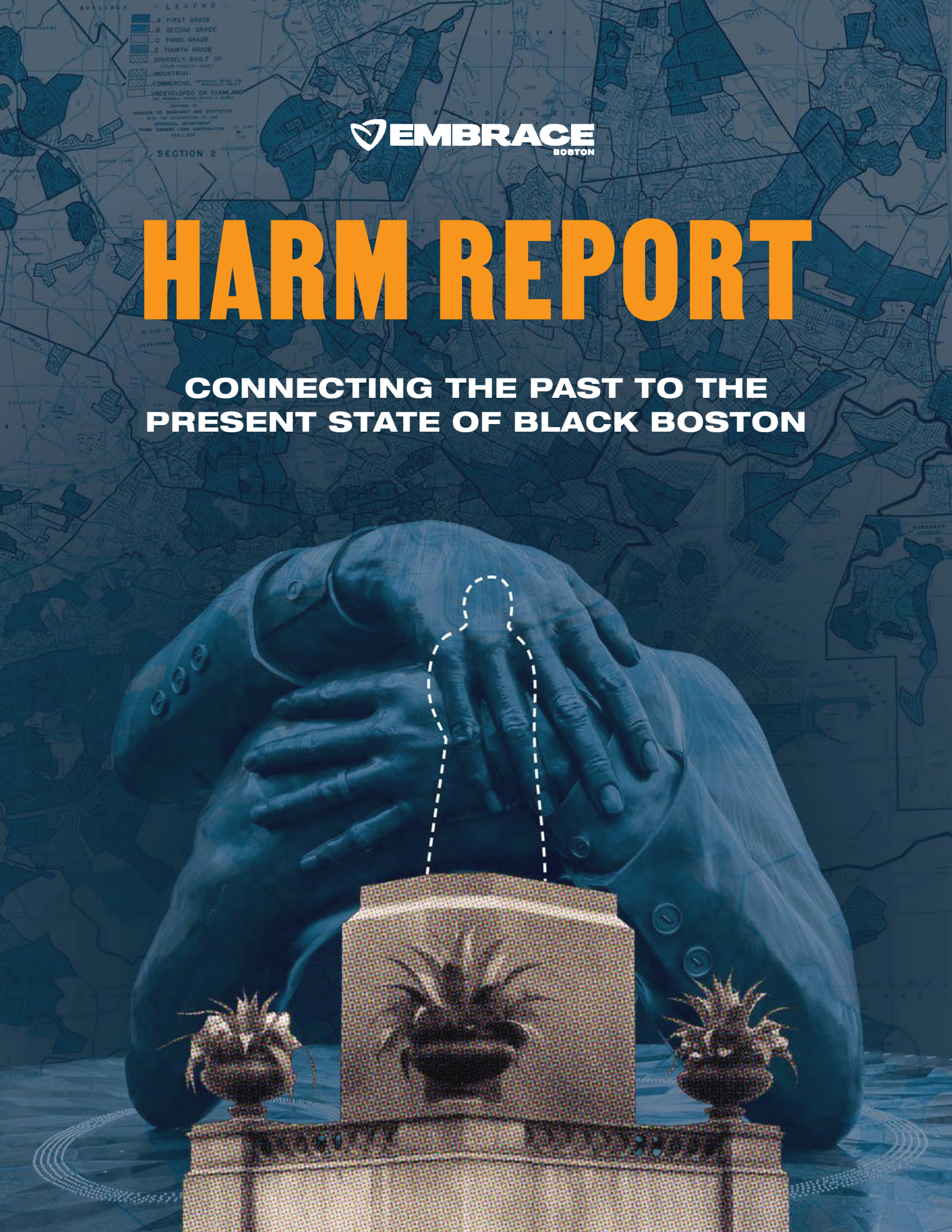
EMBRACE BOSTON

HARM REPORT

CONNECTING THE PAST TO THE PRESENT STATE OF BLACK BOSTON



ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We would like to thank: Dr. April Inniss, Samantha Canica, Claudia Capria, Haley D'Amico, Deborah Chat Dauda, Dr. Andrew King, Dr. Jenny LaFleur, Terence Ankner, Esq., Reverend Jeffrey Brown, Michael Curry, Paul English, Paul Francisco, Kate Guedj, Tito Jackson, Linda Mason, Kevin McGovern, Pat Mitchell, Esq., Alison Quirk, Dr. Joan Reede, Reverend Liz Walker, M. Lee Pelton, The Boston Foundation, Dr. Imari Paris Jeffries, Elizabeth Tiblanc, Ana Maria Medina, Duncan Remage-Healey and the Embrace Boston team. We are grateful to all of our partners, supporters, donors, and champions who make this work possible.

DESIGN

Mel Isidor, Isidor Studio

About EMBRACE BOSTON

Founded in 2017, Embrace Boston envisions a radically inclusive and equitable Boston where everyone belongs and Black people prosper, grounded in joy, love, and well-being. Embrace Boston dismantles structural racism at the intersection of arts and culture, community, and research. Our theory of change aims to influence two key levers in moving Boston towards greater equity and inclusion: public policies and cultural representations.

HARM REPORT

CONNECTING THE PAST TO THE PRESENT STATE OF BLACK BOSTON

EMBRACE BOSTON

2024

All images in the report are by Embrace Boston unless otherwise noted.
Cover imagery sourced via the Boston Public Library.

Table of Contents

INTRODUCTION 7

CULTURE & SYMBOLS 23

HOUSING 35

TRANSPORTATION 49

EDUCATION 61

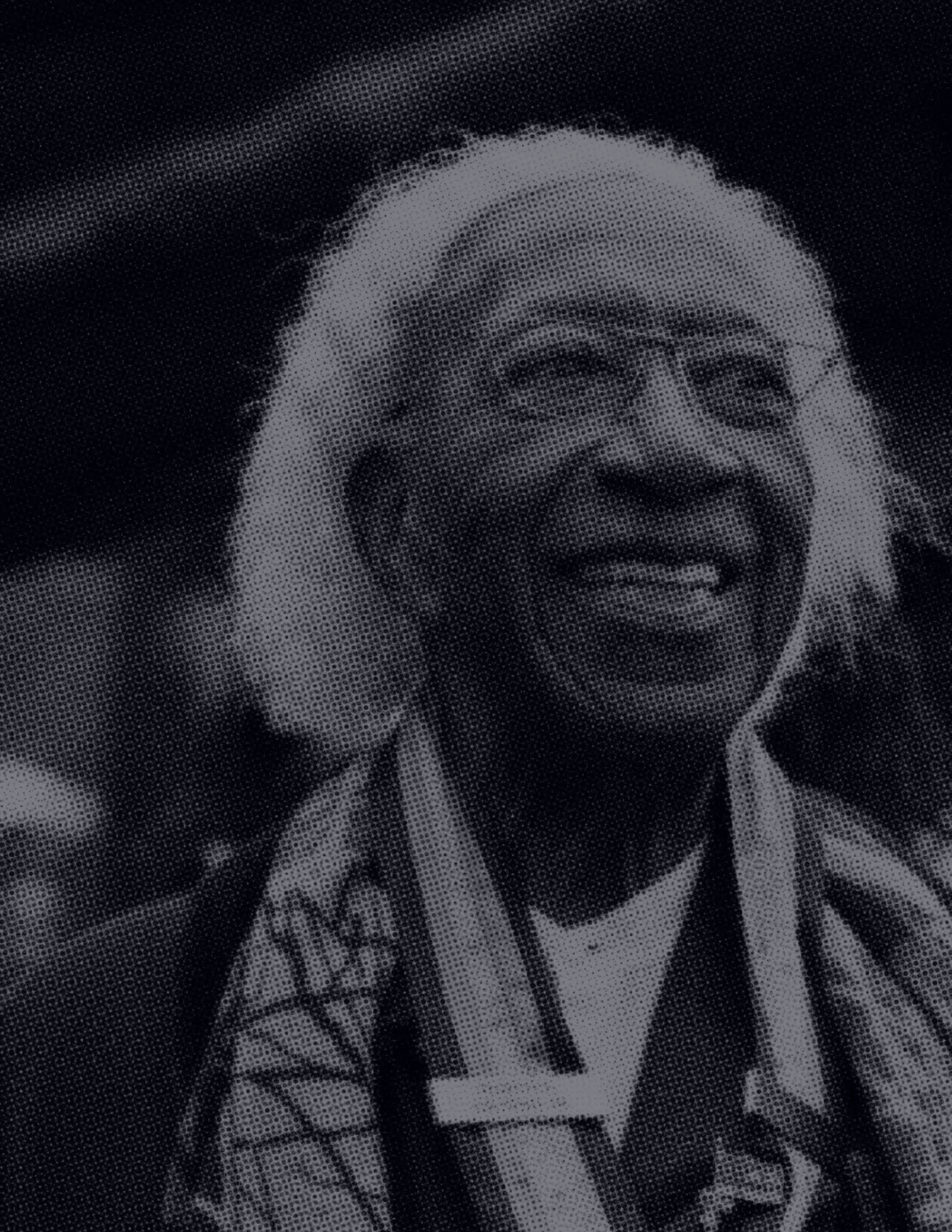
CRIMINAL LEGAL SYSTEMS 83

HEALTH 99

INCOME & WEALTH 109

CONCLUSION 123

REFERENCES 131



INTRODUCTION

Image by Embrace Boston

INTRODUCTION

This report provides an overview of the city and state policies and practices that have historically disadvantaged Black residents of Boston and Massachusetts. These disadvantages persist today, and impact Black residents in virtually all aspects of life.

The COVID-19 pandemic exposed many of these longstanding disparities and led to the disproportionate loss of Black lives. In Boston, Black people made up 1 in 3 COVID-19 deaths as of April 2022, despite being 24% of the city's population.[1,2] In 2020, there was a 9.3% gap between Black and white Boston Public School (BPS) students graduating high school within 5 years.[3] Data from that same year show that of the almost 4,000 arrests in the city, nearly 60% of them were Black.[4] Similarly, Black people in the city and in the state as a whole are disadvantaged in the areas of homeownership and other wealth-building strategies.

IN DOCUMENTING THIS HISTORY OF HARMS AND THEIR CONTEMPORARY IMPACT, WE AIM TO BUILD A CASE TO SUPPORT REPARATIONS FOR LOCAL BLACK RESIDENTS.

> From racial inequities in health status and educational outcomes, to disparities in income and wealth, the legacies of slavery, Jim Crow, and ongoing *de facto* discrimination remain as much a part of Boston and Massachusetts as baked beans and the Mayflower.

In documenting this history of harms and their contemporary impact, we aim to build a case to support reparations for local Black residents, while endorsing federal House Bill H.R. 40, which calls for the establishment of a commission to study reparations for Black people and recommend redress.[5] These local efforts complement and maintain momentum around H.R. 40, and also serve to put in place the local infrastructures needed to receive and distribute federal funds should H.R. 40 and the commission's recommendations be enacted.

The demand for reparations is consistent with Black Boston's long history of resistance. There's Benjamin Roberts, a Black father in Boston who in 1849, filed the first desegregation suit after his daughter Sarah was denied access to a city school because she was Black.[6] Then there's Doris Bland, a young Black mother who organized other, mostly Black Bostonian mothers in the 1960s to advocate for more humane social services.[7] Resistance is, and has been, an integral part of the story of Black progress, and one can find countless examples similar to these when looking back at Black Boston's rich history. Resistance is how Black people have survived and even thrived against seemingly impossible odds. This spirit is the deeper driving force behind this report.

This report is not by any means exhaustive. There wouldn't be enough volumes to provide a full and detailed recollection of the ways local Black residents have been harmed by racist public policy and institutional practices. Instead, this is a high level overview of the most consequential policy decisions that have created and continue to fuel the racial inequities that exist today.

The Injury Areas covered in this report are among the most fiercely urgent issues facing Black residents of Boston and of Massachusetts more widely. These seven Injury Areas were derived from the National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America's (N'COBRA) Five Injury Areas, the National African-American Reparations Commission's (NAARC) 10-Point Plan, and the Reparations Harm Report authored by Black residents of the town of Amherst, Massachusetts.

The 7 Injury Areas include:

1) **Culture & Symbols**
2) **Housing**
3) **Transportation**
4) **Education**
5) **Criminal Legal Systems**
6) **Health**
7) **Income & Wealth**

BACKGROUND

The years 2020 and 2021 bear the indelible marks of glaring racial disparities in COVID-19 deaths and a string of high-profile police killings of Black people, from Breonna Taylor to George Floyd. These tragedies, among others, sparked protests across the globe and ushered in yet another period of intense racial reckoning here in the United States.

And just like that, a moment reinvigorated a movement.

Intended to atone for the "original crime"[8] of U.S. chattel slavery and its ongoing legacy, movements for reparations are seeing renewed public interest and a fresh wave of political activity. Examples include recent progress on federal House Bill H.R. 40[9], and the recent uptick of state- and municipal-level reparations proposals from California to Cambridge, MA.

As these movements gain momentum across the country, groups in Massachusetts and Boston are pursuing local reparations, while also affirming support for federal H.R. 40. On October 26, 2021, the Boston City Council's Committee on Civil Rights held a hearing on the establishment of a committee to study and recommend redress for Boston's own history of chattel slavery and more modern city-sanctioned discrimination. The hearing featured local leaders who educated the public about the city's role in slavery and ongoing discrimination, and elaborated on their ongoing impacts. To ground the hearing in the rich tradition of Black liberation movements that prioritized reparations, the hearing first began with a careful definition of and reflection on the meaning of reparations for Black people.

WHAT ARE REPARATIONS? GLOBAL AND NATIONAL PERSPECTIVES

State and local proposals for reparations are only contemporary embodiments of longstanding Black freedom struggles across the African diaspora. The legacies of slavery, colonialism, and apartheid still loom large for the hundreds of millions of women, men, and children of African descent across the world who are still feeling the effects of slavery through more modern forms of systemic racism. In the shadow of this ignominious past and its echoes into the present, peoples of African descent have nevertheless pushed for the conditions that recognize and affirm their humanity and dignity. They pushed, across borders and throughout the centuries, for *transitional justice*.

According to the United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner, transitional justice includes, among other things,

"...facilitating initiatives in respect of the right to truth, delivering reparations, institutional reform and national consultations."

Therefore, transitional justice requires a deeply honest recollection of history and a clear-eyed view of present injustices—but it is incomplete without definite processes and outcomes intended to rectify those crimes against humanity.

Reparations, one form of transitional justice, are all of these things: a truth-telling, a process, and an outcome. But what exactly are reparations? Why are they needed? And why now?

N'COBRA lists a definition of reparations as, "the process of repairing, healing, and restoring a people who were injured, due to their group identity, in violation of their fundamental human rights by a government, corporation, institution, or individual."[10]

Furthermore, because reparations are a process, and not just a one-time act, there are criteria that must be met to qualify as full repair.

A concept with origins in international law, full reparations or full repair involves 5 key components:[11]

1) **Restitution**
2) **Compensation**
3) **Rehabilitation**
4) **Satisfaction**
5) **Cessation and guarantees of non-repetition**

Restitution attempts to restore the injured group to as whole a state as possible before the specific harm was inflicted on them, for example, through restoration of lost property, employment, or citizenship. ***Compensation*** is monetary payment for damages resulting from a harm, while ***rehabilitation*** typically involves non-monetary services and assistance like medical care or legal council. ***Satisfaction*** includes symbolic gestures such as public apologies and monuments that memorialize the injured group. Finally, ***cessation and guarantees of non-repetition*** consist of policy and procedural changes to categorically end ongoing harms to the injured group, and to protect them from repeated affliction with those harms.

Beyond these five elements of full repair, NAARC, an advocacy organization of Black professionals with expertise across several disciplines from academia to activism, outlines a set of minimum criteria that must be met for meaningful reparations:

1) Remedy must be defined and agreed to by the groups who suffered the injury or harm (and not the government, institution or individual responsible for inflicting injury or harm)
2) An independent structure must be created to receive resources (e.g., Reparations Finance Authority)
3) Standard, regular or ordinary public policy is not reparations.

In the widely regarded and carefully crafted case for reparations, *From Here to Equality: Reparations for Black Americans in the Twenty-First Century*, authors William A. Darity Jr. and A. Kirsten Mullen highlight the two broad categories under which Compensation and Rehabilitation could fall: direct cash payments to individuals, and community investments like trust funds and endowment support for historically Black colleges and universities. The combination of these individual- and community-level benefits are specifically aimed at closing the racial wealth gap, while affirming Black autonomy and self-determination, and building up key community infrastructures to sustain Black progress and flourishing for the long-term.[12]

WHY REPARATIONS NOW?

Even a cursory examination of U.S. history reveals a number of missed opportunities to repair the historical and ongoing harms inflicted on the nation's Black people. For instance, Darity and Mullen's *From Here to Equality* describes major milestones like the Reconstruction era, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's New Deal, and the 1964 Civil Rights Act as such missed opportunities.[13] Despite the openings provided by these periods of seismic shift in the social milieu and the ambitious policy proposals designed to meet those moments, repair remained an elusive goal for those seeking to right these historical and ongoing wrongs.

Many argue that today presents yet another opportunity to finally implement meaningful repair. The first reconstruction was needed to end slavery, and the second sought to end American apartheid (i.e., Jim Crow laws). While advances were made during both periods, neither fully eradicated the nation's hierarchy based on race. Reverend Dr. William J. Barber II and Jonathan Wilson Hartgrove posit that since Donald Trump's election, the U.S. has been engaged in a "Third Reconstruction" to realize the nation's full democracy and live up to its promise of liberty and justice for all.[14]

The triple pandemics of COVID-19, widening economic inequality, and America's most recent racial reckoning have subsequently defined this "Third Reconstruction." This moment therefore presents an opportunity to get history right, to finally undo a vicious hierarchy based on race, and to restore to Black people the material and immaterial substances that were stolen from them. Additionally, this moment presents perhaps the best opportunity for reform through widespread movements that have been made possible and fueled by social media, bringing together millions that would otherwise be unable to mobilize.

THIS MOMENT PRESENTS AN OPPORTUNITY TO GET HISTORY RIGHT, TO FINALLY UNDO A VICIOUS HIERARCHY BASED ON RACE, AND TO RESTORE TO BLACK PEOPLE THE MATERIAL AND IMMATERIAL SUBSTANCES THAT WERE STOLEN FROM THEM.

WHAT HARMS ARE REPARATIONS ADDRESSING AND HOW COULD THEY ADDRESS THEM?

Centuries of unrecompensed Black genocide, apartheid, and plunder on U.S. soil have stymied Black progress, and therefore call for deep repair in several major sectors. N'COBRA has defined Five Injury Areas From Slavery, while NAARC has elaborated a 10-Point Plan with specific areas of focus for reparations. From these, one can derive a robust (but not exhaustive) list of potential forms of compensation and rehabilitation, or material and more symbolic forms of redress.

Material forms for descendants of enslaved Africans can include:

- Cash payments
- Land
- Economic development
- Housing assistance
- Educational and business grants
- Funds for scholarships and community trust funds

Additional forms of redress for Black people of African descent could consist of:

- African-centered education
- Development of historical monuments and museums
- Community wellness initiatives
- Ending racially biased public policies that maintain dual systems in the punishment, health, education and the financial/economic systems

$14,200,000,000,000

($14.2 Trillion)

Estimated value of reparations owed by the federal government[17]

In considering the varied forms that redress could take, much attention has been paid to the challenge of quantifying the debt that is owed to Black people descended from chattel slavery in the U.S. In *From Here to Equality*, Darity and Mullen outline several models for calculating this debt; Roger Ransom and Richard Sutch center the concept of slave exploitation in their estimate; Thomas Craemer used average wages during the time of slavery multiplied by the number of hours slaves labored between the founding of the country in 1776 to the Emancipation Proclamation in 1865.[15]

By any of the methods they describe, the sum owed is quite large; for example, Craemer's estimate is on the order of $14.2 trillion dollars.[16] The point here is that only the federal government has the coffers to provide full restitution, based on its ability to accommodate such a sum (likely over time), and its direct complicity in past and ongoing crimes against humanity through the sanctioning and codifying of Black dehumanization via chattel slavery, Jim Crow, and ongoing policies characterized by *de facto* discrimination. This is the process that H.R. 40 will initiate through the establishment of the Commission to Study and Develop Reparation Proposals for African Americans.

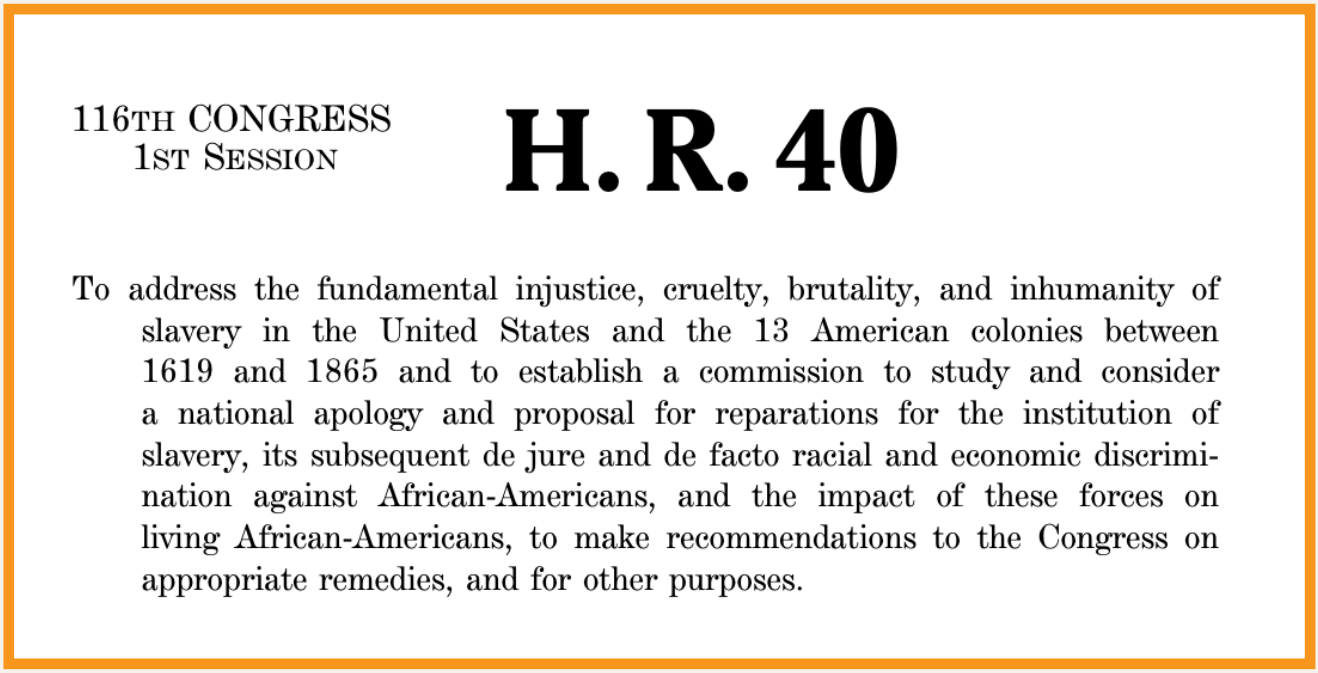
So what is the role then, for reparations at the levels of states, cities, and towns?

THE ROLE OF LOCAL REPARATIONS EFFORTS

Local repair efforts, like the groundbreaking achievement by the residents of Evanston, IL, demonstrate how progress can be made at a local level. Evanston became the first city in America to issue reparation payments, offering $25,000 to 16 selected Black residents in June of 2022. The limitations of local efforts like these serve as a reminder that only the federal government has the resources to realize full reparations, including the financial coffers to repay the debts owed for unpaid Black labor, Black genocide, and state-sanctioned apartheid.

Therefore local repair efforts like the ones here in Boston and in Massachusetts aim to keep up the momentum around other local repair efforts, and ultimately H.R. 40, which has made recent progress after being proposed year after year since 1989.

Local repair efforts also expose how other jurisdictions beyond the South have directly participated in the harms inflicted by chattel slavery, apartheid, and discrimination that persists today. For example, Boston's own repair efforts have brought to the forefront both the city's and the state's prominent role in the slave trade—the original root that sprung the inequities and injustices for which redress is sought today.



116TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. R. 40

To address the fundamental injustice, cruelty, brutality, and inhumanity of slavery in the United States and the 13 American colonies between 1619 and 1865 and to establish a commission to study and consider a national apology and proposal for reparations for the institution of slavery, its subsequent de jure and de facto racial and economic discrimination against African-Americans, and the impact of these forces on living African-Americans, to make recommendations to the Congress on appropriate remedies, and for other purposes.

Opening of the H.R. 40 bill to establish the Commission to Study and Develop Reparation Proposals for African Americans. Source: Congress.gov

AN OVERVIEW OF LOCAL CONNECTIONS TO U.S. CHATTEL SLAVERY AND EARLY BLACK FREEDOM MOVEMENTS

Boston has long been known as the "cradle of liberty" for its crucial role in the American Revolution. However, it is a bitter irony that the region's prosperity was dependent on the Atlantic slave trade and Massachusetts was the first colony to legalize slavery in 1641.[18]

Colonization and slavery went hand-in-hand. To establish a colony in New England, the settlers needed land and labor. By waging war against the Indigenous inhabitants, they accomplished both aims: they displaced or killed the Native peoples, opening up the land for settlement, and enslaved many of their captives, selling them to the West Indies in exchange for enslaved Africans, who were in turn brought north to do the work involved in building the new colonies.[19]

While slaves constituted a relatively small percentage of the population (amounting to 5-10% in the larger towns) they played an important role in the region's economic development. Their work ranged from the drudgery of daily household and farm tasks—hauling water, cooking, tending to livestock, washing clothes—to other forms of labor in shipbuilding, distillery, and warehousing enterprises. A colonist "could maynteyne 20 [slaves] cheaper than one English servant"[20] according to a 1645 letter from a prominent colonial attorney to former Massachusetts governor John Winthrop. The letter illuminates both the profitability of slave labor and the disregard for Black humanity in 17th century New England.

Illustration from the posthumously published biography of Chloe Spear, showing her abduction in Africa as a child; Spear was enslaved in Massachusetts from 1761 to until 1783. Source: University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

Many mercantile families in Boston profited from this trade. By the late 17th century, more than half the ships in Boston's Harbor at any one time were involved in the West Indian slave trade.[21] According to one historian,

"The region in many ways depended on plantation slavery—those plantations were simply offshore."[22]

The New England colonies provided the investment capital, farmed crops, livestock and fish to fuel the West Indian plantations, which in turn produced the highly profitable sugar consumed by European and colonial elites.[23] These profits lined the pockets of the New England investors.

Puritan ministers such as Cotton Mather co-opted and misused the Bible to justify slavery, sanctioning human bondage in the name of God. The Puritans focused on those passages in the Bible that commanded obedience and honor to one's master, and associated Blackness with evil and satan-like rebellion against God. In his book, *A Good Master Well Served*, Mather asserted his world view that servants and the lowly must accept their station at the bottom of the human hierarchy. Mather was one of the most influential writers of his day and his racist ideas spread across the colonies, justifying slavery from Massachusetts south to the Carolinas.[24]

By the 19th century, Massachusetts' connection to plantation slavery had grown. The invention and adoption of the cotton gin accelerated the growth of single-crop cotton plantations throughout the Southern colonies. Booming Northern textile factories in towns such as Lowell and Lawrence processed millions of tons of Southern cotton picked by the enslaved, giving birth to industrial capitalism. Thus, Boston-based family textile wealth, such as that of the Lowells—fortunes used to create famous institutions such as Harvard and Brown Universities—were drenched in the blood of enslaved Black people.[25]

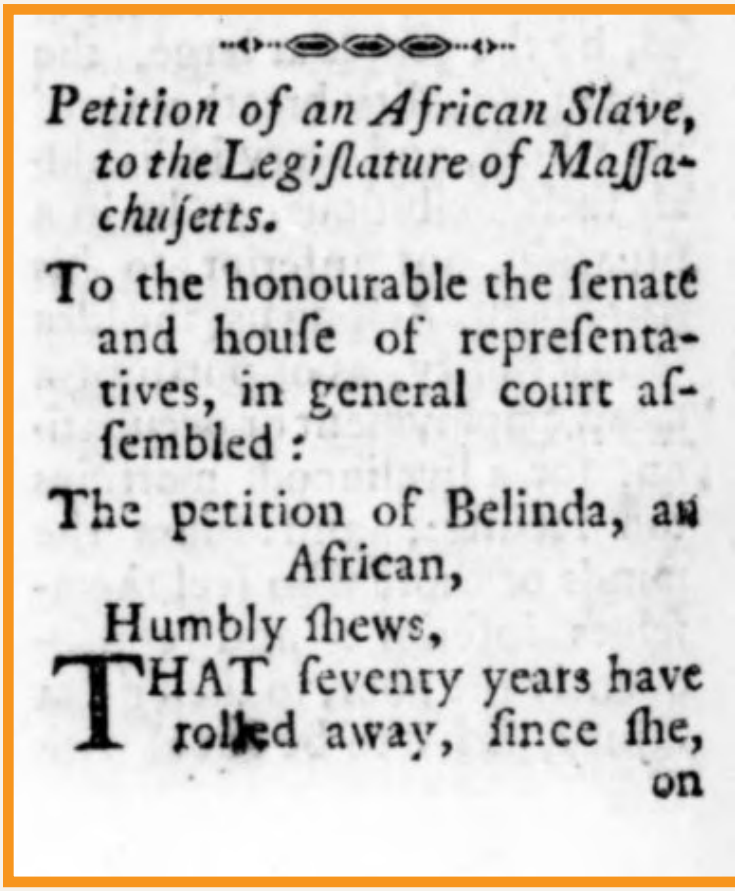
Part of the Puritan missionary ethos was that enslaved people had souls that needed to be instructed and saved. Thus, many of the enslaved in the colony learned to read and write. Many learned skilled trades. Massachusetts laws permitted a limited amount of rights not found in Southern colonies, such as rights to acquire and transfer property, have a trial by jury, and sue white people. Black people used these rights repeatedly and creatively to assert their agency and resist the oppression of white society.[26]

BY THE LATE 17TH CENTURY, MORE THAN HALF THE SHIPS IN BOSTON'S HARBOR AT ANY ONE TIME WERE INVOLVED IN THE WEST INDIAN SLAVE TRADE.

One of the most notable examples was that of Belinda Sutton, born in West Africa and enslaved by the Royall family in Massachusetts. The Royalls were Loyalists. After the Revolutionary War, the state seized the Royall family's property, freeing Sutton. In 1783, she petitioned the Massachusetts State Legislature for a pension to be paid out of the Royall family estate to compensate her for the years of unpaid labor. The Legislature agreed that she would be compensated yearly. This was the first instance in the colonies of a freed Black person obtaining reparations for having been enslaved. That same year, Massachusetts became the first state to outlaw slavery when the Chief Justice declared it to be unconstitutional.[27]

In the 1830s to 1840s, Boston was a stronghold of Black and white abolitionist activity. The abolitionists assisted enslaved individuals who were escaping on the Underground Railroad, published influential anti-slavery literature, and preached against slavery in hundreds of pulpits and town hall meetings. In 1830, Black Abolitionist David Walker published his *Appeal to the Colored Citizens of the World*, a clarion call for Black liberation, copies of which were read by enslaved people fleeing captivity along the Underground Railroad. In 1831, William Lloyd Garrison launched the famous abolitionist newspaper, *The Liberator* and a year later, he co-founded the New England Anti-Slavery Society. In 1849, Benjamin Roberts, a Black father, sued the City of Boston after his daughter was denied admission to a white public school. The state Supreme Judicial Court said the City had the right to maintain segregated schools as long as they were "separate but equal" a doctrine that was used as a precedent in the infamous *Plessy v. Ferguson* case in 1896. During the Civil War, the Massachusetts 54th Regiment was the first Black regiment to take up arms for the Union.[28]

During the 246 years of slavery in the American colonies and the young nation, Black people in Massachusetts have struggled for their freedom. While every step forward brought resistance and backlash, the fight for racial equality and justice remained strong and marched on. In the spirit of these heroic struggles, this report will make the case for reparations for the Black community in Boston and Massachusetts—and in making this case, may it bring us that much closer to leaving future generations the legacy that they deserve and our ancestors have earned.



Petition of an African Slave, to the Legiſlature of Maſſachuſetts.

To the honourable the ſenate and houſe of repreſentatives, in general court aſſembled:

The petition of Belinda, an African,

Humbly ſhews,

THAT ſeventy years have rolled away, ſince ſhe, on

Belinda Sutton's petition to the Massachusetts General Court in 1783 was reprinted in The American Museum or Repository of Ancient and Modern Fugitive Pieces & c 1787-06: Vol 1 Iss 6. Source: Archive.org

CULTURE & SYMBOLS

Image by Isidor Studio

1 CULTURE AND SYMBOLS

N'COBRA lists five injury areas born from slavery that remain relevant in modern society. One of them, Peoplehood/Nationhood, was integral in defining a focus on Culture & Symbols. The repression of African people's culture upon forced arrival in this land has caused irreparable harms that still affect Black people today.

> Centuries of social life can be observed through both the physical traces that have been crystallized as part of the city landscape and, importantly, by what has been erased.

From streets to monuments to institutions, the stewarding of our shared space speaks volumes as to who is valued and prioritized–who belongs–in a city. In Boston, white narratives and epistemic commitments to white supremacy have physically dominated our city's landscape for centuries. This is not a phenomenon that is unique to Boston; decades of scholarship have laid the theoretical and empirical foundation for understanding racism as an endemic feature of U.S. culture. However, in a city that is upheld for the foundational role it played in the establishment of our democracy, it holds particular relevance that the presence and cultural contributions of Black Bostonians have been elided.

THE HISTORICAL AND CONTEMPORARY OCCLUSION OF THE BLACK PRESENCE IN BOSTON HAS BEEN A REQUISITE OF PERPETUATING THE MYTH OF BOSTON AS A WHITE CITY. CHANGING OUR COLLECTIVE UNDERSTANDING OF WHO REALLY MAKES UP OUR CITY, IT IS IMPORTANT THAT OUR COLLECTIVE THIRD SPACES TELL AN ACCURATE CULTURAL STORY OF THE CITY.

RACE AND REPRESENTATION IN BOSTON

It's easy to think of a city as a purely bureaucratic or political entity, defined by its formal structures and governing functions. But what makes a city is its people. Past, present, and future Bostonians are the creative force that gives our city its identity. The web of human relationships that make up the cultural fabric of Boston can be directly observed in the physical structure of the city. Streets, parks, monuments, buildings–they all testify to the social dynamics that gave them their physical form. Centuries of social life can be observed through both the physical traces that have been left behind and by what has been erased.

Both historical and contemporary social dynamics shape the lived space of Boston today. This shared landscape serves as an archive of our city's history, it provides physical testament to who has held power and whose stories matter. A city's thirdspace–its collection of shared communal places–impacts how people think and feel about a city. City residents and tourists, alike, have sensory, affective, and cognitive reactions to the simple act of moving through the city's public spaces. Third spaces play a critical role as subtle yet impactful narrators of Boston's cultural past, present, and future. For this reason, it is important to question who is centered, who remains at the margins, and who has been erased completely from these places across Boston.

THE WEB OF HUMAN RELATIONSHIPS THAT MAKE UP THE CULTURAL FABRIC OF BOSTON CAN BE DIRECTLY OBSERVED IN THE PHYSICAL STRUCTURE OF THE CITY. STREETS, PARKS, MONUMENTS, BUILDINGS– THEY ALL TESTIFY TO THE SOCIAL DYNAMICS THAT GAVE THEM THEIR PHYSICAL FORM.

Monument of Phillis Wheatley in Back Bay. Source: Isidor Studio

The emergence of the city's physical structure has, since the 17th century, reflected the social hierarchies that shaped Boston's cultural life. The original cultural harm–one that was foundational to the establishment of the city–was the displacement and murder of the Massachusett people who lived along the coast in the areas where Boston stands today. The clearance and appropriation of Massachusett land by colonial settlers from England was, however, only the beginning. The production of colonial spaces helped to establish an understanding of who held power as the settlement grew to include enslaved people of African and Native American descent, free Black and indigenous peoples, as well as other European settlers.

Widely considered one of the foundational cities of American democracy, Boston boasts of nearly 80 statues and monuments, each one bringing local heroes and national legends to life. Of that number, a mere eight are dedicated to Black history and Black voices.[29] Of the city's monuments that do acknowledge Black Americans, some have been critiqued for their paternalistic and racist tenor. One such example, the Emancipation Memorial, which featured a formerly enslaved person kneeling at the feet of Abraham Lincoln, was removed after public outcry in 2020. In another instance, the problematization of a public monument by Black Bostonians has not led to any change. The Robert Gould Shaw and Massachusetts 54th Regiment Memorial has been critiqued, to no avail, for its aesthetic glorification of the white general and concomitant minimization of the Black Union soldiers who served in his regiment.[30]

In another important example, the racial reckoning of 2020 led to the removal of a statue of Christopher Columbus that was first placed in 1979 after the opening of Christopher Columbus Waterfront Park in 1976.[31] The outcry around this monument to Columbus focused not only on *his* role in colonization but also the fact that the statue was erected in 1979 through the efforts of a conservative Italian-American activist who opposed school desegregation.[32] Thus, the Columbus statue was understood by Black and Brown Bostonians as a celebration of not only the white supremacy of centuries past, but of the white racist activism of the late 20th century, as well. While the statue is gone, the park still bears the name of Christopher Columbus.

Recently, calls for the renaming of Faneuil Hall have been met with formidable resistance, despite a City Council vote in 2023 approving a non-binding resolution supporting the renaming.[33] The building was named for the principal funder of its construction, colonial merchant and slave trader, Peter Faneuil.

> In today's Boston, while the harms of the slave trade are ostensibly acknowledged, there often remains a curious reluctance to reconsider our public commemoration of those, like Faneuil, who were directly involved. The resistance, however, is not just about preserving Faneuil's legacy–instead, it demonstrates an unwillingness to reckon with the unjust ways in which white people have come to hold so much wealth and power in this city.

Despite the preponderance of public monuments to white historical figures and the scarcity of those celebrating people of color, the enmity emerging in response to renaming or dismantling efforts is often formidable.[34] This stems from the fact that the naming of public spaces is not a simple matter of honoring the past. Instead, the historical figures that we celebrate through their immortalization in our public spaces send a strong message about who is seen and valued *in the present*. Still, efforts to reconfigure public spaces and monuments in ways that humanize and honor Black Bostonians are sometimes misrecognized as an attack on white people. What is actually being challenged, however, are the false narratives about our country and city. And, what is being uplifted is a more just and inclusive Boston for all.

The city's public spaces are the purview of the city government and the commissions entrusted with their management. Both Mayor Michelle Wu and the city council have uplifted efforts to disrupt the narratives of white supremacy that have historically textured our common public spaces. Without minimizing the importance of those efforts, it is important to recognize that Boston's cultural landscape is also profoundly influenced by non-governmental organizations. Home to world-class institutions that celebrate everything from the arts and history to science and technology, these cultural organizations help narrate our collective understandings of whose creativity and knowledge are worth uplifting.

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston in November 2021. Photo by Sdkbon on Wikipedia Commons

Although there have been recent efforts to diversify, museum collections across the country tend to center knowledge and creative traditions that emanate from western Europe.[35,36] Art museums are often regarded as arbiters of taste and culture–they play an important role in the definition of whose creative contributions count and whose do not. Indigenous and, especially, African art is rarely centered in these spaces and, instead, they are typically included in relatively marginal ways, occupying smaller or more remote gallery space or featured in temporary or traveling exhibitions. In many instances, indigenous art and art from the Global South often feature folk art and crafts; pieces in these collections frequently lack attribution to named artists, as is customary in the display of European art.[37] Sometimes, the only names that appear in the galleries of art from Africa and indigenous communities around the globe are those of the wealthy, and often white, patrons who donated or financed the collection.[38]

When contrasted with the treatment of works created by white American and European artists, the presentation of African and indigenous art tends not only to minimize the artistic value of these works, but also to alienate them from the humanity of their creators. Although there is a tendency to present artistic hierarchies as a reflection of natural or essential values and ability, art is a social creation that reflects social processes. The standards that guide arts institutions are not neutral, nor are they especially unique to Boston. White supremacy operates at a structural level and is endemic to the operation of most cultural institutions in this country–it is the norm and not the exception.[39]

The nature of the collections held in museums around the city plays an important role in shaping the public's engagement with these institutions. When museums largely feature the contributions of white artists working within the confines of European fine arts traditions, Black and Brown visitors may either feel unwelcome or leave with the impression that those museums are not spaces for them. While data on visitors are not widely reported by any of the city's museums, those that have made data available suggest that museum visitors are, on the whole, disproportionately white in contrast to the demographic makeup of the city of Boston.[40]

Less than 3% of arts and culture funding is granted to organizations focused on racial and ethnic minorities (2016)

$411M

Total value of grants to arts and culture organizations

$11M

Total value of arts and culture grants awarded to organizations focused on racial and ethnic minorities

Museum leadership and professional staff play a critical role in stewarding not only the collections, but also the ways in which the public is invited to engage with them. Among local museums, few publicly report data on staff demographics. What has been reported, however, tells a similar story of underrepresentation of people of color, especially in professional roles.[41,42] In response to this trend, over the past decade, museums have paid closer attention to the ways in which their organizational management can be better aligned with creating inclusive spaces. As a result of both internal realignment and external pressure, museums around the city have launched new DEI initiatives and sought to reconsider their work through the lens of racial justice.[43] The yields of such efforts will only become apparent with time.

In a sector that relies heavily on grants and philanthropic giving, it is also important to consider how the larger funding landscape shapes artistic productivity and visibility in Boston. A Helicon Collaborative analysis of 2016 data from the Foundation Center identified a large racial disparity in funding for the arts in Boston. Specifically, during the study period, of the $411,063,254 granted to arts and culture organizations in Boston, only $10,960,579—just three percent—was awarded to organizations focused on racial and ethnic minorities.[44]

The disparities in funding mean that predominantly white arts institutions will continue to dominate the creative landscape in Boston for the foreseeable future. In these contexts, however, there are signs of increasing receptivity to Black artists advocating for their own creative agency. For example, when she joined in 2017, Boston Ballet principal dancer Chyrstyn Fentroy was the first Black ballerina appointed to the company in more than a decade. In an interview with the *New York Times*, she described the challenge she faced when the company put on "Chaconne." A Balanchine piece about natural beauty, in Chaconne the ballerinas wear their hair down and untethered. During the first two shows, Fentroy wore a wig with straight hair for the sake of blending in. By the third performance, Fentroy made the decision to wear her hair naturally. In the context of a predominantly white company, Fentroy noted that it was somewhat difficult to look different from the other dancers. Ultimately, she said the decision gave her a greater sense of self-acceptance on stage with the Boston Ballet.[45]

Importantly, an example that illustrates a leap for Black artistry in Boston's arts spaces can be seen in the #HellaBlack pop-up event that has become institutionalized at the Boston Center for the Arts (BCA). Actor, director, and producer Lyndsay Allyn Cox curated the BCA's inaugural #HellaBlack, an event that features local Black singers, songwriters, dancers, visual artists, and storytellers. Reflecting on the first #HellaBlack, Cox told WBUR, "I couldn't believe that they let me do that and name the event hellablack." Cox was pleased that the BCA demonstrated receptivity to an idea that she feared would be rejected for being too unapologetically Black. Now, however, #HellaBlack is an annual event, each curated by a different Black artist.[46]

#HellaBlack flyer. Source: Boston Center for the Arts

FROM PARKS TO MUSEUM GALLERIES TO CENTER STAGE, FULLY REPRESENTING BLACK BOSTONIANS IS NOT A MATTER OF OPTICS, IT IS ABOUT MITIGATING THE HARMS THAT HAVE ACCUMULATED OVER CENTURIES OF ERASURE.

Recently, Black Bostonians' centrality and ties to the earliest years of the city were given a boost from ancestors of centuries past. Objects held in the city's newly reopened Archaeology Lab underscore the fact that Black culture has thrived in Boston for hundreds of years, even through the period when chattel slavery was legal. Creations found in historical sites dating to the 18th century–from pottery to cowry shells to metal jewelry–have been attributed to Black Bostonians. In an interview with WBUR, Reverend Mariama White-Hammond reflected on the importance of finding an 18th-century cowry shell in Roxbury, saying, "it's not just about artifacts, they are about reminding ourselves that our ancestors were there [in Boston] and claiming that space when a lot of times we've been written out of the story."[47]

The historical and contemporary occlusion of the Black presence in Boston has been a requisite of perpetuating the myth of Boston as a white city. It is important that our collective third spaces tell an accurate cultural story of the city; from parks to museum galleries to center stage, fully representing Black Bostonians is not a matter of optics, it is about mitigating the harms that have accumulated over centuries of erasure.


2

HOUSING

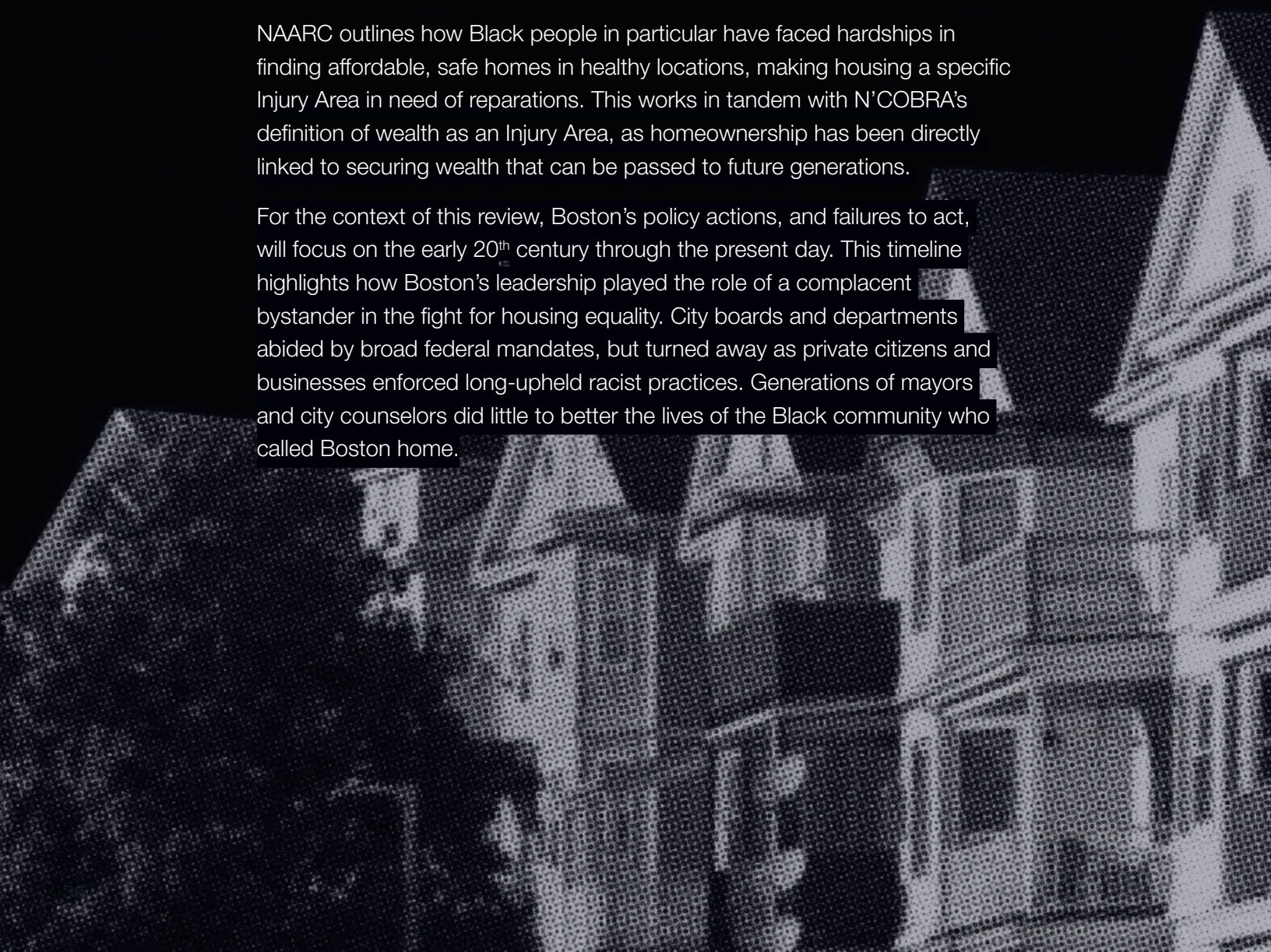
Image by Isidor Studio

2 HOUSING

As one of the oldest U.S. cities, practices of discriminatory housing against communities of color stretch throughout Boston history.

NAARC outlines how Black people in particular have faced hardships in finding affordable, safe homes in healthy locations, making housing a specific Injury Area in need of reparations. This works in tandem with N'COBRA's definition of wealth as an Injury Area, as homeownership has been directly linked to securing wealth that can be passed to future generations.

For the context of this review, Boston's policy actions, and failures to act, will focus on the early 20th century through the present day. This timeline highlights how Boston's leadership played the role of a complacent bystander in the fight for housing equality. City boards and departments abided by broad federal mandates, but turned away as private citizens and businesses enforced long-upheld racist practices. Generations of mayors and city counselors did little to better the lives of the Black community who called Boston home.



THE POWER OF PRIVATE CITIZENS

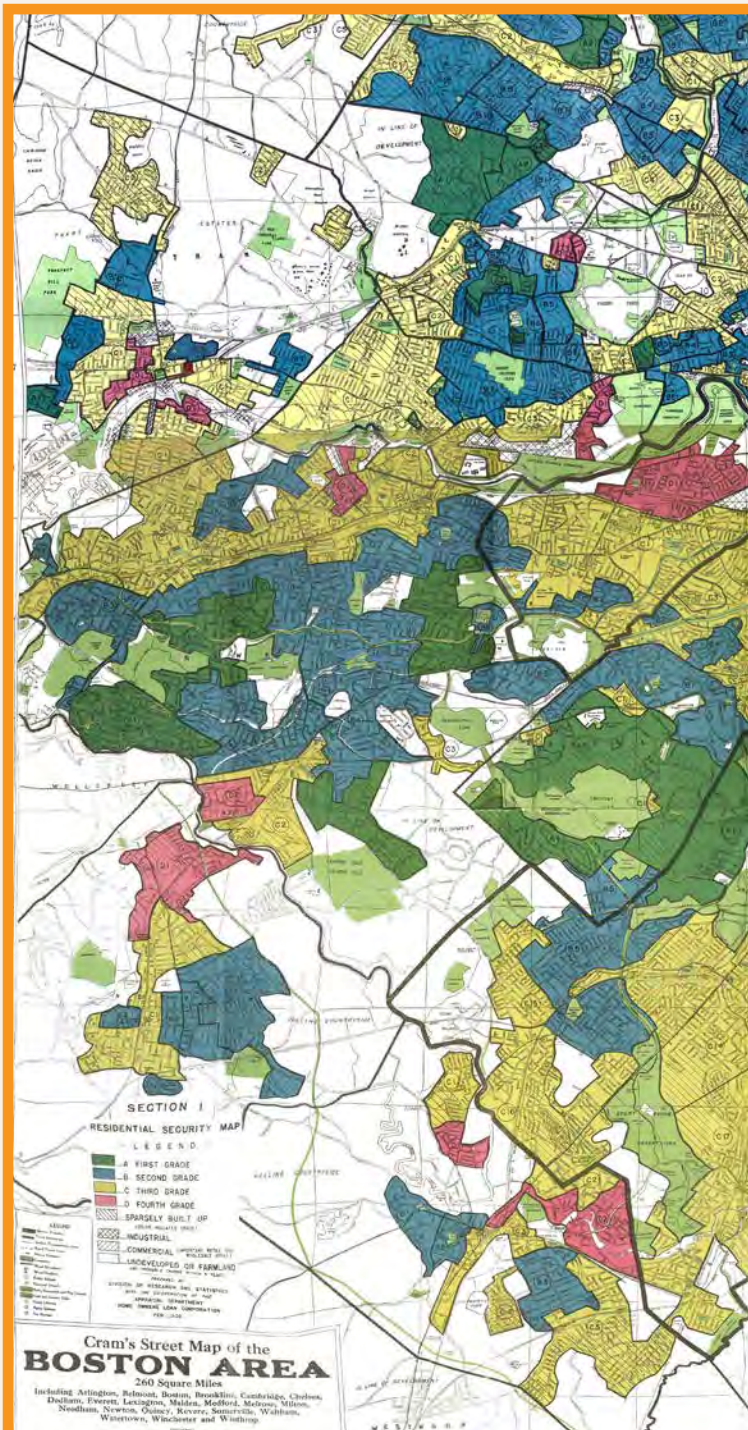
The 1917 Supreme Court decision *Buchanan v. Warley* marked the first federal ruling against racial discrimination in housing by municipalities.[48] Prior to this, it was legal for city ordinances to lower property values after a Black family purchased the land, or declare zones for white families only. This ruling prohibited *de jure* discrimination by local government, but the practices lived on through the actions of private citizens. Like so many other policies hoping to usher in some racial progress, the ruling merely forced discriminatory intent underground or into less conspicuous modalities. At this time, the use of restrictive covenants rose in popularity and white-only neighborhoods began to form as landowners added language to property deeds prohibiting the land from being sold to a Black buyer.[49] This was further reinforced by the 1926 Supreme Court decision *Corrigan v. Buckley*, which validated the use of restrictive covenants. In some cases, deeds are still discovered today with these clauses having gone unnoticed by buyers.

Also in 1926, the Boston Real Estate Exchange proudly adopted the National Association of Real Estate Boards' Code of Ethics. A sign displayed at their headquarters read:

"A Realtor should never be instrumental in introducing into a neighborhood a character of property or occupancy, members of any race or nationality, or any individuals whose presence will clearly be detrimental to property values in that neighborhood."

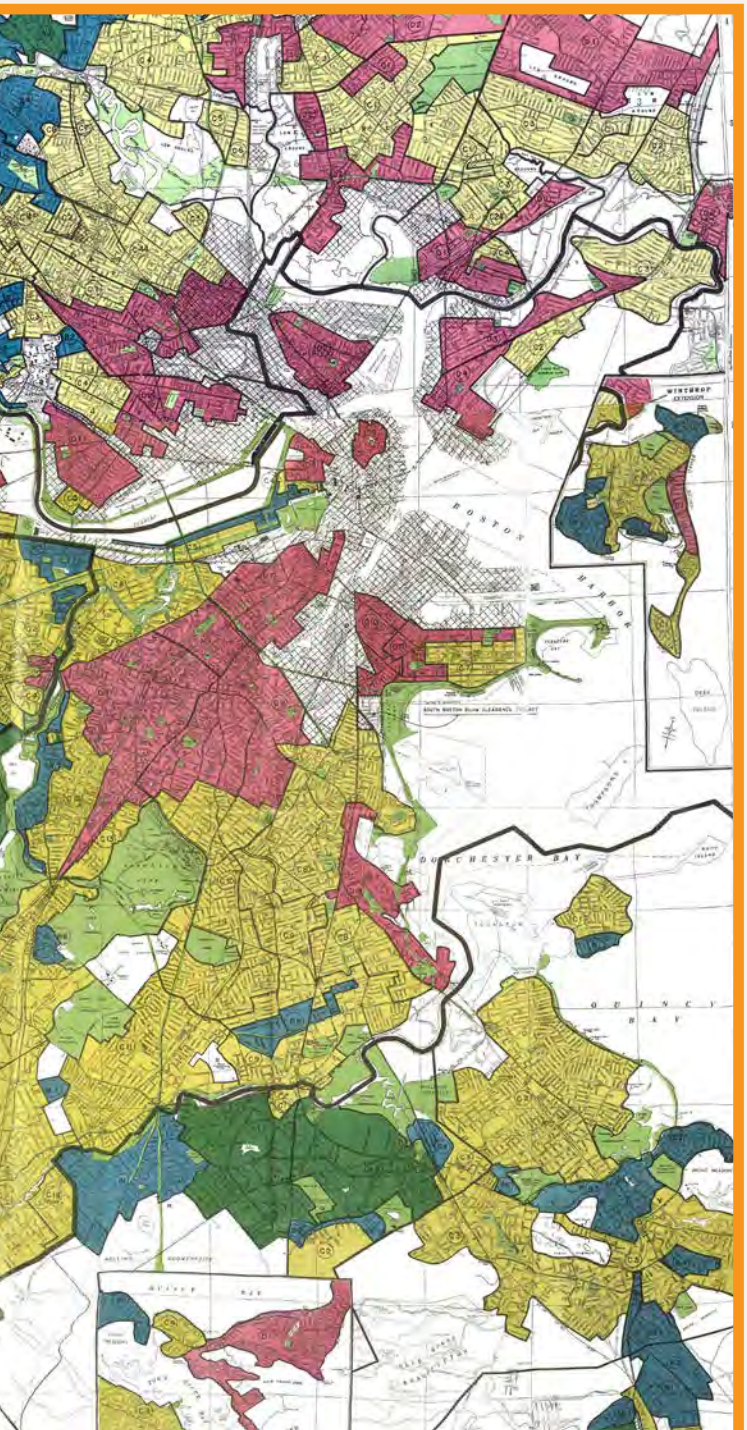
In the following years, they furthered their stance by drafting covenant documents that were shared with realtors across the country, catalyzing the formation of homeowner associations and the use of restrictive covenants.

BELOW Redlining in New Deal Boston[52]



IMPACTS OF FEDERAL MANDATES

From the New Deal came the founding of the Home Owners' Loan Corporation in 1933, created to refinance homes at risk of foreclosure.[50] In the process of securing the housing market, a series of nation-wide maps were drawn to rank the value of different neighborhoods in roughly 230 U.S. cities—Boston was one of them.



The result of their analysis was the foundation of redlining, separating cities into zones based largely on the racial makeup of its residents. The color-coded map that resulted was widely used in real estate and banking, and the red shaded areas considered "hazardous" were less likely to secure a home loan.

Uncoincidentally, these were the neighborhoods with concentrated populations of Black residents. Roxbury serves as one example of a "hazardous" neighborhood, compared to Milton which was noted on the map as "still desirable" because there was only one Black family in the area. This further promoted the use of covenants to preserve the "desirable" areas.

The 1934 establishment of the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) perpetuated the use of redlining, explicitly stating in their guidelines that lenders should work to preserve the current race and class of an existing neighborhood. Due to the racial lines already being established, lenders typically did not fund residential projects that were in close proximity to the "hazardous" zones.

Beginning in the 1950's and through the 1980's a wave of migration both in and out of Boston took place. Southern Black people who had the ability to move to northern states began moving into Greater Boston, sparking the "white flight" out of the city and into the growing suburbs.[51] Populations rose in areas such as the "hazardous" neighborhoods of Roxbury and Dorchester, and the infrastructure there began to physically deteriorate with no help from FHA funds. As such, the poorest, crumbling neighborhoods became densely crowded with Black families who had few options for better housing.

BOSTON'S RESPONSE

Established in 1968 as a response to sweeping civil rights movements across the country, the Boston Banks Urban Renewal Group (BBURG) aimed to lend FHA funds specifically to Black homeowners. Despite good intentions by Mayor Kevin White's administration, the program sparked a trend in reverse-redlining by identifying white-only neighborhoods and restricting the program to lend in those areas. With this, blockbusting in Boston began; real estate groups used scare tactics to convince white homeowners to sell their homes at a steep discount under the threat of declining home values once Black families moved in.[53]

Boston's leadership did little to salvage the program; and Mayor White offered no response to the problem. Boston City Council imposed a modest $25 fine on agencies utilizing this tactic, and no state or local entity even attempted to regulate the banks' lending terms within the program. Overall, BBURG resulted in the displacement of white families, largely Jewish and Irish Catholic, out of the city. For the Black families who were able to purchase homes through the program, many were unfairly priced into homes that they could not afford. Inspections were not completed prior to purchase, and costly home repairs resulted in nearly half the homes being in foreclosure by 1974. This resulted in the displacement of more Black families, and homes sitting vacant in the following years.

In the late 1980s, Mayor Raymond Flynn's administration made efforts to invest in improvements to public housing with a $120 million budget.[54] This came after a 1980 court decision that mandated the upgrades to housing and was the first major attempt at desegregating the city from a policy level since the busing crisis. Unfortunately, policy and practice did not align; other reports of this new wave of public housing state that while policy gave Black families the choice to live in the neighborhood of their choice, they were encouraged by housing employees to stay in predominantly Black neighborhoods.[55]

[BOSTON'S URBAN RENEWAL] PROGRAM SPARKED A TREND IN REVERSE-REDLINING BY IDENTIFYING WHITE-ONLY NEIGHBORHOODS AND RESTRICTING THE PROGRAM TO LEND IN THOSE AREAS.

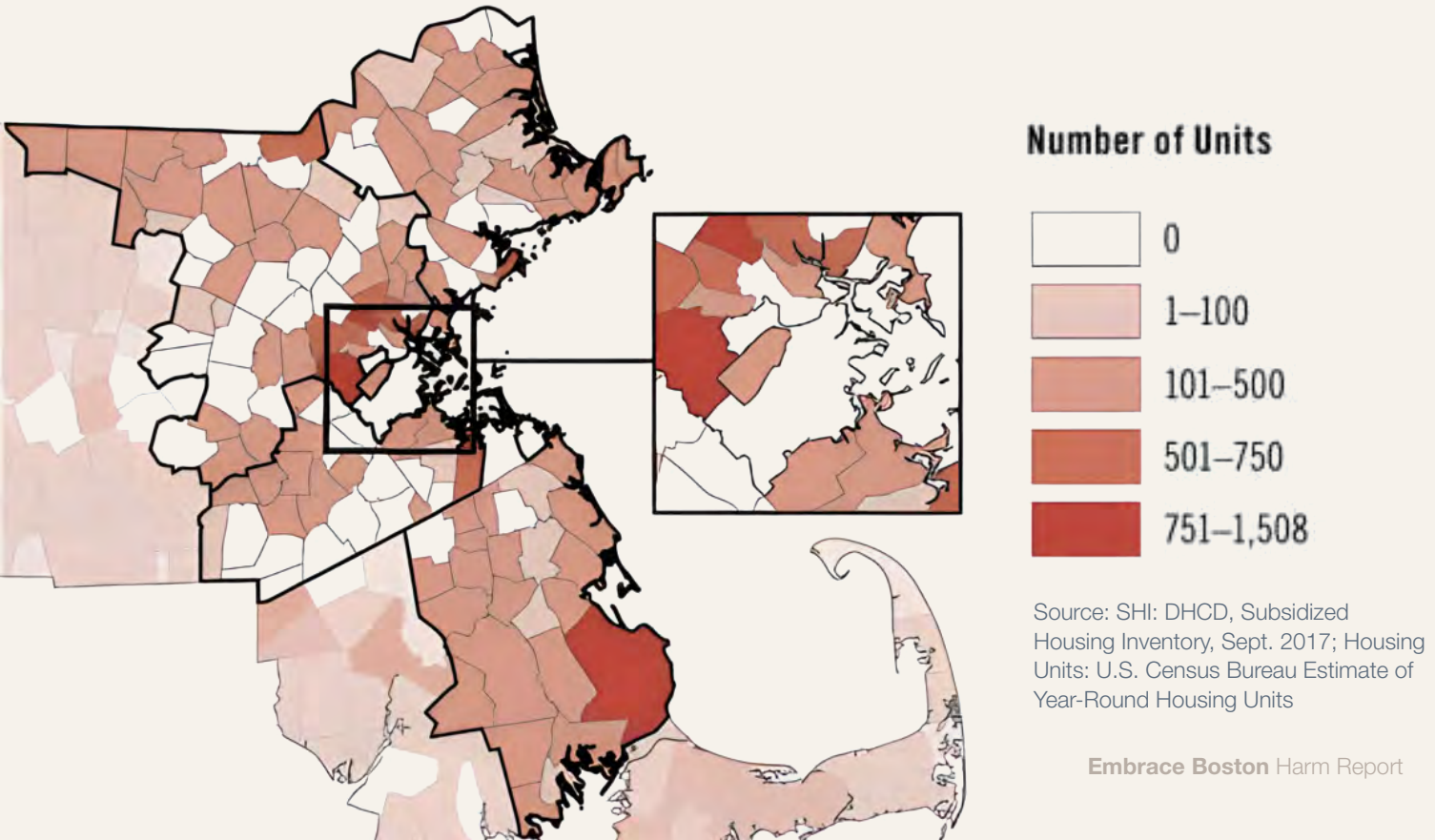
—Outcome of Boston Banks Urban Renewal Group (BBURG) FHA fund program by Mayor Kevin White's administration

MODERN FORMS OF DISCRIMINATORY PRACTICES

The 1966 “home rule” by the Massachusetts state legislature granted municipalities the control of individual zoning laws, leading to further segregation in and out of Boston. Covenants had been deemed “unenforceable” by 1948, but through restrictive zoning laws the racial divide persisted into the 21st century. The legacy of redlining lived on, and the “desirable” areas produced laws that prohibited construction of the multi-family housing complexes typically used for public housing.[56] Other local zoning actions led to home prices soaring in predominantly white neighborhoods, and homeownership became a source of intergenerational wealth that many Black families were unable to attain.

Today, zoning laws are a proven contributor to intergenerational poverty that has disproportionately impacted the Black community in Boston. Efforts to combat this include the Massachusetts Comprehensive Permit Act, Chapter 40B, which outlines a threshold of 10% of residences that must qualify as affordable housing. If a community falls below 10%, construction of such homes can bypass local zoning laws as long as 20-25% of the proposed construction is affordable housing.[57] Presently, only 30% of Greater Boston’s cities and towns have 10% of affordable housing, and trends in 40B construction have shown that more units are created in suburbs than within the city, and available space for new construction is becoming increasingly limited.

Remaining Capacity for New 40B Development[58]



Source: SHI: DHCD, Subsidized Housing Inventory, Sept. 2017; Housing Units: U.S. Census Bureau Estimate of Year-Round Housing Units

Municipalities with the Highest Affordability Indices[59]

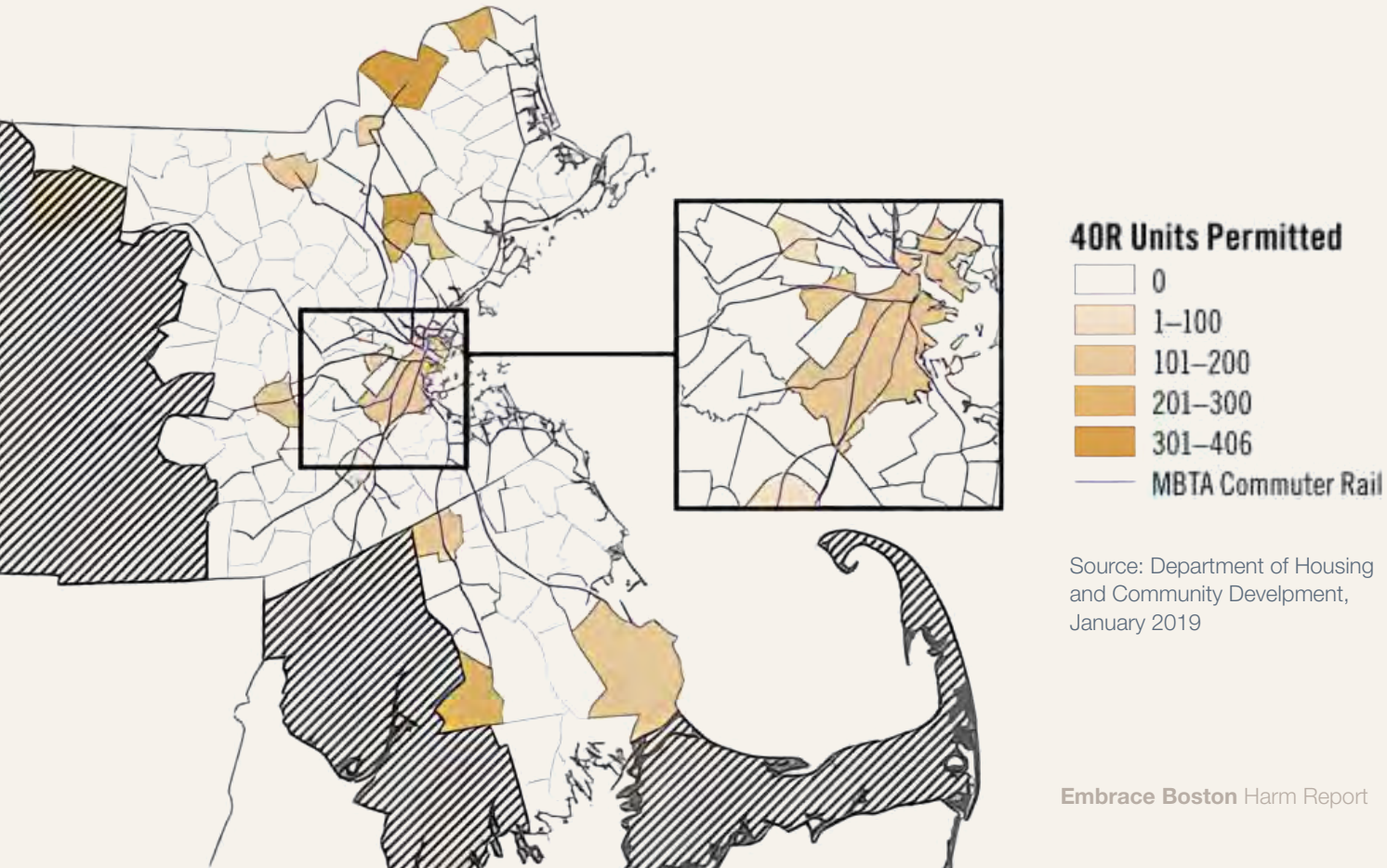
Municipality	Median rent relative to region	Median home sale price relative to region	Percentage of units counted on Subsidized Housing Inventory	Affordability Index
Boxborough	74%	31%	13%	1
Plainville	95%	69%	17%	0.96
Salisbury	94%	76%	15%	0.92
Brockton	78%	63%	13%	0.87
Chelsea	95%	89%	19%	0.86
Lawrence	79%	61%	15%	0.86
Littleton	72%	94%	13%	0.86
Wrentham	81%	92%	13%	0.85
Holbrook	77%	73%	10%	0.84
Hudson	85%	74%	11%	0.84
Lowell	80%	57%	13%	0.83
Franklin	88%	87%	12%	0.83
Tyngsborough	93%	79%	11%	0.83
Amesbury	82%	68%	10%	0.83
Wareham	79%	53%	8%	0.82
Stoughton	97%	74%	12%	0.81
Salem	85%	80%	13%	0.81
Lynn	81%	76%	12%	0.81
Ayer	69%	65%	9%	0.8
Haverhill	82%	64%	10%	0.8

Sources:Subsidized Housing Inventory—Massachusetts Department of Housing and Community Development, 2017. Median Rents—U.S. Census Bureau, American Community Survey, 2013-2017 5-year estimates. Median Sales Prices—The Warren Group.

In conjunction with Chapter 40B, 40R was created in 2004 as a monetary incentive for cities and towns.[60] Construction of 40B eligible housing would result in direct payments to the municipality to reduce the costs of expanding affordable housing. Under the eligibility guidelines, the construction did not have to be solely affordable housing and could be mixed use to encourage community growth. Many communities have not taken advantage of the program; however, as construction projects are subject to voter approval in many areas.

In Boston, the districts which have constructed the most 40R buildings were largely planned prior to the program's implementation, showing a lack of incentive to continue construction solely for the program's benefits.[61] Another problem persists; many of the affordable units currently built through this program only accommodate small households. Ninety-six percent of constructed units are one- or two-bedroom units; only 4% have three bedrooms to accommodate larger families.

Chapter 40R Districts with Units Permitted[62]



Source: Department of Housing and Community Develpment, January 2019

BOSTON RANKED THIRD FOR GENTRIFICATION IN THE NATION BETWEEN 2013 AND 2017.

—via The National Community Reinvestment Coalition

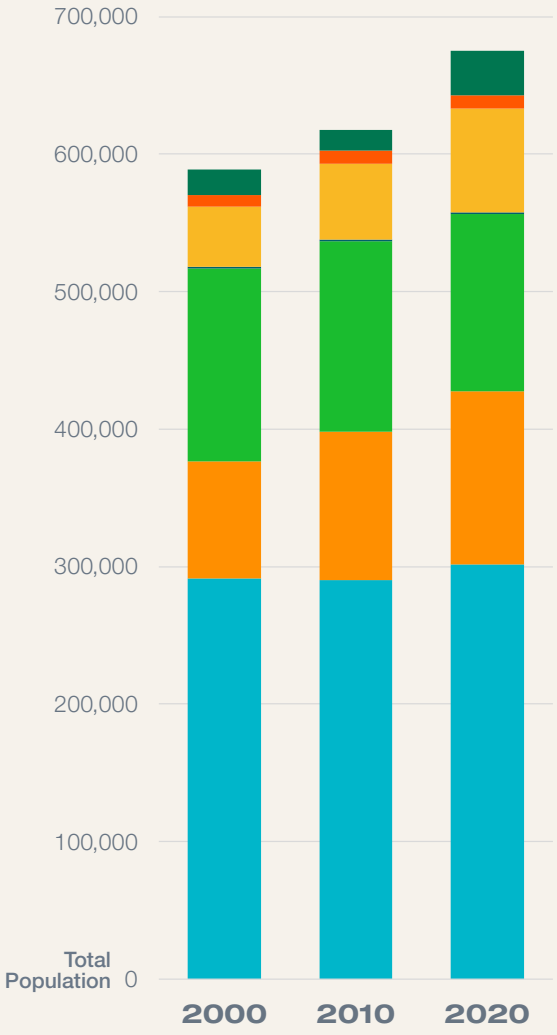
Real estate agencies have long since retracted their stance on segregating neighborhoods, but a 2020 study by Suffolk University has shed light on the bias that still occurs.[63] Study participants in Greater Boston tested the effects of race and source of income on the housing market by attempting to view available apartments. White participants were able to view 80% of available units, whereas Black participants were only able to view 48%. A third group, simulating low-income renters of both races with housing vouchers, were able to view less than 20% of the available apartments. These results evidenced ongoing discrimination in Boston's housing market based on race and income, whether overt discrimination or unconscious bias, with substantial implications for the lives of Boston residents.

The Greater Boston Housing Report Card further indicates how Black families are disproportionately affected through the lending process for home ownership.[64] Following the 2008 recession, the dense urban neighborhoods that were largely inhabited by BIPOC residents have faced challenges of gentrification. Recession era foreclosures have led to low-income properties being revamped, effectively pricing non-white residents out of their previous neighborhoods. These types of changes take place at the discretion of local zoning boards, who are meant to oversee neighborhood revitalization and ensure that there is diversity among residents and business owners of all races and classes. According to the National Community Reinvestment Coalition, Boston ranked third for gentrification in the nation between 2013 and 2017.

While acts of aggression towards the Black community, including restrictive covenants, redlining, harmful real estate ethics, or predatory lending, may occur less explicitly than they have historically, modern zoning laws continue to cause considerable harm. Without recognizing and taking accountability for the lasting effects of discrimination, Greater Boston leaders continue to build the city on a foundation of harmful practices against the Black community.

It has been reported that among the population of Black households in Boston only 33.5% are homeowners, compared to 68.8% of white households.[65] This reflects the wider national trend, which is 42% and 72% for Black and white families respectively. Census data reveal how the Black population is steadily declining in Boston with a 3.3% drop between 2010 and 2020, while growing in smaller cities in other parts of the state. Brockton, for example, has seen a 28% increase in its Black population since the 2010 census, and with that an increase in homeownership among those residents.[66] Given these coinciding patterns, it is clear that homeownership is less attainable within the city, and Black homeowners are forced out of areas such as Roxbury and Dorchester where gentrification is increasing the cost of living.

How racial demographics have changed in Boston[67]



Source: US Census Bureau; Black = Black or African American, Latino = Hispanic or Latin, AI/AN = American Indian and Alaska Native, NH/PI = Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander, Other = Some Other Race, Multi = Two or More Races.

SOME CONSIDERATIONS FOR REDRESS

As discussed throughout this timeline, the issues around housing for Black families have evolved over the course of the past century, yet discriminatory practices still persist. In resolving and making reparation for the harms it has caused, a multi-faceted approach must be undertaken.

Discussion around the issue has been explored by the Boston Area Research Initiative (BARI). A four part effort has been proposed for the next mayor of Boston to use as a template for housing improvements.[68] It includes:

- An immediate focus on initiatives to prevent further displacement due to the COVID-19 pandemic
- Prioritize the growth of market rate and low income housing to promote affordability among diverse residents
- Approach housing policy decisions through the equity lens to consider the effects of policy on all Boston residents, given an understanding of how historical policies have overlooked BIPOC community members
- Partner with all stakeholders involved with the issue in both public and private organizations to gain a deeper understanding of public perception and inform decision-making

Approaching new initiatives through a lens of equity and stakeholder inclusion can produce the greatest outcomes for the Black community. Previous efforts to revitalize neighborhoods have resulted in gentrification, whereas new construction needs to focus on maintaining a diverse population. The ghosts of redlining need to be addressed by creating evenness across neighborhoods; placing affordable housing in predominantly white areas is important, as is revitalizing Black communities to attract a diverse population of residents.

A 2019 article by WBUR highlighted the example of the small town of Boxborough, where the selectboard has made great strides in creating affordable housing since the 1990s.[69] As a town of only 5,700 residents, the proposal to build a large housing complex in town caused concern that the infrastructure and public school system could not sustain the increase in population. Alternatively, the town established the Boxborough Housing Board, which continues to oversee the production of housing and other resources for low-income residents, making home-ownership possible.

While this example focuses on a small population compared to Boston, the strategy used is applicable to any community. Zoning boards have flexibility through Chapter 40B to approve construction of housing and are responsible for exploring how their goals of sustainability are met. 40B only ensures that 20% of units are affordable, but new construction can meet those standards and still effectively price many other families out of a neighborhood with the cost of the other 80% of units.

Providing opportunities for Black households to escape the boundaries of redlining and other anti-Black housing policies will result in truly mixed-income Boston neighborhoods with more robust racial diversity and improve the standard of living for all. Efforts to revitalize neighborhoods need to focus less on enticing higher income households to migrate to the area, and more on maintaining affordability for those who currently reside there.

PROVIDING OPPORTUNITIES FOR BLACK HOUSEHOLDS TO ESCAPE THE BOUNDARIES OF REDLINING AND OTHER ANTI-BLACK HOUSING POLICIES WILL RESULT IN TRULY MIXED-INCOME BOSTON NEIGHBORHOODS WITH MORE ROBUST RACIAL DIVERSITY AND IMPROVE THE STANDARD OF LIVING FOR ALL.


3

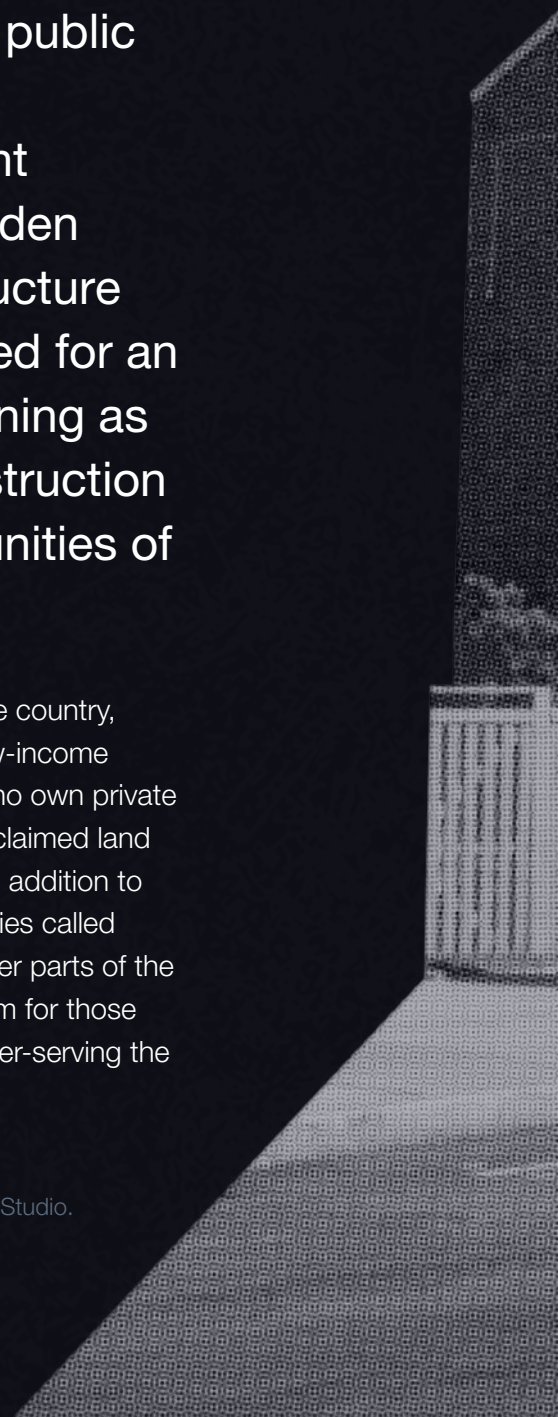
TRANSPORTATION & INFRASTRUCTURE

Image by City of Boston

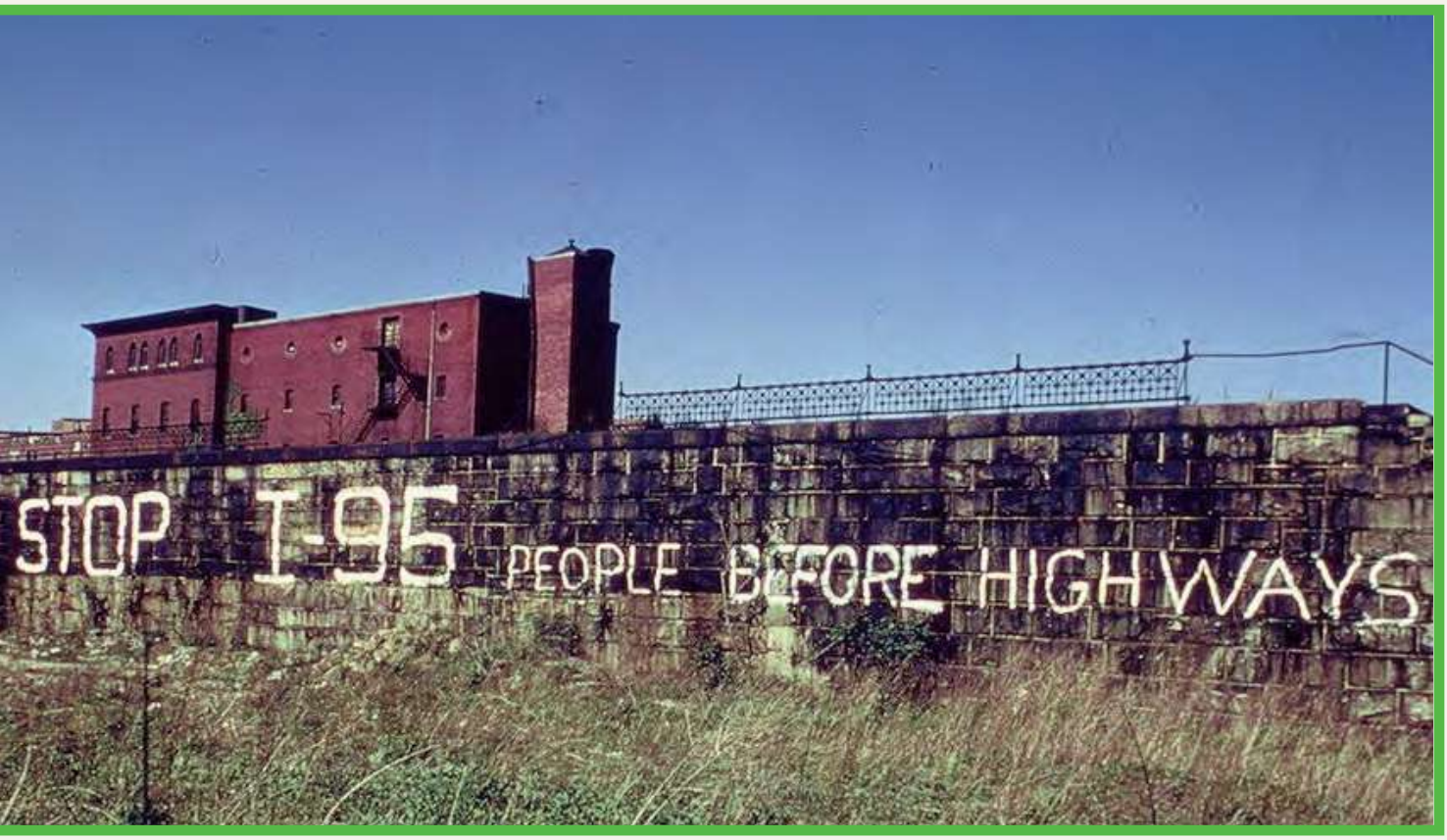
3 TRANSPORTATION & INFRASTRUCTURE

> The racial disparities created by public infrastructure and transportation systems have become a spotlight issue on a national scale. The Biden Administration's current Infrastructure Plan has explicitly stated the need for an equity lens in infrastructure planning as the U.S. history of highway construction has negatively impacted communities of color for decades.[70]

Boston shares that history with many other cities across the country, as highways were designed to carve through Black and low-income neighborhoods, resulting in enhanced privilege for those who own private vehicles. The highways created physical barriers that both claimed land that belonged to and defined the city's Black community (in addition to land that many ethnic white and Asian-American communities called home) and effectively separated Black Bostonians from other parts of the city. Public transit was intended to create a balanced system for those who rely on bus or rail travel but has come up short by under-serving the community members who need it the most.



PICTURED A woman waits for the bus in Roxbury, MA. Image by Isidor Studio.

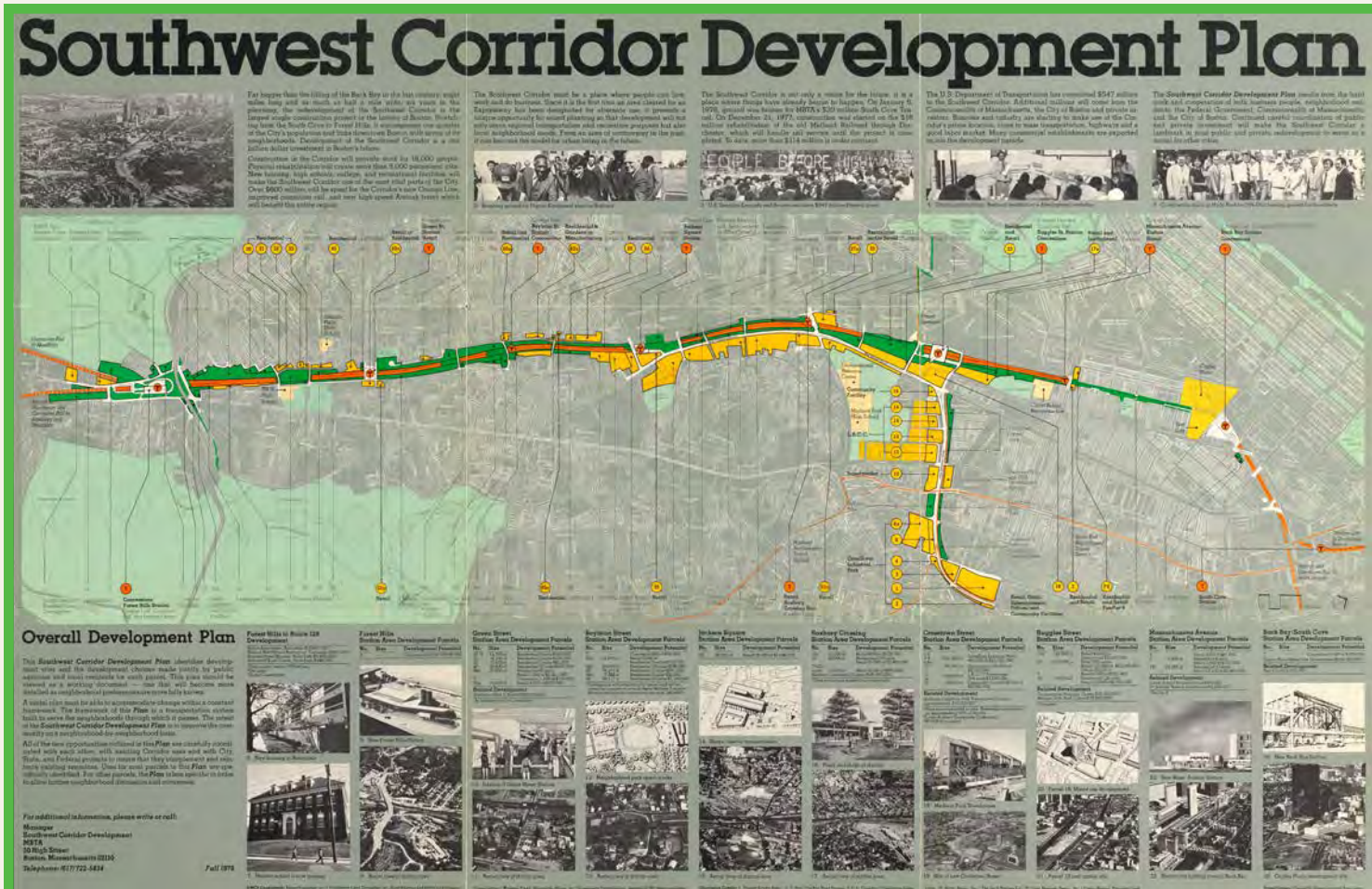


Southwest corridor protest of 8 lane expressway. Source: John Bassett via the Jamaica Plain Historical Society. Photographer unknown.

Boston's transportation story, much like its housing story, takes place against the backdrop of federal policies. President Dwight D. Eisenhower's 1956 Federal-Aid Highway Act allocated $26 billion to cities and states to expand the nation's highway system by 41,000 miles.[71] The act also allowed for federal funding that could be applied more liberally than previous versions of the law—for instance, dollars could now go towards what were effectively transportation "solutions". According to Dr. Karilyn Crockett's *People Before Highways*, Massachusetts proposed a six-lane Inner Belt Expressway that would run parallel to Route 128 and connect to six radial roads (one of which was to be the eight-lane Southwest Expressway, which would have brought I-95 directly through city neighborhoods). This proposal led anti-highway activists, including but not limited to former District 7 Boston City Council Representative Charles "Chuck" Turner, to organize thousands of residents poised to be impacted by these proposals. Boston Black United Front, Urban Planning Aid, and the Greater Boston Committee on the Transportation Crisis are among the organizations that rejected the state's plans for the highway extension that would cost many their homes and way of life.[72]

The grassroots movement to block the highway ultimately succeeded in blocking these plans when Massachusetts Governor Francis Sargent called off the project in 1969. However, the land encompassing the 4.1 mile stretch from Forest Hills to Back Bay, known as the Southwest Corridor, had already been cleared in preparation for the project. The Boston Preservation Alliance reports that 500 homes and businesses from Forest Hills and Jamaica Plain to Roxbury and the South End had already been demolished to make way for the highway project by 1966.[73] These gaps still impact many residents to this day both materially and through the disruption of social cohesion and neighborhood networks.[74] Because several homes, businesses, and livelihoods had already been razed despite residents successfully lobbying for the state to cancel the Inner Belt/I-95 project, the city used the land to reroute parts of the Orange Line and build a park.

Today many of the low-income and BIPOC residents within the city still rely on public transit, and do not utilize the highways in private vehicles. While members of the Black and Latinx communities have been identified as most reliant on bus service specifically, the MBTA has long been under fire for its shortcomings that disproportionately burden these same groups.[75] The MBTA serves approximately 400,000 riders per weekday, and the heaviest concentrations of riders are in Roxbury, Mattapan and Dorchester—home to the majority of the city's Black residents. With bus routes taking a significantly greater travel time than rail or car, riders are effectively limited in access to resources such as jobs that are located outside of the city.



Massachusetts Bay Transportation Authority. "Southwest corridor development plan." Map. Boston, Massachusetts: Southwest Corridor Development, MBTA, 1979. Source: Norman B. Leventhal Map & Education Center.

As recently as 2015, federal actions have attempted to repair the existing transportation system with the Fixing America's Surface Transportation Act (FAST Act).[76] The FAST Act authorized a $305 billion highway project that was to take place over fiscal years 2016–2020. Highway funding accounted for $207.4 billion of that funding, $12.97 billion for rails, and only $3.74 billion for buses. In understanding the inequalities that exist within transportation, problems run deeper than the aging transportation infrastructure that demands repair. Various indicators report that the low-income Black community is most likely to travel by bus, as it is the least expensive mode of travel.[77] Despite this large need to revamp transportation systems to accommodate those who rely on it the most, the majority of funds were put towards improving travel for those who are able to do so by private car.

The story of the Washington Street Elevated Rail serves as an example of Boston's specific inattentiveness to the Black community in public transit planning. As a main source of travel into Boston from Roxbury since 1907, the disrepair and eventual destruction of the elevated Washington Street rail in 1987 left a glaring gap in public transit.[78] Its replacement was the Silver Line (nicknamed by some residents "Silver Lie"), designed to be more efficient than the city busing system, but in practice created a lengthy and inconvenient route for those who depend on public transportation to and from the heart of the city. While the federal government and state bureaucrats decried the costs of a light rail system to reconnect Roxbury directly to Downtown Boston, they found funds to expand commuter rail access to the suburbs—even paying an additional $40-50 million to build an 800-foot tunnel to accommodate the rail expansion through downtown Hingham because residents objected to the above-ground proposal.[79]

Boston Elevated Railway Company. Dudley Street Station. September 20, 1910. Source: Boston City Archives

Favor, Warren E. Elevated train tracks, Dudley Square, Ferdinand's Blue Store in background. [ca. 1971]. Source: Boston Public Library

Nubian Station (formerly Dudley Station) in 2023. Source: Isidor Studio

In these efforts to revamp public transit, the city ultimately increased access to Boston's suburbs, while effectively cutting off Roxbury and similar neighborhoods from easy and efficient rail access. Roxbury is one of the many Greater Boston areas that has a high population of Black and low-income families who depend on public transportation, as access to a private vehicle is not as readily available to these residents. The prioritization of commuter rail into the suburbs served to increase travel from areas with more wealth, providing them the privilege of choosing between a private commute in their own vehicle or a convenient train ride into the city.

THE HARMS OF EXISTING INFRASTRUCTURE

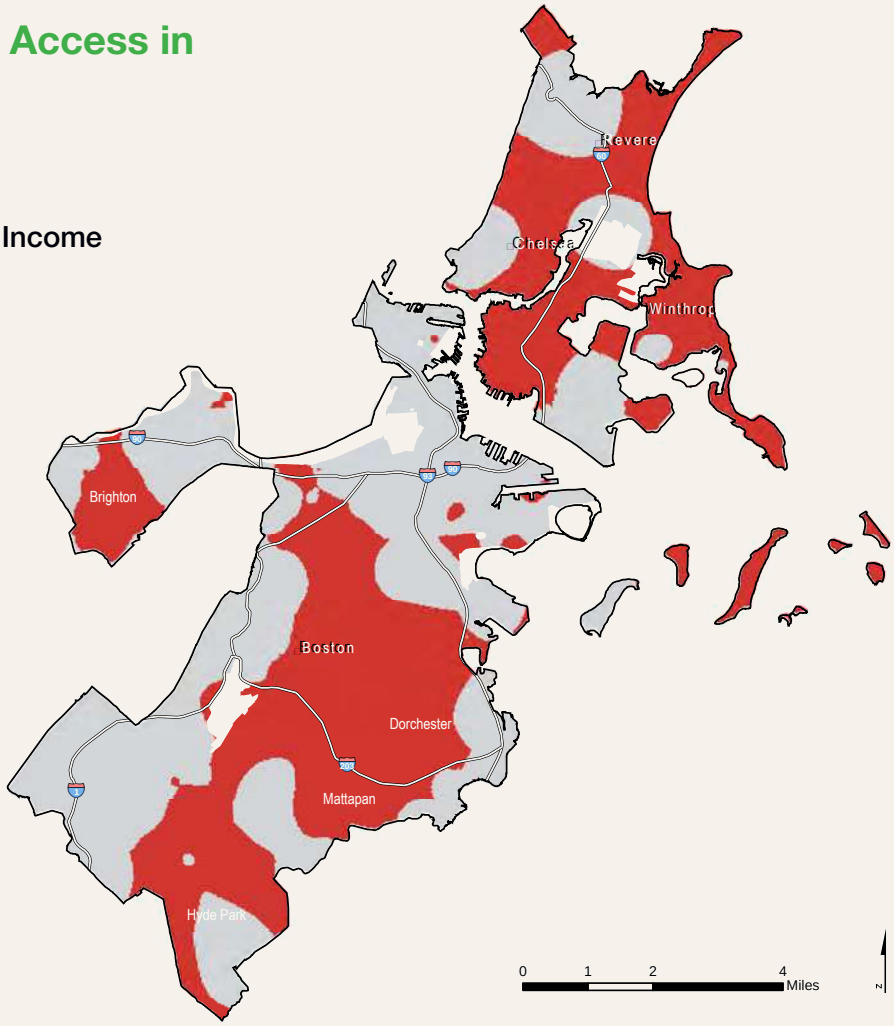
The issue of inadequate transportation naturally lends to greater harm for the affected communities; access to employment opportunities, quality healthcare, and basic household needs such as food become difficult to obtain. The issue of food access in Boston is exacerbated by poor public transit, as "food deserts" are created in neighborhoods that lack local grocery stores.[80]

When the nearest grocery is over a mile away, it is not necessarily feasible for all residents to carry their purchases home. In areas where a bus route is available it is hardly convenient, as the mile commute comes at the expense of the time it takes to ride the route and its scheduled stops. In Greater Boston, the areas struggling the most with this issue include Revere, Lynn, Everett, and Chelsea.[81]

Lack of Grocery Store Access in Suffolk County, MA.[82]

Low Grocery Sales & Low Income

*This data includes a wide range of both chain and independent grocery stores including supermarkets, super centers, and mid-size grocery stores. (Stores included in the data have annual sales volumes of $2 million or more which is the standard industry definition of a supermarket.)



Data Sources: Nielsen TD Linx Services, 2016; Massachusetts Department of Public Health, 2013; U.S. Census American Community Survey, 2011-2015

THE ISSUE OF FOOD ACCESS IN BOSTON IS EXACERBATED BY POOR PUBLIC TRANSIT, AS "FOOD DESERTS" ARE CREATED IN NEIGHBORHOODS THAT LACK LOCAL GROCERY STORES.

A focus has also been placed on data collection regarding the pollution associated with infrastructure projects and the parts of the community that are negatively impacted by them.[83] A 2020 survey conducted in Greater Boston found that the highest areas of pollution were largely inhabited by BIPOC residents. Black, Asian, and Latinx residents are substantially more likely than white residents to live in areas where emissions and pollution levels are the highest due to the roadways that pass close to their homes. Considering how highways were historically built directly through Black neighborhoods, it is by design that these residents are facing greater health disparities as a result.

Beyond the day-to-day issues of limited transportation, future concerns for sustainability include environmental impacts on safety. In a 2020 study, the effects of climate change were examined based on various indicators of transportation access and mobility.[84] Boston neighborhoods of Mattapan, Roxbury, Dorchester, South End, and the Greater Boston cities and towns of Chelsea and Revere were labeled as "transportation disadvantaged" and vulnerable to safety concerns in the event of extreme weather. This label is given based on a neighborhood's access to evacuation routes or shelter locations. Evacuation scenarios proved that it is unlikely for residents to leave the area in a safe time frame, and the locations of local shelters were not easily accessible due to limited public transit routes nearby. What was more alarming was the discovery that, in mapping these locations, the most vulnerable areas largely coincide with the original boundaries drawn by housing redlining.

In Boston, the highways not only divided the city; they directly intensified the issues around fair housing for the Black community.[85] Many homes were demolished in neighborhoods that stretched across the proposed roadway, and in some cases the occupants were given no compensation as their homes were taken by eminent domain.

THE GEOGRAPHICAL OVERLAP

It comes as no surprise that the areas of Greater Boston that struggle the most with inadequate transportation include Lynn, Revere, Dorchester, and Roxbury, to name just a few. These communities surface in research across various factors, noted as food deserts, environmental vulnerability, and over-exposure to pollution. It is not by coincidence that these neighborhoods also overlap with issues of housing, as they fell into the "hazardous" zones outlined at the onset of redlining in the Boston region. These communities are largely comprised of Black residents, and have consistently been ignored by policy makers in transportation and infrastructure planning—planning which is designed by, and for, the more affluent white community.

BETTER INFORMED PRACTICES

The Boston Area Research Initiative (BARI) provides a comprehensive look at ways to improve transportation in the city. Most notably, the need to properly incentivize public transportation use, disincentivize the use of personal vehicles and private ride services, and create ease of access to multi-modal travel which can fill the gaps in existing routes. Investing in infrastructure is equally important, as residents will not need to travel as far for resources if they are available in commercial hubs located within neighborhoods. They also note the importance of the Go Boston 2030 initiative.[86] The expected outcomes of this project aim to negate many of the current issues around transportation access, pollution levels, and accessibility for all. This would directly improve the lives of the Black community that is negatively affected by each of these areas, but only if the program stays on track. Improved transparency and publicity, as well as regular updates on the progress and future deadlines of projects that are underway would go a long way in fostering community support and holding leadership accountable for its success.

Reparations in transportation and infrastructure need to occur simultaneously with improvements to other harm areas for the Black community. For instance, improvements in housing would place residents in areas where various transportation methods are already highly accessible, and as improvements are made to existing Black neighborhoods, easier transit access would follow. Transportation is essential to accessing healthcare, education, and employment, directly lending to a person's ability to grow their wealth, making changes to transportation and infrastructure in places of desperate need not just an investment in the communities the changes will serve, but also the people within them that have traditionally been discriminated against in these areas.


4

EDUCATION

Image by City of Boston

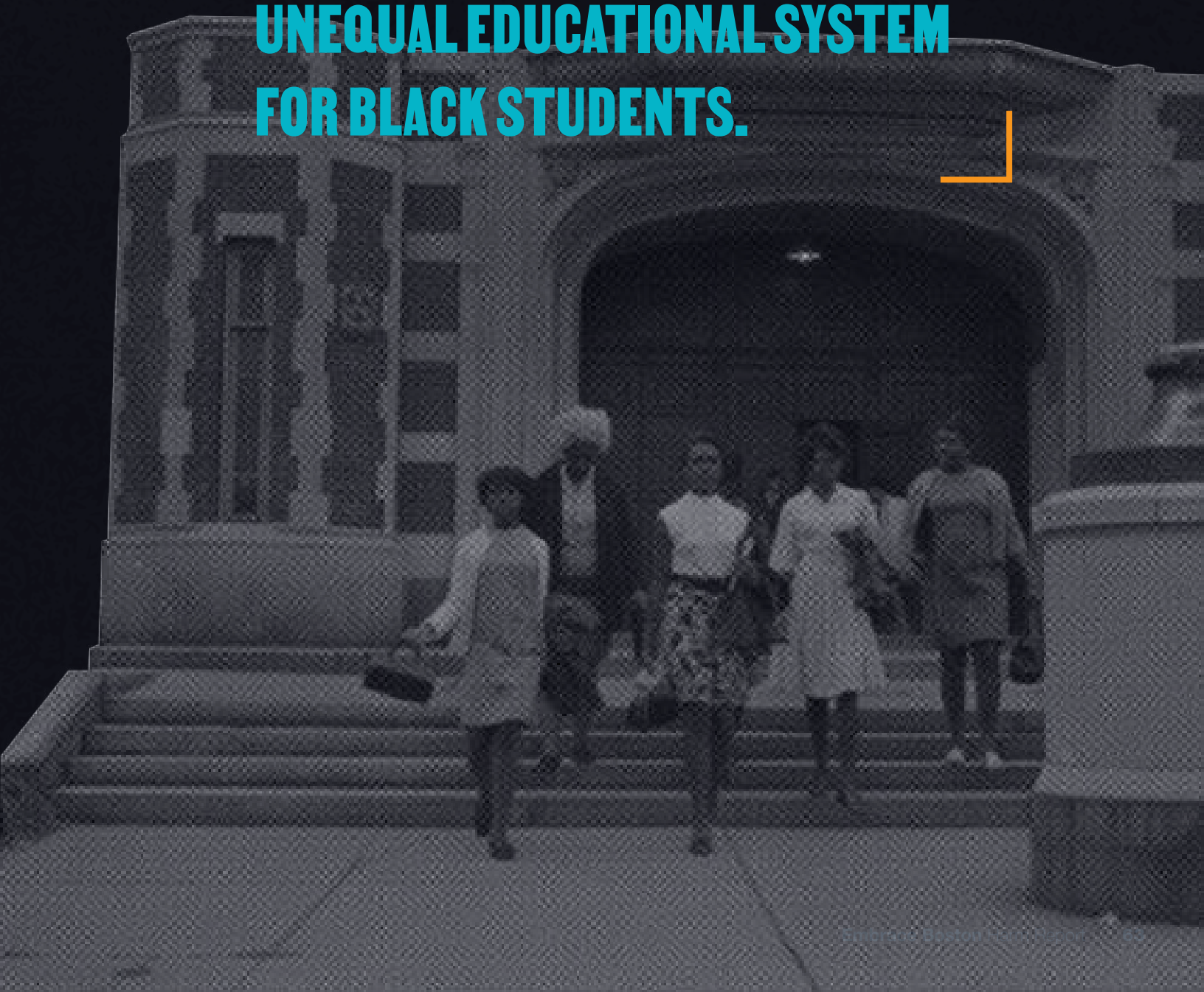
4 EDUCATION

Education plays an increasingly vital role in determining life outcomes in the 21st-century United States. Whether individuals will have the knowledge and skills needed to secure gainful employment, a decent home, a healthy life, and effective participation in civil society depends heavily on their schooling. But the right to an equal, quality education has never been guaranteed to Black people.

The fight for literacy and quality education has been a key part of the Black freedom struggle, from the time of slavery to the present. Dating back to the times of slavery, where enslaved Black people who learned to read and write, and anyone who taught them to do so could be criminally prosecuted, to the present day, education remains on the forefront of the battle for Black equality. In the 19th and 20th centuries, government-sanctioned support for separate and inferior educational opportunities for Black children resulted in a legacy of deep and lasting harm. Even today, city-sanctioned policies and practices in Boston continue to perpetuate a segregated and unequal educational system for Black students. The National African-American Reparations Commission (NAARC) named education as one of the most consequential Injury Areas that must be addressed within their 10-Point Reparations Plan.[87]

PICTURED Black women exiting East Boston High School during student demonstrations in 1968. Source: Boston Public Library

EVEN TODAY, CITY-SANCTIONED POLICIES AND PRACTICES IN BOSTON CONTINUE TO PERPETUATE A SEGREGATED AND UNEQUAL EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM FOR BLACK STUDENTS.



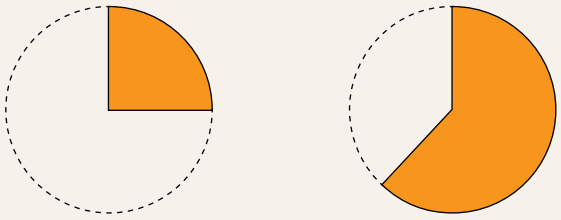
RACIAL OPPORTUNITY AND ACHIEVEMENT GAPS

Today, Black students in Boston and Massachusetts face glaring educational opportunity and achievement disparities across key metrics of student success, when compared to their more affluent white peers.

Reading and Math Proficiency

- In 2019, only 25% of the city's Black students in grades 3-8 were reading at grade level, compared to 62% of white students, according to English Language Arts (ELA) MCAS scores.[88] That same year only 21% of Black students met or exceeded expectations on the Math MCAS in contrast to 62% of white students and 73% of Asian students.[89]
- Also in 2019, more than twice the percentage of white tenth graders in Boston Public Schools (76%) met or exceeded expectations on the MCAS ELA and Math tests, compared to 34% of their Black counterparts.[90] At the state level, white tenth graders met or exceeded expectations on these exams at 1.8 times the rate of their Black counterparts.
- These large performance gaps have devastating consequences for Black children: for example, research shows that students who are not proficient readers by third grade are four times less likely to graduate high school.[91]

Percentage of Boston students in grades 3-8 reading at grade level in 2019



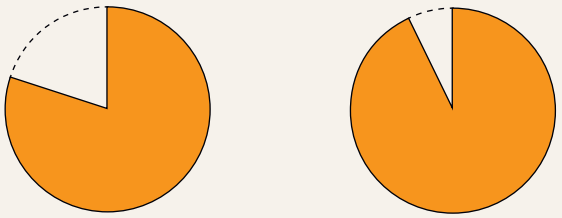
25%
Black Students

62%
White Students

RESEARCH SHOWS THAT STUDENTS WHO ARE NOT PROFICIENT READERS BY THIRD GRADE ARE FOUR TIMES LESS LIKELY TO GRADUATE HIGH SCHOOL.

—via report from The Annie E. Casey Foundation

Disparity of graduation rates for students in Massachusetts



79.9%
Black Students

92.6%
White Students

Students without a high school diploma face significant income gaps compared to those more education.

Annual income gaps compared to...

Earners with a high school diploma
-$8,000

Earners with a bachelor's degree
-$34,000

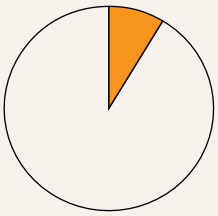
Graduation Gaps

- Black students in Massachusetts had a 4-year graduation rate of 79.9% compared to 92.6% for their white peers in 2019.[92] For Black males this rate was only 75%, and only 70.4% for Black English language learners, the second lowest graduation rate of all student subgroups.[93]
- While Boston has made some progress in narrowing the Black-white gap in graduation rates—in 2007, the Black high school graduation rate was only 65.2%, a full 21 percentage points below that of white students—the graduation gaps persist. In 2017, the Black student graduation rate was 68.9%, compared to 80.3% for white students.
- These gaps have severe consequences for Black students' life outcomes and economic well being. Research shows that in 2020, those without a high school diploma earned $8,000 less in annual income than those with a high school diploma, and $34,000 less yearly income than those with a bachelor's degree.[94] That year, there was a 9.3% four-year high school graduation gap between white and Black Boston Public School students. If the gap were closed, about 128 more Black students would have graduated that year, meaning that the graduation gap cost over $1 million in lost income for Black Boston Public School non-grads, or over $4 million in lost income had they gone on to earn a college degree.

Suspension and Dropout Rates

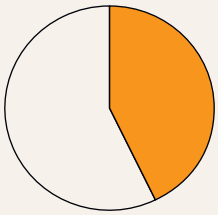
- According to a 2013 study, Black students in Massachusetts were almost four times as likely as their white counterparts to receive an out-of-school suspension.[95] While Black students made up only 8.7% of state public school students that same year, they received 43% of all out-of-school suspensions, the majority of which were issued for minor behavioral infractions.[96] One study found that Black girls in Boston in the 2011-12 school year were suspended at six times the rate of white girls, and the Black-white girl ratio in expulsion rates was 10 to 1.[97]
- While state law has reduced the overall number of suspensions, in 2017-18 African American students statewide still lost more than three times the number of instructional days due to disciplinary removals as white students.[98]
- Suspensions constitute a form of exclusionary discipline which serves as a key predictor of low attendance, course failure, and school dropout, ultimately feeding the school-to-prison pipeline.[99] In 2018-19 the dropout rate for the state's Black students was 2.6 times higher than it was for white students, and over five times the rate for Asian students.[100] One study found that students who were suspended or expelled for minor violations were nearly three times as likely to be involved in the juvenile court system the following year.[101]

Black students in Massachusetts were almost ***four times*** as likely as their white counterparts to receive an out-of-school suspension.



8.7%

Percentage of Black students in MA public schools



43%

Percentage of all out-of-school suspensions issued to Black students in MA public schools

SUSPENSIONS CONSTITUTE A FORM OF EXCLUSIONARY DISCIPLINE WHICH SERVES AS A KEY PREDICTOR OF LOW ATTENDANCE, COURSE FAILURE, AND SCHOOL DROPOUT, ULTIMATELY FEEDING THE SCHOOL-TO-PRISON PIPELINE.

WHY DO SUCH GLARING RACIAL DISPARITIES IN EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT PERSIST IN ONE OF THE WEALTHIEST AND MOST WELL-RESOURCED CITIES AND STATES IN THE NATION?

College Readiness

- A 2018 report found that Black students are less likely to be prepared for college than other students: among graduates, less than one in three Black or Latinx SAT test takers scored "at the college ready level in reading and math," and less than half of black students attending four-year state universities graduate within six years.[102]

Why do such glaring racial disparities in educational attainment persist in one of the wealthiest and most well-resourced cities and states in the nation? These drastically different educational outcomes for Black students reflect a stark resource and opportunity gap reinforced by a segregated and inequitable school system, one which denies equal educational opportunity to low-income students of color. This problem of inequitable school systems is hardly an issue relevant only to the present day, instead, there is a tumultuous history of struggle over Boston school segregation.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF SCHOOL SEGREGATION IN BOSTON

For more than a century prior to the school desegregation battles of the early 1970s, Black families, educators, and community activists waged a struggle against Boston's segregated education system. In 1849, Benjamin Roberts, a Black father in Boston, filed the first desegregation suit after his daughter Sarah was denied access to a city school solely because she was Black.[103] The state's Supreme Judicial Court upheld the City's "right" to have "separate but equal" schools for Black and white children. This racist doctrine was cited as the main precedent in the infamous *Plessy v Ferguson* case forty-six years later.[104] The *Plessy* decision enshrined "separate but equal" and was used to promote segregation in all aspects of U.S. civil life up to the mid-20th century.

In 1954, the Supreme Court held, in *Brown v Board of Education*, that separate schools for Black and white children were "inherently unequal" and therefore violated the Fourteenth Amendment's equal protection clause.[105] This decision set the stage for the desegregation battles to follow in many cities.

The conditions in the public schools of Boston's poorest neighborhoods, especially those attended by Black students, were appalling. Black students were subjected to corporal punishment, verbal humiliation, crumbling buildings, broken windows, overcrowded classrooms, inexperienced teachers, racial slurs, out-of-date and damaged books, and chaotic turnover of staff and curriculum. Jonathan Kozol, a fourth-grade teacher in a North Dorchester school, described these conditions in his critically acclaimed 1967 book, *Death at an Early Age*.

"Turned Away from School" depicts inequities in access to public schools in the 19th century. Source: Published in the Anti-Slavery Almanac, Boston, 1839.

1963 Picket line at the Boston School Committee offices. Source: Northeastern University Library

In 1963, as school integration battles were escalating at the national level, the Boston NAACP chapter began a decade-long campaign consisting of court litigation, marches, and school boycotts to pressure the Boston School Committee (BSC) to acknowledge the *de facto* segregation that existed in the city's schools.[106] According to a 1963 report, the city operated 13 schools which were over 90% Black. These schools were chronically underfunded when compared to all-white schools, and provided unequal educational facilities to 7,000 black students.[107] In June, 1963, in front of a crowd of hundreds, Mrs. Ruth Batson, Chair of the NAACP Education Committee, brought the Black community's grievances before the Boston School Committee (BSC):

"We are here because ... the injustices present in our school system hurt our pride, rob us of our dignity, and produce results which are injurious not only to our future, but to that of our city, our commonwealth, and our nation. We then make this charge. There is segregation in our Boston public school system..."[108]

The Boston School Committee—led by chairwoman Louise Day Hicks, dubbed by some as "the Bull O'Conner of Boston"—repeatedly rejected the existence of even *de facto* segregation in Boston's schools, and opposed all of the Black community's demands for quality education.[109] The school committee blamed any racial isolation in the schools solely on residential segregation.

Throughout the 1960s, Boston's NAACP and other Black community leaders filed court litigation, testified at BSC hearings, led marches and sit-ins at BSC offices, and periodically organized school boycotts in which students stayed out of school and instead attended "Freedom Workshops" to protest these apartheid school conditions.[110] Community demands included reforming the district's open-enrollment plan, eliminating discrimination against Black teachers, hiring Black principals, acquiring new textbooks which included Black history, as well as requiring culturally responsive teacher training.[111]

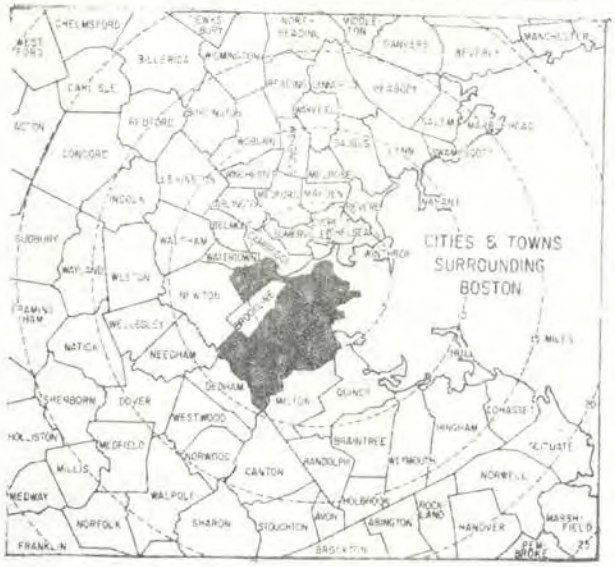
In 1965, due largely to pressure from Black grassroots activism, along with a scathing report by the State Board of Education's Advisory Committee on Racial Imbalance and Education, Massachusetts passed the Racial Imbalance Act.[112] The bill, submitted by Black Roxbury Rep. Royal L. Bolling, outlawed *de facto* segregation in the state's public schools, requiring all school committees to submit a plan to eliminate racial imbalance or face the withholding of state aid.[113]

In response to state and community pressure to desegregate, the BSC only dug in its heels, largely backed by its white base in South Boston, East Boston and Charlestown. For the next decade the Committee resisted school desegregation efforts, attempted to repeal the state law and repeatedly failed to comply with it, even as the district incurred the penalty of millions of dollars in state funds being withheld.[114] By 1971, the number of "imbalanced" schools in the city had risen by almost 40% and the state had withheld $52 million in aid from Boston.[115] The School Committee continued to deflect blame from itself by pointing to residential segregation and the popular preference for "the neighborhood school."

In March 1972, the Boston NAACP filed the class action lawsuit *Morgan v. Hennigan* in federal court on behalf of Black school parents. Whereas housing had been deliberately segregated, those filing the suit set out to show that above and beyond housing discrimination the School Committee had intentionally maintained a dual school system through a host of mechanisms including manipulated district lines, open enrollment, discriminatory feeder patterns and pupil assignment practices.[116] The plaintiffs, through labor requiring tedious and extensive documentation, won the case. In June 1974, U.S. District Court Judge Arthur Garrity ruled that:

"The defendants (the Boston School Committee) have knowingly carried out a systematic program of segregation affecting all of the city's students, teachers, and school facilities and have intentionally brought about and maintained a dual school system. Therefore, the entire school system of Boston is unconstitutionally segregated."[117]

Forced Busing !



* NEXT SEPTEMBER, FORCED BUSING FOR SCHOOLCHILDREN WILL BE A REALITY . . . HOW FAR CAN WE ALLOW THIS TO GO!
WE MUST ACT NOW !

* A NEW ORGANIZATION IS BEING FORMED NOW TO CONTINUE THE FIGHT AGAINST FORCED BUSING .

* THE NAME OF THIS ORGANIZATION IS:

" MASSACHUSETTS CITIZENS AGAINST FORCED BUSING "

WE NEED YOUR HELP AND SUPPORT
"STAND UP FOR YOUR CHILDREN"
JOIN TODAY!!

I AM AGAINST FORCED BUSING. I WOULD LIKE TO JOIN "MASSACHUSETTS CITIZENS AGAINST FORCED BUSING"

NAME_____ PHONE_____

ADDRESS_____ ZIP_____

IF YOU WOULD $1.00 WILL HELP. TO JOIN OR FOR MORE INFORMATION WRITE:
MASS. CITIZENS AGAINST FORCED BUSING
STATE HOUSE ROOM 146 BOSTON MASS. 02133

1973-74 flier to organize parents against busing for desegregation. Source: Northeastern University Library.

Amidst repeated death threats, Judge Garrity issued his historic decision mandating busing as a solution to racial segregation in Boston schools. Garrity's order was ambitious: it entailed busing thousands of Black and white students outside their neighborhoods and across the city. The resistance to Garrity's ruling in white neighborhoods such as South Boston, Hyde Park, and Charlestown was immediate, protracted, and violent, earning Boston a reputation as the "Little Rock of the North." The anti-busing organization Restore Our Alienated Rights was formed that July. Despite all of the pushback and retaliation efforts, in the fall of 1974, busing began with 20,000 students.[118]

Over the next months and years, violent incidents proliferated in Boston. Black school children riding buses to South Boston High had to pass through white mobs screaming racial slurs and throwing bricks. Groups of white youth attacked Blacks in the Andrew Square T station and other areas of the city. The KKK began to recruit in Boston. The state police and National Guard had to be called in on multiple occasions. A mob of white men armed with baseball bats and golf clubs attacked a group of Black students who were on a field trip to the Bunker Hill Monument in Charlestown. In 1976, a group of anti-busing white teenagers wielding an American flag attacked Ted Landsmark, a Black architect and urban planner, on City Hall Plaza and viciously assaulted him.[119] Fights between Black and white students broke out regularly inside and outside of school buildings.[120] In November 1974, Coretta Scott King led a march of 5,000 people from the Boston Common to City Hall, highlighting that the issue in Boston was not "busing" but "racism."[121]

While racist violence remained prominent, Black families and community leaders remained steadfast in pursuing their goal of a quality education for their children in integrated schools. By 1980, the number of intensely segregated schools (defined as at least 90% students of color) had been reduced from 25 to three schools, and only 2% of Black students attended such schools.[122]

But the groundwork was being laid for a reversal to come. White families militantly opposed to integrated schools began to find ways to remove their children from the system. Although the Catholic Archdiocese at first prohibited white students from transferring to Catholic schools to avoid desegregation, this policy was enforced only weakly and sporadically. In the first two years of busing, Catholic schools accepted 2,500 additional white students. In addition, many white families who could afford to do so moved out of the city to the suburbs.

RE-SEGREGATION

Over the last few decades, a series of court decisions and misguided government policies have led to the increasing re-segregation of Boston's students of color into high-poverty, low-performing schools.

A famous court decision in the 1974 *Milliken v Bradley* case in Detroit prohibited the use of mandated city-suburban desegregation remedies, dealing a blow to hopes of city-suburban integration efforts in Massachusetts and elsewhere.[123] In 1998, *Westman v Gittens* found that Boston's use of race as a determining admissions factor for the district's exam schools was unconstitutional.[124] Thus, the court eliminated affirmative action in admission to Boston's selective high schools. In 2000-2001, the city's overall school admissions Choice Plan, which took race into account, was eliminated by the Boston School Committee, "effectively ending busing for desegregation in Boston," according to a 2013 study by the Harvard Civil Rights Project.[125]

In 2014, the School Committee overhauled the student assignment system and implemented the Home-Based Assignment Plan in an effort to provide families with quality school options closer to home. However, due in part to the city's severe residential segregation, this policy has had the effect of exacerbating school segregation.

All these court decisions and local policies, taken together, have led to the reinstitution of apartheid schooling in Boston. According to a 2020 report from the Boston Indicators Project, in 2019, 77% of Black students and two thirds of all students of color in Boston attended "intensely segregated," high-poverty schools.[126] Schools which, according to a 2019 study, received $1,000 less funding per student compared to schools with low concentrations of students of color.[127] For comparison, in 1980, at the end of the desegregation era, only 2% of the city's Black students attended such schools. Boston now has 84 intensely segregated schools, up from three in 1980.[128]

RESOURCE AND OPPORTUNITY GAPS TODAY

Decades of research have documented the many negative impacts of segregated school settings on Black children's educational opportunities, achievement levels, postsecondary success, and life outcomes. This is because the state's segregated schools are accompanied by drastic resource and learning opportunity gaps: lower per-pupil funding levels,[129] fewer quality teachers,[130] overcrowded classrooms,[131] and fewer advanced courses.[132]

INEQUITABLE FUNDING

Public school systems rely heavily on local property taxes for their funding; since there are such wide wealth disparities among municipalities, state aid is critical to help equalize education funding. However, Massachusetts has one of the widest-in-the-nation school funding gaps between its highest and lowest spending districts, the latter of which serve the vast majority of our students of color, according to a 2020 Citizens for Public Schools report.[133] In fact, the state's national ranking in the generosity of state contribution as a percent of total public school spending has declined in recent years, dropping from 25th in the nation in 2006 to 43rd in 2014.[134] That sharp decline disproportionately hurts under-resourced school districts that rely more heavily on state aid. There are other within-district funding disparities as well. As noted above, intensely segregated schools with high concentrations of children of color in Boston receive $1000 less per pupil than schools with low concentrations of students of color.[135] This is an issue of urgent concern when considering how important school funding is for educational outcomes. One study found that just a 10% increase in per pupil spending in one's K-12 years resulted in an additional half-year of completed education, almost 10% higher earnings as an adult, and a significant reduction in the annual incidence of adult poverty.[136]

The need for more equitable funding has been highlighted by powerful movements in recent years. In 2016, more than 3,500 Boston students from diverse backgrounds across the city walked out of their schools to protest $50 million in proposed Boston Public School budget cuts.[137] They forced the restoration of some cuts. In 2018, the Fund Our Future campaign brought together teachers, students, and parents from across the state to demand increased and more equitable funding for public schools, resulting in the Student Opportunity Act which commits an additional $1.5 billion to the state education budget over the next seven years.[138] The battle continues to ensure that these funds reach the low-income students they were designed to serve.

MASSACHUSETTS HAS ONE OF THE WIDEST-IN-THE-NATION SCHOOL FUNDING GAPS BETWEEN ITS HIGHEST AND LOWEST SPENDING DISTRICTS, THE LATTER OF WHICH SERVE THE VAST MAJORITY OF OUR STUDENTS OF COLOR.

—2020 Citizens for Public Schools report[124]

LACK OF QUALIFIED AND DIVERSE TEACHERS

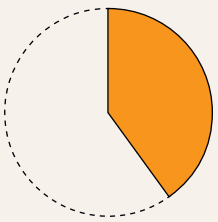
Another component of the concentrated disadvantage to be found in segregated and under-resourced schools is that their students have fewer qualified and diverse teachers. A 2018 report found that the state's Black and Latinx students "were three times more likely than white students to be assigned to a teacher who lacks content expertise in the subject they teach."[139] Furthermore, according to a 2015 Mass Budget Report, "students in the state's highest poverty schools are more than twice as likely to be taught by first year teachers as those in low-poverty schools."[140]

According to a recent *Boston Globe* analysis, for the last decade, there has continued to be an alarming discrepancy between the racial make-up of the student body and that of their teachers. While 85% of Boston public school students are children of color, only 40% of teachers and guidance counselors are adults of color.[141] At the state level, close to 40% of the student body are children of color, while only 8% of teachers are non-white.[142] Meanwhile, studies show extensive benefits for students of color who have a same-race teacher, including higher academic performance, attendance, graduation rates, and likelihood of going to college.[143]

MASSACHUSETTS' BLACK AND LATINX STUDENTS "WERE THREE TIMES MORE LIKELY THAN WHITE STUDENTS TO BE ASSIGNED TO A TEACHER WHO LACKS CONTENT EXPERTISE IN THE SUBJECT THEY TEACH."

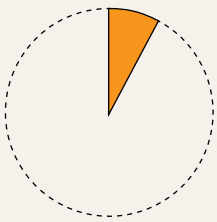
—via 2018 Massachusetts Education Equity Partnership report

Teacher demographics in Massachusetts are not representative of student body populations



40%

Students of color in Massachusetts



8%

Teachers of color in Massachusetts

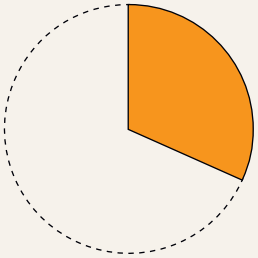
EXCLUSION FROM ADVANCED CLASSES AND SELECTIVE HIGH SCHOOLS

Boston's Black students are consistently underrepresented in both Advanced Work Classes (AWCs) and the city's highest-performing, selective schools, which disproportionately enroll middle-class white and Asian students. In 2012, Black male pupils were enrolled in AWCs at a substantially lower rate (5.6%) than white males (20%) or Asian males (25.8%), according to a 2014 study.[144] These classes provide some students in grades four through six with a more rigorous curriculum, along with larger amounts of homework. This disproportionality is alarming, given that Black students made up 35.1 percent of district enrollment that year, while white and Asian students constituted only 12.6% and 7.4% of enrollment respectively.[145] AWC admission is based on a third grade "Terra Nova cut score; students above the cut score are invited to enroll."[146]

This underrepresentation of Black students in advanced courses represents a critical opportunity gap considering that AWCs are the gateway through which many white and Asian students secure an accelerated academic track which feeds them into the city's three selective exam schools. A recent report found that "the percentage of Black 6th and 8th graders invited to the prestigious Boston Latin School is two and a half times below their district wide enrollment rates in BPS."[147] While Black students make up 31.8% of Boston Public School district enrollment, they make up only 8% of Boston Latin School enrollment.[148]

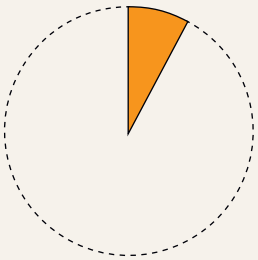
2.5x

Black 6th and 8th graders invited to the prestigious Boston Latin School is ***two and a half times below*** their district wide enrollment rates in BPS



31.8%

Black students enrolled in Boston Public Schools



8%

Black students enrolled in Boston Latin School

RACIALLY-BIASED DISCIPLINE: SCHOOL-TO-PRISON PIPELINE

6x

Black girls in Boston schools were suspended at six times the rate of white girls (in 2011-12)

STUDENTS WHO WERE SUSPENDED OR EXPELLED FOR MINOR VIOLATIONS WERE NEARLY THREE TIMES AS LIKELY TO BE INVOLVED IN THE JUVENILE COURT SYSTEM THE FOLLOWING YEAR.[155]

Black students are suspended and expelled from school at much higher rates than their white counterparts. A 2013 study revealed that Black students in Massachusetts were 3.7 times as likely as their white peers to receive an out of school suspension, and that, while Black students made up only 8.7% of state public school students, they received 43% of all out-of-school suspensions.[149] In the 2011-12 school year, Black girls in Boston schools were suspended at six times the rate of white girls.[150] These forms of exclusionary discipline have harmful impacts on students and serve as key predictors of school dropout. Furthermore, studies show that this harsh discipline is being issued for acts of minor and subjectively defined misconduct such as “disrespect”, “defiance” or “acting out”; these are incidents for which principals have discretion over the chosen consequence.[151]

According to the American Academy of Pediatrics, out-of-school suspension is a key predictor of school dropout, as it is highly associated with low attendance, course failure, grade retention, and disengagement from school.[152] One study concluded that a single out-of-school suspension in 9th grade can double a student’s chances of dropping out.[153] Suspensions not only jeopardize the academic success of habitually disruptive students but also put at risk otherwise well-behaved students who may be involved in one isolated incident. Zero tolerance disciplinary removals are highly correlated with, if not direct referrals for, the juvenile justice system, feeding what scholars call ‘the school-to-prison pipeline.’[154]

EDUCATION'S INTERSECTION WITH OTHER INJURY AREAS

> Educational inequality does not exist in a vacuum. Many other harms vested upon Black children and families over the years directly influence the quality of the education students receive.

For example, poverty—so often accompanied by substandard living conditions, inadequate nutrition, poor health, high rates of trauma, and chronic stress—has a profound impact on students' ability to engage, focus, and learn in school. Families of color have significantly higher rates of poverty than white families. In Boston, the median net worth for a white household is $247,500, while the median net worth of a Black non-immigrant household is $8. Another example: segregation of neighborhoods, carefully designed and perpetrated by redlining, creates a situation in which children of color cannot attend a neighborhood school (which, all other factors being equal, most families would prefer) and still receive a quality education. Thus, absent busing, segregated neighborhoods lead to segregated schools with all their attendant inequities.

In turn, education inequality impacts other injury areas, reproducing and exacerbating inequality in other domains. A large body of evidence shows that segregated and unequal educational settings have harmful impacts on Black students' later life outcomes, resulting in lower adult earnings, higher rates of poverty, poorer health, and greater levels of incarceration.[156] An inadequate or truncated education leads to a diminished economic future. For instance, one study found that each additional year of attending a segregated school costs a Black student $1,000 in annual family income as an adult.[157] Conversely, Black students who attend well-resourced, integrated schools have higher academic achievement, are more likely to graduate high school and complete college, have higher adult earnings, better health, and lower incidences of poverty and incarceration.[158] The average effect of five years of exposure to court-ordered desegregation is associated with a 25% increase in annual family income and an 11% point reduction in annual incidence of poverty in adulthood.[159] Evidence shows that more educated individuals are typically healthier, with lower levels of morbidity, obesity, and mortality.[160] Five years of exposure to desegregated schools yields an 11% increase in an adult's annual incidence of reporting excellent or very good health.[161]

SOME CONSIDERATIONS FOR REDRESS

JUST AS THESE HISTORIC AND ONGOING HARMS ARE DEEPLY INTERCONNECTED, THE REMEDIES MUST BE HOLISTIC, INTEGRATIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE. NO ONE MAGIC BULLET CAN SOLVE CENTURIES OF SYSTEMIC RACISM AND DEEP INEQUALITY. BUT WITHIN THE FIELD OF EDUCATION, A NUMBER OF ADVOCACY GROUPS HAVE ADVOCATED SPECIFIC REMEDIES FOR YEARS.

Provide increased and equitable funding for schools:

- Ensure full, timely implementation of the Student Opportunity Act;
- Close the gap between the highest and lowest spending districts;
- Use a reliable and stable definition of low-income students, defined as those whose family income is at or below 185% of the federal poverty level;
- Ensure that the funds reach the highest need students

Strengthen and expand wraparound educational and social services for underserved students and their families in order to address poverty-related barriers to learning:

- Provide physical and mental health services for students;
- Hire more guidance counselors, nurses, and social workers;
- Run education workshops for parents and families;
- These integrated supports, more important than ever in the wake of the losses and trauma students have experienced due to COVID-19, lead to a wide variety of positive impacts on student, school and community level outcomes

Design and implement a truly equitable student assignment process within Boston schools:

- Expand upon efforts to diversify Boston's selective exam schools;
- Increase funding for the METCO program to foster greater urban / suburban integration

Expand structures and opportunities at the school and district level for collaborative decision-making and leadership for families of color:

- Increase transformative family engagement strategies, including hiring parents of color as outreach specialists;
- Provide trainings and leadership development opportunities for parents at multiple levels of engagement and ensure that all are accessible

End the school-to-prison pipeline and oppose all forms of overly punitive and discriminatory discipline:

- Reduce over-reliance on suspensions by strengthening oversight and enforcement of the Chapter 222 law, and stopping off-the-books in-school suspensions;
- Reduce exclusionary discipline by promoting alternatives such as restorative justice approaches;
- Create police free schools by removing officers from schools, eliminating laws that criminalize students, and divesting funds from policing and investing them in student supports (e.g. counselors and social workers);
- Prohibit BPS from sharing student data with the Boston Police Department and Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE)

Replace the high-stakes MCAS test which prevents many underserved students from graduating:

- Pass a multiple-year moratorium on the harmful, high-stakes MCAS assessment system;
- Fund a commission with broad community representation to explore and recommend a more holistic next-generation state assessment system;
- Replace rote, drill-and-kill test prep with an academic curriculum that promotes creativity, critical thinking, and problem solving

5

CRIMINAL LEGAL SYSTEM

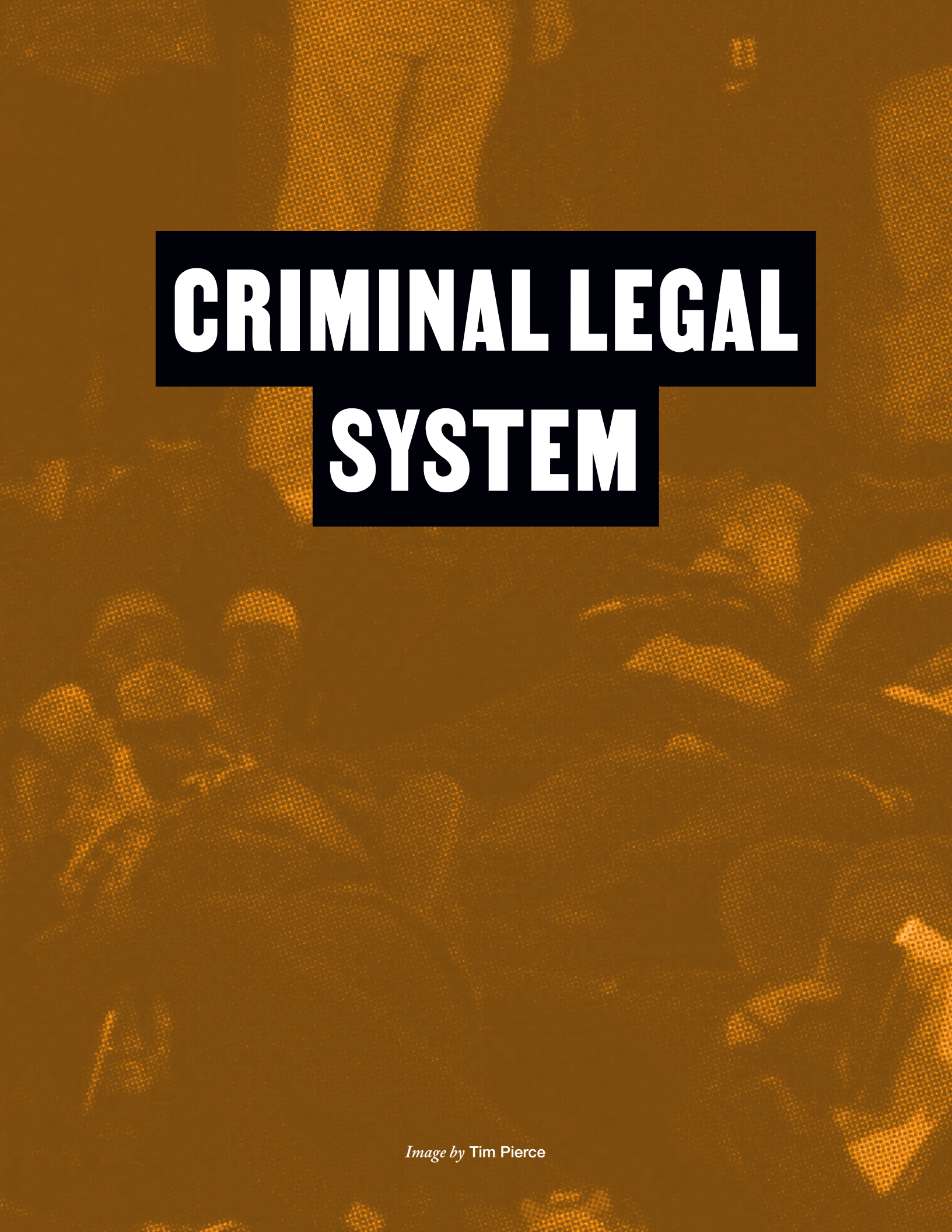


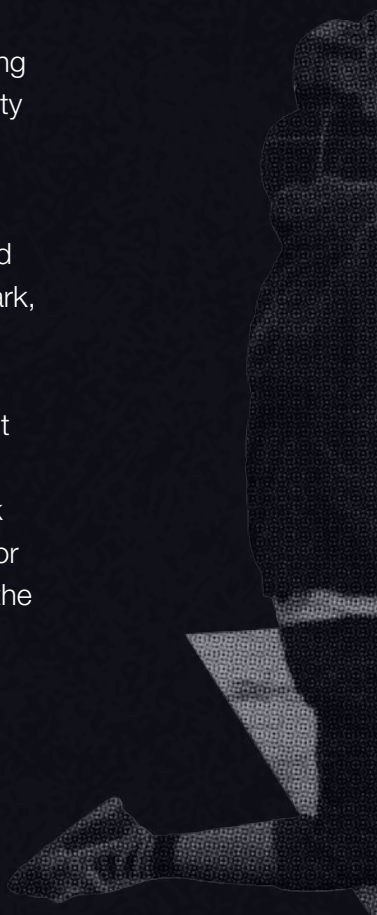
Image by Tim Pierce

5 CRIMINAL LEGAL SYSTEM

The summer of 2020 was a disheartening time across the United States in regards to the treatment of Black individuals by those in the police force and the criminal legal system in general.

The outrage started with the tragic death of George Floyd at the hands of several police officers; namely Derek Chauvin, who knelt on his neck for nearly nine minutes, even whilst hearing Floyd's disturbing cries that he couldn't breathe. This story reached news outlets around the world, making Floyd's name one of the most recognizable when discussing police brutality and other wrongdoings directed toward Black people. However, Floyd's incident was absolutely not the first of its kind.

In fact, there are countless examples of Black people being racially profiled and brutalized by police officers over the years. For example, Stephon Clark, who was shot for holding a hairbrush which police "thought" was a gun in 2018, and Breonna Taylor, who, only a few months before Floyd, was murdered in her own home due to the carelessness of a no-knock warrant that had nothing to do with her; and these are just two examples of many. After Taylor and Floyd's brutal murders, the worldwide movement of Black Lives Matter (BLM) was central to the social landscape globally. Fighting for equity, justice, and the end to blatant police brutality, the warriors behind the movement are still to this day doing everything possible to try to stop the biased officials that take part in the legal system of the United States.



PICTURED Protest against police brutality and the killing of George Floyd in Boston, MA. Souce: GorillaWarfareon Wikipedia Commons

AN ABBREVIATED HISTORY OF POLICING IN THE UNITED STATES

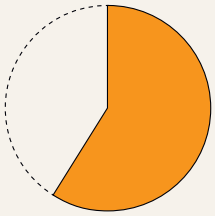
> N'COBRA defines criminal punishment as one of the five main injury areas of slavery; it suggests that the criminal justice system was founded on Jim Crow Era policies and practices that to this day discriminate and charge Black people at an alarmingly higher rate than whites.

The history behind the creation of the police force is an important aspect to understanding the criminal justice system as it is today. A 2020 article by *The New Yorker* explains that Boston was the first to install a legitimate police force in the country during the mid 19th century. Although this was considered to be the first "official" police force, there were traces of similar institutions in the prior centuries, such as watchmen, slave patrols, and the slave codes they enforced. But, even during the 1800s, police were often disguised as a new form of slave patrols, which were still extremely popular throughout the South. The modern police force that is thought of today didn't come about until 1909, under August Vollmer, who was the first police chief in Berkeley, California. Using his experiences being in the military, Vollmer quickly transformed the police into a militarized institution. With this came a striking increase in the number of ex-military men in the police force, bringing more violence and discriminatory practices and views.[162]

With this modern day police force came a new era of laws and a rebranding of slave codes; the introduction of Jim Crow Laws. At this point, there was a rapid increase in the number of police throughout the country, as their tactics simultaneously grew harsher. As the Civil Rights Movement gained more steam in the 1960s, President Lyndon B. Johnson announced his infamous "War on Crime," which only made the situation worse for Black communities. His initiative put more powerful, military grade weapons into the hands of police officers. He also made sure to put more police in Black communities, which inevitably led to the higher arrest rates of Black Americans.[163]

Knowing how the police force was established opens the doors to understanding how cities such as Boston and the rest of Massachusetts have served as a breeding ground for discriminatory practices. Research has shown that in Boston, preference-based discrimination continues to lead to the disproportionate targeting of Black and Latinx motorists with respect to both stops and searches.[164]

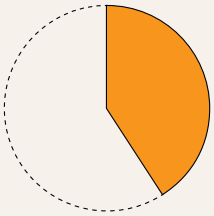
Disproportionate racial representation in the Boston Police Department



65%

Percent of police officers in Boston are white

vs.



45%

Percent of residents in Boston are white

RACIAL MAKEUP OF THE BOSTON POLICE DEPARTMENT

The racial make-up of the Boston police force has always been majority-white, despite evidence suggesting that a more diverse police force could lead to less profiling of Black residents. Efforts have been made to highlight the Boston Police Department's stubborn diversity problem and hiring practices, especially in recent years amidst the rise of police brutality across the United States. Boston officials have talked about diversifying its police force for years, but have put in little effort to actually make it happen; white individuals are still more often hired into the department over Black or Latinx candidates. In fact, the Boston Police Department reported in January 2021 that their department consists of 65% white officers, despite white people only making up 45% of the entire city.[165] This has sparked conversations regarding how diversifying departments can actually improve policing.

A recent study conducted on the Chicago Police Department aimed to look at the demographics of its police force, compared to individual officers' arrests, stops, and use of force to determine just how the race of officers impacted the way they police the community. Although the study does not definitively say that diversification will change police interactions with civilians, the data presents compelling evidence that this very well could be the case. These statistics were in regards to minor offenses, as data suggested that Black and white officers responded to violent crimes very similarly. Regardless, the study revealed the vast differences in policing between two different groups of officers who are put in the same situations, suggesting potential success from the diversification of these departments.[166] This study is something that should be taken into consideration within the Massachusetts and the Boston Police Department, considering their high and disproportionate arrest rates that seemingly target Black communities.

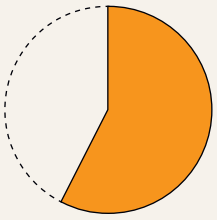
ARRESTS

Richard Nixon's presidency introduced a plethora of changes to the criminal legal system in the U.S. Prison sentences became longer, courts were often given the right to try juveniles as adults, and there was increased funding for police departments—leading to increased arrest numbers. This era saw an expansion in the use of electronic surveillance to be included in cases, despite the prior prohibition that had been placed on it. These changes contributed to what is now known as "intergenerational incarceration," leading many children of convicts to enter crime themselves.[167] The changes made in the Nixon Era had a lasting effect in Massachusetts. It has served as an exemplar for institutionalized racism and prejudice against its Black citizens.

There is an extreme problem with inequality and racism in the state, which often stems from relationships between Black communities and the police officers who patrol them. In fact, there are disparate arrest statistics between the Black population and all other races. In 2020, there were roughly 78,800 arrests made in Massachusetts, around 15,100 of which were African American. This is true despite Black people making up less than 10% of the state's population; meaning that out of the tens of thousands of arrests that were made, nearly 20% of them came from the Black communities.

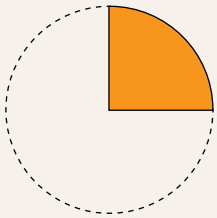
Boston has fed off the history of discriminatory policing, which is demonstrated through its disproportionate arrest rates within Black communities.

Black communities in Boston experience disproportionate arrest rates



58%

Share of arrests in Boston targeting Black people[168]



25%

Share of Black people in Boston population

In 2020, there were almost 4,000 arrests in the city, with 2,300 of them being African Americans, nearly 60%.[168] Similar to the statewide statistics, African Americans only make up a fraction of Boston's population, about 25%. These data came from the same year that Boston Mayor Marty Walsh declared racism to be a public health crisis in the city. In his announcement, Mayor Walsh also promised to allocate more money towards public health, while simultaneously using some of the police department's funds to help with housing and counseling initiatives.[169] Although many people admitted these promises are a step in the right direction, the Mayor still faced massive backlash by those who believe that police departments and officers should be held accountable for discriminatory practices.

WAR ON DRUGS AND CRIMINALIZATION OF MARIJUANA

The criminalization of Black people was a direct result of Richard Nixon's "War on Drugs," targeting people of color and the communities they reside in. Nixon's plan helped fund drug-control agencies, and created strict prison sentencing requirements for any and all drug crimes. After Ronald Reagan took office several years later, he created "new mandatory minimum sentences for offenses related to most drugs, including cannabis".[170] This directly influenced prison populations throughout the United States, making it the country with the highest incarceration population in the world. The Drug Policy Alliance reported "the number of people behind bars for nonviolent drug law offenses increased from 50,000 in 1980 to over 400,000 by 1997." Reagan's crackdown on drugs in the 1980s even led to his wife coining the infamous term "Just Say No."[171]

Nixon's War on Drugs played a major role in Black people being arrested and charged for drug crimes more often than whites. In 2010, it was reported that, Black individuals were 3.73 times more likely to be arrested for the possession of marijuana in comparison to whites; this data comes even when it's been shown that the possession and use of marijuana between the two races is nearly the same.[172]

The 2016 decriminalization of cannabis in Massachusetts brought a renewed hope that this would be an opportunity to right some of the wrongs around disparities in cannabis-related arrests. With the passed legislation allowing for recreational marijuana use and the opening of dispensaries, however, came about new issues of licensing and dispensary ownership.

Despite Massachusetts implementing equity programs and procedures for those in the cannabis industry who have been harmed by the War on Drugs and cannabis prohibition, there still remains a large gap in representation in licensing and ownership of dispensaries across the state. Recent data published in 2021 by the Massachusetts Cannabis Control Commission shows that out of the more than 18,000 individuals with licenses in the state, more than 13,000 (about 72%) of them are white, while around 1,000 (about 6%) are Black.[173]

DESPITE MASSACHUSETTS IMPLEMENTING EQUITY PROGRAMS AND PROCEDURES FOR THOSE IN THE CANNABIS INDUSTRY WHO HAVE BEEN HARMED BY THE WAR ON DRUGS AND CANNABIS PROHIBITION, THERE STILL REMAINS A LARGE GAP IN REPRESENTATION IN LICENSING AND OWNERSHIP OF DISPENSARIES ACROSS THE STATE.

Licensing for marijuana dispensaries is largely regulated at the state level, but many of the hurdles to licensing occur at the municipal level. These include high fees, zoning issues, and the real estate process in their cities.[174] Both the social equity program and the economic empowerment program that were implemented in the state work to support those who have been previously affected by the disproportionate arrest rates and cannabis prohibition. However, without access to capital, these individuals are unable to get into the industry and benefit from such programs.[175]

HAIR FOLLICLE TEST

The United States has depended on hair follicle testing for decades, mainly as a tool for hiring within police departments. Hair follicle drug tests are used to determine drug use in the past 90 days, for drugs including, but not limited to, methamphetamines, marijuana, and cocaine.[176] Recently, lawsuits started appearing in regard to the discrimination that takes place with the use of this drug test.

The National Law Review published an article in 2018 describing the United States District Court of Appeals opening back up a lawsuit which was brought about by eight different African American police officers and two other law enforcement officials who were subject to the drug test under the Boston Police Department. The results of the drug test showed that all eight of them tested positive for cocaine, but the results of the test were in direct violation of Title 7 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which prevents any employment discrimination on the basis of race. It seemed unusual and unfair that these tests were being administered by the Boston Police Department, as complainants pointed out that hair follicle tests are actually unauthorized in the federal government for hiring. The eight officers also conducted their own research to present in court, which showed that over a seven year period, 1.3% of Black individuals tested positive, unlike white individuals, where only 0.27% tested positive. These statistics were backed up by their claim that "Black individuals have higher levels of melanin in their hair that causes cocaine and cocaine metabolites to bind to the hair at higher rates."[177] After this story broke, Mayor Walsh announced that the department would no longer use this drug test for hiring.[178]

CORI

The Massachusetts Criminal Offender Record Information (CORI) is a system that was implemented in 1972, which is used to keep track of convicted criminals throughout the state. According to the Massachusetts Department of Criminal Justice Information Services (2019), a CORI is a "name and DOB-based record of your Massachusetts criminal court appearances." The reports are accessible by any approved agencies or institutions, which include, and are not limited to, potential employers, landlords, banks, and schools. Depending on the organization, some information within the CORI may be non-accessible. Regardless, all approved institutions are able to see if there are any convictions, non-convictions, or pending cases against any individual in question.

In 2010, an effort was made by the Massachusetts legislature to reform the CORI system. Individuals impacted by CORI had high expectations for the reform, thinking it would prevent employers from using their CORI during the hiring process, provide more incentives for employers to hire these individuals, and even "ban the box" on job applications, which originally required criminal history to be disclosed on applications. Unfortunately, this was not the case; CORI subjects were faced with declined job opportunities due to their CORI, few employment opportunities due to lack of incentive on the hiring end, and still having to include criminal history on applications. It was also reported that although the 2010 reform resulted in more CORI subjects receiving job interviews, a majority of these interviews don't result in a job.[179]

2010 protestor in Downtown Boston objecting to CORI policies as an impediment to jobs for youth Source: John Stephen Dwyer

THE IMPLEMENTATION OF CORI IN THE 1970S HAS IMPACTED MASSACHUSETTS INDIVIDUALS BEING RELEASED FROM PRISON TO OBTAIN JOBS, HOUSING, AND NECESSARY SOCIAL TIES.

Several years later in 2018, another reform was made to CORI. Massachusetts updated their CORI laws, allowing a number of records to be expunged if they met the criteria. Some of these requirements included expungements if the record was obtained when the offender was a minor or if they were under 21 and did not commit more crimes. Additionally, it included any cases where someone was wrongfully charged, the crime became decriminalized, or if there were mistakes by officers, witnesses, the court, or any other third party. In this case, marijuana cases may be dropped, considering the possession of two ounces or less became decriminalized. Although these updates were a step in the right direction, the 2018 reform still presented numerous shortcomings. A campaign was started following the reform to suggest changes, despite the recent updates, which still hindered the ability of individuals to gain jobs and housing despite the updates. The bills presented in the campaign suggest easier access to record sealing, especially those which were dismissed, as well as providing certificates to those with records to greaten their chances of receiving jobs they are qualified for. Bill H. 1568, for example, suggests the immediate sealing of records for cases that were dismissed or where the defendant was deemed not guilty, contrary to the 2018 reform which still holds back records.[180]

The implementation of CORI in the 1970s has impacted Massachusetts individuals once being released from prison, due to the role it plays in preventing these individuals from obtaining jobs, housing, and necessary social ties.[181] The inability of these individuals to easily return to being working individuals of society have contributed to the current recidivism rates throughout Massachusetts. In this case, “a recidivist is defined as any criminally sentenced inmate released to the community...who is re-incarcerated for a new sentence or violation of parole or probation to a Massachusetts state or county facility or to a federal facility within three years of his/her release.”[182] Of all the Black individuals who were released from prison in the state in 2015, 33% of the males and 41% of the females recidivated.[183] Despite the reforms CORI has gone under, convicts and ex-offenders are still faced with barriers when it comes to adjusting and readapting to life outside of prison, leading to these recidivism rates. The struggle to obtain jobs and appropriate rehabilitation after prison is a key factor in understanding the wealth gap in both the United States and Massachusetts.

RELATION TO OTHER INJURY AREAS

The wealth gap has developed over decades from discriminatory laws and policies that have prevented Black families from building intergenerational wealth. In Boston, a white household is more likely to own every single type of liquid asset versus a non-white household; these liquid assets typically include owning a home, retirement accounts, and transportation.[184] The fight to obtain wealth, however, stems from more than just a generational struggle—it stems from the day-to-day battles with financial instability that have been fostered by the criminal justice system.

Boston's CORI system, although having undergone reforms over the past couple of decades, still presents a number of limitations that have prevented Black people with criminal records from obtaining jobs, housing, necessary licenses and economic opportunities. Those with any sort of criminal background are automatically put at a disadvantage when trying to acquire gainful employment. Even if an individual is found not guilty or their case is dismissed, they still have CORI and a criminal background, regardless of how their unique situation played out.[185] Oftentimes, seeing this background is all it takes for an employer to deny a job to this individual. Additionally, there are employers that still discriminate even without a criminal record present. Many Black applicants face severe challenges obtaining jobs, even those without records, which is often due to the employer's bias towards Black people.[186]

It has been argued that the United States has a racial caste system, which uses the criminal justice system to disproportionately place Black Americans in a "permanent second-class status by law." Under this status, they are quickly denied access to jobs, housing, voting rights, healthcare, and good education, just like their ancestors were in the Jim Crow era.[187] This dynamic is a never ending cycle; those with criminal records struggle to obtain jobs and are therefore faced with poverty, and those who are impoverished are faced with prison.[188]

RECOMMENDATIONS

AS ADDRESSED IN THIS REPORT, THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM OF BOSTON HAS SET THE STAGE FOR DISCRIMINATORY POLICIES AND PRACTICES THAT HAVE BEEN CARRIED OUT AGAINST ITS BLACK RESIDENTS FOR DECADES.

In an effort to address and make amends for these prejudiced policies, city leadership must engage in conversations and make changes to the current system to make reparations for those who have been harmed. Various organizations have already initiated talk surrounding possible forms of redress that Boston should undertake. The solutions for the decades of harm that Black communities have faced are complex, but there are numerous recommendations that should be considered.

The Boston Area Research Initiative (BARI) has acknowledged the damaging role that the BPD has played in the policing of Black communities, and recommended steps for redress in Boston. It suggests making changes to its internal affairs, by:

- Electing officials that work towards increasing police accountability
- Addressing current and past complaints of misconduct by the BPD against individuals quickly and efficiently to find where the problems stem from
- Increase diversity of the police department and better train officers to handle high-sensitivity cases
- Improve ways in which the BPD approaches mental health crises by working with the appropriate local institutions
- Make the department's data and information public to allow for transparency and better engagement with its communities
- Invest in community-based police strategies to encourage open conversations about where the BPD is going wrong

Partnership recommendations by BARI:

- Invest in community policing that better applies to the local communities through open dialogue between officials, police officers, and the public
- Work alongside Boston's academic institutions to research just how the policing practices affect its communities
- Maximize resources to best decide the necessary changes and reforms that will benefit the entire Boston community[189]

The Massachusetts Coalition for Juvenile Justice Reform also made three recommendations in a 2020 hearing, where they proposed:

- Transparency in all juvenile justice decisions by both race and ethnicity
- Calling an end to the automatic prosecution of minors as adults
- Expand the expungement requirements which were updated in the 2018 CORI reform to better include those who were overpoliced and criminalized

Additional recommendations for redress include:

- Redirect cannabis tax funds towards reparations for discrimination in marijuana-related arrests, as was done in Evanston, Illinois
- Fund nonprofit organizations that provide resources to individuals and communities who have been harmed by Boston's CORI practices, such as Greater Boston Legal Services
- Individual payments for those who can prove harm based on Boston's CORI practices


6

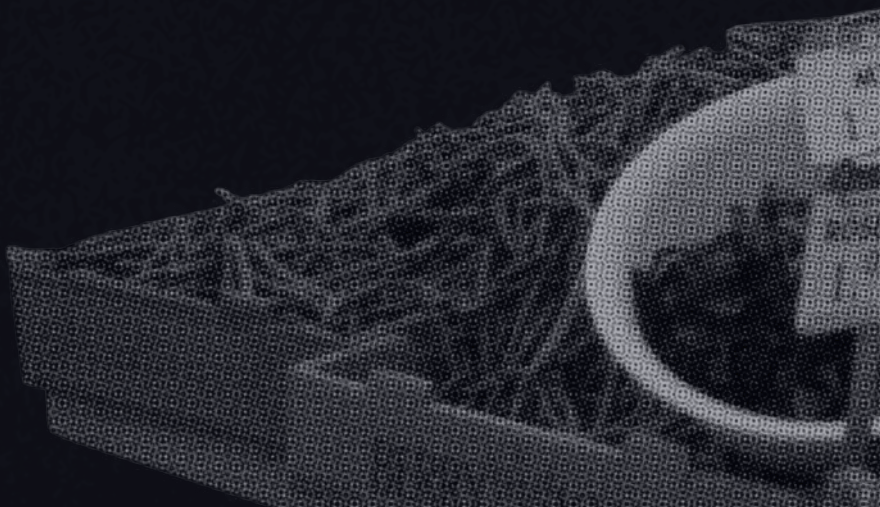
HEALTH

Image by City of Boston

6 HEALTH

> The end of chattel slavery, Jim Crow laws, and *de jure* segregation did not lead to the beginning of a just, respectful, or equitable health experience for Black people in the United States. Despite historical strides, the bodies and labor of Black people are still being exploited and many Black communities are in precarious conditions.

These issues remain unsolved because as a country, the United States of America has refused to acknowledge and remedy the historical legacies of injustices and the afterlife of these injustices against Black people. Importantly, this apathy towards the wellbeing of Black people is violent—it renders Black life, Black health, Black wealth, and Black humanity to a perpetual cycle of despair, and robs them of economic gains totaling 16 trillion dollars that's been lost due to the exploitation of Black people at all levels of civil society.[190]



PICTURED Haymarket outdoor market by City of Boston

WHY REPARATIONS? ADDRESSING HEALTH INEQUITIES FOR BLACK BOSTONIANS

Through reparations, it is clear that steps can be taken within communities to remedy the past and create pathways for sustainable futures. The call for reparations and actions to materialize it is necessary to address the compounding intergenerational impact of racism on the health and wellbeing of Black people in Boston. As part of N'COBRA's five injury areas, the focus on all aspects of the health and wellbeing of Black Bostonians recognizes both past and present unethical and inhumane treatment of Black people and Black communities. The impact of slavery and Jim Crow on Black health began on the auction block more than 400 years ago and is still shown on the bodies, spirits, and souls of Black communities today. Despite numerous programs and policies put in place to close the health gap, issues still remain. These issues remain unresolved because the racist exploitation of Black people has contributed to the persistence of poverty among Black people and the unjust privilege of white people.[191]

The persistence of poverty amongst Black Bostonians and Black neighborhoods in Boston is reflected in the 2016 study on economic and racial inclusion in 274 cities conducted by The Urban Institute.[192] Out of 274 cities, Boston ranked 151st in overall inclusion, 81st in economic inclusion, and 204th in racial inclusion. Achieving health equity for Black people in Boston means having economic, social, cultural, and environmental capital— all of which can be achieved through reparations by alleviating poverty and deprivation. This in turn will mitigate disparities in income, education, housing, availability of green space (e.g., parks/recreation centers), food insecurity, employment as well as neighborhood safety. However, given that the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and Boston specifically has not identified a consistent and concrete plan for redress/reparation for Black Bostonians, NCOBRA's five injury areas (health, education, housing, transportation, criminal/legal) lay the groundwork for the flourishing that can occur for Black people and Black neighborhoods through reparations.

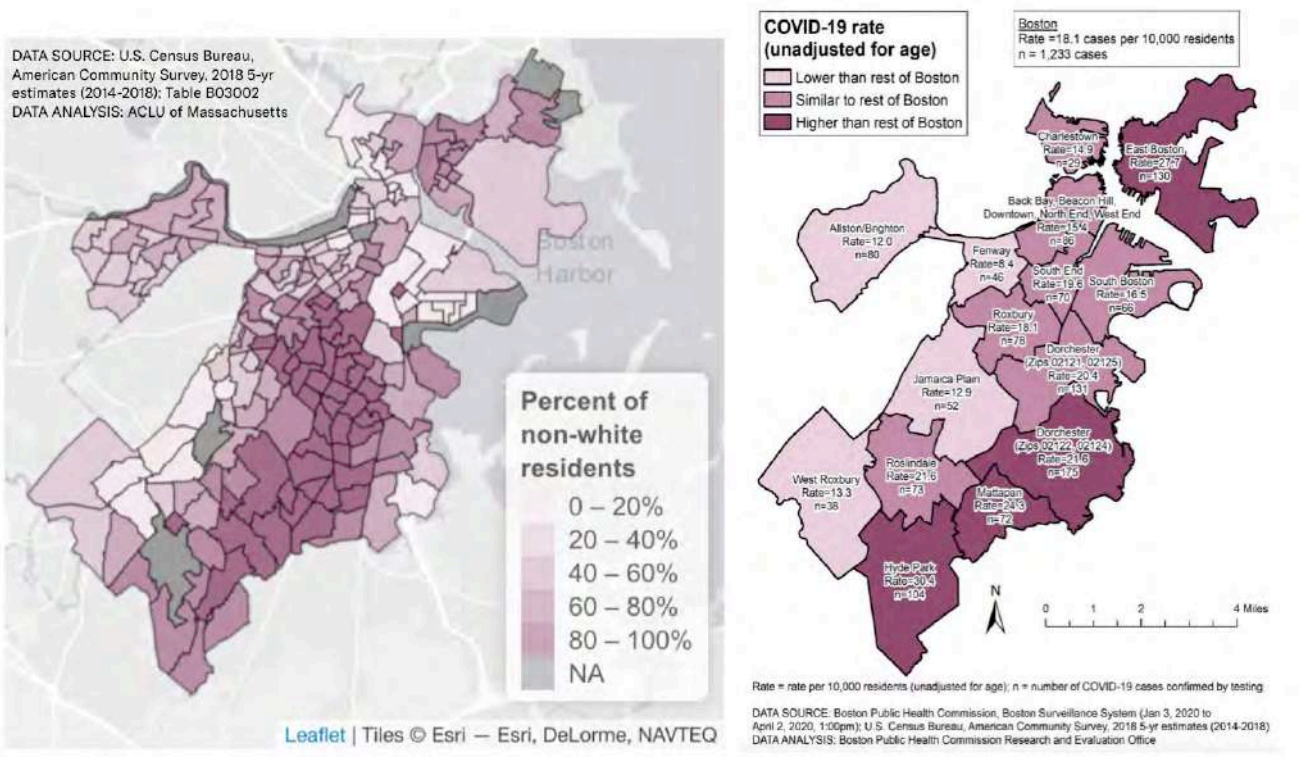
THE CALL FOR REPARATIONS AND ACTIONS TO MATERIALIZE IT IS NECESSARY TO ADDRESS THE COMPOUNDING INTERGENERATIONAL IMPACT OF RACISM ON THE HEALTH AND WELLBEING OF BLACK PEOPLE IN BOSTON THROUGH THE SOCIAL DETERMINANTS OF HEALTH.

BACKGROUND AND KEY HISTORICAL EVENTS

Massachusetts Bay Colony was the first colony to legalize the institution of slavery in 1641. Even as racism was declared a threat to public health by the Centers for Disease and Control (CDC) on April 8, 2021, the American Public Health Association (APHA) on October 24, 2020, and by the former Mayor of Boston, Marty Walsh, on June 12, 2020, patterns of segregation have been deeply embedded in Boston health care.[193] The health impact of racism on Black Bostonians is also experienced through multiple interlocking systems of deprivation, exclusion, and oppression.

These experiences are manifested in real-time through the social determinants of health, such as in the racial disparities we see in health outcomes, education mobility, the income/wealth-gap, employment status, and substandard housing. The U.S. Black health experience is shaped by the institution of slavery and Jim Crow. In 1889 W.E.B. Du Bois, the founding father of American sociology, published his ethnography entitled *The Philadelphia Negro: A Social Study*, which documented in detail the impact of slavery on the social, environmental, health, and economic conditions of Black Philadelphians and the inaction of the government to address the absolute conditions of Black people in American society.[194] His research in 1889 highlighted the poor health outcomes and high mortality rates of Black people in comparison to whites due to social determinants of health experienced in that historical period:

Communities of color in Boston experienced the highest rates of COVID-19. Source: ACLU



"One thing we must of course expect to find, and that is a much higher death rate at present among Negroes than among whites: this is one measure of the difference in their social advancement. They have in the past lived under vastly different conditions and they still live under different conditions: to assume that, in discussing the inhabitants of Philadelphia, one is discussing people living under the same conditions of life, is to assume what is not true. Broadly speaking, the Negroes as a class dwell in the most unhealthful parts of the city and in the worst houses"[195]

The legal and social, and legal frameworks of slavery in the U.S. colonies naturally continued inequalities in the health system, as "whites were maintained in a separate system of care…. by the end of North America's early Colonial Period, Black health could be equated with slave health."[196] The sobering consequences of America's refusal to address racism are being witnessed today.[197] This sobering reality of what is being experienced today, exacerbated by the COVID-19 pandemic, is forcing a realization of what W.E.B. Dubois observed in 1889. His words still resonate today in different facets of the lives of Black people in the U.S., including Boston, where Black Bostonians are less likely to receive care at the city's best hospitals, compared to their white counterparts. More so, "the social determinants of health associated with institutionalized and interpersonal racism, including poverty, unemployment, and residential segregation," enable conditions that create poorer health outcomes for Black Bostonians.[198] These disparities have been well researched, documented, and reported.

Nonetheless, even when the opportunity to improve health outcomes through physician training and development presents itself or looks feasible for Black people, the opportunity is stymied by white-centered professional institutions. For example, the reform of the medical education system in the U.S. that took place in the first three decades of the twentieth century excluded the needs of Black physicians, while enforcing white standards.[199] In spite of this racially motivated academic reform, Black students and physicians thrived, albeit, in hostile medical education institutions. The restriction imposed via the medical education system as well as through the exclusion of Black physicians from receiving membership in professional medical institutions such as the American Medical Association (AMA) was a missed opportunity for Black physicians to provide culturally relevant and responsive healthcare to their community while advancing their careers. Black physicians in Boston and more broadly in Massachusetts experienced the impact of this policy change, despite being known as a bastion of progressivism during that period. Boston failed to create systems and other favorable conditions to counteract harmful national policies and practices.

REDLINING AND SOCIAL DETERMINANTS OF HEALTH OF BLACK BOSTONIANS

The exclusion of Black people is not confined to specific health institutions and professional organizations. In Massachusetts, there are also racist and discriminatory housing policies such as redlining and restrictive real-estate covenants—these *de jure* and *de facto* processes had direct and indirect impact on the health outcomes and socio-economic security of Black Bostonians. For example, in 1855, a wealthy white man by the name of Amos Lawrence, who once supported anti-slavery efforts in Kansas, had specific stipulations in the property deed that prohibited Black people from occupying any structure on the land he sold.[200] By the 1930s the Homeowners Loan Corporation (HOLC), was created to refinance defaulted loans, and thus help to create pathways for homeownership. Instead, the HOLC developed a grading and color coding system that categorized neighborhoods on their desirability for investment and disinvestment—"green for the "Best," blue for "Still Desirable," yellow for "Definitely Declining," and red for "Hazardous."[201] Many Black neighborhoods were graded 'D' (hazardous; red) while white neighborhoods were often graded 'A' (best; green).

This essentially translated to the financing of properties for white people in good conditions, allowing residents the benefits of healthier environmental conditions. This left Black people to be ascribed and confined to poor living conditions, toxic environments, and unsafe dwellings.

Today, studies show that living in redlined neighborhoods contributes to "severe asthma," birth outcomes, cancer, and poor food access.[202] Furthermore, redlined places like Roxbury that were once given a grade of 'D' in the 1930s are today characterized by the CDC as having a high Social Vulnerability Index (SVI). SVI measures a "community's ability to prevent human suffering and financial loss in a disaster," and scores range from 0 (lowest vulnerability) to 1 (highest vulnerability)," which means that a place like Roxbury with an SVI score of 0.828 is ill-prepared to withstand any kind of disasters or shocks.[203] Therefore, areas of high SVI scores such as Roxbury that were deprived of funding and capital investments via the HOLC scheme in the 1930s have been disproportionately impacted by COVID-19 today.

STUDIES SHOW THAT LIVING IN REDLINED NEIGHBORHOODS CONTRIBUTES TO "SEVERE ASTHMA," BIRTH OUTCOMES, CANCER, AND POOR FOOD ACCESS.

Rubble in back of dilapidated houses, Roxbury, Boston (1965). Source: Edmund L. Mitchell Collection

Furthermore, education has an impact on health outcomes. For example, higher educational attainment is associated with socio-economic mobility, including increased income, better working conditions, safer housing and environment, food access, as well as better employment opportunities that provide health insurance and retirement benefits. Additionally, a parent's level of education positively correlates with the health of their children. This means that as the level of parent education increases, the percentage of children with excellent health increases.[204] In 2015, 17% of Black Bostonians were without a high school diploma, compared to 4% of white Bostonians. Similar disparity exists for college degrees as well — only 15% of Black Bostonians have a Bachelor's degree compared to 37% of their white peers. There is geographic disparity in the attainment of a high school diploma, with predominantly Black and Brown neighborhoods (Roxbury, Dorchester, Mattapan, East Boston, and the South End) having an overall lower attainment rate for high school diplomas compared to more affluent areas. Furthermore, many of these neighborhoods have a history of redlining, which corresponds to their high SVI and disparities in COVID-19 mortality.

Harmful stressors associated with the criminal justice system have had adverse effects on maternal and child health outcomes, in addition to other long-term impacts of mass incarceration including mental health disorders, diabetes, asthma, hypertension, HIV, and Hepatitis C.[205] In Massachusetts, 2019 data from the Vera Institute of Justice revealed that although Black people constituted 7% of the population, they were incarcerated at 5.9 times the rate of white people and represent 18% of people in jail and 27% of people in prison.[206]

Furthermore, the mass incarceration of Black pregnant people specifically undermines the opportunity for safe motherhood and safe pregnancy. And for non-pregnant Black people, mass incarceration impacts to a full range of sexual and reproductive health services including contraception and abortion while also preventing people from parenting their children in safe environments.[207] Likewise, the experience of Black women in prison portends their experience outside of prison, as these women often live in communities, regions, and national settings that lack healthcare services, leading to them experiencing more reproductive health problems due to myriad structural barriers.[208] Finally, there is direct evidence showing that growing up in a two-parent, married home results in significant benefits to children's outcomes and life chances, including better physical and mental health, higher future wages and social ties, and college completion.[209] It can easily be reasoned that the impact of mass incarceration on Black households makes these conditions much more challenging.

IMPACT OF MASSACHUSETTS (BOSTON) HEALTH POLICY AND PRACTICE ON BLACK BOSTONIANS

Although the Massachusetts Health Reform in 2006 was designed to improve access to healthcare and expand coverage, studies have shown that even when the number of Black people with insurance did increase, disparities in coverage, access, preventive admissions, hospitalizations, and overall quality of care persisted.[210] Disparities in health persist, and reforms on healthcare fail because the underlying issue of racism that impact the health and wellbeing of Black Bostonians are left unaddressed. For Black Bostonians, the pledge by the City of Boston to address racism as a public health imperative does not address the impact of racism on health in concrete ways.

The issue of health for Black Bostonians is not an easy one to pin down and begin to solve. As outlined, health encompasses many of the areas of harm explained in this report, with each having their own impacts on the health and wellbeing of Black people in Massachusetts, especially in Boston. With the clear failure to properly address these issues by officials and policies, the future is unclear regarding Black health. Reparations represent one way to provide Black Bostonians with potential access to more equal healthcare, beginning to close the discouragingly large racial gap present in Boston.

DISPARITIES IN HEALTH PERSIST, AND REFORMS ON HEALTHCARE FAIL BECAUSE THE UNDERLYING ISSUE OF RACISM THAT ARE VISIBLE ON THE HEALTH AND WELLBEING OF BLACK BOSTONIANS ARE LEFT UNADDRESSED.


GOURMET KREYÒL
7

INCOME, WEALTH, & ENTREPRENEURSHIP

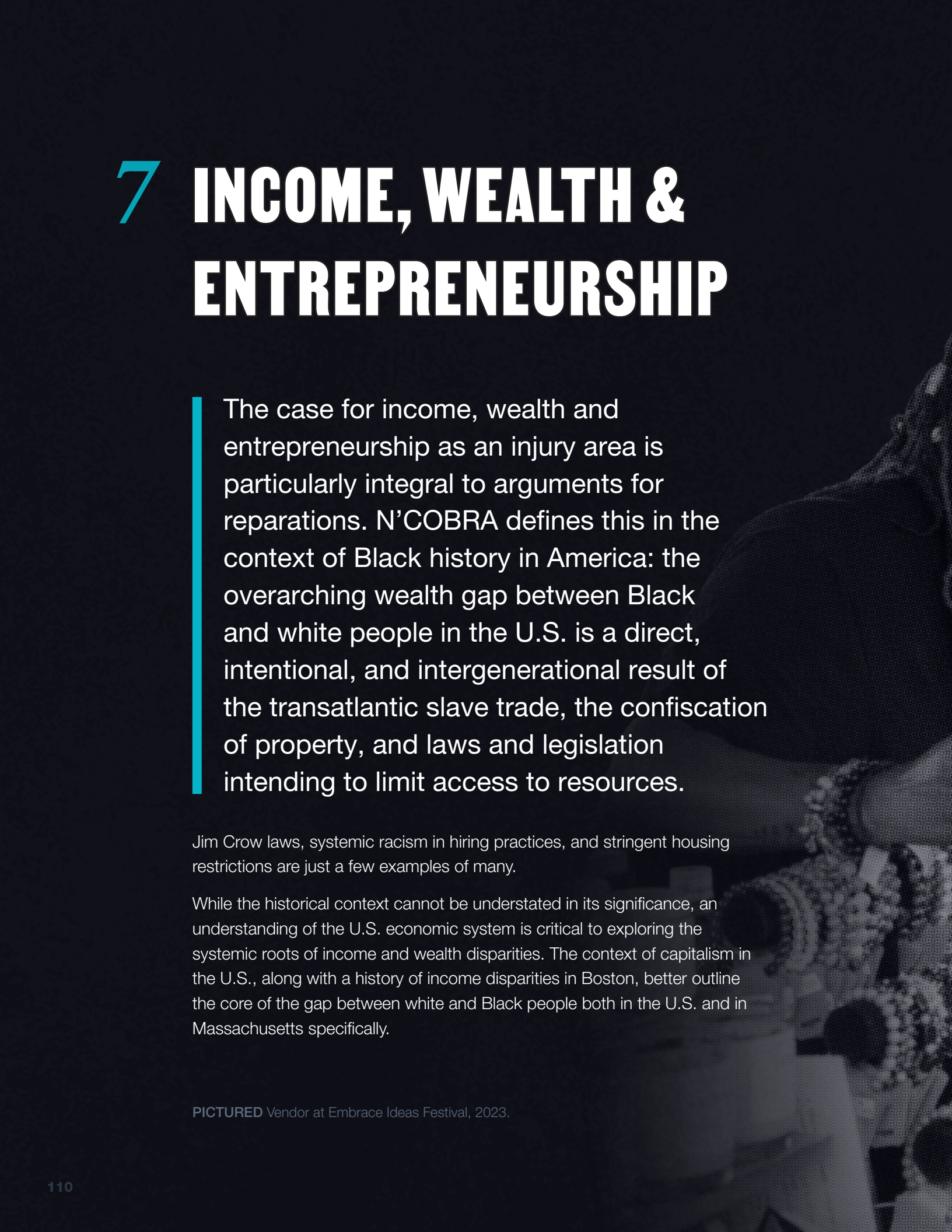
Image by Isidor Studio

7 INCOME, WEALTH & ENTREPRENEURSHIP

The case for income, wealth and entrepreneurship as an injury area is particularly integral to arguments for reparations. N'COBRA defines this in the context of Black history in America: the overarching wealth gap between Black and white people in the U.S. is a direct, intentional, and intergenerational result of the transatlantic slave trade, the confiscation of property, and laws and legislation intending to limit access to resources.

Jim Crow laws, systemic racism in hiring practices, and stringent housing restrictions are just a few examples of many.

While the historical context cannot be understated in its significance, an understanding of the U.S. economic system is critical to exploring the systemic roots of income and wealth disparities. The context of capitalism in the U.S., along with a history of income disparities in Boston, better outline the core of the gap between white and Black people both in the U.S. and in Massachusetts specifically.



PICTURED Vendor at Embrace Ideas Festival, 2023.

CAPITALISM CONDENSED

Capitalism, at its most basic definition, is an economic system where private actors own and control assets in alignment with their own interests. Capital assets (such as factories or railroads) are owned, and labor is bought by way of wage, and resulting profits are accrued by the private owners. Supply and demand set market prices in a way that "best serves" the interests of society.

> Capitalism's most essential feature, though, is its driving force: accumulating as much profit as possible.[211] In a capitalist society, like that of the United States, the best way to make a profit is to buy labor at the lowest possible value.

Capitalism must be viewed not just as an economic system, but also as a basis for the societal power structure. In a society where capital is most valued, those with the most capital have a disproportionate amount of political power. Where agendas can be bought through means such as lobbying, political figures promoted through both large individual donors as well as Political Action Committee (PAC) donations, and news filtered to suit an agenda (the same four conglomerates own all news outlets), the U.S. political landscape is too often heavily swayed in favor of those who can afford more. In their essay, *Hierarchy, Market and Power in Capitalism: Conceptual Remarks*, Alice Sindzingre and Fabrice Tricou state it best: "in the capitalist regime, wealth 'causes' power".[212]

This baseline understanding of capitalism and its effects is imperative to also understanding the harms inflicted through the disparities in income and wealth between Black and white people. Generational wealth, the inherited accumulation of capital, goes a long way. And, as N'COBRA states, restricted access to the job market (and roles of power) and homeownership is a significant way of blocking and withholding power from Black people. While this is a systemic issue that goes deeper than any one locale, it is the responsibility of towns and cities to do what they can to redress these harms.

CAPITALISM MUST BE VIEWED NOT JUST AS AN ECONOMIC SYSTEM, BUT ALSO AS A BASIS FOR THE SOCIETAL POWER STRUCTURE.

THE HISTORICAL CONNECTION

In the broadest context, the income and generational wealth disparities seen today are a nationwide affliction. With the understanding of capitalism, and that capital ultimately creates power, it should also be noted the impacts of slavery on the modern-day economy, and how it ultimately drives the current racial disparities in wealth and income.

Slavery was the foundation and driver for modern day capitalism and the United States' global economic power. Enslaved Africans were forced to provide free labor, and this free labor drove high profits and, as Mehrsa Baradaran writes, "More cotton led to more profits, which led to more demand for slaves, which led to more legislation supporting slavery, and then even crueler methods of oppression to extract more work from slaves".[213]

As Black people were cruelly viewed as property rather than people, they too became capital, and additional forms of wealth to already wealthy white landowners.[214] While Massachusetts was historically known to be the "center" for abolition, it must be noted that the colony of Massachusetts was the first to legalize slavery and has greatly benefited from the racial hierarchy born from it. Enslaved peoples could not participate in the market as either buyers or sellers, and, as a result, could never turn a profit. Freed Black people, still subjugated to white supremacy and its declaration of them as "lesser thans", were limited in their access to the economy. In virtually every aspect of society, segregation prevented full participation and, as a result, prevented Black people from owning land, testifying in court, or acquiring jobs or trades above menial or manual labor.[215]

INCOME DISPARITIES TODAY ARE AS BIG AS THEY WERE IN THE PRE-CIVIL RIGHTS ERA.

—via Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis Research Division

Following the abolition of slavery, Jim Crow laws and segregation still prevented Black people from accessing their full potential within the U.S. economy. Successes, rare as they were, were often squashed—as seen in the Tulsa Massacre or the building of Central Park over a booming Black neighborhood, Seneca Village, which sat along the park's west side between 82nd and 89th streets.[216] Along with these continued barriers, it is important to note that Black people were never paid reparations for their labor as enslaved persons, while slave owners in Washington, D.C. were offered up to $300 per person freed.[217]

The disparities born from slavery still exist, as a four-hundred-year barrier is not easily undone. A 1986 investigation conducted by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights highlighted that,

"Although the earnings gap between Black men and white men was substantially reduced between 1940 and 1980, Black men still earn less than white men... Factors that influence the earnings gap include the following: (1) discrimination;, (2) education; (3) region of residence; (4) industrial sector; and (5) marital status".[218]

The final report concluded that, while a definitive answer for these gaps cannot truly be quantitatively measured, there is a gap between equally qualified Black men and white men that could well be explained by continued racial discrimination.

Historical context in mind, modern studies declaring wealth and income gaps are more easily understood. In a study from 1949 through 2015, it was discovered that "Income disparities today are as big as they were in the pre-civil rights era".[219] As of 2016, it was found that the income for a Black household was still only half of the income of a white household—that "The median Black household persistently has less than 15% of the wealth of the median white household… The typical Black household remains poorer than 80% of white households".[220] The financial system, too, denies them access to investment opportunities and affordable credit in the same way white households enjoy, leading to systemic bias that makes it exponentially more difficult for Black households to participate in the stock market, grow their businesses, and even to save.[221]

The idea of Black Power in a capitalist society has always been a point of contention. In 1973, Raymond S. Franklin wrote *The Political Economy of Racism* wherein he explicitly writes the threat of Black power is against a white-centric, capitalist society. The mere objective is,

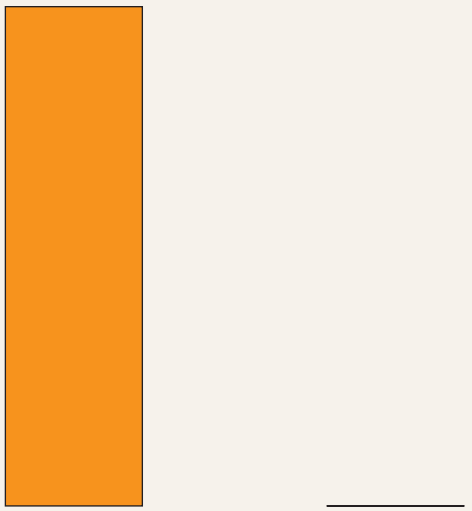
"...to examine Black Power as an ideology capable of challenging some of the basic tenets of American capitalism".[222]

Broken down, the essence of the essay is that Black Power, at its core, is not the threat white Americans have made it out to be—but rather an ideology that views the Black working class as the singular pillar of power to change U.S. society. However, it is worth noting that most of this class is young, unemployed, under-employed, or menially employed, and in positions of little or low power.[223] This is an intentional facet to the struggle of Black participation and power in the U.S. economy: it is impossible to achieve power without capital, and the system in which to gain capital was specifically built around the exploitation and underemployment of Black people.

BOSTON'S STORY

Along with national context, Boston as a locality needs to be examined as it is not exempt from American anti-Blackness. The city is not excluded from the inequities in wealth and income seen in the U.S. If nothing else, Boston is a rather aggressive case where this disparity manifests. In 2015, the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston conducted a study to examine the difference in wealth between white and other race households. Shockingly, the study revealed that while the median net worth of a white family in Boston was $247,500, the median net worth of a Black non-immigrant household was only $8.[224]

In Boston, there is a stark disparity between the net worth of white and Black households



$247,500
Median net worth of white households

$8
Median net worth of Black non-immigrant households

This isn't surprising, after the Boston Review published an article in 2017 which revealed that in 1863, Black families held only 0.5% of the wealth in the United States, and over 150 years later, still only held less than 2% of that wealth. It's no mystery that the wealth gap is a deeply entrenched problem.

The authors of "Boston's Booming… But For Whom?: Building Shared Prosperity in a Time of Growth" write about this gap:

"Despite all this vibrancy and growth, despite our low unemployment rate, despite the fact that we live in one of the richest cities in one of the richest countries on earth, far too many households have a trouble making ends meet".[225]

Boston is an exceptionally wealthy city, seen as a beacon of equality since the 1800s. While there has been a shift in civil rights, leading to more inclusion across institutions, this inclusion is surface level; the statistics have hardly changed. The difficulties that Black communities face in terms of income and wealth are closely related to the issues they face with housing—many landlords won't accept tenants with these records or those who do not meet certain income levels, and many banks will not give loans for homeownership for similar reasons. With the context of intentional, historic economic barriers contrasted to generational wealth and legacies, Black Bostonians have a significantly harder time surviving and thriving in comparison to their white counterparts.

BOSTON'S SPECIFIC SHORTFALLS

Income and wealth are not limited to just a households' income—it also includes access to the economy in terms of home, land, and business ownership. Capital extends beyond just monetary capital, and includes assets, investments, and even connections.

> Income disparities are but one area in which Boston lacks—there's the plunder of Black wealth in Boston, the distinct lack of funding towards Black businesses and the gap between the number of businesses owned by Black people in Boston versus white, and, of course, overall employment in the city.

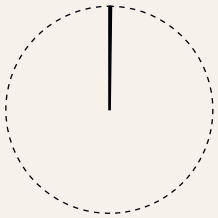
The plunder of Black wealth involves the initial legality of slavery, as well as the subsequent redlining and resource-barriers that Boston implemented following the abolition of slavery first in the state, then the nation. In Boston specifically, manifestations of such plunder takes place in the way debt is weighted in the city. People of color in Boston are significantly less likely to own homes, but for those who do, they are much more likely than white homeowners to have mortgage debt. Non-white households are also much more likely to have student loans and medical debt, all factors contributing to the city's abysmal wealth disparity.[226]

In a similar vein, it is imperative to note the implications of generational wealth on household income. Inheritances, bequests, and intrafamily transfer are the largest drivers of the racial wealth gap than any demographic or socioeconomic factors.[227] This specifically ties back to the origin relating to capital as power: no matter the advancements individuals may make in Boston, it is no match for old money.

Regarding funding, generational wealth is critical in starting a business, too. The successes of the likes of Bill Gates, Jeff Bezos, and Elon Musk are oft lauded as tales of super individuality and genius, but in reality, all received hefty financial assistance from family to get their businesses off the ground. For prospective business owners who do not hail from wealthy families, loans are often the fallback plan. In a study examining where the city of Boston spent contract money, it was discovered that Black-owned businesses were awarded a dismaying 0.4% of the total city contract dollars. Of the 2.1 billion dollars the city had to spend, it spent less than ten million on Black-owned business.[228]

The significance of this is paramount: while the city absolutely has the means to promote Black business and help them grow, develop, and turn heftier profits, the city is neglecting to invest in them. These particular barriers are far more easily resolved than most: the city needs to reevaluate their budgets and carefully study where they are choosing to invest, and perhaps ask why. An active attempt to funnel more money into Black Boston businesses would be a step in the right direction to promote income and wealth equity.

Few Boston city contracts are awarded to Black-owned businesses



0.4%

Percentage of city contract dollars awarded to Black-owned businesses

OF THE 2.1 BILLION DOLLARS THE CITY HAD TO SPEND, IT SPENT LESS THAN TEN MILLION ON BLACK OWNED BUSINESSES.[229]

> **... FOR THE DURATION OF THE PANDEMIC, BLACK AND LATINX WORKERS HAVE DISPROPORTIONATELY WORKED IN HIGH-RISK, FRONT-LINE JOBS AND SEEN THE HIGHEST UNEMPLOYMENT RATES.**
>
> —via 2020 Boston Indicators report

As previously mentioned, historical legislation and the politics of which the United States was built have led to specific roadblocks in Black participation in the economy. This has extended into the current labor market, where there have only been nineteen Black CEOs in the history of the Fortune 500.[230] In terms of unemployment, in a pre-pandemic 2014 study, it was found the Black community in Boston had the highest rate of unemployment at 13.5%, with the Hispanic population in second at 11.4%.[231]

Considering that experts say Black Americans suffer disproportionately longer following national crises, COVID-19 only exaggerated the issues the Black community in Boston was already dealing with, as wealth gaps are often a foundation for many inequalities (health included). Black workers were less likely to be able to walk away from a job, as they did not have the financial security to do so, and were often more likely to have jobs requiring them to remain in-person instead of remote. Boston Indicators reported that, "… for the duration of the pandemic, Black and Latinx workers have disproportionately worked in high-risk, front-line jobs and seen the highest unemployment rates".[232]

They were also disproportionately affected in terms of cases reported and deaths. Massachusetts, as a whole, suffered a higher unemployment rate than the national average as a result of the pandemic, but, as was the case pre-pandemic, Black workers were the ones suffering the greatest hits. 15.2% of Black workers filed for unemployment, compared to 7% of white workers. In a map of counties, it was shown unemployment rates were higher in cities with higher lower-income, Black, and Latinx workers—cities such as Lawrence, Brockton, and Revere had some of the highest percentages (clocking at 20, 15, and 16 percent unemployed, respectively).[233]

All of this data shows quite clearly there is a local barrier preventing the flourishing of Black business and overall wealth in Boston: it is not simply a historical problem that ended or can be swept under the rug, but a continuing, thoroughly modern problem.

CONCLUSION

Image by Embrace Boston

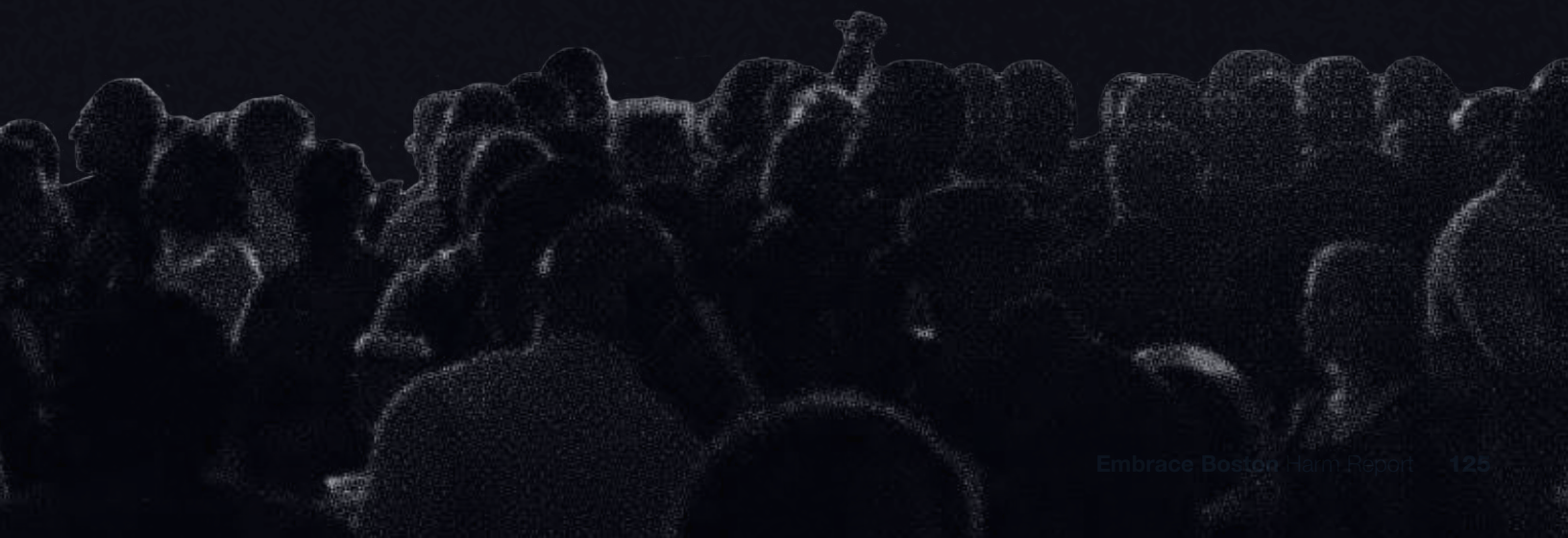
CONCLUSION

> The call for reparations for Black residents of Boston and Massachusetts is a vital step toward acknowledging and addressing the ongoing injustices that have historically disadvantaged this community.

In addition, it is essential to recognize the long history of resistance and resilience that has characterized Boston's Black experience and the continued efforts to fight for justice and equity. Ultimately, the call for reparations is about more than financial compensation. It is about acknowledging the ongoing harms of systemic racism, addressing the root causes of these injustices, and promoting healing and restoration for individuals and communities who have suffered for far too long.

While steps can be taken to address the seven injury areas that have been identified in this report, it is clear that further study is necessary to develop more comprehensive and practical solutions. The proposed federal and city commissions to study and develop reparation proposals for Black Americans are important steps in this direction. They will help identify the specific harms inflicted on Black communities in Boston and Massachusetts and develop targeted solutions that can address these issues.

THE CALL FOR REPARATIONS IS ABOUT MORE THAN FINANCIAL COMPENSATION. IT IS ABOUT ACKNOWLEDGING THE ONGOING HARMS OF SYSTEMIC RACISM, ADDRESSING THE ROOT CAUSES OF THESE INJUSTICES, AND PROMOTING HEALING AND RESTORATION FOR INDIVIDUALS AND COMMUNITIES WHO HAVE SUFFERED FOR FAR TOO LONG.



Addressing the harm of cultural and symbolic exclusion, as seen in the **Culture & Symbols injury area**, can involve several steps. This may include renaming streets or buildings that honor individuals who contributed to systemic racism, promoting the inclusion of Black history in educational curricula, and celebrating Black culture and achievements through public art. Further study is necessary to identify the specific symbols and cultural representations that perpetuate racist attitudes and narratives and develop strategies for comprehensively addressing these issues.

In the **Housing injury area**, redress can come in the form of expanding access to affordable housing, protecting renters' rights, and addressing discriminatory lending practices that have historically made it difficult for Black people to become homeowners. Transportation disparities can be addressed by improving public transit in systemically underserved neighborhoods, and implementing policies that reduce reliance on cars and promote biking and walking.

To address the **Educational injury area**, investments can be made in early childhood education, expanding access to quality K-12 education and providing financial assistance for college and vocational training. In the Criminal Legal Systems injury area, reforming sentencing guidelines, ending cash bail, and addressing implicit biases in law enforcement can help address systemic injustices.

Expanding access to quality healthcare and addressing the racial wealth gap can help redress the harm of the **Health and Income & Wealth injury areas**. This may involve providing affordable health insurance, expanding access to medical services, and addressing discriminatory hiring practices that have limited Black people's ability to build wealth.

The **Transportation, Education, Criminal Legal Systems, Health, and Income & Wealth injury areas** also require further study and research to identify the specific harms and develop targeted solutions. This may involve gathering more data and information on these issues, consulting with experts in various fields, and engaging with affected community members to understand their experiences and needs better.

It is clear that more work needs to be done to address the root causes of the seven injury areas and develop practical solutions that can help redress the harm inflicted on Black communities in Boston and Massachusetts. The proposed federal and city commissions to study and develop reparation proposals for African Americans represent a significant step in this direction, and they must be given the necessary resources and support to conduct this vital work.

Through continued study and research, we can begin to develop comprehensive solutions that promote healing, restoration, and justice for Black residents of Boston and Massachusetts.

WE ARE IN A MOMENT.

Throughout our history of freedom fighting in Boston and Massachusetts, women leaders from Melnea Cass, Ruth Batson, Dr. Elma Lewis, to Andrea Campbell, and Ayanna Pressley have been at the forefront of the fight for justice and equity. Ruth Batson fought to desegregate Boston's public schools, while Dr. Elma Lewis founded the National Center of Afro-American Artists and championed the arts as a tool for social change. Andrea Campbell is the first Black woman to serve as president of the Boston City Council and is an Attorney General who has been a vocal advocate for racial justice and equity. Ayanna Pressley was the first black woman elected to the Boston City Council and the first black woman elected to Congress from Massachusetts who has championed several progressive causes, including racial justice, economic equality, and healthcare reform. In recent years, Mayor Michelle Wu has championed transportation equity and climate justice.

Additionally, Maura Healey, the Governor of Massachusetts, has taken on powerful corporations and fought for criminal justice reform. As a United States Senator, Elizabeth Warren has been a vocal advocate for consumer rights, economic justice, and affordable healthcare. As Boston prepares to celebrate its 400th birthday in 2030 and the United States its 250th birthday in 2026, it is crucial to build on the momentum of these women leaders and work together to create a more equitable and just society for all. The Embrace monument, a symbol of love and hope, built on the legacy of Dr. Martin and Coretta Scott King and the 69 leaders on the 1965 Freedom Rally Plaza, serves as a reminder of the promise and commitment to do better. Through these efforts, Boston can be that city on the hill.

TOGETHER, WE CAN BUILD A MORE EQUITABLE AND JUST SOCIETY THAT TRULY LIVES UP TO AMERICA'S PROMISE OF LIBERTY AND JUSTICE FOR ALL.

REFERENCES

REFERENCES

1. Boston.gov. (2020, April 9). Boston resident COVID-19 cases by race and ethnicity. Retrieved from https://www.boston.gov/departments/mayors-office/racial-data-boston-resident-covid-19-cases.
2. United States Census Bureau. (2021). U.S. Census Bureau quickfacts: Boston City, Massachusetts. Retrieved from https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/bostoncitymassachusetts.
3. Massachusetts Department of Elementary and Secondary Education. (2021). School and District Profiles: Cohort 2021 Graduation Rates. Retrieved from https://profiles.doe.mass.edu/grad/grad_report.aspx?orgcode=00350000&orgtypecode=5&.
4. Massachusetts Crime Statistics (2020). All arrestees, 2020. Retrieved from https://masscrime.chs.state.ma.us/tops/report/all-arrestee/massachusetts/2020.
5. Congress.gov. (2021). H.R.40 - Commission to Study and Develop Reparation Proposals for African Americans Act. Retrieved from https://www.congress.gov/bill/117th-congress/house-bill/40/all-actions?q=%7B%22action-by%22%3A%22all%22%2C%22house-committees%22%3A%22all%22%7D.
6. Wolff, J. (2014). A Timeline of Boston School Desegregation, 1961-1985. Civil Rights and Restorative Justice Project at Northeastern University School of Law.
7. Miller, M. (2018). Boston's Banner Years: 1965-2015: A Saga of Black Success. Archway Publishing.
8. National African American Reparations Commission (NAARC). (2021, November 18). Reparations resources. Retrieved from https://reparationscomm.org/reparations-resources/.
9. Congress.gov. (2021). H.R.40 - Commission to Study and Develop Reparation Proposals for African Americans Act. Retrieved from https://www.congress.gov/bill/117th-congress/house-bill/40/all-actions?q=%7B%22action-by%22%3A%22all%22%2C%22house-committees%22%3A%22all%22%7D.
10. Howard, K. (2020). Laying the Foundation for Local Reparations. N'COBRA.
11. Public International Law & Policy Group. (2013). Reparations resources. Retrieved from https://syriaaccountability.org/wp-content/uploads/PILPG-Reparations-Memo-2013_EN.pdf.
12. Darity, W.A. and Mullen K.A. (2020). From Here to Equality: Reparations for Black Americans in the Twenty-First Century. University of North Carolina Press
13. Ibid.
14. Barber, W.J. and Wilson-Hartgrove, J. (2016). The Third Reconstruction: How a Moral Movement Is Overcoming the Politics of Division and Fear. Beacon Press, Boston, MA.
15. Darity, W.A. and Mullen K.A. (2020). From Here to Equality: Reparations for Black Americans in the Twenty-First Century. University of North Carolina Press
16. Ibid.
17. Ibid.
18. Warren, W. (2016). New England Bound: Slavery and Colonization in Early America (p. 12). Liveright Publishing Corporation.
19. Ibid.
20. Hardesty, J. R. (2019). Black Lives Native Lands White Worlds A History of Slavery in New England (p.1). University of Massachusetts Press.

21. Warren, W. (2016). New England Bound: Slavery and Colonization in Early America (p. 11). Liveright Publishing Corporation.

22. Ibid., p. 12

23. Ibid.

24. Kendi, I. (2016). Stamped from the Beginning The Definitive History of Racist Ideas in America (p.63). Bold Type Books.

25. Ibid.

26. Ibid.

27. Belinda Sutton's 1783 Petition. Royall House & Slave Quarters. (2022). Retrieved from https://royallhouse.org/belinda-suttons-1783-petition-full-text/.

28. Kendi, I. (2016). Stamped from the Beginning The Definitive History of Racist Ideas in America (p.63). Bold Type Books.

29. Kaplan, A. (2022, June 14). Black history month: Eight Boston statues. The Next Phase Blog. Retrieved from https://aknextphase.com/black-history-month-eight-boston-statues/.

30. Marcelo, Robert. 2020. "Boston Black Soldiers Monument Faces Scrutiny Amid Racial Reckoning." *Associated Press*, July 27, 2020. https://www.wbur.org/news/2020/07/27/robert-gould-shaw-massachusetts-54th-regiment-restoration-controversy.

31. Sweeny, Emily. 2020. "Columbus Statue Vandalized in North End Park Is Put in Storage for the Time Being - *The Boston Globe*." The Boston Globe, June 11, 2020. https://www.bostonglobe.com/2020/06/11/metro/christopher-columbus-statue-removed-north-end-park-after-vandalism/.

32. Pitts, Phillippa. 2020. "Columbus Must Come Down: Why A Monument to White Supremacy Can't Stay in Boston's Waterfront Park | Cultural Survival." August 20, 2020. https://www.culturalsurvival.org/news/columbus-must-come-down-why-monument-white-supremacy-cant-stay-bostons-waterfront-park.

33. Woodard, T. 2023. "Boston City Council Approves Resolution to Rename Faneuil Hall." *The Boston Globe*, October 25, 2023. https://www.bostonglobe.com/2023/10/25/metro/boston-city-council-approves-faneuil-hall-name-change/.

34. Seelye, K. 2018. "Boston Grapples With Faneuil Hall, Named for a Slaveholder." *The New York Times*, June 6, 2018, sec. U.S. https://www.nytimes.com/2018/06/06/us/faneuil-hall-name-slavery.html.

35. Thomas, Tony. 2011. "The Art Museum and Its Origins | Escape Into Life." *Escape Into Life* (blog). May 20, 2011. https://www.escapeintolife.com/essays/the-art-museum-origins/.

36. Huff, Leah. 2022. "Museum Decolonization: Moving Away from Narratives Told by the Oppressors." *School of Marine and Environmental Affairs* (blog). May 31, 2022. https://smea.uw.edu/currents/museum-decolonization-moving-away-from-narratives-told-by-the-oppressors/.

37. Domínguez, Silvia, Simón E. Weffer, and David G. Embrick. 2020. "White Sanctuaries: White Supremacy, Racism, Space, and Fine Arts in Two Metropolitan Museums." *American Behavioral Scientist* 64 (14): 2028–43. https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764220975077.

38. Ibid.

39. Eduardo Bonilla-Silva author. 2018. *Racism Without Racists: Color-Blind Racism and the Persistence of Racial Inequality in America*. Fifth edition. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.

40. "Museum Visitors, And Employees, Are Mostly White. The MFA Is Trying To Change That." 2017. WBUR. https://www.wbur.org/news/2017/06/06/mfa-strategic-plan-diversity.

41. Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum. 2022. "Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum DEAI Report 2022." Boston, MA: Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum. https://www.gardnermuseum.org/sites/default/files/2023-03/DEAI%20report%202022.pdf.

42. "Museum Visitors, And Employees, Are Mostly White. The MFA Is Trying To Change That." 2017. WBUR. https://www.wbur.org/news/2017/06/06/mfa-strategic-plan-diversity.

43. Paoletta, Kyle. 2020. "The Re-Education of the Museum of Fine Arts." Boston Magazine, November 2, 2020. https://www.bostonmagazine.com/arts-entertainment/2020/11/02/mfa-reckoning-race/.

44. Helicon Collaborative. 2017. "Not Just Money: Equity Issues in Cultural Philanthropy." New York, NY: Helicon Collaborative. https://heliconcollab.net/wp-content/uploads/2017/08/NotJustMoney_Full_Report_July2017.pdf.

45. Seibert, Brian. 2021. "A Ballerina Who Adds to the 'Palette of What's Possible.'" *The New York Times*, December 22, 2021, sec. Arts. https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/22/arts/dance/chyrstyn-fentroy-principal-dancer-boston-ballet.html.

46. "Meet The ARTery 25 — Millennials Of Color Impacting Boston Arts And Culture." 2019. WBUR. https://www.wbur.org/news/2019/03/25/meet-the-artery25-millennials.

47. "Boston's Newly Re-Opened Archaeology Lab Connects the Past with the Present." 2024. *Radio Boston*. WBUR. https://www.wbur.org/radioboston/2024/01/08/boston-archeology-lab-history.

48. Schuster, L. (2019, July 25). How local zoning helped create our region's housing crisis. Boston Indicators. Retrieved from https://www.bostonindicators.org/article-pages/2019/july/local-zoning-housing-crisis.

49. Elton, C. (2021, November 16). How has Boston gotten away with being segregated for so long? Boston Magazine. Retrieved from https://www.bostonmagazine.com/news/2020/12/08/boston-segregation/.

50. Ibid.

51. Bluestone, B., & Stevenson, M. H. (2000). The Boston Renaissance: Race, space, and economic change in an American metropolis. Russell Sage Foundation, New York.

52. Nelson, K. R., et al. (n.d.). Mapping inequality. Digital Scholarship Lab. Retrieved https://dsl.richmond.edu/panorama/redlining/#loc=9/42.318/-71.356&city=newton-ma.

53. Finfer, L. (2019, January 18). The 'good intentions' program that devastated Boston's neighborhoods - The Boston Globe. BostonGlobe.com. Retrieved from https://www.bostonglobe.com/opinion/2019/01/18/the-good-intentions-program-that-devastated-boston-neighborhoods/7ZWLqOYfM03SaTBJn4jRiK/story.html.

54. The New York Times Archives. (1987, March 8). Boston, with eye to the past, plans big effort to integrate public housing. The New York Times. Retrieved from https://www.nytimes.com/1987/03/08/us/boston-with-eye-to-the-past-plans-big-effort-to-integrate-public-housing.html.

55. Elton, C. (2021, November 16). How has Boston gotten away with being segregated for so long? Boston Magazine. Retrieved from https://www.bostonmagazine.com/news/2020/12/08/boston-segregation/.

56. Modestino, A. S., et al. (2019). *Greater Boston Housing Report Card 2019*. Boston Indicators. Retrieved from https://www.tbf.org/-/media/tbf/reports-and-covers/2019/gbhrc2019.pdf?la=en&hash=6F5C3F0B829962B0F19680D8B9B4794158D6B4E9.

57. Rios, S. (2019, June 26). Stubborn zoning boards tied to segregation in Boston area, report finds. Stubborn Zoning Boards Tied To Segregation In Boston Area, Report Finds | WBUR News. Retrieved from https://www.wbur.org/news/2019/06/26/boston-foundation-home-rule-housing.

58. Modestino, A. S., et al. (2019). *Greater Boston Housing Report Card 2019*. Boston Indicators. Retrieved from https://www.tbf.org/-/media/tbf/reports-and-covers/2019/gbhrc2019.pdf?la=en&hash=6F5C3F0B829962B0F19680D8B9B4794158D6B4E9.

59. Ibid.

60. Housing and Community Development. (2021). Chapter 40R. Mass.gov. Retrieved from https://www.mass.gov/service-details/chapter-40r.

61. Schuster, L. (2019, July 25). How local zoning helped create our region's housing crisis. Boston Indicators. Retrieved from https://www.bostonindicators.org/article-pages/2019/july/local-zoning-housing-crisis.

62. Modestino, A. S., et al. (2019). *Greater Boston Housing Report Card 2019*. Boston Indicators. Retrieved from https://www.tbf.org/-/media/tbf/reports-and-covers/2019/gbhrc2019.pdf?la=en&hash=6F5C3F0B829962B0F19680D8B9B4794158D6B4E9.

63. Langowski, J., et al. (2020). Qualified Renters Need Not Apply: Race and Housing Voucher Discrimination in the Metropolitan Boston Rental Housing Market. *Georgetown Journal on Poverty Law and Policy, XXVIII*. Retrieved from https://www.law.georgetown.edu/poverty-journal/wp-content/uploads/sites/25/2021/02/FINAL-Qualified-Renters-12.15-1.pdf.

64. Modestino, A. S., et al. (2019). Greater Boston Housing Report Card 2019. Boston Indicators. Retrieved from https://www.tbf.org/-/media/tbf/reports-and-covers/2019/gbhrc2019.pdf?la=en&hash=6F5C3F0B829962B0F19680D8B9B4794158D6B4E9.

65. Lerner, M. (2021, May 12). How local zoning helped create our region's housing crisis. Boston Indicators. Retrieved from https://www.bostonindicators.org/article-pages/2019/july/local-zoning-housing-crisis.

66. Irons, M. E., & Fatima, S. (2021, August 14). Boston is losing black population, new census data show, even as it could soon elect its first black mayor - The Boston Globe. BostonGlobe.com. Retrieved from https://www.bostonglobe.com/2021/08/13/metro/boston-is-losing-its-black-population-new-census-data-show-even-it-could-elect-its-first-black-mayor/.

67. Ibid.

68. Horn, K. M., & Kallman, M. E. (2021). What the next mayor of Boston needs to do about the affordable housing crisis. Boston Area Research Initiative. Retrieved from https://cssh.northeastern.edu/bari/wp-content/uploads/sites/30/2021/09/IOC_BARI_4housing-21090913499-1.pdf.

69. Rios, S. (2019, June 26). Stubborn zoning boards tied to segregation in Boston area, report finds. Stubborn Zoning Boards Tied To Segregation In Boston Area, Report Finds | WBUR News. Retrieved from https://www.wbur.org/news/2019/06/26/boston-foundation-home-rule-housing.

70. King, N. (2021, April 7). A brief history of how racism shaped Interstate Highways. WBUR. Retrieved from https://www.wbur.org/npr/984784455/a-brief-history-of-how-racism-shaped-interstate-highways.

71. Crockett, K. (2018). People Before Highways: Boston Activists, Urban Planners, and a New Movement for City Making. University of Massachusetts Press. (p. 7)

72. Ibid. p. 12.

73. Yokanovich, A. (2021). Tiny Story: Southwest Corridor Park. Boston Preservation Alliance. Retrieved from https://www.bostonpreservation.org/news-item/tiny-story-southwest-corridor-park.

74. Miller, Y. (2018, June 13). Roxbury born. The Bay State Banner. Retrieved from https://www.baystatebanner.com/2018/06/15/roxbury-born/.

75. Martin, P. (2012, April 26). Racial Disparities and the MBTA. GBH Boston. Retrieved from https://www.wgbh.org/news/post/racial-disparities-and-mbta.

76. Archer, D. N. (2021, March 28). Transportation policy and the underdevelopment of Black communities. SSRN. Retrieved from https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3797364#.

77. Carter, K. (2012). Equal or Better: The Story of the Silver Line. Retrieved from https://www.imdb.com/video/vi633184537.

78. Ibid.

79. Ibid.

80. Boston 25 News. (2017, May 5). 40 percent of state is a food desert, says new report. Retrieved from https://www.boston25news.com/top-stories/40-percent-of-state-is-a-food-desert-says-new-report/519772692/.

81. Massachusetts Food Trust Program. (2020). Access to Healthy Affordable Food. Massachusetts Public Health Association. Retrieved from https://mapublichealth.org/priorities/access-to-healthy-affordable-food/.

82. Ibid.

83. Harmon, E. (2020, June 22). Racial Segregation Concentrates Residents of Color Near High Polluting Roads, Study Shows. Metropolitan Area Planning Council. Retrieved from https://www.mapc.org/news/racial-segregation-concentrates-residents-of-color-near-high-polluting-roads-study-shows/.

84. Morrow, K. (2020). A Comparison of Mapping Methodologies Identifying Transportation Disadvantaged Populations and Extreme Weather Risk in Boston. Tufts University. Retrieved from https://www.proquest.com/openview/645dd21952a8ec29b4698e9156df24d8/1?pq-origsite=gscholar&cbl=18750&diss=y.

85. Chang, J. and Chakrabarti M. (2021). Addressing The Racial Inequities Of The Interstate Highway System. WBUR. Retrieved from https://www.wbur.org/onpoint/2021/06/22/addressing-the-racial-inequities-of-the-interstate-highway-system.

86. Boston.gov. (2017, February 24). Go Boston 2030. Retrieved from https://www.boston.gov/departments/transportation/go-boston-2030.

87. National African American Reparations Commission (NAARC). (2021, September 20). What is NAARC's 10-Point Reparations plan? Retrieved from https://reparationscomm.org/reparations-plan/#:~:text=The%20National%20African%20American%20Reparations,African%20descent%20in%20the%20U.S..

88. Massachusetts Department of Elementary and Secondary Education (2020). Boston Public Schools District Review Report 2020. Retrieved from https://www.doe.mass.edu/accountability/district-review/.

89. Ibid.

90. Ibid.

91. Hernandez, D. J. (2011). Double Jeopardy How Third-Grade Reading Skills and Poverty Influence High School Graduation. The Annie E. Casey Foundation. Retrieved from https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED518818.pdf.

92. Massachusetts Department of Elementary and Secondary Education (2020). Cohort 2019 Four-Year Graduation Rates—State Results.

93. Ibid.

94. Stobierski, T. (2020). Average Salary by Education Level: The Value of a College Degree. Northeastern University News. Retrieved from https://www.northeastern.edu/bachelors-completion/news/average-salary-by-education-level/.

95. Taylor, J., & Cregor, M. (2014). Not measuring up: The state of school discipline in Massachusetts. Lawyer's Committee for Civil Rights and Economic Justice. Retrieved from http://lawyerscom.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/Not-Measuring-up_-The-State-of-School-Discipline-in-Massachusetts.pdf.

96. Ibid.

97. Crenshaw, K. (2014). Black girls matter: Pushed out, overpoliced and underprotected. In African American Policy Forum. Retrieved from http://www.aapf.org/recent/2014/12/coming-soon-blackgirlsmatter-pushed-out-overpoliced-and-underprotected.

98. Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights and Economic Justice. (2018). Unfinished Business: Assessing Our Progress On School Discipline Under Massachusetts Chapter 222. Retrieved from http://lawyersforcivilrights.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/01/Unfinished-Business-PDF.pdf.

99. Balfanz, R., Byrnes, V., & Fox, J. (2014). Journal of Applied Research on Children: Informing Policy for Children at Risk Sent Home and Put Off-Track: The Antecedents, Disproportionalities, and Consequences of Being Suspended in the Ninth Grade Sent Home and Put Off-Track: The Antecedents, Disprop. Journal of Applied Research on Children: Informing Policy for Children at Risk, 5(2), 1–19.

100. Massachusetts Department of Elementary and Secondary Education. Data overview of the Dropouts in Massachusetts 2018-19.

101. Fabelo, T., et al.. (2011). Breaking Schools' Rules: A Statewide Study of How School Discipline Relates to Students' Success and Juvenile Justice Involvement. Government's Justice. Retrieved from https://csgjusticecenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/01/Breaking_Schools_Rules_Report_Final.pdf.

102. The Massachusetts Education Equity Partnership. (2018). *Number 1 for some: Opportunity and Achievement in Massachusetts*. Number 1 For Some. Retrieved from https://number1forsome.org/wp-content/uploads/sites/4/2018/09/Number-1-for-Some-9.25-18.pdf.

103. Wolff, J. (2014). A Timeline of Boston School Desegregation, 1961-1985. Civil Rights and Restorative Justice Project at Northeastern University School of Law. Retrieved from https://www.globalblackhistory.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/Boston-Desegregation-Timeline.pdf.

104. Ibid.

105. Black, H. L. (n.d.). *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* :: 347 U.S. 483 (1954). Justia U.S. Supreme Court. Retrieved from https://supreme.justia.com/cases/federal/us/347/483/.

106. Wolff, J. (2014). A Timeline of Boston School Desegregation, 1961-1985. Civil Rights and Restorative Justice Project at Northeastern University School of Law. Retrieved from https://www.globalblackhistory.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/Boston-Desegregation-Timeline.pdf.

107. Ibid.

108. Northeastern University - DRS Digital Repository Service. (n.d.). Statement to the Boston School Committee June 11, 1963. Retrieved from https://repository.library.northeastern.edu/downloads/neu:m039ws29c?datastream_id=content.

109. Lukas, J. A. (1985). Common Ground A Turbulent Decade in the Lives of Three American Families. Vintage Books.

110. Ibid.

111. Wolff, J. (2014). A Timeline of Boston School Desegregation , 1961-1985. Civil Rights and Restorative Justice Project at Northeastern University School of Law. Retrieved from https://www.globalblackhistory.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/Boston-Desegregation-Timeline.pdf.

112. Ibid.

113. Ibid.

114. Lukas, J. A. (1985). Common Ground A Turbulent Decade in the Lives of Three American Families. Vintage Books.

115. Ibid.

116. Ibid.

117. Ibid. p. 238

118. Wolff, J. (2014). A Timeline of Boston School Desegregation , 1961-1985. Civil Rights and Restorative Justice Project at Northeastern University School of Law. Retrieved from https://www.globalblackhistory.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/Boston-Desegregation-Timeline.pdf.

119. Ibid.

120. Gurley, G. (2008, April 17). Commonwealth Magazine. CommonWealth Magazine. Retrieved from https://commonwealthmagazine.org/arts-and-culture/the-soiling-of-old-glory-shows-how-a-herald-photo-pricked-the-conscience-of-boston/.

121. Wolff, J. (2014). A Timeline of Boston School Desegregation , 1961-1985. Civil Rights and Restorative Justice Project at Northeastern University School of Law. Retrieved from https://www.globalblackhistory.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/Boston-Desegregation-Timeline.pdf.

122. Ciurczak, Peter; Marinova, Antoniya; Schuster, L. (2020). Boston's Declining Child Population and its Effects on School Enrollment. Boston Indicators and the Boston Foundation. Retrieved from https://www.neighborhoodindicators.org/sites/default/files/publications/Kids_Today_REV_Jan8_44pp.pdf.

123. Ayscue, J. B., Greenberg, A., & University of California, L. A. C. R. P. / P. D. C. (2013). Losing Ground: School Segregation in Massachusetts. In Civil Rights Project - Proyecto Derechos Civiles. Retrieved from https://www.civilrightsproject.ucla.edu/research/k-12-education/integration-and-diversity/losing-ground-school-segregation-in-massachusetts.

124. Ibid.

125. Ibid.

126. Ciurczak, Peter; Marinova, Antoniya; Schuster, L. (2020). Boston's Declining Child Population and its Effects on School Enrollment. Boston Indicators and the Boston Foundation. Retrieved from https://www.neighborhoodindicators.org/sites/default/files/publications/Kids_Today_REV_Jan8_44pp.pdf.

127. Education Reform Now (2019). Per-Pupil Funding Inequities by Race/Ethnicity. Retrieved from https://edreformnow.org/policy-briefs/per-pupil-funding-inequities-race-ethnicity/.

128. Ciurczak, Peter; Marinova, Antoniya; Schuster, L. (2020). Boston's Declining Child Population and its Effects on School Enrollment. Boston Indicators and the Boston Foundation. Retrieved from https://www.neighborhoodindicators.org/sites/default/files/publications/Kids_Today_REV_Jan8_44pp.pdf.

129. Johnson, R. C. (2011). Long-run Impacts of School Desegregation & School Quality on Adult Attainments. National Bureau of Economic Research. Also: Lee, C. (2004). Racial Segregation and Educational Outcomes in Metropolitan Boston. The Civil Rights Project at Harvard University. Retrieved from: https://www.nber.org/papers/w16664.

130. Ibid.

131. Ibid.

132. Ibid.

133. Citizens for Public Schools (2020). MCAS is the wrong answer: Six Ways High Stakes Testing has Failed Students and What to Do Now. Retrieved from https://www.citizensforpublicschools.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/09/MCAS-Wrong-Answer-Report-2.pdf.

134. Ibid.

135. Education Reform Now (2019). Per-Pupil Funding Inequities by Race/Ethnicity. Retrieved from https://edreformnow.org/policy-briefs/per-pupil-funding-inequities-race-ethnicity/.

136. Jackson, K. et al. (2016). "The Effects of School Spending on Educational and Economic Outcomes: Evidence from School Finance Reforms," The Quarterly Journal of Economics, vol 131(1), pages 157-218.

137. King, A., et al. (2018). Lessons from the 2016 Boston Public School walkouts. Scholars Strategy Network. Retrieved August 22, 2022, from https://scholars.org/contribution/lessons-2016-boston-public-school-walkouts.

138. American Federation of Teachers. (2020, March 25). *Fulfilling the promise of the Student Opportunity Act*. AFT Massachusetts. Retrieved from http://ma.aft.org/about-fund-our-future-campaign/fulfilling-promise-student-opportunity-act.

139. The Massachusetts Education Equity Partnership. (2018). *Number 1 for some: Opportunity and Achievement in Massachusetts*. Number 1 For Some. Retrieved from https://number1forsome.org/wp-content/uploads/sites/4/2018/09/Number-1-for-Some-9.25-18.pdf.

140. Rodriguez, N. et al. (2015). Race to Equity: The State of Black Massachusetts. Massachusetts Budget and Policy Center. Retrieved from: https://www.massbudget.org/reports/pdf/SOBM.pdf.

141. Martin, N. (2021, October 6). *Boston's teacher diversity has barely budged in 10 years. district leaders hope the next decade will look different—The Boston Globe*. BostonGlobe.com. Retrieved from https://www.bostonglobe.com/2021/10/04/metro/bostons-teacher-diversity-has-barely-budged-10-years-school-leaders-hope-next-decade-will-look-different/.

142. The Massachusetts Education Equity Partnership. (2018). *Number 1 for some: Opportunity and Achievement in Massachusetts*. Number 1 For Some. Retrieved August 22, 2022, from https://number1forsome.org/wp-content/uploads/sites/4/2018/09/Number-1-for-Some-9.25-18.pdf.

143. Rosen, J. (2018, November 12). *Black students who have one black teacher are more likely to go to college*. The Hub. Retrieved from https://hub.jhu.edu/2018/11/12/black-students-black-teachers-college-gap/.

144. Miranda, H. P. et al. (2014). Opportunity and Equity: Enrollment and Outcomes of Black and Latino Males in Boston Public Schools. In Annenberg Institute for School Reform at Brown University. Retrieved from https://www.annenberginstitute.org/publications/opportunity-and-equity-enrollment-and-outcomes-black-and-latino-males-boston-public.

145. Ibid. p. 36

146. Ibid. p. 96

147. Lawyers for Civil Rights. (2018). *A Broken Mirror: Exam School Admissions Fail to Reflect Boston's Diversity*. Retrieved from http://lawyersforcivilrights.org/.

148. Ibid.

149. Taylor, J. et al. (2013). Not measuring up: the state of school discipline in Massachusetts. Lawyers' Committee For Civil Rights And Economic Justice. Retrieved from http://lawyersforcivilrights.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/Not-Measuring-up_-The-State-of-School-Discipline-in-Massachusetts.pdf.

150. Crenshaw, K., et al.(2015). Black Girls Matter | AAPF. African American Policy Forum. Retrieved from https://www.aapf.org/blackgirlsmatter.

151. Fabelo, T., et al.. (2011). Breaking Schools' Rules: A Statewide Study of How School Discipline Relates to Students' Success and Juvenile Justice Involvement. Government's Justice. Retrieved from https://csgjusticecenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/01/Breaking_Schools_Rules_Report_Final.pdf.

152. Ibid.

153. Balfanz, R., et al. (2014). Sent Home and Put Off-Track: The Antecedents, Disproportionalities, and Consequences of Being Suspended in the Ninth Grade. Journal of Applied Research on Children, 5(2). https://digitalcommons.library.tmc.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1217&context=childrenatrisk.

154. Crenshaw, K., et al.(2015). Black Girls Matter | AAPF. African American Policy Forum. Retrieved from https://www.aapf.org/blackgirlsmatter.

155. Fabelo, T., et al. (2011). Breaking Schools' Rules: A Statewide Study of How School Discipline Relates to Students' Success and Juvenile Justice Involvement. Government's Justice. Retrieved from https://csgjusticecenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/01/Breaking_Schools_Rules_Report_Final.pdf.

156. Johnson, R. C. (2011). Long-run Impacts of School Desegregation & School Quality on Adult Attainments. National Bureau of Economic Research. Retrieved from: https://www.nber.org/papers/w16664.

157. Ibid. p. 21

158. Johnson, R. C. (2011). Long-run Impacts of School Desegregation & School Quality on Adult Attainments. National Bureau of Economic Research, and Orfield, G. J. D. (2020). Black Segregation Matters School Resegregation and Black Educational Opportunity. The Civil Rights Project.

159. Ibid.

160. Johnson, R. C. (2011). Long-run Impacts of School Desegregation & School Quality on Adult Attainments. National Bureau of Economic Research. Retrieved from: https://www.nber.org/papers/w16664.

161. Ibid. p. 24

162. Lepore, J. (2020, July 10). The invention of the police. The New Yorker. Retrieved from https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2020/07/20/the-invention-of-the-police.

163. Ibid.

164. Antonovics, K., & Knight, B. G. (2009). A new look at racial profiling: Evidence from the Boston Police Department. The Review of Economics and Statistics, 91(1), 163-177.

165. Richer, A. D. (2021, March 1). 'We turn A blind eye': Boston's police remain largely white. AP NEWS. Retrieved from https://apnews.com/article/race-and-ethnicity-boston-police-43b558be088d88748f62af71147ff76a.

166. Fernando, C. (2021, February 12). Law enforcement diversity may improve policing, study shows. AP NEWS. Retrieved August 25, 2022, from https://apnews.com/article/science-race-and-ethnicity-police-chicago-040a8188e26a355eaad3a53b4bdbd920.

167. Harris, F. C., & Lieberman, R. C. (2015). Racial inequality after racism: How institutions hold back African Americans. Foreign Affairs, 94(2), 9-20.

168. Beyond 20/20. (2020). Boston 2020 Arrestee Details. Beyond 20/20, Inc. https://ma.beyond2020.com/ma_public/View/RSReport.aspx?ReportId=732

169. Walters, Q. (2020, June 12). Boston mayor declares racism a public health crisis. NPR. Retrieved from https://www.npr.org/sections/live-updates-protests-for-racial-justice/2020/06/12/876327158/boston-mayor-declares-racism-a-public-health-crisis.

170. Stebbins, B., et al. Massachusetts Cannabis Control Commission. (2021). Identifying disproportionately impacted areas by drug prohibition in Massachusetts. University of Massachusetts Donahue Institute. Retrieved from https://donahue.umass.edu/documents/MA_Cannabis_Control_Commission_Study_Report1_3-11-21_FINAL.pdf.

171. Rathge, A. (2015). Pondering pot: Marijuana's history and the future of the War on Drugs. Pondering Pot: Marijuana's History and the Future of the War on Drugs | The American Historian. Retrieved from https://www.oah.org/tah/issues/2015/august/pondering-pot/.

172. Bunting, W.C., et al. A tale of two countries: Racially targeted arrests in the era of marijuana reform.

American Civil Liberties Union. (2020, April 20). Retrieved August 25, 2022, from https://www.aclu.org/report/tale-two-countries-racially-targeted-arrests-era-marijuana-reform.

173. Stebbins, B., et al. Massachusetts Cannabis Control Commission. (2021). Identifying disproportionately impacted areas by drug prohibition in Massachusetts. University of Massachusetts Donahue Institute. Retrieved from https://donahue.umass.edu/documents/MA_Cannabis_Control_Commission_Study_Report1_3-11-21_FINAL.pdf.

174. Enwemeka, Zeninjor. 2018. "Marijuana Entrepreneurs Given 'Priority' In Mass. Are Struggling To Get Through Licensing Process." WBUR, July 26, 2018. https://www.wbur.org/news/2018/07/26/marijuana-equity-struggles-massachusetts.

175. Hanson, M. (2021, August 6). Why the Mass. Cannabis Industry remains primarily white and male. Masslive. Retrieved from https://www.masslive.com/cannabis/2021/08/why-the-massachusetts-cannabis-industry-remains-primarily-white-and-male.html.

176. Sauer, M. (2019, March 8). Hair follicle drug test: How it works, uses, and what to expect. Healthline. Retrieved from https://www.healthline.com/health/hair-follicle-drug-test.

177. Heise, D. (2018). Recent challenges to the use of hair follicle drug testing. The National Law Review. Retrieved from https://www.natlawreview.com/article/recent-challenges-to-use-hair-follicle-drug-testing.

178. Walters, Q. (2020, June 12). Boston mayor declares racism a public health crisis. NPR. Retrieved from https://www.npr.org/sections/live-updates-protests-for-racial-justice/2020/06/12/876327158/boston-mayor-declares-racism-a-public-health-crisis.

179. Priest, G. et al. (2012, May 1). The Continuing Challenge of Cori Reform: Implementing the groundbreaking 2010 Massachusetts law. FOLIO Home. Retrieved from https://folio.iupui.edu/handle/10244/1053.

180. Quirion, P. (2021) Jobs, justice, a future. MassLegalServices. Retrieved from https://www.masslegalservices.org/system/files/library/2021%20bills%20to%20co-sponsor%20GBLS%20list%20%28002%29%20%28003%29.pdf.

181. Ibid.

182. Cannata, N.& Papagiorgakis, G. (2018). Prison population trends. Mass.gov. Retrieved from https://www.mass.gov/lists/prison-population-trends.

183. Mici, C. (2020). MA DOC three-year recidivism rates: 2015 release cohort. Massachusetts Executive Office of Public Safety and Security Department of Correction. Received from https://www.mass.gov/doc/three-year-recidivism-rates-2015-release-cohort/download.

184. Muñoz, A. P. et al. (2015, March 25). The color of wealth in Boston. Federal Reserve Bank of Boston. Retrieved from https://www.bostonfed.org/publications/one-time-pubs/color-of-wealth.aspx.

185. Kaplan, C., & Engel, L. (2007). CORI: Opening doors of opportunity. The Boston Foundation. Retrieved from https://www.tbf.org/-/media/tbforg/files/reports/cori_2007.pdf?la=en.

186. Pinard, M. (2015). Criminal records, race and redemption. N.Y.U. Journal of Legislation & Public Policy. Retrieved from https://nyujlpp.org/symposia/past-symposia/fall-2014-symposium-courts-campaigns-and-corruption/.

187. Alexander, M. (2010). The new Jim Crow: Mass incarceration in the age of colorblindness. The New Press.

188. Cipriano, A. (2020). Criminal justice system deepens economic inequality: study. The Crime Report. Retrieved from https://thecrimereport.org/2020/09/16/criminal-justice-system-deepens-economic-inequality-study/.

189. Iwama, J., & McDevitt, J. (2021). Rising gun sales in the wake of mass shootings and gun legislation. The Journal of Primary Prevention, 42, 27-42.

190. Akala, A. (2020, September 23). Cost Of Racism: U.S. Economy Lost $16 Trillion Because Of Discrimination, Bank Says. NPR. Retrieved from https://www.npr.org/sections/live-updates-protests-for-racial-justice/2020/09/23/916022472/cost-of-racism-u-s-economy-lost-16-trillion-because-of-discrimination-bank-says.

191. Westley, R. (1998). Many Billions Gone: Is It Time to Reconsider the Case for Black Reparations? Boston College Third World Law Journal, 19(1), 473. https://lawdigitalcommons.bc.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1189&context=twlj.

192. Rios, S. (2020, September 17). Boston Among Bottom Third Of American Cities For Racial Inclusion, Study Finds. WBUR. Retrieved from https://www.wbur.org/news/2020/09/17/boston-ranks-low-racial-inclusion-study.

193. Kowalczyk, L., et al. (2017). Color Line Persists, in Sickness as in Health. The Boston Globe. Retrieved from https://apps.bostonglobe.com/spotlight/boston-racism-image-reality/series/hospitals/?event=event12.

194. Jones-Eversley, S. D., & Dean, L. T. (2018). After 121 Years, It's Time to Recognize W.E.B. Du Bois as a Founding Father of Social Epidemiology. The Journal of Negro Education, 87(3), 230-245. https://doi.org/10.7709/JNEGROEDUCATION.87.3.0230.

195. Eaton, I., & Du Bois, W. E. B. (1996). The Philadelphia Negro: A Social Study (E. Anderson, Ed.). University of Pennsylvania Press.

196. Byrd, W. M., & Clayton, L. A. (1992). An American health dilemma: a history of blacks in the health system. Journal of the National Medical Association, 84(2), 199.

197. Du Bois, W. (2010). The Philadelphia Negro: A Social Study. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. https://doi.org/10.9783/9780812201802.

198. Prather, C., et al. (2018). Racism, African American Women, and Their Sexual and Reproductive Health: A Review of Historical and Contemporary Evidence and Implications for Health Equity. Health equity, 2(1), 249. https://doi.org/10.1089/heq.2017.0045.

199. Byrd, W. M., & Clayton, L. A. (2000). An American Health Dilemma: A Medical History of African Americans and the Problem of Race: Beginnings to 1900 (1st ed.). Routledge.

200. Elton, C. (2020, December 8). How Has Boston Gotten Away with Being Segregated for So Long? Boston Magazine. Retrieved from https://www.bostonmagazine.com/news/2020/12/08/boston-segregation/.

201. Mitchell, B., et al. (2018, March 20). HOLC "redlining" maps: The persistent structure of segregation and economic inequality » NCRC. NCRC. Retrieved from https://ncrc.org/holc/.

202. Nardone, A., et al. (2020). Associations between historical residential redlining and current age-adjusted rates of emergency department visits due to asthma across eight cities in California: an ecological study. The Lancet Planetary Health, 4(1). https://www.thelancet.com/journals/lanplh/article/PIIS2542-5196(19)30241-4/

fulltext.

203. Agency for Toxic Substances and Disease Registry. (2021). CDC/ATSDR SVI Fact Sheet | Place and Health | ATSDR. Retrieved from https://www.atsdr.cdc.gov/placeandhealth/svi/fact_sheet/fact_sheet.html.

204. Duncan, G. J., Morris, P. A., & Rodrigues, C. (2011). Does money really matter? Estimating impacts of family income on young children's achievement with data from random-assignment experiments. Developmental Psychology, 47(5), 1263–1279. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0023875.

205. Center for American Progress. (2018, June 5). Mass Incarceration, Stress, and Black Infant Mortality. Retrieved from https://www.americanprogress.org/article/mass-incarceration-stress-black-infant-mortality/.

206. Vera Institute of Justice. (2019). Incarceration Trends in Massachusetts. Retrieved from https://www.vera.org/downloads/pdfdownloads/state-incarceration-trends-massachusetts.pdf.

207. Hayes, C. M., et al. (2020, January 1). Reproductive Justice Disrupted: Mass Incarceration as a Driver of Reproductive Oppression. American Public Health Association, 110(S1), s21. https://doi.org/10.2105/AJPH.2019.305407.

208. Collins, P. H., & Bilge, S. (2020). Intersectionality. Wiley.

209. Kearney, M. S., & Levine, P. B. (2017, August). The Economics of Nonmarital Childbearing and the Marriage Premium for Children. Annual Review of Economics, 9. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-economics-063016-103749.

210. Kowalczyk, L., et al. (2017). Color Line Persists, in Sickness as in Health. The Boston Globe. Retrieved from https://apps.bostonglobe.com/spotlight/boston-racism-image-reality/series/hospitals/?event=event12.

211. Jahan, S., & Mahmud, A. S. (2015). What Is Capitalism? - Back to Basics - Finance & Development, June 2015. International Monetary Fund. Retrieved from https://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/fandd/2015/06/basics.htm.

212. Sindzingre, A., & Tricou, F. (2012). Hierarchy, Market and Power in Capitalism: Conceptual Remarks. Association for Heterodox Economics. Retrieved from https://www.hetecon.net/wp-content/uploads/2019/12/SINDZINGRE_Hierarchy_Power_Capitalism.pdf.

213. Baradaran, M. (2017). The Color of Money: Black Banks and the Racial Wealth Gap. Harvard University Press.

214. Ibid.

215. Ibid.

216. Ibid.

217. The District of Columbia Emancipation Act | National Archives. (2019, April 5). National Archives |. Retrieved from https://www.archives.gov/exhibits/featured-documents/dc-emancipation-act.

218. O'Neill, J., et al. (1986). The Economic Progress of Black Men in America. Commission on Civil Rights, Washington, D.C. https://permanent.fdlp.gov/gpo71112/ED309204.pdf.

219. Kuhn, M. (2018). Income and Wealth Inequality in America, 1949-2016. Opportunity and Inclusive Growth Institute Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis. https://doi.org/10.21034/iwp.9.

220. Ibid.

221. Weller, C. E., & Roberts, L. (2021, March 19). Eliminating the Black-White Wealth Gap Is a Generational Challenge. Center for American Progress. Retrieved from https://www.americanprogress.org/article/eliminating-black-white-wealth-gap-generational-challenge/.

222. Franklin, R. S., & Resnik, S. (1973). The Political Economy of Racism. Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

223. Ibid.

224. Muñoz, A. P. et al. (2015, March 25). The color of wealth in Boston. Federal Reserve Bank of Boston. Retrieved from https://www.bostonfed.org/publications/one-time-pubs/color-of-wealth.aspx.

225. Ciurczak, P. (2018). Boston's Booming... But For Whom? Boston Indicators. Retrieved September 29, 2022, from https://www.bostonindicators.org/reports/report-website-pages/shared-prosperity.

226. Muñoz, A. P. et al. (2015, March 25). The color of wealth in Boston. Federal Reserve Bank of Boston. Retrieved from https://www.bostonfed.org/publications/one-time-pubs/color-of-wealth.aspx.

227. Ibid.

228. Leung, S. (2021, February 5). *City of Boston spent $2.1 billion in contracts over five years. Only 1.2 percent went to Black-owned and Latino-owned businesses*. The Boston Globe. Retrieved from https://www.bostonglobe.com/2021/02/05/business/city-boston-spent-21-billion-contracts-over-five-years-less-than-1-percent-went-black-owned-or-latino-owned-businesses/?event=event12.

229. Ibid.

230. Wahba, P. (2021, February 1). The 19 Black CEOs that have lead Fortune 500 companies since 1955. Fortune. Retrieved September 29, 2022, from https://fortune.com/longform/fortune-500-black-ceos-business-history/.

231. Boston Redevelopment Authority/Research Division (2014, March). Unemployment in Boston. Retrieved from http://www.bostonplans.org/getattachment/390b9ea9-61d7-467b-9a4c-f6e8588aa4b0.

232. Moore, D. (2021, January 30). *Historically, crises have lasted longest in Black communities. Bostonians worry that COVID-19 will be no different*. The Boston Globe. Retrieved from https://www.bostonglobe.com/2021/01/30/metro/historically-crises-have-lasted-longest-black-communities-bostonians-worry-that-covid-19-will-be-no-different/.

233. Ciurczak, P. (2020, October 29). *A Profile of Unemployed Workers in Massachusetts*. Boston Indicators. Retrieved from https://www.bostonindicators.org/reports/report-website-pages/covid_indicators-x2/2020/october/unemployment-deep-dive.

February 2024

EMBRACE
BOSTON