

# A Path to a Fair Share for Boston's Residents

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Most Boston's residents are not reaping the benefits of today's booming economy. A large share of our residents—particularly residents of color—are at risk of displacement soon.

About half our families and households are paying more than 30% of their income for housing, with rents still rising even if more slowly. Median earnings are just \$34,000—nowhere near enough to stay in Boston. Only about half of Boston's workers can find work in Boston, while three-quarters of the jobs are filled by people coming in from the suburbs. The tracking of workers of color into low wage industries and occupations, rooted in Jim Crow labor laws of the 1930's, has followed us into today's economy. Economic, technology, and legal changes allow the 1% to siphon off today's wealth.

But this is not our only history.

For fifty years and more, Boston's community residents have worked together to create the city we have today—neighborhood by neighborhood. No city—anywhere—is better positioned to stop displacement and retain its residents than we are here. We are economically robust and diversified, with a strong education system, vibrant well-organized neighborhoods, and city leadership espousing these goals.

These paths from the past have come together in today's moment. Some paths lead us forward. Some create opportunities. Others lead us downward on the paths dependent on encoding our worst history into our economy and laws.

Today we have a choice. But time is passing, and soon we will be beyond this fork in the road, too far along to easily turn back.

## A snapshot of where we are today

Most of Boston's residents are not reaping the benefits of today's economic boom in the city—with much of the benefit accruing to suburbanites who come into the city each day for work or entertainment.

A snapshot shows income inequality, high risks of displacement and loss of housing, and racialized disparity that tie right back to the Jim Crow laws structured into our economy and housing ownership in the 1930's.

Today, there are about 650,281 residents in the city including children and retirees. 54% of us are people of color.<sup>1</sup>

Half of Boston residents make just \$34,000. Median earnings for residents over 16 years old for the city overall is just \$34,027<sup>2</sup>. But when disaggregated by race and ethnicity, an even starker story emerges.

Median earnings by race and ethnicity<sup>3</sup>:

White Non-Hispanic	\$46,325
Black	\$27,215

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<sup>1</sup> American Community Survey; DP05; 5-year 2015.

<sup>2</sup> American Community Survey; B20017; 2015.

<sup>3</sup> American Community Survey; B20017; 2015. When disaggregated by race and ethnicity we have used the four categories: White Non-Hispanic (ethnicity), Black (race), Asian (race), and Hispanic (ethnicity). We have reviewed the total individuals or households being counted looking at race alone to ensure there is no significant discrepancy. We believe this provides the most informative disaggregated way of looking at the data.

Asian	\$26,358
Hispanic	\$21,650

These low-income levels are shaped by both hourly wage and numbers of hours of work.

Not having enough working hours also has a big impact on earnings. Only 222,397 of a total of 485,670 total Boston residents aged from 16 to 64 worked full time.

Only about 82,000 Boston residents have full time jobs paying over \$65,000 a year. Just 65,000 have full-time jobs making over \$75,000 a year!<sup>4</sup> But only 22,716 residents of color with full or part time jobs make over \$65,000 and **just 16,613 residents of color make over \$75,000**. With about the same share of residents, there are about 45,000 more white non-Hispanic residents making over \$65,000 than residents of color.

Of over 718,000 jobs in Boston, just 186,568 go to Boston residents. Only about half of Boston residents find work in the city. 73% of the jobs go to suburbanites who come in for work each day.<sup>5</sup>

61% of our households and 56% of our families make less than \$75,000 annually—an amount that is arguably the minimum needed to pay today’s Boston rents.<sup>6</sup>

**Education is not enough.** It is also documented by the City of Boston that Boston’s residents, who are now majority people of color, earn significantly less at all education levels than suburban residents coming in to Boston to work. The city’s analysis is that much of this difference is due to city residents being tracked into low wage industries and occupations. To a large extent, the differences in industry and occupational wage levels track to the Congressional decisions in the 1930’s to give some workers the rights to have unions and workplace standards like minimum wage and to withhold these rights from other workers. Congressional debate reveals that occupations were explicitly used as a proxy for race to limit the rights and economic futures of both the children of ex-slaves and immigrants.<sup>7</sup>

Data provided by Boston’s Workforce,<sup>8</sup> a March 2016 report of the Office of Workforce Development of the City of Boston, documents the following median income at each educational level for residents and non-residents working in Suffolk County:

	Boston resident median income	Non-resident median income
Less than high school	\$20,000	\$25,300
High school or equivalent	\$29,000	\$37,500
Some college, no degree	\$32,100	\$46,000
Associate’s degree	\$37,400	\$55,000
Bachelor’s degree	\$52,000	\$65,000
Advanced degree	\$68,000	\$89,000

<sup>4</sup> American Community Survey; B20005; 2011-2015

<sup>5</sup> US Census LEHD On the Map analysis.

<sup>6</sup> American Community Survey; DP03; 5 year 2015.

<sup>7</sup> Juan F. Perea; The Echoes of Slavery: Recognizing the Racist Origins of the Agricultural and Domestic Worker Exclusion from the National Labor Relations Act; Loyola University Chicago, School of Law; 72 Ohio St. L.J.I 95 (2011). Larry DeWitt; Social Security Bulletin; The Decision to Exclude Agricultural and Domestic Workers from the 1935 Social Security Act; Vol 70. No. 4; 2010.

<sup>8</sup> **Boston’s Workforce: An Assessment of Labor Market Outcomes and Opportunities**; City of Boston/Boston Redevelopment Authority; March 2016; p 26.

There is a clear racial disparity in incomes as documented by the city in Imagine 2030: “Even among residents who have the same educational background, people of color earn less.”<sup>9</sup>

Median Income by race among residents with bachelor’s degrees	
White	\$70,678
Asian	\$39,740
Black	\$37,771
Hispanic	\$29,966

Boston’s Workforce also documents that Boston’s residents are over-represented in the 5 lowest paying employment sectors in Boston, with overall 28% of residents compared to 18.6% of non-residents in these sectors. These sectors include Arts, entertainment and recreation, Retail trade, Other services, Administrative and waste services, and Accommodations and food services.<sup>10</sup>

Boston residents of color are disproportionately in lower wage occupations.<sup>11</sup>

	Total	% WNH	% POC
Civilian employed population 16 years and over	345,497	0.55	0.45
Management, business, science, and arts occupations:	164,071	0.72	0.28
Computer, engineering, and science occupations:	27,500	0.72	0.28
Education, legal, community service, arts, and media occupations:	51,077	0.69	0.31
Healthcare practitioner and technical occupations:	21,303	0.67	0.33
Service occupations including health care:	72,513	0.30	0.70
Protective service occupations:	8,611	0.30	0.70
Food preparation and serving related occupations	23,043	0.36	0.64
Building and grounds cleaning and maintenance occupations	16,296	0.18	0.82
Sales and office occupations:	72,604	0.51	0.49
Natural resources, construction, and maintenance occupations:	14,397	0.45	0.55
Production, transportation, and material moving occupations:	21,912	0.28	0.72

In addition, while planners and those proposing policies often state assumptions or appear to make assumptions that there will be 2 earners in a household, this is not the case. For Boston’s households with someone working, over half--55%--have only one person working. This means we cannot plan on households having 2 earners to provide enough income to stay in the city.<sup>12</sup>

**Boston’s residents, particularly tenants, are at significant risk of displacement by being housing cost-burdened.** These income levels—both overall in the city and as revealed by race and ethnicity—make it hard for a major portion of residents to pay market rate rent. With the median rent documented at \$1,423 a month in 2015, this is particularly true of households making less than \$57,000 who are disproportionately residents of color.<sup>13</sup>

“In every neighborhood except one, over 40% of renters are moderately to severely housing cost burdened. Roxbury and Dorchester in particular have very high percentages of renters who are moderately housing cost burdened (spending 30-49% of their income just on housing) and severely cost burdened (spending more than half of their income on housing alone).” The data below while by neighborhood also reflects the impacts on residents of color because of the segregated housing patterns

<sup>9</sup> Imagine 2030; p 86; May 2017; source to ACS.

<sup>10</sup> Boston’s Workforce: An Assessment of Labor Market Outcomes and Opportunities; City of Boston/Boston Redevelopment Authority; March 2016; p 22.

<sup>11</sup> American Community Survey S2401, S2401H, S2405, 2015

<sup>12</sup> American Community Survey; B08202.

<sup>13</sup> American Community Survey; DP04; 2015.

in Boston.<sup>14</sup>

Neighborhood	Total renter households	Renter paying 30-49% of household income on rent	Percent renter households cost burdened at 30-49%	Renter households severely cost burdened at 50% or more	Percent renter households severely cost burdened at 50% or more	% Combined
Dorchester	21,653	4,995	23.1	6,368	29.4	52.5
East Boston	11,050	2,354	21.3	2,538	23	44.3
Jamaica Plain	8,193	1,953	23.8	1,573	19.2	43
Roxbury	15,808	4,166	26.4	4,476	28.3	54.7

**A fork in the road. Choices to make.**

Five long term paths have come together in today’s moment. Some lead us forward. Some create opportunities. Others lead us downward on the paths dependent on encoding our worst history into a new generation of our economy and laws.

Today we have a choice. But time is passing, and soon we will be beyond this fork in the road, too far along to easily turn back.

Two paths—limiting income and wealth for people of color—track right back to post-Civil War Jim Crow laws.

- (1) Jim Crow restrictions were incorporated into our labor law and social safety net exclusions in the 1930’s, leading to generations of lower income and misplaced blame.
- (2) Redlining started with the same Jim Crow practices incorporated into national housing law in the 1930’s, and continued through the recent mortgage crisis and into today’s building clear-outs, in part resulting in the today’s racial wealth disparities.

Two other paths—based in changing technology and economic structures—lead to today’s dramatic economic disparities, but also create opportunities while demanding our creative responses to change.

- (3) Changing automation technology make coding the new manufacturing. After almost 80 years of post-World War II suburbanization, both employers and residents are returning to cities.
- (4) Today’s economic inequality and siphoning off of wealth by the 1% is a result in part of the failure of the mechanisms that were created for workers to contest for a share of the economic pie after the Great Depression. With today’s layers of subcontracting and fluid capital, traditional unionization, a primary mechanism for many workers to contest for a fair share of the value they created, is insufficient.

Finally, one path has been built over the last 50 years right here in Boston.

- (5) Local residents, neighbors, organized to make the city the way it is today. From stopping the I-95 highway, to restarting the Fairmount Line, to shaping the culture and energy of local businesses and culture and youth organizing, to stopping violence and demanding good schools, residents’ sweat equity is a contribution that must be valued, not stolen.

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<sup>14</sup> MAPC report prepared for CityLife/VidaUrbana; 2015.

**(1) Jim Crow restrictions were incorporated into our labor law and social safety net exclusions in the 1930's, leading to generations of lower income and misplaced blame.**

It was a conscious decision to limit the pay and job quality for workers of color that is reflected in the data we see in Boston today.<sup>15</sup> The efforts in more recent years within the same policy structure has not been enough to reverse the effects of the past.

- *New Deal and Fair Deal initiatives created a modern middle class by enabling more Americans to attend college, secure good jobs, buy houses and start businesses. But in the waning days of Jim Crow, as a result of public policy, many African-Americans were blocked from these opportunities and fell even further behind their white counterparts. The country missed the chance to build an inclusive middle class.*<sup>16</sup>
- Black workers and many immigrants were excluded from the right to unionize, to minimum wage, and to social security by excluding the primary occupations they worked in when the laws were enacted in the 1930's. This was an explicit deal to appease the southern legislators by keeping these workers exploited while not saying it was a racial line to maintain northern votes. Many groups of low wage, predominantly workers of color did not get the minimum wage. Retail, drivers, nursing home, and public education workers did not get the minimum wage until the 1960's.
- NAACP and Urban League testimony at the time (in the 1930's) said that most unions kept out people of color and that if unions discriminated, they should not have the right to a closed shop (all union). That did not pass, and is an issue even today. Just this summer, community groups met with state legislators to demand that if there is an agreement that a state construction job is all union, it needs higher diversity requirements.

A profound and layered history of workplace discrimination has followed for decades, blaming people of color for being poor, when it is not our fault.

- While residents are told that an educational credential and a strong work history get a person a good job, we see that is not true.
- Social capital and who you know still condition both hiring and promotions.
  - When a person of color does get a job in a predominantly white setting, there seem to be expectations that he or she will fail. And there are fewer second chances.
  - We see profound inequality rooted in self-fulfilling discrimination in the labor market. Since the 1960's there has been study of theories that "hold that inequality is often the result of a dominant discourse that becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy: if it is widely believed that members of certain groups are unlikely to succeed, they will be discouraged from trying."<sup>17</sup>
- Residents, and in particular young people, see the writing on the wall. No matter how they try, the deck is stacked. People act based on what they understand as true.

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<sup>15</sup> Juan F. Perea; *The Echoes of Slavery: Recognizing the Racist Origins of the Agricultural and Domestic Worker Exclusion from the National Labor Relations Act*; Loyola University Chicago, School of Law; 72 OHIO St. L.J.I 95 (2011). Larry DeWitt; *Social Security Bulletin; The Decision to Exclude Agricultural and Domestic Workers from the 1935 Social Security Act*; Vol 70. No. 4; 2010.

<sup>16</sup> Ira Katznelson; *Making Affirmative Action White Again*; New York Times; August 12, 2017.

<sup>17</sup> Thomas Piketty, *The Economics of Inequality*; The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press; 2015; p 86.

- Young people see what their parents and friends are struggling with. When they make choices because “they are discouraged from trying”, they pay an outsized cost. Incarceration rather than warnings, limits on hiring with any sort of a record... permanent penalties follow them.
- Many of Boston’s residents are excluded from the culture of high paid work and success, making it harder and harder to cross over into this other part of our city that is populated mostly by people from the suburbs.

**(2) Redlining started with the same Jim Crow practices incorporated into national housing law in the 1930’s, and continued through the recent mortgage crisis and into today’s building clear-outs, resulting in the today’s racial wealth disparities.** Owning a house has been one of the major ways Americans have saved wealth and passed it along to the next generation.

- Southern states’ implementation of New Deal policies cost Black workers their farms, forced migration to cities where more Black people were competing as workers for few racially restricted jobs, and limited Black workers by Sundown ordinances to where they could settle
- New Deal housing bills excluded Black residents. The included the GI Bill, FHA loans restricted by redlining, Federal Highway funding subsidizing the creation of segregated suburban infrastructure, all along with the creation of racially restricted jobs.

**(3) Changing automation technology making coding the new manufacturing, is allowing a new employment and manufacturing base move back into cities. After almost 80 years of post-World War II suburbanization, both employers and residents are returning to cities.**

Over the last few years, academics, urban policy wonks, and business journalists have been touting the growth and increasing density in core areas of cities.<sup>18</sup> Just as suburbanization resulted from public policies, this increase in density is also being supported and shaped by new policies being developed in cities around the country.

New zoning for greater density and taller buildings, subsidies for building development, tax credits for new businesses, publicly funded targeted training programs, improved transit—everything we hear in Boston is being used in other cities as well.

It is as if a tide is turning, and the hundreds of thousands who washed out of Boston over the 1950’s, 1960’s and 1970’s, are starting to flood back in.

We see the impact on Seattle, San Francisco, and New York, as residents are pushed out.

**(4) Today’s economic inequality and siphoning off of wealth by the 1% is a result in part of the failure of the mechanisms that were created for workers to contest for a share of the economic pie after the Great Depression. With today’s layers of subcontracting and fluid capital, traditional unionization, a primary mechanism for many workers to contest for a fair share of the value they created, is insufficient.**

While over the last 15 or 20 years, some unions have focused attention on organizing and raising standards for the occupations filled with workers of color, unions are not as effective today as they were in the initially, so the impact of unionization and unionization as a goal are not enough.

- There was a massive upsurge in unionization under 1935’s National Labor Relations Act rights after World War II—from about 10% to 35% of all workers. 10% of all workers went

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<sup>18</sup> Examples include: Vishaan Chakrabarti, America’s Urban Future, New York Times, April 16, 2014. Brad Cunningham, Cities: where the economy plays scrabble, Brookings, July 6, 2017. The Return of America’s Cities, Penn Institute for Urban Research, August 12, 2014.

on strike in 1946! In 1947, the Taft-Hartley Act brought the right-wing interests of management together with southern Democrats wanting to stop unionization of Black workers came together to pass the Taft-Hartley Act limiting unions.

“Southern elites...feared an ongoing alliance between labor and the first signs of a sustained African-American civil-rights movement, fueled by the return from the war of African American soldiers newly emboldened to seek justice.”<sup>19</sup>

The Taft-Hartley Act successfully diminished unions’ power by letting states to pass right to work laws, increasing the rights of employers to pressure employees, banning secondary boycotts so other workers could not show support, and other restrictions.

So, the erosion of legal rights of unions began by the late 1940’s.

- Two other changes, shaped by market, technological, and ideological forces, also have had a profound impact of the capacity of unions to succeed in representing the bulk of American workers.

First, economic restructuring led to more and more subcontracting. In the traditional legal framework for American unionization, workers have rights over their direct employers. Broad increases in subcontracting has meant that workers’ direct employers are often little more than labor contractors, with another entity having the power. A typical hotel today can have 5 direct employers of the workers all wearing the uniform of the well-known chain. But workers have rights to stand collectively against their direct employer.

Subcontractors are often little more than labor contractors, bringing in workers to work under the direction of other firms. In fact, Justice for Janitors, over 20 years ago, figured out it was the building owners workers needed to target—not the janitorial contracts.

The second change in the market has weakened this strategy. Capital is highly mobile with hedge funds and private equity firms owning many of the today’s firms who are now little more than brands. Faced with workers organizing, they can easily pull out their assets, creating a highly fluid target.

Fluid capital now means that the actual owner of the operating company can a hedge fund, private equity firm or other finance house. From one day to the next, the company workers are targeting is gone, just capital off to another home. The head of the Wage and Hour Division of the Labor Department under President Obama said they no longer talked about companies, just “brands”.

From 35%, unions now represent just over 6% of workers in the private sector. It is critical that we maintain and support the rights of workers as we now have them. Using rights defined in the 1930’s, limited in the 1940’s, that show consistently diminishing results in today’s labor market, cannot be our only strategies.

- 5. Finally, one path has been built over the last 50 years right here in Boston. Local residents, neighbors, organized to make the city the way it is today. From stopping the I-95 highway, to reopening Fairmount Line stops, to shaping local arts and culture, creating the energy of local businesses, developing local youth organizations, stopping violence, and demanding good schools, residents’ sweat equity is a contribution that must be valued, not stolen.**

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<sup>19</sup> Rich Yeselson, “Fortress Unionism”; DeomcracyJournal.org; Summer 2013.

Local residents—neighbors—organized to make the city the way it is today. Right in this week’s Boston Globe, residents are speaking out about their investment in their own neighborhoods.<sup>20</sup> That investment has a long, continuous, history in Boston.

In the 1960’s, 1970’s, and 1980’s, Boston was struggling compared to today. People—particularly white people—were still leaving for the suburbs, as they had been doing since World War II. Public safety was a big issue in many neighborhoods. Drugs and arson were common.

Many residents, often with the leadership of people of color, made a conscious choice to fight to hold on to their neighborhoods. Pushing out drug houses and arson, fighting evictions, taking back the streets, building a vibrant community artistic and cultural life, fighting for transit justice, demanding good education, supporting young people, fighting for environmental justice, supporting diverse small local businesses—neighborhoods were reclaimed from violence and abandonment by the efforts and sweat of Boston’s residents.

- Residents in JP, Roxbury, and Mission Hill spent about 10 years (1964-1975) fighting the highway meant to run through the city and then took on the fight against housing disinvestment, arson and neglect. CityLife/VidaUrbana was founded in 1973 in response to local slumlords not maintaining buildings and arson for profit. Cultural organizing beginning in the 1980’s with Spontaneous Celebrations has led to decades of Wake Up the Earth festivals and more.
- In 1968, the inhabitants of the Parcel 19 in the South End organized, and with the support of hundreds of protesters, they fought to stop the displacement they were facing. They finally won this battle, which not only allowed their people to keep their homes but also gave them the right to control and develop their community. IBA then developed Villa Victoria (Victory Village), now with 521 units of affordable housing community, continuing civil rights, community organizing, affordable housing, education and arts programs today.
- Chinese Progressive Association has led the fight for neighborhood stabilization, housing, job access, as a civic voice for more than 40 years.
- Greater Four Corners Action Coalition was formed in 1986 as the Four Corners Public Safety Committee to take back the neighborhood from crack houses and street violence. GFCAC takes on the work of supporting the development of block associations throughout its entire catchment area, ensuring that residents can organize themselves to speak out in their own behalf.
- Neighborhoods, led by GFCAC and others, led the fight to re-open the Fairmount Line stations that had been closed as the neighborhoods had become Black, to fight for good transit and green space along the line for our neighborhoods.
- Starting in 1984, Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative led the way in asserting local control of land and decision-making by residents.
- Hyde Square Task Force was founded at about the same time, in response to rampant violence, drug dealing, and gang activity in the Hyde/Jackson Square area, with a focus on youth organizing.
- Since 1993, Alternatives for Community and Environment (ACE) began anchoring its neighborhood in Roxbury with youth and environmental justice organizing.

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<sup>20</sup> Kathleen Conti, “Renters Worry About Sudden Evictions”; Boston Globe; August 25, 2017.



These examples are worth noting because they been geographically-based, rather than issue-based. This continuity of community investment and leadership has shaped today's neighborhoods and city. Over many decades, a conscious funding strategy from local foundations created a financial base for this work. Hundreds of other groups, from churches, peace and anti-violence groups, youth, to environmental groups, and more, have also been part of these efforts.

Decades later, residents are still here making contributions to their communities. Our neighborhoods today are the result of the last 50 years of this work. While residents may not have as much money to invest, their sweat equity in our communities should be both honored and rewarded. It should not be stolen.

### **A New Path to a Fair Share for Boston's Residents**

More than 70,000<sup>21</sup> Boston households—our families, our seniors—need to be able to stay in Boston and will be displaced if we take no action now. If we don't hold the line now, within a few years, Boston will be a different place than it is today.

- Residents are demanding that the city pause its planning and development approvals that appear to be speeding up displacement.
- Tenants need to know their rights and have broad access to help to use those rights.
- Jim Brooks needs to be passed and moved to the state quickly and then implemented.
- Clear-outs need to be stopped.
- All public land needs to be identified and designated for all subsidized housing.
- An analysis needs to be made of the increase in city income from development already completed and underway, unpacking the argument that city revenues will be significantly harmed by this pause.

The city needs to send a signal with actions—not just words—that people should not need to move.

Once we buy time, we still need plan. Too much of today's public policy is rooted in the 1930's—a different economic structure, Jim Crow exclusions, the terrain of contesting economic inequality focused on workplaces rather than policy. We need new approaches and a new compact for shared wealth.

Boston has enough wealth to go around. We are a rich, economically vibrant city. We are the beneficiary of decades of investment in higher education and innovation.

### **We need good jobs for Boston residents**

Boston residents are not getting their fair share of the economic boom of the city. Just like a big goal for new housing by 2030 was set, we need a big goal for good jobs.

By 2030, an additional 45,000 of our current residents need significantly better jobs to be able to stay in the city.

We can start by counting the increases that are already underway.

- 1,000 new construction jobs for city residents and people of color from the new BRJP
- 2,000 new good casino jobs

We have programs and new policy in development already.

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<sup>21</sup> Investigation is underway on how slowing the rate of development changes these impacts.

- 1<sup>st</sup> source hiring programs grounded in neighborhoods needing economic stabilization, tied to major employers
- Programs that connect our residents with skills, credentials and strong labor market attachment who have been stranded in low wage industries and occupations to high wage employers and industries that commit to strengthening their capacity to retain our residents, particularly our residents of color.
- New city ordinance raising quality and access standards for all new development, businesses that get a benefit from the city, and large non-profits not paying taxes.

In addition, 17,000<sup>22</sup> of our current unemployed residents need to be employed.

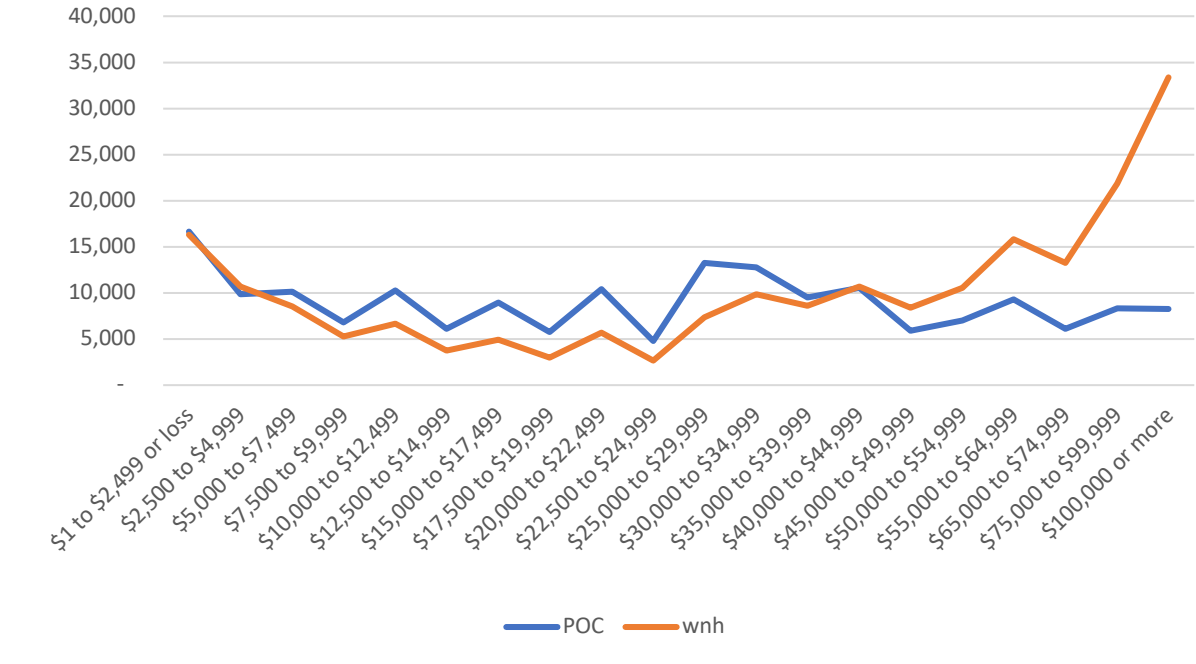
- As people who are working move up to better jobs, a formal program to work with employers to backfill the newly vacant jobs, tied to neighborhoods needing stabilization, must focus on this goal.

We propose convening a broad New Boston Compact to plan and operationalize what it will take to reach these goals, using what is already underway to kick-start the plan for 45,000 better jobs and new employment for 17,000.

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<sup>22</sup> There are currently 17,000 more residents of color unemployed than would be if the percentage of their unemployment was reduced to the same 6% as white residents. ACS, S2301, 5 yr 2015.

Comparison of number of earners (FT+PT) at each income category for white non-hispanic and all people of color together (Black, Asian, Hispanic/Latino), ACS Boston 2011-2015, B20005



Comparison of number of earners at each income category for full-time employment by race/ethnicity, Boston 2011-2015 ACS B20005

