we need to subsidize them to steal from our communities? Companies aggressively lobby state and local officials for tax breaks and subsidies for their data center projects. In return for (in some cases) hundreds of millions of dollars in taxes they are excused from paying, companies promise to create jobs and generate economic investment—both of which are often desperately needed. Devastatingly, the corporations' promises are simply untrue.

Data centers offer far fewer jobs than other sectors, since they require very few workers to operate them.⁵⁹ Construction can initially bring in temporary jobs, including workers from out of the region.

This may cause a brief boom in employment, but once data centers are constructed, they can operate with as few as 18 permanent jobs, as in the case of a Twitter/X facility in Hillsboro, Oregon.⁶⁰ With tax breaks, communities can effectively pay \$2 million per single job.⁶¹

Those hundreds of millions of dollars in incentives to lure data centers may not even be necessary: in fact, companies decide where to build them based on other factors, such as easy access to water or inexpensive power sources. 62



I can't think of a site selection or placement decision that was decided on a set of tax incentives.

- BO WILLIAMS, THE EXECUTIVE RESPONSIBLE FOR MICROSOFT'S DATA CENTERS IN NORTH AMERICA, NEW YORK TIMES⁶³

The promised economic investment that data centers supposedly will generate is often limited. Data centers can strain the electricity grid and make the economic landscape less favorable for other customers, including economic powerhouses like small businesses.⁶⁴ Tax breaks and subsidies for data centers limit investment in other industries, which could instead offer sustainable jobs and support a transition to a green economy. Data centers can also threaten historically and culturally significant spaces; in Virginia, their construction encroaches on wilderness areas, state parks, and historic sites, including damaging two century-old Black cemeteries.⁶⁵

Without public education, improved policies and laws, transparency, and community resistance to data centers, our officials will continue to throw away these tax breaks—money our communities need to fund schools, healthcare, parks, and libraries. Tax breaks are yet another example of disinvestment in public resources and infrastructure. We must stop selling our communities, resources, and safety to Big Tech.

HOW DO DATA CENTER COMPANIES SKIP OUT ON TAXES?

States, localities, and the federal government give away money to corporations by excusing them from their fair share of taxes, through tax breaks, exemptions, subsidies, incentives, grants, and free access to infrastructure such as lands and roads. These billions in "invisible spending" let corporations off the hook from paying taxes that should go to schools, roads, healthcare, and other public infrastructure.⁶⁶

Tax breaks, also called tax incentives, can excuse companies from paying all or most of the income, property, or sales taxes that they owe. ⁶⁷ How do they work for data centers?

- As of 2025, 32 states have enacted tax incentives for new data center development.⁶⁸
- The incentives include property tax breaks, as well as allowing data centers to forgo sales and use tax for construction materials, equipment including servers, maintenance expenses like cooling and ventilation, hardware and software, and more.
- Some tax breaks can last for up to 40 years.⁶⁹

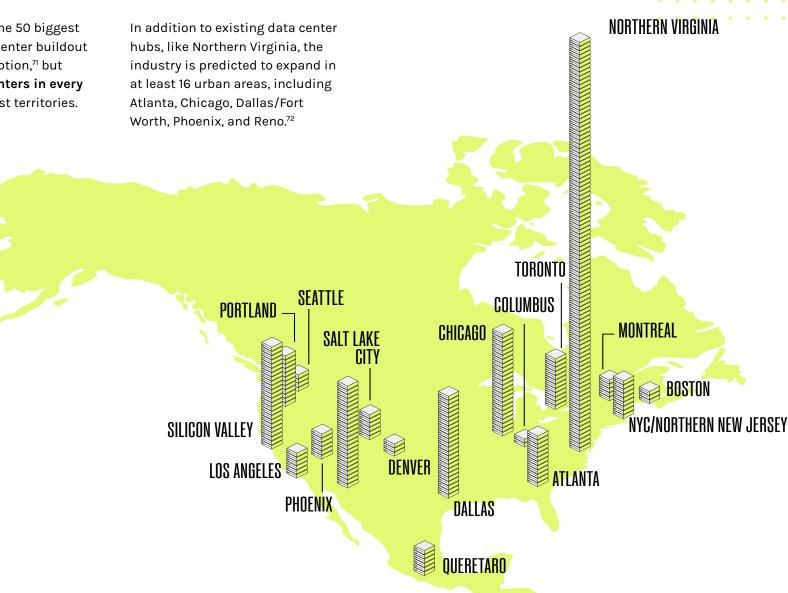
How much money are states giving away to data centers in tax breaks?⁷⁰

- At least 10 states already hand over more than \$100 million per year in tax revenue to data centers.
- Of these, Texas gives away more than \$1 billion each year, Virginia more than \$700 million, and Illinois more than \$370 million.
- 12 of the 32 states do not report this data, so their residents have no idea how much they are giving away to big business.

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BIGGEST DATA CENTER REGIONS BY POWER CONSUMPTION IN NORTH AMERICA, 2023

This map shows the 50 biggest hotspots of data center buildout by power consumption, but there are data centers in every U.S. state and most territories.



Source: Julie R. Peasley, "Ranked: Top 50 Data Center Markets by Power Consumption," Visual Capitalist, January 10, 2024. Data is from Cushman & Wakefield, DataCenterHawk.

HOW DO WE FIGHT BACK?

Data centers can be resisted, just like other industrial infrastructure projects such as oil pipelines, Amazon warehouses, or waste-transfer stations. Communities are embracing a variety of local, regional, and even transnational tactics to slow these projects down, demand greater community input and control, and push back on the surveillance technologies that data centers make possible.

Here are a few steps that communities and local representatives can take to slow or stop data center development:

1. LEARN AND SHARE WHAT'S GOING ON IN YOUR COMMUNITY AND STATE

- Research data center buildout near you: There is no comprehensive public list of data centers, and many companies try to keep data center locations secret. However, you can find more specific information about existing and proposed facilities through:
 - Local news reports
 - Tech company websites and press releases
 - Utility company news, commissions, plans and proposals for transmission upgrades
 (such as the MISO MTEP expansion plan for Midwestern and some Southern states), and committees (like the Transmission Expansion Advisory Committee in Indiana)
- Local government data
- Social media, including Facebook groups organizing local opposition to data centers
- Online industry maps including Data Center Map show some facilities, but these sources are not comprehensive or necessarily up-to-date

Some advocacy groups are mapping data center buildout and/or subsidies in their states, including:

- Citizens Action Coalition, Indiana
- Memphis Community Against Pollution. Tennessee
- Piedmont Environmental Council, Virginia
- Policy Matters, Ohio
- Find out how much revenue your state is losing to data centers: Check out Good Jobs First's Subsidy Tracker.
- Monitor proposed state legislation and local policy on data centers, tax breaks and corporate subsidies, land use, and energy utilities, to find opportunities to take action.
- Share your research with your community, the media, and your state officials: Many residents, and even state and local officials, have no idea what data centers are or the impacts on their neighborhoods. Even when people are aware, the most obvious costs may be construction, traffic, and noise pollution, since there is little accessible information about how data centers raise utility costs, harm the reliability of our energy grids, and lead to expanded use of fossil fuels. Public education is a critical step to building opposition.
- Join national efforts to fight data center expansion and connect with groups fighting locally across the country. Email campaigns@kairosfellows.org and movementbuildingteam@ mediajustice.org for more.

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2. ADVOCATE TO SLOW OR STOP DATA CENTER DEVELOPMENT

Communities can challenge individual data center projects, as well as local and state policies and regulations that govern data center buildout more broadly. Here are some strategies groups are currently using.

There are many other approaches to policy reform or change, including through eminent domain, land use regulations around agricultural land and housing, public health impacts, permits, and more.

TACTIC	WHAT IS IT?	EXAMPLE
Zoning Reform	Requiring data centers to be approved on a case-by-case basis involving public hearings, instead of being granted "by-right approvals" that allow companies to develop with minimal oversight.	Loudoun County, Virginia, reformed its local zoning ordinance to eliminate by-right approvals of data center projects in September 2024. ⁷³
Tax Policy Reform	Limiting the tax breaks and related corporate subsidies that city, county, and state governments use to entice data center investment.	Ideas for tax break reforms and limits can be found in this resource compiled by <i>Good Jobs First</i> : Key Reforms: Overview. ⁷⁴
Transparency Measures	Requiring data centers operators to end secret deals and to disclose costs and resource usage, including: Energy and water consumption Emissions from back-up diesel generators New infrastructure needed (transmission lines, roads, substations) Cost impacts on utility consumers Sales tax and property tax exemptions received	Michigan's House of Representatives passed two bills in 2025 that would ban the use of non-disclosure agreements in economic development deals between governments and corporations. ⁷⁵ Similar legislation has advanced (but not yet passed) In Illinois, New York, and Florida. ⁷⁶
Renewable Energy Requirements	Restricting and regulating data centers' energy use, including introducing policies for renewable energy requirements.	Legislators in at least eight states have introduced bills around energy and water use related to data centers, although most of these have not moved forward. ⁷⁷
Utility Reform	Requiring data center companies to cover the costs of electricity grid expansions and other utility infrastructure that their increased energy use causes. This can be done by designating data center companies as a special "customer class" or "rate class" with utility companies, to prevent the costs from being spread across all consumers. Communities are also exploring other utility reform tactics to oppose cost increases for everyday people and prevent electricity grid instability.	Oregon's House of Representatives passed a bill in April 2025 to prevent rate increases for everyday electricity customers, by creating a separate utility rate class for large energy-use facilities including data centers and requiring them to cover the costs of infrastructure related to their energy use. ⁷⁸ A Texas bill proposes a "kill switch" provision to allow the state to cut off power to data centers when the electricity grid is facing an emergency, to prevent blackouts. ⁷⁹
Vote Down Data Center Proposals (often via Zoning Approval Processes)	Pressuring local officials to vote against data center proposals, especially in processes to zone or rezone land for these developments. Zoning approvals are often the biggest opportunity to stop data center development. It's critical to move quickly, as companies often wait until the last minute to inform communities of their intention to build a data center, so hearings may have only a few weeks' notice.	Five data center proposals have been voted down or withdrawn in Indiana, including in Kosciusko County in April 2025, due to local organized opposition that pressured local elected officials through calls, emails, public hearings, yard signs, Facebook groups, and online campaignS. ⁸⁰
Moratoriums on Data Center Development	Freezing or stopping the buildout of data centers, or the most egregious types, until protective policies can be put in place.	Citizens Action Coalition has called for a moratorium on hyperscale data centers in Indiana. ⁸¹ After warnings of unmanageable grid pressure and the threat of rolling blackouts from their electric utility, Dublin, Ireland, placed a moratorium on new data centers until 2028, which civil society groups are trying to make permanent. ⁸²

3. ORGANIZE AND REIMAGINE WHAT'S POSSIBLE

As we learn from local fights across the country, we have the opportunity to redefine what is possible. Along with policy reform, we can learn from long-running fights against dirty infrastructure like oil pipelines and Cop Cities to **use organizing and direct action and push for public control** of our utilities, our energy infrastructure, and our tax dollars that help develop new technologies.⁸³ We can center the most affected communities, to make sure our local and state governments are not investing in technology that expands poverty, policing, surveillance, and an unjust economy.

These fights look different for each community:

- In Tennessee, Memphis
 Community Against Pollution
 focuses on the public health and
 environmental impacts of Elon
 Musk's xAl data center, working
 to protect Black residents, who
 already experience extremely high
 rates of air and water pollution,
 and has hosted community
 meetings, mobilized community
 members to join events at the
 public utility company, and
 reached out to local officials.84
- In Virginia, residents are pushing back at town halls to save their already overworked energy grid and protest the prospect of higher electric bills or blackouts.
- Indigenous communities and groups including NDN Collective and the SIRGE Coalition are raising the alarm about the impacts of uranium, lithium, and rare earth mining on their sovereignty and community health.⁸⁶

- ADDITIONAL RESOURCES
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- Technical Explainer: "How Al Is Changing the Way the World Builds Computers," Cade Metz, Karen Weise, Marco Hernandez, Mike Isaac, and Anjali Singhvi, The New York Times
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Wherever and whenever data centers are built, they should benefit our communities, not billionaires.



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