CHANGING FACES of GREATER BOSTON

A REPORT FROM BOSTON INDICATORS, THE BOSTON FOUNDATION, UMASS BOSTON AND THE UMASS DONAHUE INSTITUTE

THE PROJECT TEAM

BOSTON INDICATORS is the research center at the Boston Foundation, which works to advance a thriving Greater Boston for all residents across all neighborhoods. We do this by analyzing key indicators of well-being and by researching promising ideas for making our city more prosperous, equitable and just. To ensure that our work informs active efforts to improve our city, we work in deep partnership with community groups, civic leaders and Boston's civic data community to produce special reports and host public convenings.

THE BOSTON FOUNDATION is is one of the largest and oldest community foundations in America, with net assets of $1.3 billion. The Foundation is a partner in philanthropy, with some 1,100 charitable funds established for the general benefit of the community or for special purposes. It also serves as a major civic leader, think tank and advocacy organization dedicated to bringing people together and advancing opportunity for everyone in Greater Boston. The Philanthropic Initiative (TPI), a consulting unit of the Foundation, designs and implements customized philanthropic strategies for families, foundations and corporations around the globe.

UMASS DONAHUE INSTITUTE (UMDI) is a public service, research, and economic development arm of the University of Massachusetts (UMass) President's Office. The Economic and Public Policy Research (EPPR) group at UMDI specializes in analyzing policy issues affecting Massachusetts, New England, and the nation. EPPR conducts in-depth applied research and works with clients to describe existing conditions, assess policy impacts, develop effective programs, and prioritize current and future investments. One of EPPR's core activities is producing the MassBenchmarks project, a collaboration with the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston. MassBenchmarks reaches a large audience with findings aimed at policy makers in economic development, transportation, housing and other areas, along with business leaders and the general public.

McCORMACK GRADUATE SCHOOL OF POLICY AND GLOBAL STUDIES at UMass Boston equips future leaders with tools to enhance governance, strengthen communities, remedy injustices, catalyze change, and improve our planet and the lives of people across generations. The School is known for engaging policymakers, decision makers, and community members; as well as for helping shape effective policies that create a more equitable, sustainable, and peaceful world.

UMASS BOSTON (UMB) is one of only two universities in the country with free-standing research institutes dedicated to four major communities of color in the U.S. Working together and individually, these institutes offer thought leadership to help shape public understanding of the evolving racial and ethnic diversities in Boston, Massachusetts, and beyond.

The four research institutes are:

THE INSTITUTE FOR ASIAN AMERICAN STUDIES (IAAS) utilizes resources and expertise from the university and the community to conduct research on Asian Americans; to strengthen and further Asian American involvement in political, economic, social, and cultural life; and to improve opportunities and campus life for Asian American faculty, staff, and students and for those interested in Asian Americans.

THE INSTITUTE FOR NEW ENGLAND NATIVE AMERICAN STUDIES (INENAS) works to develop collaborative relationships, projects, and programs between Native American tribes and organizations of the New England region so that the New England Native peoples may participate in and benefit from university research, innovation, scholarship, and education.

THE MAURICIO GASTÓN INSTITUTE FOR LATINO COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND PUBLIC POLICY works to inform the public and policymakers about issues vital to Massachusetts' growing Latino community, and to generate research, information, and analysis for the development of more effective public policies and advocacy for Latino communities.

THE WILLIAM MONROE TROTTER INSTITUTE FOR THE STUDY OF AFRICAN AMERICAN HISTORY AND CULTURE addresses the needs and concerns of African heritage communities in Boston and Massachusetts through research, technical assistance, and public service. The institute sponsors public forums as a means of disseminating research and involving the community in the discussion of public policy and other issues impacting Blacks locally and nationally.

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May 2019

PREFACE

This report tells the fascinating story of a great region's evolving racial and ethnic diversity. After a decline during the mid-20th century, we're now several decades into a new global wave of immigration, bringing Boston back to its roots as a city of immigrants. While this report does not shy away from the challenges that come with such profound change, it is clear-eyed about the many ways that we can meet those challenges, and about the countless benefits the change brings.

The exploration of these trends has been something of a research "barn raising" by Boston's 104-year-old community foundation and researchers from across the University of Massachusetts system. Boston Indicators (the Boston Foundation's research center) sponsored the project and provided research and editorial support throughout. The UMass Donahue Institute at the UMass President's Office led the demographic analysis. A diverse group of researchers from UMass Boston led the qualitative study of how demographic change is experienced on the ground—throughout the region and in specific corners of it. UMass Boston hosts independent academic centers focused on the four major racial/ethnic groups—the Trotter Institute, the Gastón Institute, the Institute for Asian American Studies and the Institute for New England Native American Studies. The directors of these centers each contribute a chapter, and while they dive deep into dynamics particular to their respective communities they also reveal the many common areas of challenge and opportunity.

The several authors of this report both narrate the story and represent it, as the concerted work of their distinct research groups parallels a dynamic at work in Greater Boston's neighborhoods: There is strength in preserving and celebrating unique identities and heritages, and there is power and efficacy in joining them.

We are proud to share this data-packed, thoughtful report. It is hard to think of a more important undertaking for the people of Greater Boston than truly understanding its changing demographics. We hope this work will inform conversations around how best to leverage this evolving diversity to build more broadly shared prosperity for everyone living in our region.

Paul S. Grogan, *President and CEO*, The Boston Foundation

Marty Meehan, *President*, University of Massachusetts

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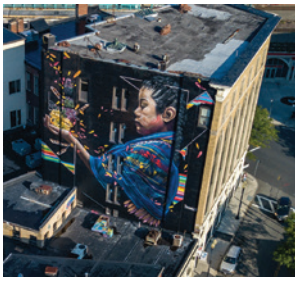


COVER ART: *Luna-Bliss*, the mural on the cover of this report, captures the vitality in the growing diversity of Greater Boston's population. Painted by Mexican-born artist Marka27, the mural may be seen on Spring Street in Lynn, Massachusetts, a city that is now the third most racially/ethnically diverse community in all of Greater Boston. This is one of many murals commissioned by Beyond Walls, a nonprofit that brings artists from Lynn, Greater Boston and around the world to Lynn to paint murals on the city's buildings. The mural project is just one of Beyond Walls' grassroots efforts to promote stronger, more vibrant and more inclusive communities. Beyond Walls is a grantee of the Boston Foundation. (Photo of mural by Gabriel Ortiz.)

DEFINITIONS AND DATA NOTES

Much, although certainly not all, of the data used in this report comes from the U.S. Census Bureau. Below are some definitions for commonly used terms, and notes on where we use some shortened language.

The Census Bureau asks two separate questions regarding a respondent's racial/ethnic background:

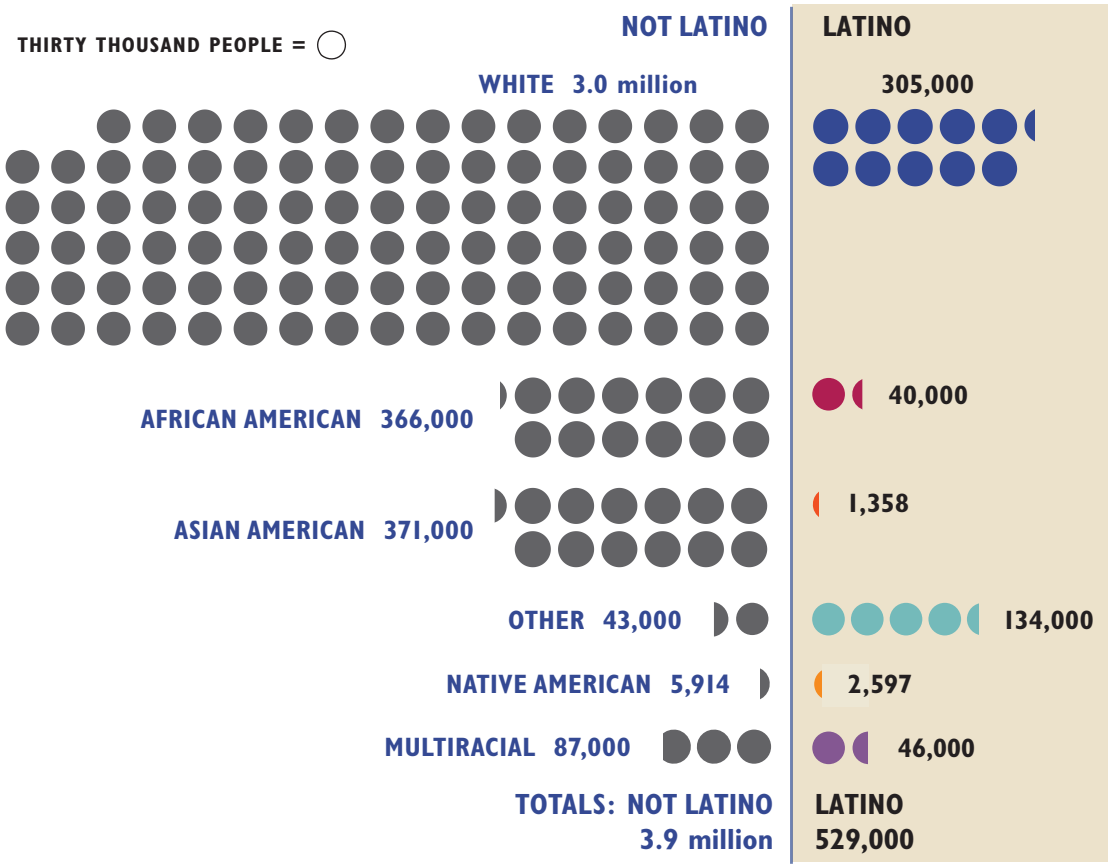
1) What is the person's race?

2) Is the person of Hispanic, Latino or Spanish origin (often referred to as "ethnicity")?

This infographic shows how these two questions lead to overlapping counts. Roughly 529,000 people in Greater Boston, for instance, identify as of "Hispanic or Latino" origin, while 3.9 million do not. This Census approach is problematic at times, and we describe specific concerns at points in the report.

The Census' two-question approach to race and ethnicity leads to overlapping counts.

Greater Boston's population by race and ethnicity. 2017.



Totals rounded to the nearest whole thousand—except for "Native American," which shows the precise population.
Inspired by infographic in "The Americans Our Government Won't Count," *New York Times*. March 30, 2018.
Notes: Because of small population sizes, "Other" includes "Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islander" and "Some other race."
Source: 2017 American Community Survey.

In order to avoid reporting overlapping counts, when we show population shares by race or ethnicity, this report usually separates out all people who identify as Hispanic or Latino into one group and then presents amounts for every other racial group's non-Hispanic or Latino share.

BLACK OR AFRICAN AMERICAN—We use *Black* or *African American* interchangeably. Since the 1960s, black has been the common descriptive term for peoples of African descent in the U.S., although it has at times been used pejoratively toward people with darker complexions, marked by a history of forced enslavement and of lesser cultural status than European-predominant communities. As the complexity of African-descended peoples increased, the descriptive terminology shifted to *African American*. However, many black immigrants consider *African American* too restrictive to accommodate people with backgrounds and nationalities from outside of the U.S.

ASIAN AMERICAN—We use *Asian American* throughout the report to refer to the entire population of people with ancestry in Asia who live here, regardless of citizenship status.

NATIVE AMERICAN—We use *Native American* as shorthand for the Census category of "American Indian and Alaska Native." At times we also use *Indigenous Peoples*, accommodating the scope of history, and *Native* as a broader adjective; wherever possible we use more specific tribal affiliations. American Indian state and federally recognized tribes have the option of developing a tribal specific code for their community (for example, Aquinnah Wampanoag), which the Census then offers as an option for respondents. Some tribes, like Aquinnah, have done this for many census years, but many tribes have not. As such, more specific data exists for some tribal communities than others, and the availability of this data varies across years.

LATINO—This data comes from the Census ethnicity question, which asks people if they are of "Hispanic, Latino or Spanish" origin. Most often we use *Latino* as shorthand.

OTHER RACIAL GROUPS—There are a few other Census-defined racial groups that we reference periodically throughout the report. These are: "Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander," who were counted as Asian until the 2000 Census, but now are treated as a separate racial group; "Some Other Race;" and "Two or More Races," which we label as "Multiracial." Prior to 2000, people could only select a single race on the Census.

GREATER BOSTON—We define "Greater Boston" using the Census Bureau's Boston-Cambridge-Newton MA-NH Metropolitan Statistical Area, but we do not include areas of southern New Hampshire. This geography captures five Boston-area counties: Essex, Middlesex, Suffolk, Norfolk and Plymouth.

SOME KEY FINDINGS

REGIONAL TRENDS

- Between 1990 and 2017, every one of Greater Boston's 147 cities and towns saw an increase in the non-white share of its population.
- Outside of Boston, the region's non-white population grew 254 percent since 1990, compared with 63 percent within Boston.
- Over the course of roughly one generation, several cities just outside of Boston that were once predominantly white have transformed to become nearly as diverse as Boston (e.g., Malden, Everett, Brockton and Randolph). For the newly diverse communities we analyze for this report, income inequality across race is much lower than in Boston overall.
- Our region's multiracial population is growing rapidly—8 percent of kids under five are multiracial; less than 1 percent of people 65 or older are.
- Key political, business and civic institutions lag behind our region's growing racial diversity. For instance, non-white people make up 32 percent of all occupations in Greater Boston, but only 14 percent of CEO and legislator roles (a Census-defined category). Students of color make up 40 percent of public school enrollment statewide, but only 8 percent of teachers are people of color.

TRENDS RELATED TO IMMIGRATION

- More than 90 percent of our region's net population growth since 1990 has come from new immigrants.
- New immigrants are coming from different regions of the world. In 1990, the top three countries of origin for immigrants to Greater Boston were Canada, Italy and Portugal; in 2017, they were China, the Dominican Republic and Brazil.
- More than two-thirds of Asian Americans in Greater Boston are foreign-born, and the black foreign-born share has almost doubled since 1990 (from 21 to 38 percent).
- Greater Boston has both a high concentration of immigrants who never earned a high school diploma and a large share of immigrants with a college degree or more.

POPULATION-SPECIFIC TRENDS

- Not only is there significant diversity across racial groups, there's tremendous diversity *within* them. Take Asian Americans, for instance: Median household income for Indian Americans is over $120,000/year; for Vietnamese Americans it is about $70,000/year.
- One in five home loans made to African Americans in Massachusetts were to home buyers in Brockton. This is almost 2x the number of loans for African Americans in Boston, even though Boston is seven times larger than Brockton.
- Recent tribal recognition on Aquinnah has led to a rebound in the town's Native American population, in part due to new affordable housing the tribal designation enabled.
- Latinos had the largest percentage point growth of any racial group in Greater Boston, increasing from 4.7 in 1990 to 12.1 percent in 2017. Asian Americans grew from 2.9 to 8.4 percent of Greater Boston.

OVERVIEW AND REGIONAL ANALYSIS

By Mark Melnik, *Director of Economic and Public Policy Research* and Gail Waterhouse, *Research Analyst, UMass Donahue Institute;* and Luc Schuster, *Director, Boston Indicators*

Greater Boston is in the midst of a striking transformation. Over the past few decades, our economy has expanded, and our population has grown. And while our region has long had a reputation for being overwhelmingly white, this perception lags far behind reality. Nearly all of our recent population growth has been driven by immigrants, particularly immigrants of color, who have decided to call our region home. These demographic changes have occurred across the Commonwealth, but in Greater Boston these trends are especially pronounced.

This report unites lead researchers from the four free-standing research institutes at UMass Boston dedicated to the major communities of color (the Trotter Institute, the Gastón Institute, the Institute for Asian American Studies and the Institute for New England Native American Studies); the Economic and Public Policy Research team at the UMass Donahue Institute; and Boston Indicators, the research center at the Boston Foundation. Together we take an in-depth look at how the opportunities and challenges of rapidly changing demographics are playing out in our region today.

Inquiries related to race and Boston are nothing new. One might reasonably ask, therefore, how is this treatment of race different from so many others? First, past treatments of race have often been siloed to a single racial or ethnic group. This report considers four of these groups in detail, including, importantly, Native Americans who are commonly absent from other analyses. We also detail rich diversity *within* groups (i.e., disaggregating by nation of origin or ancestry), not just *across* them.

Second, this report puts a keen emphasis on place. What are our region's new residential patterns and why? We maintain a central focus on Boston's neighborhoods, and we accompany that focus with an examination of changes in the city's exurbs and suburbs. Each section looks closely at region-wide trends within one racial group and then offers a close-up of these trends by conducting case studies of two specific geographies—one neighborhood within Boston and one city or town elsewhere in the region. A final section takes this same approach but focuses on "newly diverse communities" that have recently evolved from being predominantly white to having rich racial diversity across multiple groups. This final section also details rapid growth in the share of people and households who identify as multiracial.

Despite Greater Boston's upward trends in population and economic growth, the positive effects of such growth are not felt evenly by all population groups or geographies. With that in mind, this report examines some of the inequalities that remain for people of color in terms of political representation, housing and educational attainment and income. The relative shares of people of color in leadership roles remain troublingly low, for example. The prohibitively high cost of housing in Greater Boston makes home ownership difficult for many, and is driving many low- and middle-income people out of the city. And while most racial groups have seen some gains in education and income, the pace of these gains varies significantly.

To appreciate (and enhance) what is changing for the better, and to address doggedly persistent opportunity gaps across the full demographic spectrum, we must consider the multifarious environs within the city of Boston and the Greater Boston region as well. The rest of this first section sets the stage for that, analyzing these demographic and socio-economic changes within a broader regional context.

DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGE IN MASSACHUSETTS

Massachusetts has experienced steady population growth since 1990. The engine of this growth has been increases in the state's non-white population. From 1990 to 2017, the state's Latino population grew from under 5 to nearly 12 percent, the Asian American population grew from just over 2 to 6.6 percent and the black population from 4.6 to 7 percent.

While the whole state has gotten more diverse over this timeframe, much of this increasing diversity has been concentrated in Greater Boston, as shown in the two maps below. In 1990, Massachusetts had no cities or towns where the majority of residents were people of color. By 2017, 12 communities in Massachusetts were majority people of color.

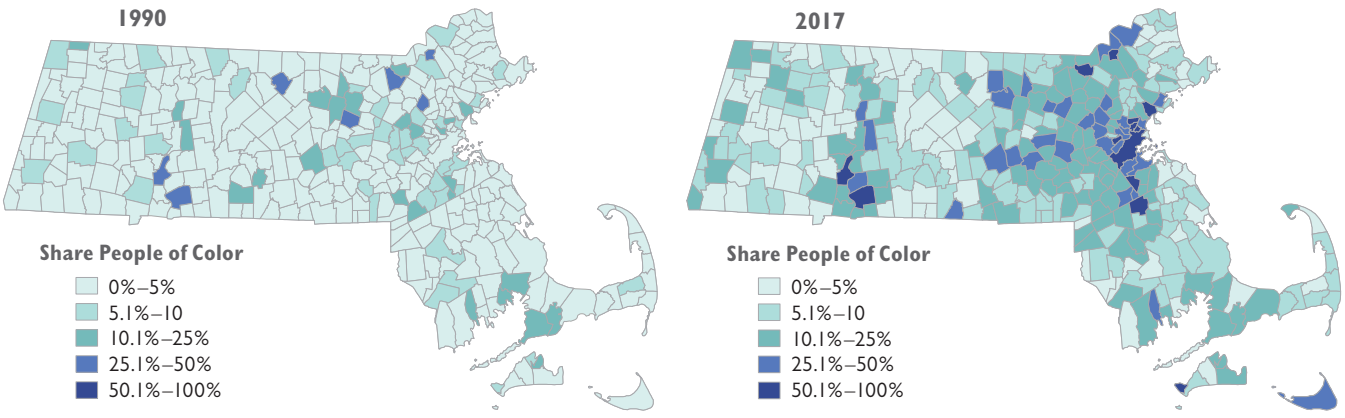
Because most of the state's racial and ethnic diversity is concentrated in eastern Massachusetts, we focus this report on analyzing how these rapid changes have played out within the Greater Boston region. Interestingly, while the region overall has gotten more diverse, the most significant demographic change that's taken place in Greater Boston has been highly concentrated in the cities and towns that surround the city of Boston.

Boston suburbs that were once predominantly white have recently experienced dramatic growth among their populations of color, as shown in **Figure 1.2**. Cities that significantly increased in racial diversity form a dark blue ring around Boston, traversing places like Chelsea, Revere and Malden to the north, Waltham to the west, and continuing down the Route 128 corridor through Newton and Dedham, and extending south to Randolph and Brockton. In fact, outside of Boston the region's non-white population grew 254 percent since 1990 compared to just 63 percent within Boston. Remarkably, not a single municipality in Greater Boston experienced an increase in its white population share from 1990 to 2017.

FIGURE 1.1

Massachusetts' growing racial diversity has been concentrated in Greater Boston.

Share of people of color. 1990 and 2017.

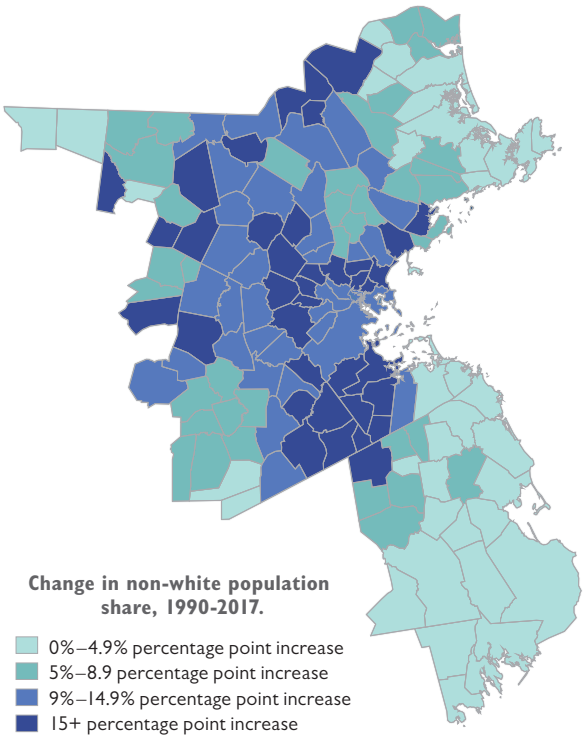


Source: 1990 U.S. Census, 2013-2017 American Community Survey.

FIGURE 1.2

The non-white population share of every city and town in the region has increased since 1990, and more so in many suburbs than in Boston itself.

Percentage point increase in non-white population share. 1990 to 2017.

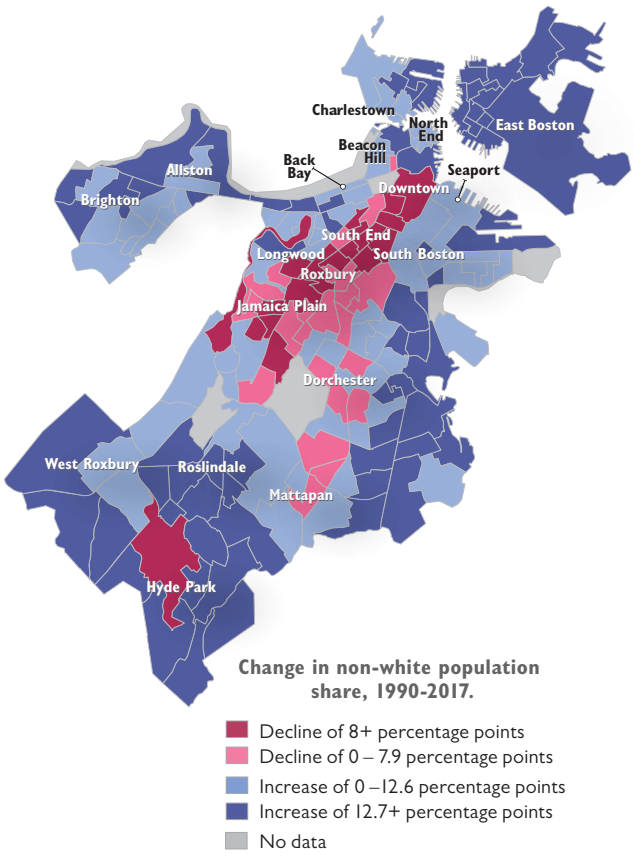


Source: 1990 U.S. Census, 2013-2017 American Community Survey.

FIGURE 1.3

Large parts of the South End, Roxbury, Jamaica Plain and Dorchester have gotten whiter; neighborhoods north and south have gotten less white.

Percentage point increase in non-white population share. Boston census tracts. 1990 to 2017.



Source: 1990 U.S. Census, 2013-2017 American Community Survey.

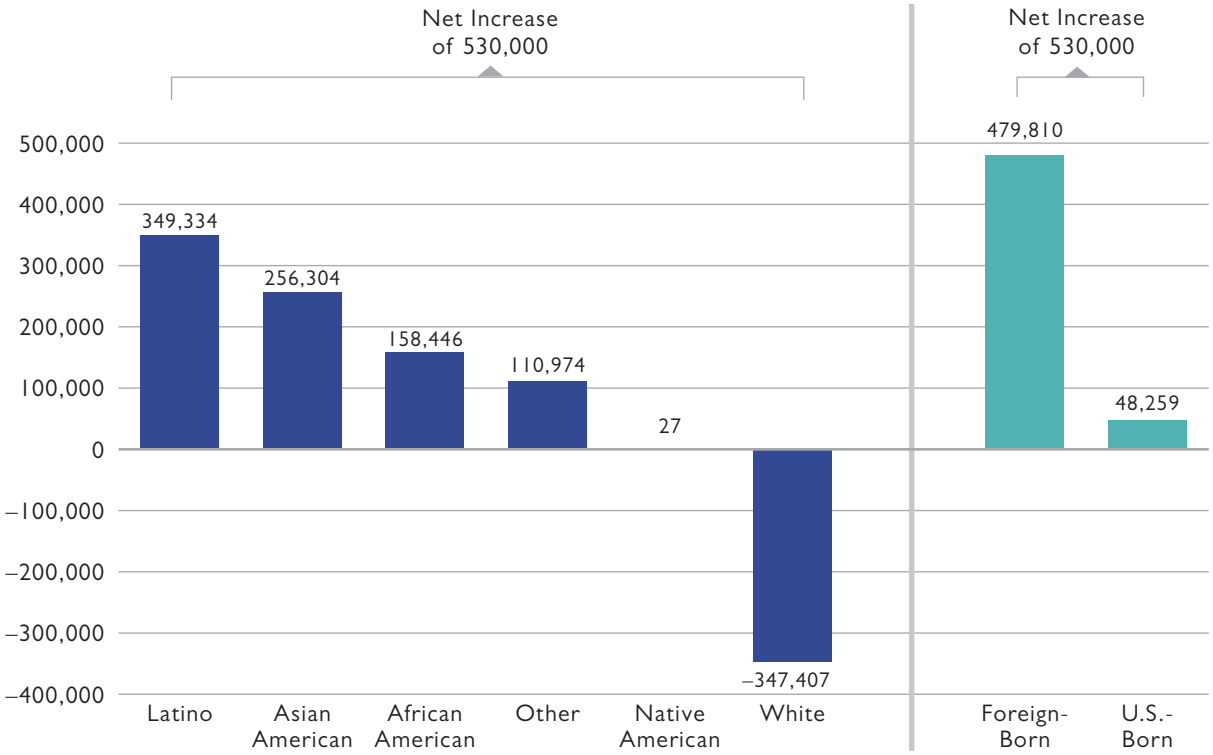
For interactive versions of these maps, please view this report online at www.bostonindicators.org.

In the city of Boston, a similar trend emerges, with substantial growth in communities of color citywide, but growth that is especially concentrated in outlying neighborhoods. A cluster of core neighborhoods extending from Downtown through the South End and into Mission Hill and Jamaica Plain have seen a decline in people of color. This very likely is a result of an influx of young white professionals that parallels the gentrification and displacement of communities of color (**Figure 1.3**).

FIGURE 1.4

Greater Boston's population growth is driven by immigrants of color.

Net population change. Greater Boston. 1990-2017.



Note: "Other" includes "Two or More Races," which was not an option in 1990, and "Some Other Race Alone."

Source: 1990 U.S. Census. 2017 1-year American Community Survey, except 2013-2017 5-year for Native Americans, due to small sample sizes.

In aggregate, Greater Boston grew by roughly 530,000 residents since 1990, and, as shown in **Figure 1.4**, this growth has been driven almost entirely by increases in non-white immigrants. Over this time period, the Asian American and Latino populations grew by 227 and 191 percent, respectively; with the addition of more than 256,000 Asian Americans and nearly 350,000 Latinos since 1990.

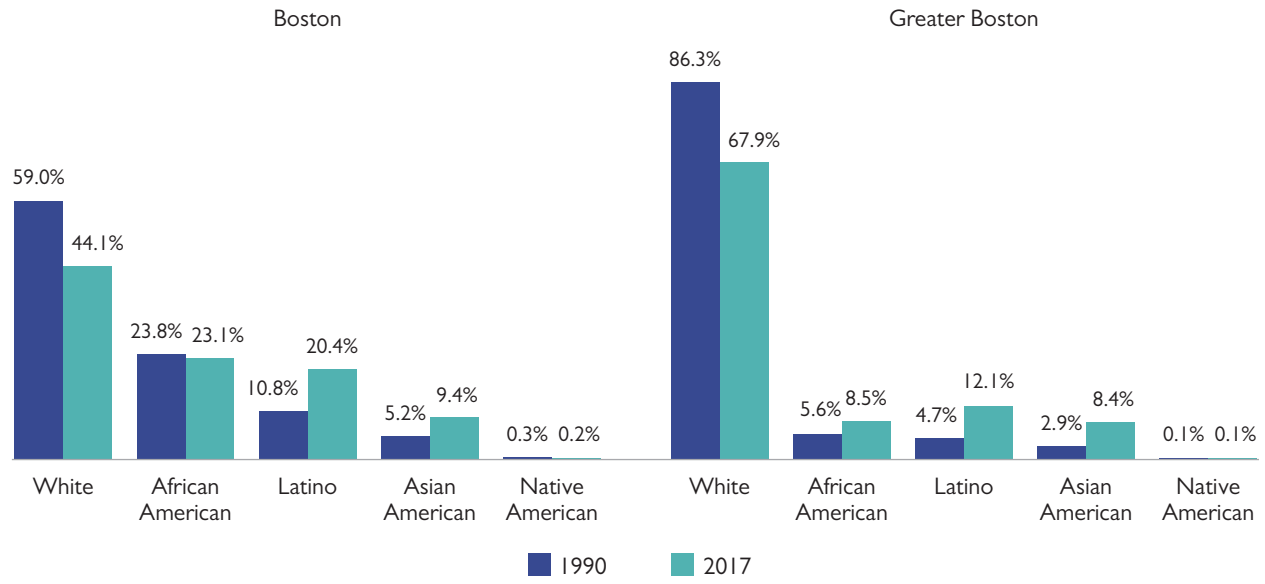
Over the same time period, we've experienced a sharp decline of nearly 350,000 white people. Because whites have been the dominant racial group in our region for decades, we do not have a separate section of this report analyzing these changes in more detail. But there's no doubt that a key part of the story of our region's changing demographics is the decline in the white population. This decline is driven by two trends: 1) more white people moving away from our region than coming here; and 2) white deaths now outnumbering white births. White deaths outnumbering births is actually an increasing national trend. Back in 2000 white deaths outnumbered white births in only four states. By 2016, white deaths outnumbered white births nationwide, and this was the case in 26 individual states. White deaths have outnumbered white births in Massachusetts every year since in 2011.[i]

[i] Rogelio Sáenz and Kenneth M. Johnson, *White Deaths Exceed Births in a Majority of U.S. States*. Applied Population Lab, 2018.

FIGURE 1.5

Both Boston and Greater Boston have become more diverse since 1990.

Population share by race and ethnicity.



Source: 1990 U.S. Census, 2017 1-year American Community Survey.

Even with these declines, whites remain the single largest racial group in our region, but they're no longer a majority of Boston, having declined from 59 percent in 1990 to 44 percent in 2017 (**Figure 1.5**).

Breaking down these population changes by place of birth, instead of by race, as we do on the right-hand portion of Figure 1.4, demonstrates that nearly all of our region's new population growth since 1990—90.8 percent—has come from international immigration to the region. Today, more than a quarter of the city of Boston (28 percent) is foreign-born, as is 19 percent of the full region.

While these numbers represent striking change over a short timeframe, it's helpful to keep these changes in a broader historical context. Boston's current 28 percent foreign-born share is not even a high water mark for the city. Back around the turn of the 20th century, more than a third of the city was foreign-born, as shown in **Figure 1.6**. After a slowing of immigration during the mid-20th century—due to earlier federal immigration restrictions and repeated global shocks like the Great Depression and two world wars—immigration to the United States, and to our region in particular, has returned close to these earlier levels.

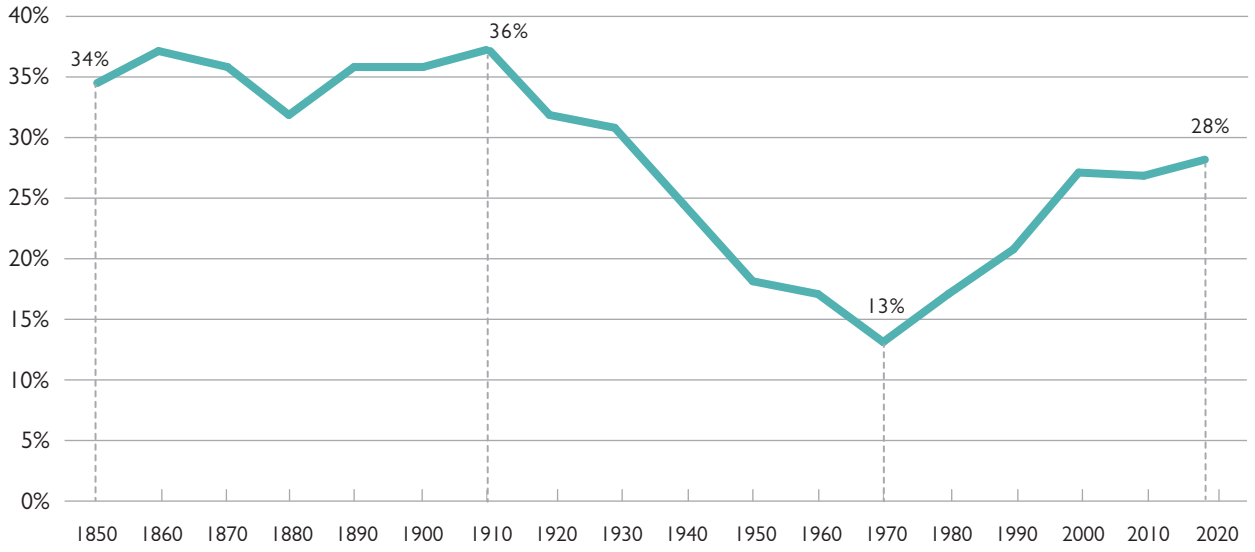
One significant change in recent years has to do with where in the world new immigrants are coming from. Not only has the number of new immigrants to Greater Boston increased sharply in the past few decades, but immigrants are also coming from a broader cross section of the world. In 1990, six out of the top 10 countries of origin were in Europe; in 2017, no European country made the top 10 (**Figure 1.7**). Notably, residents from China, the Dominican Republic, India and Brazil make up much larger portions of the population today than they did in 1990.

There's also wide variation across racial groups in terms of their respective shares of new immigrants. More than two-thirds (70 percent) of Asian Americans living in Greater Boston as of 2017 were foreign-born, a share that's much higher than for any other group.

FIGURE 1.6

Immigrants have long been central to Boston's identity.

Foreign-born share of Boston's population.



Source: Boston Planning and Development Agency, Boston by the Numbers, October 26, 2016. Updated to 2017.

FIGURE 1.7

But, where immigrants come from has been changing: In 1990, six of the top 10 countries of origin were from Europe; in 2017, no European country made the top 10.

Top 10 countries of origin for foreign-born residents. Greater Boston.

Rank	Country Name	Population, 1990	Rank	Country Name	Population, 2017
1	Canada	34,608	1	China*	79,174
2	Italy	31,590	2	Dominican Republic	78,319
3	Portugal	22,095	3	Brazil	66,067
4	China*	18,556	4	India	54,347
5	Dominican Republic	18,332	5	Haiti	53,948
6	Haiti	18,044	6	El Salvador	31,397
7	Ireland	16,612	7	Vietnam	29,908
8	Russia/Other USSR	12,631	8	Cape Verde	29,111
9	Greece	11,041	9	Colombia	22,664
10	England	10,404	10	Guatemala	18,979

*Excluding Taiwan and Hong Kong

Source: 1990 U.S. Census, 2017 American Community Survey.

Latinos have the second-highest foreign-born share, at 39 percent. Smaller shares of our region's white and black populations today are foreign-born, although this is changing rapidly for the black population. With increased immigration coming from countries like Haiti, Cape Verde and Jamaica, our region's foreign-born share of the black population has almost doubled since 1990, increasing from 21 to 38 percent. Native American ties to Massachusetts go back centuries, even millennia; the larger community of Indigenous Peoples, however, has seen some immigration by Native People from Central and South America, and a longer-standing connection with First Nations from the Canadian Maritimes.

Despite the tremendous benefits of Greater Boston's growing racial and ethnic diversity, significant challenges remain. Many people are reluctantly moving further outside of the city, in part because of rising housing costs in the urban core; large income and education gaps persist across groups; and representation by our local institutions of power often lags this new racial and ethnic diversity. In order to dig deeper into these trends, the bulk of this report analyzes how this rapid demographic change has been experienced across a few key dimensions:

1) Residential Patterns
2) Socioeconomic Conditions
3) Political, Business and Civic Representation

For the remainder of this overview section, we briefly consider change along these dimensions at the regional level. We then dive much deeper throughout the rest of this report into how these dynamics are playing out within different racial groups and several case study communities.

RESIDENTIAL PATTERNS

As shown earlier, not only is the city of Boston getting more diverse but many of the inner ring suburbs are as well. In fact, the pace of change is even greater for some of these cities and towns than it is for Boston. Take Malden, for instance, which we profile in the Newly Diverse Communities in Greater Boston section of this report. Back in 1990 Malden was almost 90 percent white. Today it represents a rich mix across different racial and immigrant groups. Malden is now 49 percent white, 23 percent Asian, 15 percent black and 10 percent Latino. Malden is also now 43 percent foreign-born.

A key reason why inner ring suburbs are diversifying so quickly is that housing costs have soared in the city core (**Figure 1.8**). Over the past decade, housing costs have risen throughout Massachusetts, but because they've risen most dramatically within Boston proper, many groups have ended up dispersing further out into the Greater Boston region.

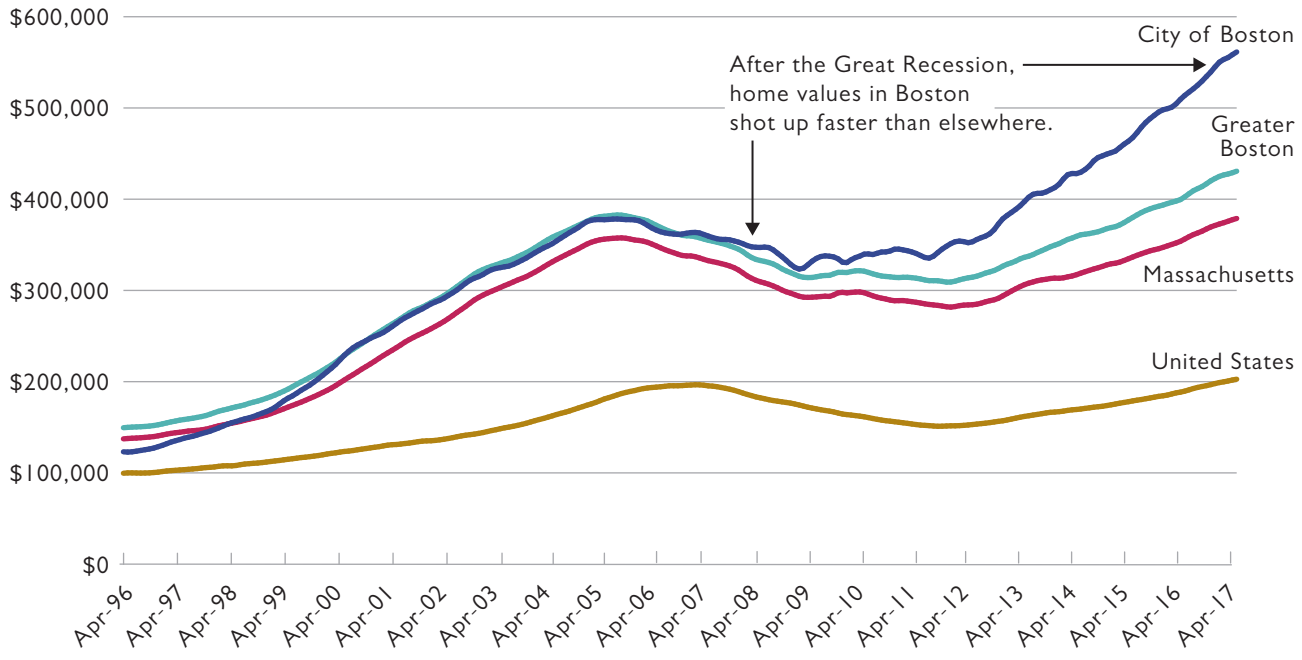
People also often move out of Boston in order to purchase a larger home, especially when starting a family. And for those who own a home, the value of this home is often their single most valuable asset. As our region has diversified over the past 26 years, homeownership rates among communities of color have ticked upwards. While these modest increases represent some real progress, white households still own homes at the highest rates of any group. In 2017, 64 percent of white households in Greater Boston owned a home, more than twice the rates for black and Latino households (**Figure 1.9**).

Since more white families have higher incomes, one might expect them to own homes at higher rates. But it turns out that gaps in homeownership exist even when comparing households at similar income levels. More than two-thirds of middle-income (between $62,000 and $93,000/year) white households own homes in Greater Boston, while only about half of middle-income black, Asian American and Latino households do. This

FIGURE 1.8

Local home values have skyrocketed, especially in Boston.

Median home values.

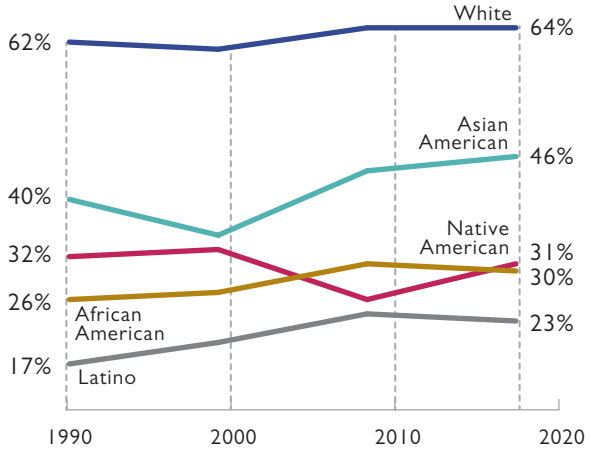


Source: Zillow Home Value Index.

FIGURE 1.9

Homeownership has increased modestly. A large gap remains between white households and other racial groups.

Household ownership rate. Greater Boston.



Source: 1990, 2000 and 2010 U.S. Census. 2017 1-year American Community Survey, except 2013-2017 5-year for Native Americans, due to small sample sizes.

gap grows even wider for low-income households earning below 50 percent of median income (below $39,000/year). More than a third of low-income white families are still able to own homes in Greater Boston, a much higher rate than for other groups.[ii]

Homeownership gaps have become a self-perpetuating cycle, where families that own homes are able to pass that wealth on to their children, making it more likely that the next generation will also be homeowners, even if they themselves are in lower-paying jobs. And previous generations of white households were more likely to benefit from proactive wealth-building programs—like the GI Bill and targeted home lending programs—that were often less available to, and sometimes directly withheld from, non-white households.

Today, wealth-building programs are less directly racially discriminatory, but significant bias remains. The Massachusetts Community and Banking Council's

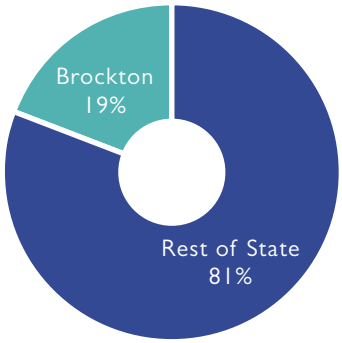
[ii] Luc Schuster and Peter Ciurczak, *Boston's Booming…But for Whom?*, Boston Indicators, 2018

(MCBC) annual report on home lending by race in Massachusetts found that in 2017, home loan denial rates in Greater Boston were much higher for blacks and Latinos than for whites. These gaps remain even when looking just at applicants of similar income levels. The MCBC report also found a high concentration of home loans granted to black and Latino buyers in just a few select Massachusetts cities and towns. Brockton is perhaps the most striking example in the report, accounting for 18.8 percent of all home loans to black borrowers statewide, even though Brockton accounts for just 1.7 percent of total statewide loans (**Figure 1.10**). This 18.8 percent share reflects a number of home loans going to new African American borrowers that is almost twice that in Boston, even though Boston is seven times larger than Brockton. Randolph, which is right next to Brockton, is also in the top five statewide in terms of its share of home loans going to black households. This data confirms findings from the African Americans in Greater Boston section of this report: an emerging cluster of African American families south of Boston, moving there to find affordable home ownership opportunities.

FIGURE 1.10

Non-white mortgages are concentrated in a few Massachusetts locations.

Share of new home loans going to African American borrowers. 2017.



*1 in 5 home loans to African Americans in MA went to Brockton.

*This is almost 2x the number of loans for African Americans in Boston, which is seven times larger than Brockton.

SOCIOECONOMIC CONDITIONS

As Greater Boston has grown more racially diverse, it has also grown more socio-economically polarized. Throughout this report we analyze polarization in terms of income levels and educational attainment and we track these trends both *across* racial groups and *within* them. Here we look at disparities in education, which persist across racial groups. While nearly 60 percent of Asian American adults and more than half of white adults have earned at least a bachelor's degree, the share of Native American, black and Latino adults with that level of education is under 25 percent. Moreover, disparities in educational achievement between Asian Americans and whites and all other racial groups have increased in recent decades. The share of whites and Asian Americans with a bachelor's degree or more has increased between 15 and 19 percentage points since 1990. The share of blacks, Latinos, and Native Americans with college degrees also increased, but by significantly less (**Figure 1.11**).

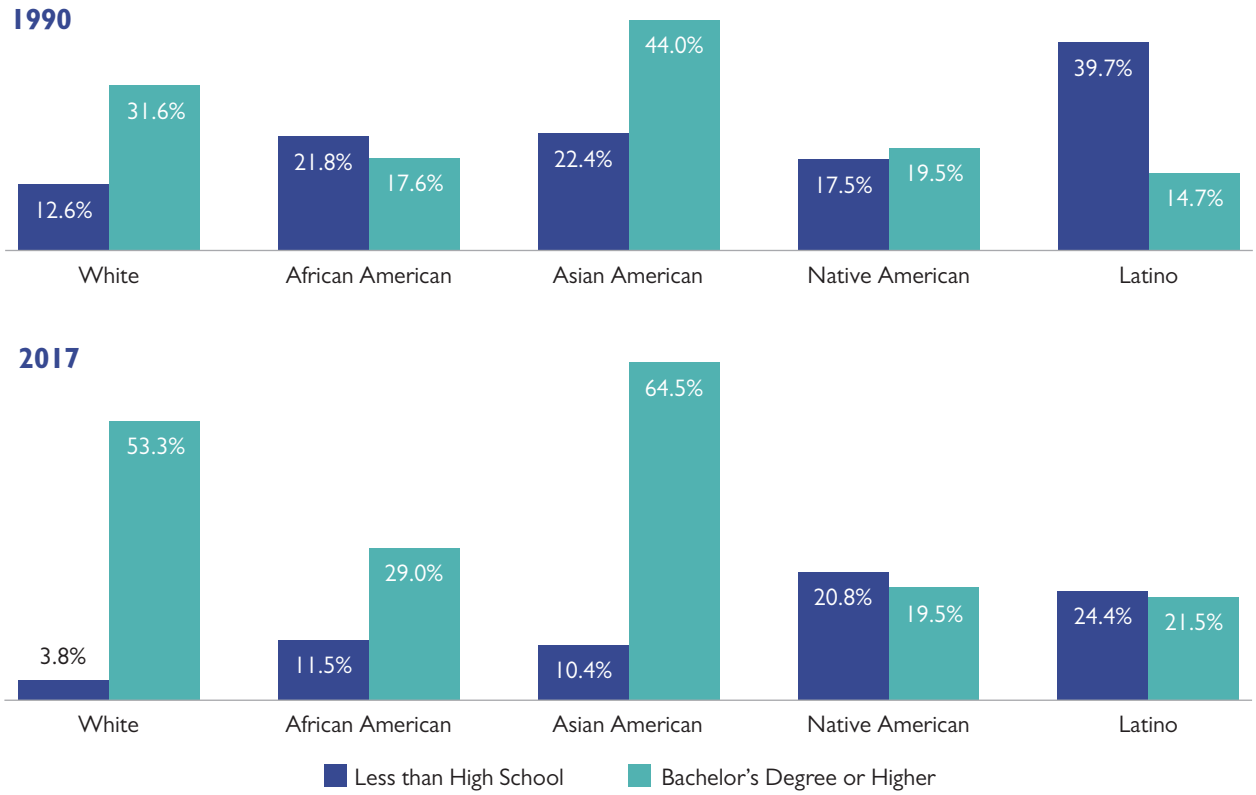
While in the aggregate Greater Boston is quite highly educated compared with other metro areas in the U.S., there are interesting patterns in educational attainment with the region's foreign-born population. Greater Boston has a high concentration of immigrants who never earned a high school diploma *and* a large share of immigrants with a college degree or more. As shown in **Figure 1.12** on the next page, foreign-born residents are roughly four times as likely as U.S.-born residents to have never finished high school. But that gap is much smaller for people with a bachelor's degree or more. In fact, at 39.1 percent, our share of foreign-born residents with a college degree is significantly higher than this share for both native-born and foreign-born residents nationwide (31 and 32 percent, respectively). This is, in part, driven by the concentration of colleges and universities and high skill industries in the region.

Because higher levels of educational attainment often lead to higher incomes, it's not surprising to see that our region has huge variations in income across groups. The growth of the knowledge and innovation economy in

FIGURE 1.11

Educational attainment increased for all, but unevenly.

Bachelor's degree holders vs. those with less than a high school diploma. Greater Boston. 1990 and 2017.



Source: 1990 Census. 2017 1-year American Community Survey, except 2013-2017 5-year for Native Americans, due to small sample sizes. Analysis includes population age 25+.

recent decades, among other factors, has led to greater wage polarization in our economy. In Massachusetts, the median annual income for full-time workers with a bachelor's degree outstripped that for workers with a high school diploma by $26,419 in 2017. Our analysis shows that income inequality has grown between racial and ethnic groups in the region since 1990. For many in the region, household income has remained either relatively stagnant or has fallen, while white households in both Boston and Greater Boston have seen median income increase by approximately $30,000 and $12,000, respectively (inflation adjusted).

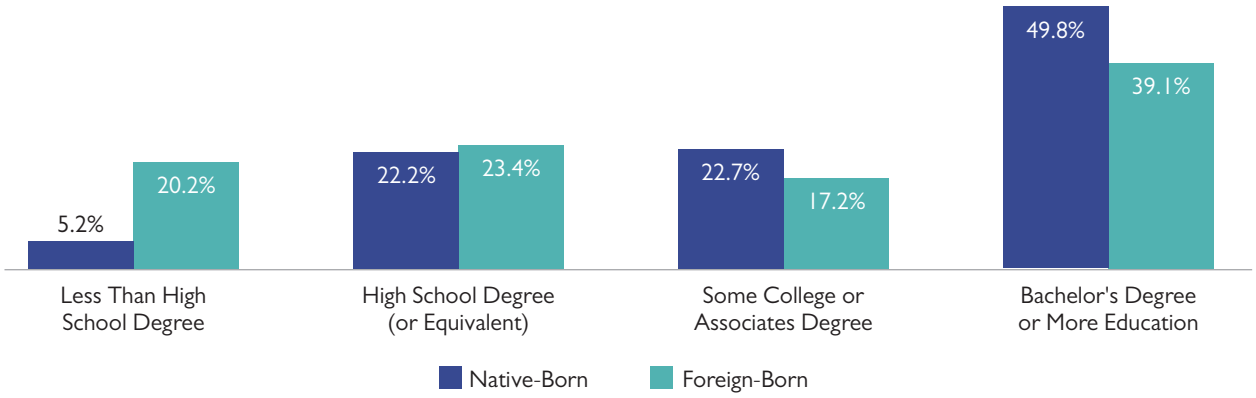
Geography also plays a role in the income disparity within racial groups. Households in Greater Boston, which includes several affluent suburban communities, tend to have higher incomes than households in the city. This trend is particularly noteworthy among Asian American households. Asian Americans living in the suburbs tend to be much more affluent, earning more than double what they earn within the city limits.

While income varies across racial groups, it also varies significantly *within* these broad, often problematically defined, categories. In order to demonstrate these differences across races and within them, **Figure 1.13** compares median household incomes for three Census-defined racial categories (White, Native American and Multiracial) and for nine other ancestry groups, representing three subsets within the African American, Latino and Asian American categories. Striking differences emerge. Over 80 percent of people

FIGURE 1.12

Greater Boston has a large share of immigrants who never earned a high school degree *and* a relatively large share of immigrants with a college degree.

Educational attainment by nativity. Greater Boston. 1990 and 2017.



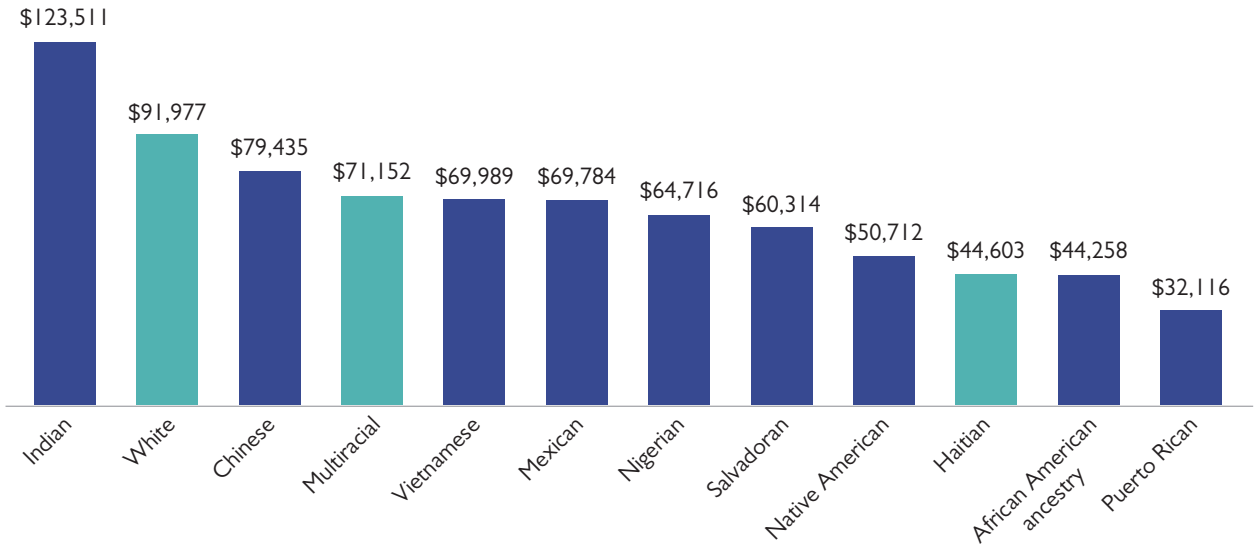
Source: 2017 American Community Survey. Population age 25+.

with Indian ancestry living in Greater Boston have at least a college degree; not coincidentally, they have a median household income of over $123,000 per year. People of Vietnamese ancestry are also racially "Asian," but they tend to have much lower levels of educational attainment and median household incomes of about $70,000 per year. Similar differences emerge within the Census's Black and Latino/Hispanic categories. Black households of Nigerian ancestry earn roughly $20,000 more than those of African American ancestry (whose

FIGURE 1.13

Income varies widely by race *and* ancestry.

Median household income for select race (in teal) and ancestry (in blue) groups. Greater Boston. 2017.



Source: 2017 American Community Survey.

families have much longer-standing roots in the U.S., often back to periods of Jim Crow and slavery). And Latino households in Greater Boston with ancestry in Mexico make more than twice what Puerto Rican households make.

Each of the subsequent sections of this report dives deep into similar examples of these wide intra-group differences.

POLITICAL, BUSINESS AND CIVIC REPRESENTATION

Another key theme we explore throughout this report is the concept of representation, analyzing how well institutions of authority are reflecting the new demographic composition of our communities. In some places we provide data comparing the racial composition of a given community with the racial composition of leadership within important institutions. In other places, especially throughout the case studies, we provide qualitative discussion of how representative communities feel on the ground.

In broad strokes we find that these institutions are lagging behind our region's new racial diversity, often to troubling degrees. But we have seen some progress. Boston's City Council has gotten significantly more diverse in recent terms, and some communities have increasingly strong nonprofit infrastructures providing critical supports in neighborhoods that are changing rapidly. Based on our local case studies it appears that elected leadership, staff in city government (including important front-line staff positions like teachers and firefighters) and business leadership have all been especially slow to evolve.

Because it's challenging to find good region-wide data on all forms of representation, here we provide a couple of examples where useful data does exist: We analyze the racial composition of people in high-level political and business leadership roles and we analyze how representative the teaching force is in our K–12 public schools.

REPRESENTATION IN HIGH-LEVEL LEADERSHIP ROLES

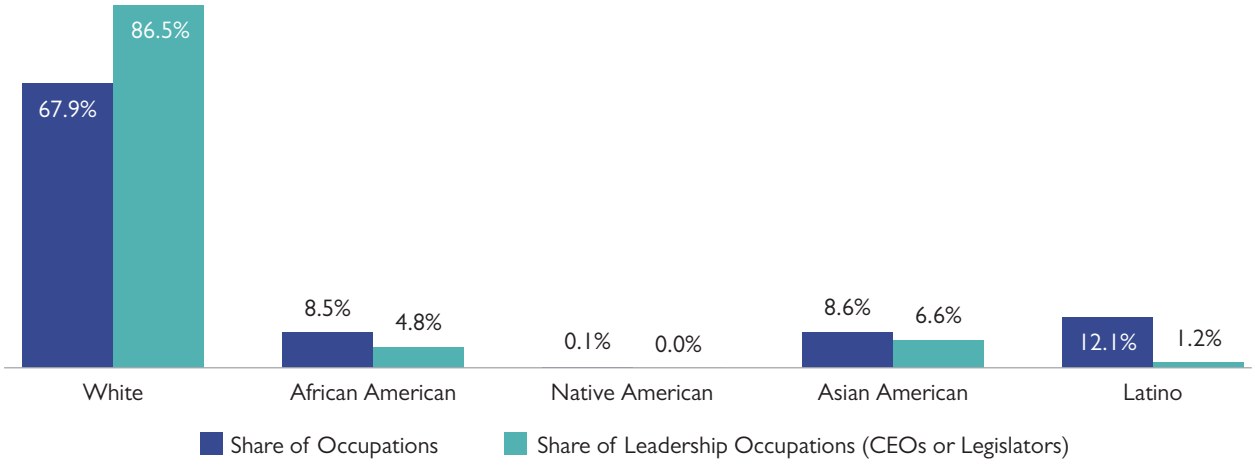
Political, business and civic leadership in Greater Boston remains far whiter than the workforce overall. To demonstrate this, we analyzed the racial distribution within the highest-level "leadership" occupations as defined by the U.S. Census Bureau, which clusters legislators and chief executive officers together. This legislators/CEOs category offers one useful way of looking at who is serving in the upper echelon of leadership roles within Greater Boston. As shown in **Figure 1.14**, white people remain overrepresented in high-level leadership roles in Greater Boston, while other racial and ethnic groups are underrepresented. Proportionally, Latinos have the lowest shares of leaders relative to their total in the labor force.

The above Census data are useful for giving a broad sense of who is serving in high-level leadership roles, but it has limitations. It lumps elected officials in together with CEOs, and it only counts elected officials who treat this work as an occupation, thereby excluding a number of elected roles in mid-sized and smaller municipalities. Absent a definitive data source on the racial identity of elected officials at all levels of government in Greater Boston, we analyzed data from an annual report done by the National Conference of State Legislatures (NCSL) on the racial breakdown of our state legislature. As of January 2018, white people were overrepresented among our 200 elected state legislators—white people make up 72 percent of the state population compared to 87 percent of the state legislature. African Americans only represent 3 percent of the state legislature, Latinos make up 7 percent, and Asian Americans make up 2 percent. This NCSL data is from the previous legislative session. The November 2018 elections appear to have resulted in a modest increase in the number of non-white elected legislators in Massachusetts. Political and civic representation on a more local level will be discussed in depth in each of the following sections of this report.

FIGURE 1.14

People of color are underrepresented in high-level leadership roles.

Shares of people working in all occupations and shares in CEO/legislator roles. Greater Boston. 2017.



Source: 2013-2017 American Community Survey.

REPRESENTATION IN CITY GOVERNMENT

As our communities change, it's important that the people staffing city and town government reflect the residents they are hired to serve. While we lack good uniform data on the makeup of all city staff, we do have useful data on the racial composition of our local teaching forces. Teacher diversity may be an especially important element of municipal government, as children spend much of their formative years inside of public schools. Teachers of color play an important role mentoring students with similar backgrounds and they often hold non-white students to higher expectations. A growing body of evidence suggests that these factors often have positive effects on academic outcomes and self-reported feelings of being cared for, especially among students of color. One recent study of low-income African American students found that having just one African American teacher in third, fourth or fifth grade helped decrease the probability of dropping out of high school by 39 percent.[iii]

Unfortunately, it appears that the staff running our public schools are not representative of the new racial diversity in many of our communities. Statewide, 40 percent of public school students are non-white, but only 8 percent of teachers are non-white. The teaching forces in this report's case study communities are especially unrepresentative. Hiring within local school departments clearly has not kept pace with the new diversity in their schools. **Figure 1.15**, on next page, compares the racial background of students with teachers in each of our case study cities or towns, and we focus on the specific racial groups of interest for each case study. In Brockton, for instance, 58 percent of students are African American but only 7 percent of teachers are African American.

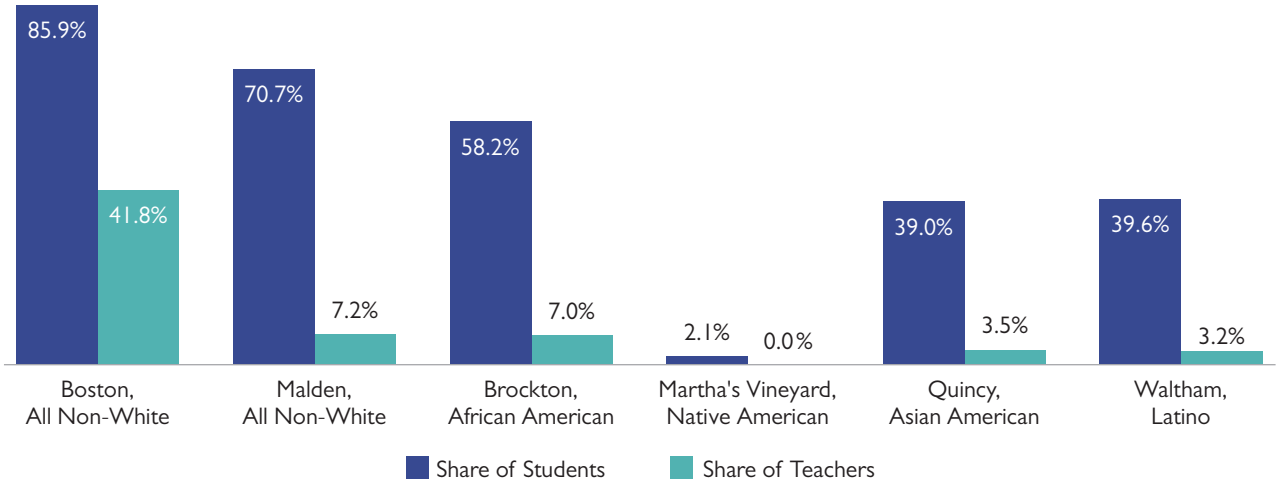
Since our analyses discuss a range of different racial groups in Boston and Malden, the graph compares total non-white shares of teachers and students for those two communities. It's important to note that while Boston does have a large gap between non-white

[iii] Seth Gershenson, Cassandra M.D. Hart, Constance A. Lindsay and Nicholas W. Papageorge, *The Long-Run Impacts of Same-Race Teachers*, IZA Institute of Labor Economics, March 2017.

FIGURE 1.15

In this report's case study communities, teaching forces are far from representative of their non-white student populations.

Student and full-time equivalent teacher shares. 2017–2018 academic year.



Notes: Data above does not include charter schools since students can attend charters across city/town lines. Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islanders not displayed due to very small total size.

Source: MA Dept. of Elementary and Secondary Education

students and non-white teachers, it has a much larger share of non-white teachers than any other school district in Massachusetts. Cambridge Public Schools have the second highest share of non-white teachers, but far behind Boston at only 24.1 percent. Perhaps even more strikingly, the Boston Public Schools employ almost half of all African American teachers statewide (47 percent in 2018).

Recognizing how unrepresentative the Massachusetts teaching force is, the Department of Elementary and Secondary Education has undertaken a couple of new initiatives to help address this problem. It's important to stress, however, that many different institutions—government, districts, schools, cities, colleges and universities, nonprofits—must work together in order to meaningfully close representation gaps in fields like education, business, government and the nonprofit sector. Employers should more proactively recruit candidates of color *and* provide better mid-career support and professional development for the people currently on staff. Further, K–12 schools and colleges and universities also need to provide higher quality education to young people in the first place, so that diverse pools of prospective candidates are looking for jobs in all sectors of the economy.

The story of racial and ethnic diversity in the Greater Boston region varies just as much as the region itself. In order to gain a greater understanding of the lived experiences of people of color in the area, the UMass Boston Collaborative of Asian American, Native American, Latino and African American Institutes (CANALA) collected data and conducted interviews with stakeholders throughout Boston's neighborhoods and cities and towns in the area. Synthesizing data with experience will create a more complete picture to allow for future work that aims to provide services and policies across disciplines and create a more equitable and prosperous region for all residents.

ASIAN AMERICANS IN GREATER BOSTON:
BUILDING COMMUNITIES OLD AND NEW

By Paul Watanabe, *Director,* and Shauna Lo, *Assistant Director, Institute for Asian American Studies, UMass Boston*

Nearly 150 years ago, Chinese Americans settled in the area still known as Chinatown, near Boston's South Station. There has been an Asian American community in Greater Boston ever since those early arrivals. Throughout most of that period the Asian American community was relatively small and primarily Chinese. Beginning in the mid-1960s, however, with the loosening of decades-old restrictive immigration laws and a significant number of refugees escaping war-torn Southeast Asia, the area's Asian American community began a still-ongoing period of growth and transformation. Today, nearly 70 percent of Asian Americans in Massachusetts are foreign-born.

While Asian Americans have moved to all parts of Massachusetts, most of the dramatic growth in recent years has occurred in smaller, suburban towns within Greater Boston.

While the city of Boston remains home to the largest number of Asian Americans in the state—60,985—its share of the total Asian American population has shrunk from 21 percent in 1990 to 15 percent in 2016. Sixteen cities and towns in Greater Boston in 2016 had at least 4,000 Asian Americans. These cities and towns are remarkably diverse—urban and suburban, racially heterogeneous and relatively homogeneous. Asian Americans generally reflect the economic profile of their place of residence, whether affluent suburban communities such as Lexington, Newton and Acton or working class towns and cities such as Quincy, Lynn and Lowell.

FIGURE 2.1

Asian Americans live in communities throughout Greater Boston.

Cities and towns with the largest Asian American populations. 2016.

Asian American Population		Asian American Share	
Boston	60,985	Quincy	28%
Quincy	26,143	Lexington	25%
Lowell	23,114	Acton	23%
Cambridge	16,534	Malden	23%
Malden	13,925	Lowell	21%
Newton	12,303	Boxborough	20%
Brookline	9,551	Westford	17%
Lexington	8,381	Sharon	16%
Somerville	8,213	Brookline	16%
Waltham	7,585	Cambridge	15%
Lynn	7,113	Burlington	15%
Framingham	5,716	Bedford	14%
Acton	5,416	Belmont	14%
Arlington	4,739	Newton	14%
Medford	4,577	Andover	13%
Andover	4,427	Wayland	12%

Source: 2012–2016 American Community Survey

The dispersion of the Asian American population is evident in the high concentration of Asian Americans in various cities and towns in Greater Boston. **Figure 2.1** indicates that 16 very different cities and towns had concentrations of Asian Americans of at least 12 percent.

While large cities in Greater Boston generally have larger Asian American populations, places with the most rapid Asian American increases have actually been in smaller, suburban locales. Looking at an even shorter timeframe of 2000 to 2016, as **Figure 2.2** indicates, the

percentage rise in Asian American populations was particularly pronounced in suburban towns such as Westford, Weymouth, Sharon, Natick, Braintree, Acton, Bedford, Winchester, Belmont, Lexington and Andover. Indeed, none of the 16 localities with Asian American growth rates greater than 100 percent is a large city.

Not only is our region's Asian American population large and growing, it's also tremendously diverse. The designation "Asian American" suggests a degree of homogeneity that obscures variety, complexity and inequality across Asian American subgroups. As we've noted, for decades reaching back to the 19th century, Chinese Americans overwhelmingly defined the Asian American community in the region. But this has changed rapidly in recent decades. Our region is now home to large populations of Indian, Vietnamese, Cambodian, Korean, Filipino, Japanese and Pakistani Americans—all falling within the category "Asian American." Indeed, 13 Asian ethnic groups each had at least 2,000 residents in Greater Boston in 2016. While still the single largest group, Chinese Americans now comprise less than half of the overall Asian American population (39 percent).

FIGURE 2.2

Asian American population growth is fastest in the region's smaller, suburban towns.

Cities and towns in Greater Boston with highest growth of Asian Americans. 2000 to 2016.

City or Town	Percent Population Change
Westford	298%
Weymouth	265%
Sharon	249%
Natick	220%
Braintree	215%
Acton	210%
Bedford	198%
Winchester	180%
Belmont	159%
Lexington	154%
Andover	148%
Everett	145%
Needham	143%
Arlington	126%
Billerica	115%
Medford	113%

Note: For municipalities with more than 2,000 Asian Americans.
Source: 2012–2016 American Community Survey

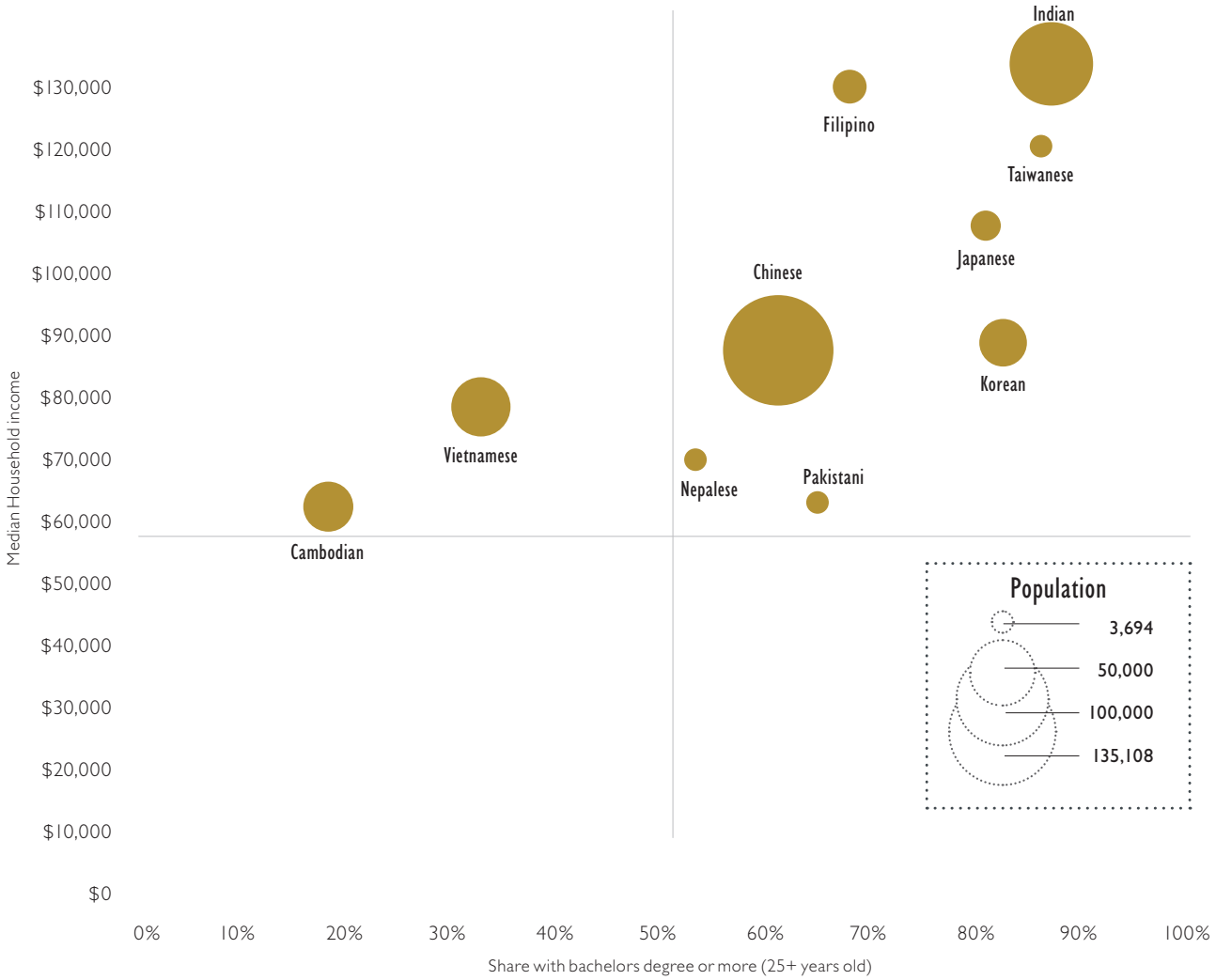
This rich diversity within the Asian American community extends beyond just ancestry to education and income levels as well. The scatterplot in **Figure 2.3** demonstrates this wide variation visually, showing population size, median household income and educational attainment for the 10 largest Asian American subgroups in Greater Boston. For example, over 80 percent of Indian Americans in Greater Boston have at least a college degree, with median household income of around $120,000 per year. In stark contrast, Vietnamese and Cambodian Americans land at the other end of the spectrum, with much lower shares of college degree holders, and incomes almost half that of Indian American households.

While Figure 2.3 illustrates the striking differences across subgroups, it masks another important layer of diversity, which is the often wide range of socio-economic attributes within these individual groups. The bubbles show median household income for a given group but they do not show the distribution on either side of that median. For example, our region is home to Chinese Americans from diverse backgrounds, some whose attributes are similar to the median Indian American's and others with attributes more like the median Cambodian American's.

FIGURE 2.3

There's tremendous diversity *within* Boston's Asian American community.

Ten largest Asian American subgroups by population size. 2017.



Source: 2012–2016 American Community Survey

In the cities, towns and neighborhoods where Asian Americans have settled, these rapid changes have been both embraced and contested. The remainder of this section examines two areas that provide examples of changing demographics, challenges and opportunities. One is the city of Quincy, just outside of Boston. The other is Fields Corner, which is part of Boston's Dorchester neighborhood.

Quincy: A New Population Transforms a City

For decades, Quincy's private and public decision makers have been focused on how best to undertake much-needed alterations to the city's physical infrastructure. The challenge is a familiar one: revitalizing once vibrant downtown areas eviscerated by suburban shopping malls more readily accessible

from major highways. After much delay, the seeds of change have been bearing fruit. New traffic patterns, condo and apartment complexes, offices and retail establishments are finally beginning to change the face of Quincy. But as city planners consistently looked to a future of modern buildings and redesigned roadways, Asian Americans seized the moment. Without waiting on those long-planned improvements, they have moved to the City of Presidents, bought homes and opened businesses, transforming Quincy in ways unimagined by local policy makers.

Since its founding centuries ago, Quincy had been a nearly all-white enclave. But in the last few decades, a rapidly growing Asian American population has altered Quincy's demographics. In 1960, only 100 Asian Americans lived in the city. By 1990, there were 5,490 Asian Americans in Quincy. A little over 25 years later in 2016, the city's Asian American population had grown nearly five times, to 26,143—and 28 percent of the city's total population. **Figure 2.4** reflects the changes across race and ethnicity in Quincy since 1990.

This is the highest concentration of Asian Americans in any city or town in Massachusetts.

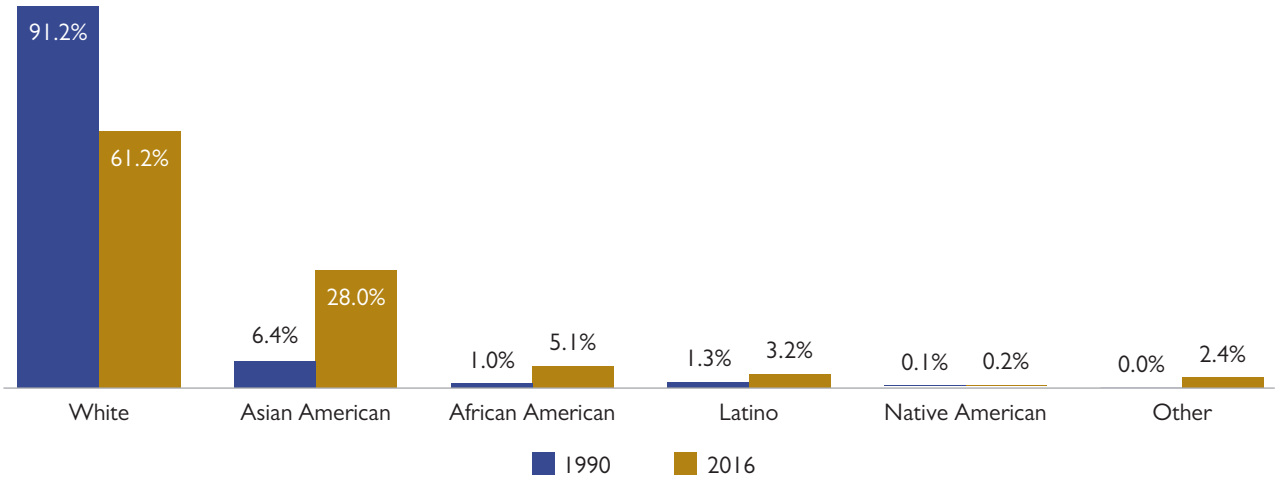
Chinese Americans have largely been at the forefront of Asian American growth in the city. They currently represent 68 percent of Quincy's Asian American residents. However, there are notable populations of Vietnamese Americans (3,400) and Indian Americans (2,227), along with a small but established Filipino American community (fewer than 2,000).

Because it's located on the MBTA's Red Line, Quincy was once characterized as a convenient way station for Asian Americans squeezed out of Boston. Many longstanding residents with ancestral roots in Ireland, Italy, Scotland and Scandinavia considered the newcomers a passing nuisance or curiosity. But instead of being temporary sojourners, Asian Americans followed a path more similar to that of other immigrants who settled in Quincy throughout its history. They began to establish themselves in the city and to see their children—and even their grandchildren—call Quincy home.

FIGURE 2.4

Quincy's Asian American population has grown dramatically since 1990.

Population share by race and ethnicity.



Note: "Other" includes "Two or More Races," which was not an option in Census 1990, "Some Other Race Alone," and "Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islander."

Source: U.S. Census 1990. 2012–2016 American Community Survey.

SEEKING PARTICIPATION AND POWER IN THE CITY OF PRESIDENTS

As is true for most largely immigrant communities, the process of civic engagement has been challenging for Quincy's Asian American residents. Slowly but surely, however, Asian Americans have begun to make an impact in civic and political realms. Joseph Shea, Quincy's recently retired city clerk, has kept track of Asian American electoral participation in the city for years. In 1992, he found only 1,518 Asian Americans on the voting rolls—a mere 3 percent of Quincy's registered electorate. In 2017 that number had increased to 9,313, constituting almost 16 percent of the city's registered voters *(Cotter, 2018)*. The potential size of Quincy's Asian American electorate is even more substantial. If considerably more Asian Americans clear the citizenship hurdle and register to vote, their impact on the political landscape could be immense.

Quincy's Asian Americans have not just settled for being voters, however. They have also been willing to run for public office. Tackey Chan's election in 2011 to a seat in the Massachusetts House of Representatives was a historic breakthrough, as he was the first Asian American elected to that body. Since then, Representative Chan has won reelection four times, and now serves as Chair of the Joint Committee on Consumer Protection and Professional Licensure. Notably for Asian Americans in the state, he was a founder of the legislature's Asian Pacific American Caucus, which currently has six members. Tackey Chan's election paved the way for two other Asian Americans, Nina Liang and Noel DiBona, to make history as well by successfully running for the Quincy City Council in 2016.

However, in several areas, Asian Americans are still underrepresented at the municipal level. Asian Americans constitute 39 percent of Quincy's public school students, and in several schools students of Asian descent are the majority (*Ronan, 2016*). Yet the teachers in front of the classrooms do not reflect the diversity before them. Only 3.5 percent of Quincy teachers are Asian American. Similarly striking is the lack of representation in Quincy's police and fire departments. In 2016, the police force was 207 strong, yet only six officers were Asian American. There were 198 firefighters in Quincy and only two were Asian American (*Ronan, 2016*).

Asian Americans have made an impact on Quincy's business climate. In 2016 Asian Americans owned about one in five of Quincy's small businesses (*Ronan, 2016*). Indeed, as far back as 15 years ago, the *Patriot Ledger* dubbed Quincy "Chinatown South," noting that it was home to Asian-owned businesses that were both large—such as the sprawling and bustling Kam Man Food marketplace—and small—including nail salons, bakeries and countless eateries (*Patriot Ledger, 2003*). The expansion of businesses catering largely, but not exclusively, to Asian Americans has on various occasions met with resistance, sparking complaints about traffic and congestion. At times such complaints at zoning hearings and council meetings have raised concerns that racially motivated factors have been behind them.

Responding to this growth and persistence, a number of well-established Asian American nonprofits in Boston have recently expanded into Quincy. The South Cove Community Health Center opened a clinic in North Quincy. The venerable Boston Chinatown Neighborhood Center has opened a site in Quincy, and the Asian Community Development Corporation extended its services to include Quincy residents. South Cove Manor Nursing and Rehabilitation Center relocated to a new, modern facility in Quincy, abandoning its Boston Chinatown location.

In addition to organizations with roots in Boston, Quincy's Asian American community has developed its own nonprofit infrastructure as well. In particular, two nonprofits emerged in response to a comprehensive assessment of Quincy's Asian American community undertaken by Dr. Tom Lun-nap Chung in the late 1990s: Quincy Asian Collaborative and Quincy Asian Resources, Inc. (QARI) *(Chung,1998)*. Since its creation in 2001, QARI has developed a wide array of

services, which its website lists as including "multilingual information and referrals, adult education, youth programming and… acclaimed city-wide cultural events," and it has entered into strategic partnerships with entities such as the MBTA, YMCA, Northeastern University, UMass Boston and Eastern Nazarene College *(QARI, 2018)*.

THE NEED TO ADDRESS PERSISTENT ECONOMIC CHALLENGES

The existence of these organizations is essential for Quincy's Asian American community as it faces some persistent challenges. Like other communities that have early roots among immigrants largely drawn from the working class, many of Quincy's Asian American residents face formidable economic struggles. The individual poverty rate for Asian Americans in Quincy is 11.8 percent, compared with 10.3 percent for the total population. The median household income for Asian Americans is $61,871 compared with $67,096 for all Quincy residents. In 2016, 44 percent of publicly subsidized residences managed by the Quincy Housing Authority were occupied by Asian Americans (*Ronan, 2016*). And 29 percent of city residents receiving food stamps were Asian Americans, even though there are strict limitations on the eligibility of those who are not U.S. citizens *(Ronan, 2016)*.

The response of many of Quincy's longstanding, predominantly white institutions to the growth of the Asian American population has been a mixture of indifference, resistance and, especially recently, acceptance. Asian Americans are clearly no longer simply newcomers. Quincy is their home. Their destiny and the well-being of all of the city's institutions and residents are inextricably linked.

Dorchester: An Ethnic Enclave Persists in a Changing Neighborhood

Once primarily composed of residents with Irish, Italian and Jewish backgrounds, the Boston neighborhood of Dorchester began to change markedly in the 1960s and 1970s. Today Dorchester is home to an extremely diverse population of whites, African Americans, Asian Americans and Latinos that includes people of Polish, Cape Verdean, Haitian and Vietnamese descent.

The Asian American community in Dorchester began to grow in the early 1980s and concentrated around the Fields Corner district. From a population of fewer than 500 in 1980, it grew to nearly 10,000 by 2000 (*Boston Planning and Development Agency, 2017*),[i] and exceeds 13,000 today. As **Figure 2.5** shows, by 2016 the white and Asian populations in Fields Corner were essentially the same size.

Vietnamese Americans, who comprise 75 percent of the Asian American population in Dorchester, began arriving as refugees in 1975 when the U.S. military left Vietnam. While some of the refugees—particularly those in the first wave—were well-educated professionals who spoke English, the majority were less skilled and non–English speaking. As a result, many had difficulties adjusting to life in the United States. Among the challenges the early Vietnamese American community faced were high unemployment, residential instability and family separation, low rates of home ownership, mental health issues and lack of social supports *(Le, 1989)*.

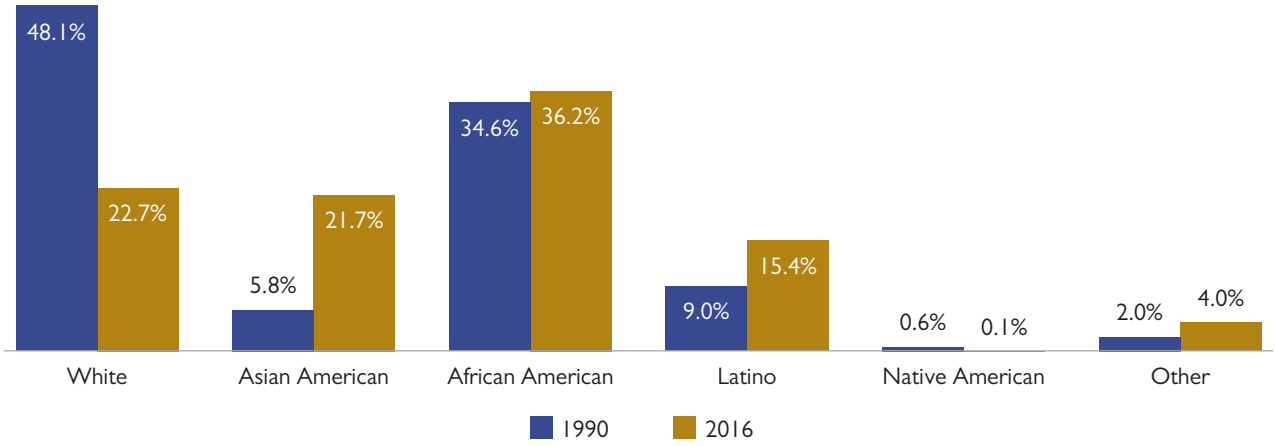
Fields Corner in the late 1970s and early 1980s, before the arrival of large numbers of Vietnamese Americans, was an arson-plagued, high crime area. Early Vietnamese American residents often faced harassment and vandalism *(Liu and Lo, 2018)*. Over the next few decades, however, both the Fields Corner district and the Vietnamese American community experienced significant changes. Acceptance of the

[i] The Boston Planning and Development Agency combines Asians and Pacific Islanders in one category, but the number of Pacific Islanders in Dorchester is extremely small.

FIGURE 2.5

Driven by growth in the Vietnamese community, Fields Corner's Asian American population has grown dramatically since 1990.

Population share by race and ethnicity. Fields Corner neighborhood of Boston.



Notes: "Other" includes "Two or More Races" (not an option in Census 1990), "Some Other Race Alone," and "Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islander."

Source: U.S. Census 1990. 2012–2016 American Community Survey.

Vietnamese American residents grew and they became an integral part of the neighborhood.

BUILDING A COMMUNITY AND INSTITUTIONS TO SERVE IT

Essential to the integration process was an increase in self-advocacy and civic involvement on the part Vietnamese Americans. Originally the Vietnamese American Civic Association was the primary social service agency serving Vietnamese American residents and the community established several religious and social associations as well. The creation of the community development corporation, the Vietnamese American Initiative for Development (VietAID), in 1994 was a particularly important milestone for the Vietnamese community in Dorchester. Its leadership in convening a group of community members to design, finance and build the Vietnamese American Community Center in 2002—the first of its kind built from the ground up in the United States—was a nationally-recognized accomplishment. Today, VietAID administers a wide variety of services that are utilized by residents of all backgrounds including non–Vietnamese Americans. In particular, its day-care program and affordable housing projects benefit the community as a whole, and its 18,000 square foot community center provides space for many different organizations and events. In turn, mainstream neighborhood agencies like Bartholomew Family Day Care, Neponset Health Center, Dorchester House and Kit Clark Senior Services have increased their capacities to serve Vietnamese Americans *(Liu and Lo, 2018)*.

Ironically, a very public incident of bigotry mobilized the Vietnamese American community to become more civically engaged. In 1992, while riding down Dorchester Avenue for the Dorchester Day Parade, Boston City Councilor Albert (Dapper) O'Neil was videotaped insulting the Vietnamese American enclave. Community members mobilized to protest the indignity and in the process built new relationships with some elected officials. Subsequent initiatives to increase voter registration and turnout among Vietnamese Americans in Fields Corner have been very successful. Another effort that enabled greater civic engagement by the Vietnamese American

community was the successful fight for bilingual ballots in 2006. The measure became permanent policy in 2014 *(Liu and Lo, 2018)*.

This Vietnamese American community in Dorchester has grown and matured. Although Vietnamese Americans make up only about 15 percent of residents in the Fields Corner area,[ii] their presence feels larger, due in large part to the visibility of Vietnamese-owned businesses that attract Vietnamese American customers from other parts of the region. From the handful of Vietnamese American businesses that existed in the early 1980s, the number grew to a few dozen by the mid-1990s. By 2005, 126 of Fields Corner's 225 small businesses were Vietnamese American–owned (*Borges-Mendez, Liu and Watanabe 2005*). Currently more than 50 percent of businesses, an estimated 145 of 259, in the Fields Corner area are owned by Vietnamese Americans *(Liu and Lo, 2018)*.

THE CHALLENGE OF INEQUALITY AND INCREASING INACCESSIBILITY: INCOME, EDUCATION AND HOUSING

While Vietnamese American residents in Dorchester have made significant economic strides over the last two decades, challenges remain. The poverty rate for Asian Americans in the neighborhood is high at 26.9 percent, compared with 10.6 percent for the total population in Greater Boston. The median household income is $48,407 compared with $79,685 for the total population in Greater Boston. And while 46.1 percent of all Greater Boston residents have a bachelor's degree or higher, only 25.2 percent of Asian Americans in Dorchester have a college degree. Only 4.7 percent of Vietnamese Americans in Boston have a graduate degree compared to 20.5 percent for all residents in Greater Boston. English proficiency is also a challenge, particularly for Vietnamese American seniors in Boston of whom 85.1 percent speak English "not well" or "not at all."[iii]

For many Vietnamese Americans, particularly new immigrants and the elderly who are less proficient in English, living in an ethnic enclave is more than just a comfort; it is crucial to accessing needed services. But like many other low-income neighborhoods in Boston, Dorchester has been experiencing dramatic increases in housing costs in both the rental and ownership markets. Developers have targeted the MBTA Red Line subway corridor in Dorchester as one of the last few undeveloped areas close to downtown Boston with easy access to public transportation. In the past five years (after the housing market recovered from the 2008 recession), median home values in South Dorchester grew by an astounding 76 percent, according to Zillow (*2018*). This is even greater than that experienced by Boston as a whole (51 percent). In South Dorchester, where Fields Corner is located, the median home value was $496,400 in September 2018.

Residents have expressed concern and fear both about large-scale multi-use developments coming to Dorchester and widespread house flipping that may or already did prompt sharp rent increases and displacement of long-time renters. An executive director of a local Asian American nonprofit organization has observed that Dorchester residents, facing limited affordable housing options, have moved to cities and towns such as Quincy, Randolph, Brockton and Weymouth *(Chou, 2018)*.

Currently planned in Fields Corner, for example, is construction of a massive development that was initially slated to consist of five buildings including 362 rental units, about 37,000 square feet of retail space, and a five-story garage *(Smith, 2018)*. Spurred by concerns about the real estate purchase, local residents and organizations formed a group called Dorchester Not For Sale that has members of Vietnamese, Cape Verdean, European and African

[ii] This percentage derives from the 2010 population in 10 census tracts around Fields Corner as defined in Liu and Lo (2018).
[iii] Data on Vietnamese Americans is from the U.S. Census 2015 5-Year ACS.

American descent. The group has sought participation in the planning process for the project to draw attention to housing affordability, job opportunities and protection for small business owners. Subsequently the proposal has been revised to include more affordable housing units, a park rather than an above-ground garage, and accommodation for smaller retail storefronts *(Logan, 2019*).

In summary, through persistence, resilience and resistance, Asian Americans assuredly strive to solidify their place in Boston's mosaic. The Asian American community has grown and become well-established in Dorchester alongside other racial groups. The future sustainability and well-being of this community, like that of other communities of color in Boston, however, remain uncertain.

AFRICAN AMERICANS IN GREATER BOSTON:
CHALLENGES, IDENTITIES, LEGACIES AND MOVEMENTS

By Barbara Lewis, *Director, William Monroe Trotter Institute for African American Culture and History, UMass Boston* and Rita Kiki Edozie, *Associate Dean, McCormack Graduate School of Policy and Global Studies, UMass Boston*

While Boston's share of African American residents has remained somewhat stable in recent decades, the community has expanded, diversified and dispersed beyond Boston's urban core. From 1990 to 2016, the Black population of Greater Boston expanded by about 125,000, from 215,193 to 340,318. Of those new Black residents of Greater Boston, just 13,150 live in Boston proper, causing the share of the region's Black population living outside of the city to increase from 36 to 56 percent.

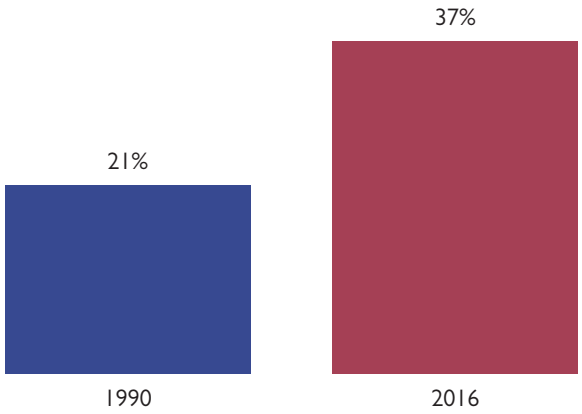
African Americans are contributing positively to their communities, but they too often remain living in areas that are segregated, under-resourced and otherwise marginalized. More often than not, they are renters, not homeowners and are thus targets of gentrification and displacement. And while African American communities in Greater Boston leverage a legacy of civil rights mobilization, a lag persists in educational access and attainment, political and economic representation and inclusion for both native and immigrant African Americans.

In the 21st century, Greater Boston also reflects the significant and dynamic global diversity within the Black community. During the Great Migration of the 20th century, Blacks moved to Boston from the southern states, drawn by the city's abolitionist roots and reputation as a place of opportunity. In more recent decades, a new Black migration has changed the face of the area, with many newcomers from the Caribbean and Africa. In fact, the share of Greater Boston's Black population that is foreign-born has almost doubled over the short 27-year period from 1990 to 2017 (**Figure 3.1**).

FIGURE 3.1

The foreign-born share of Greater Boston's Black population has almost doubled since 1990.

Foreign-born share of Greater Boston's Black population.



Source: 1990 Census. 2017 1-year American Community Survey.

FIGURE 3.2

Haiti is the most common country of origin among the region's Black immigrants.

Top 10 places of birth, foreign-born Black residents of Greater Boston. 2016.

Country of Origin	Population
Haiti	47,961
Cape Verde	13,854
Jamaica	11,484
Nigeria	5,666
Kenya	5,344
Trinidad and Tobago	4,538
Ethiopia	3,957
Barbados	3,495
Uganda	3,229
Somalia	2,694

Source: 2012–2016 American Community Survey

Greater Boston has become a destination for a growing number of Haitians, with Boston's 75,600-strong Haitian population (U.S.- and foreign-born) making up close to 9 percent of all Haitians living in the United States. In fact, Massachusetts overall has the third largest Haitian population of any U.S. state. Immigrants from the African continent are also adding to the diversity of the Black community in Greater Boston (**Figure 3.2**). The largest and longest-standing African immigrant community in the area is Cape Verdeans, who began arriving in the 1800s to work in the whaling industry (*City of Boston, 2016*), with their numbers increasing in 1965 and again in 1975 after the island nation gained independence. Massachusetts has the single largest Cape Verdean population of any U.S. state.

Socioeconomic data demonstrate the growing diversity across the region's most common African American ancestries, U.S. and foreign-born alike. Black residents who identify with longstanding "African American" ancestry tend to have incomes and educational attainment near the average for the Black community overall. However, Spanish-speaking Black subpopulations and those with African origins tend to have very divergent education and income levels. Black Puerto Ricans and Dominicans have the lowest levels of education and the lowest incomes, while Blacks of Kenyan and Nigerian descent have the highest levels of education and income (**Figure 3.3**). In fact, Nigerian immigrants' average levels of education surpass those of whites and Asians in several U.S. cities, including Boston *(Migration Policy Institute, 2015)*.

It's helpful to note here that a small subset of U.S.-born people who identify their race as Black or African American do not also identify either with "African American ancestry" or an ancestry associated with another country (e.g., Jamaica or Nigeria). These people are represented by the small "Black" circle in the chart on the following page.

In addition to often being highly educated, people with African ancestry in the United States include a high percentage of entrepreneurs, with an attendant ability to keep dollars in their communities. According to Andrew McCaskill of the Nielsen research organization, "[The Black immigrants] are creating jobs in their communities, they're buying products from their community's entrepreneurs. There typically is a culture of recycling dollars, which contributes greatly to the rising fortunes (*Tisdale, 2015*)." This is certainly true for Cape Verdeans and Haitians in Boston. For example, Haitians are creating a new class of homeowners and landlords that are providing renters in the Black community a low-cost alternative to public housing *(Jackson, 2007; Jackson, 2011)*.

Foreign-born Blacks make significant economic contributions to the region. The total value of Haitian and Cape Verdean (the two largest Black foreign-born groups) economic contributions, estimated by a Regional Economic Model that calculated the value of goods and services consumed on each dollar spent, demonstrate that these communities generated total expenditures of $137 million in 2014 in Boston, contributing over $82 million to the regional product, and generated $4.5 million in state and local taxes. These expenditures supported 590 jobs in the Massachusetts economy *(City of Boston, 2016)*.

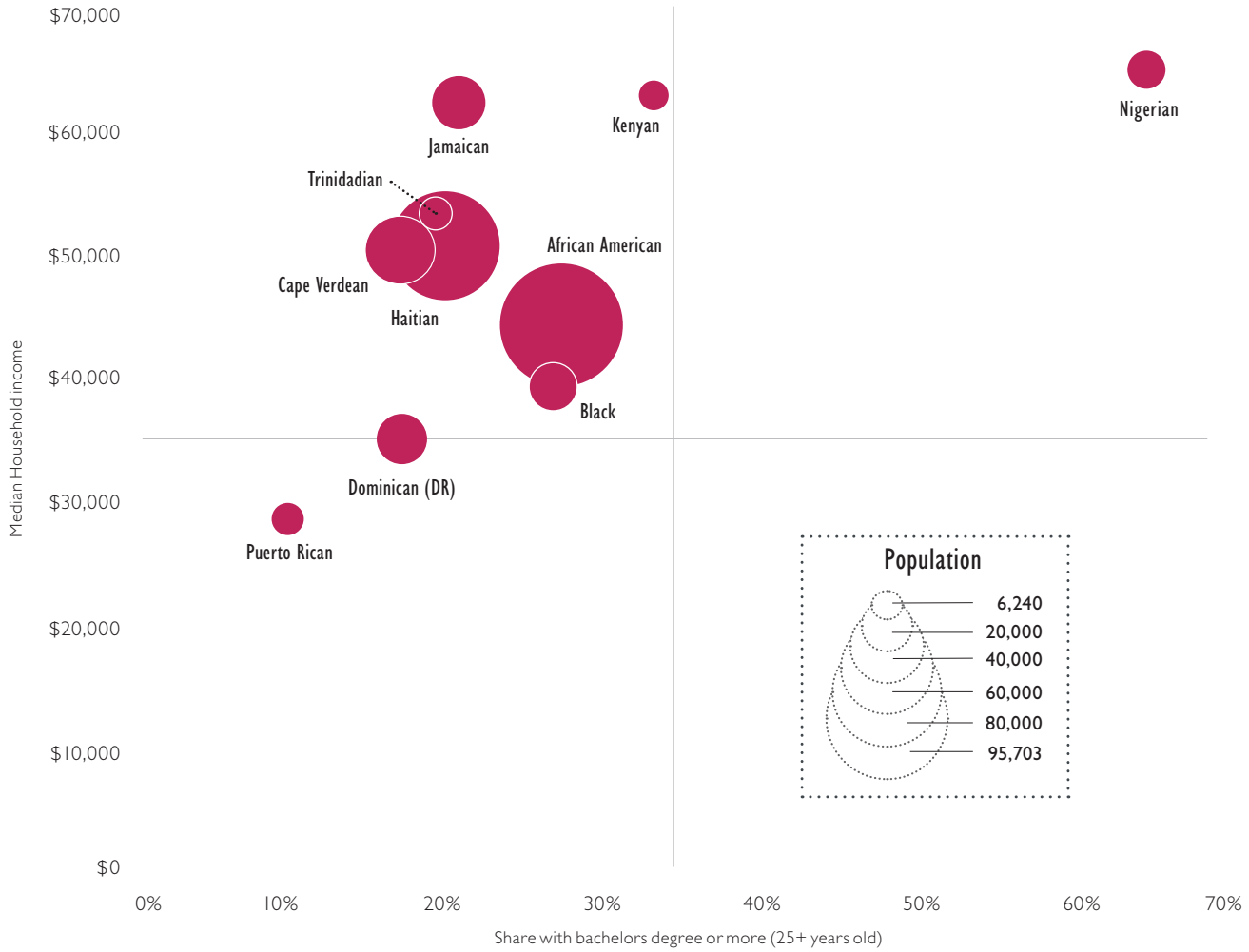
For generations, U.S.-born Blacks have had to battle against institutional racism, such as in predatory lending, which some more recent immigrant groups have not experienced to the same degree. It remains an open question whether the same socioeconomic and psychological disadvantages will hamper Black immigrant achievement in the long term.

On the whole African Americans in Greater Boston have lower household income than that of the region overall. However, cities and neighborhoods with relatively high densities of African American residents have smaller income disparities than neighboring communities. Even still, these areas also tend to have comparatively lower incomes. The largest income gap between Black households and the total population occurs at the regional level, where median household income for all households in Greater Boston is nearly

FIGURE 3.3

There's significant diversity *within* the African American community.

Top 10 countries of ancestry for African Americans in Greater Boston. 2017.



Source: 2013-2017 American Community Survey

$80,000, compared with just $46,412 among Black households. Income disparities also track alongside homeownership and residential trends.

In Greater Boston, the African American homeownership rate is half the overall homeownership rate (30 percent versus 64 percent for the region); however, much like household income, there are smaller gaps between Black homeownership rates and total homeownership rates in communities with a higher concentration of African American residents. As noted in the Regional Analysis section of this report, racial discrimination in homeownership and wealth-building programs may not be policy, but old biases remain—in housing and in other systems. The Massachusetts Community and Banking Council (MCBC) 2017 annual report on home lending by race in Massachusetts found much higher home loan denial rates in Greater Boston in 2017 for African Americans and Latinos than

cost of a home in Roxbury is about $100,000 lower than the average citywide. According to a 2016 *Boston Magazine* report, the average price of a single-family home in Roxbury is about $680,000 (more than double that in Brockton). Furthermore, Roxbury is particularly vulnerable to gentrification since some 81 percent of its residents are renters rather than homeowners *(Boston Planning and Development Agency, 2017)*.

REPRESENTATION

As noted, political representation by African Americans in Massachusetts is gaining ground, with Greater Boston leading the charge, exemplified most recently by the 2018 election of Boston City Councilor Ayanna Pressley as the first person of color to serve as a Massachusetts Congressperson. She represents a majority-minority district that includes Roxbury.

Currently, Roxbury has two Black women in the Massachusetts State House: African American Chynah Tyler, Boston native, elected in 2016; and Liz Miranda, first-generation Cape Verdean and lifelong Roxbury resident, elected in 2018. They joined the ranks of the Boston African Americans who have held seats in the legislature since the 1970s, including Doris Bunte (1973–1984), Shirley Owens-Hicks (1993–2006), Mel King (1973–1982) and William Owens (1973–1974, also a State Senator 1975–1982 and 1989–1992). Marie St. Fleur (1999–2011) was the first Haitian American woman to hold public office in Massachusetts. She was later joined in the House by Linda Dorcena Forry (2005–2013) who also represented South Boston—the traditional Irish-American political stronghold—in the State Senate (2013–2018).

These are great strides, but the fact that we can list them all in this short space suggests a still curtailed political and economic influence. Despite this, African Americans actively participate in community politics, pushing for change in their communities. Roxbury's community-based political organizations articulate their goals in restorative justice campaigns addressing historic and contemporary effects of racism. For example, the Nubian Square Coalition is working to have Dudley Station renamed Nubian Station, symbolically questioning the celebration of colonial-era slave owner Thomas Dudley to honor instead the Black and African culture and heritage of the community's residents *(Miller, 2018)*. Black representatives on Boston's City Council are also addressing socioeconomic challenges such as the impact of gentrification on Roxbury residents. City Councilor Kim Janey has proposed using the property tax from luxury buildings to "offset the cost of housing" in other areas of the city *(Tempera, 2018)* for Roxbury residents displaced by skyrocketing rent and housing costs.

Another key component of representation is in the educational sphere. Research has shown that students of color benefit from exposure to teachers of color (*Villegas and Irvine, 2010*). In Roxbury, however, students are not well represented by teachers who look like them or share their racial identity. These ratios must be understood against a backdrop of persistent educational disparity for Black students in Boston.

EDUCATION

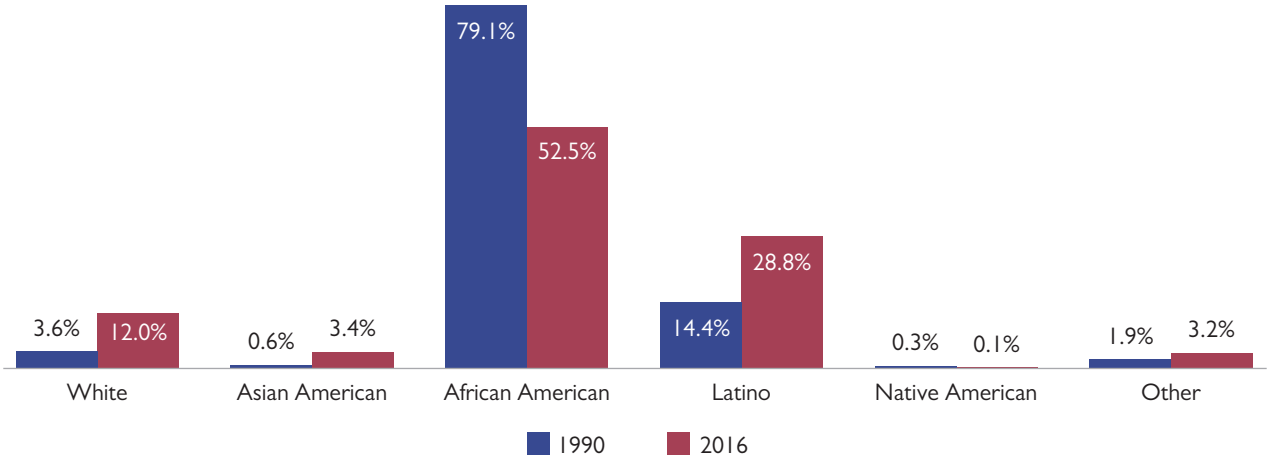
According to the 2018 statistics provided by Niche, an educational research institute, Boston Public Schools—where Roxbury residents typically attend—rank fourth in diversity in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. The system serves 53,653 students in grades Pre-K and K–12, and has a student-teacher ratio of 14 to 1. Yet teacher-student diversity ratios in Boston show an 8.8 percentage point disparity, where there are 31.5 percent African American students and only 22.7 percent African American teachers.

Meanwhile, the shifting student population has gradually created more schools where the majority of the students are white; these majority-white schools are emerging in the same neighborhoods where they had existed before court-ordered desegregation in 1974 *(Hilliard and Williams, 2018; Vaznis, 2018)*. In 2016, the U.S. Attorney's office in Boston found that Boston Latin School (BLS), famed as "America's first public school" lacked sensitivity, sufficient seriousness and

FIGURE 3.4

While it's declined since 1990, the African American share of Roxbury's population remains above 50 percent.

Population share by race and ethnicity. Roxbury neighborhood.



Note: "Other" includes "Two or More Races," which was not an option in Census 1990, "Some Other Race Alone," and "Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islander."

Source: U.S. Census 1990. 2012–2016 American Community Survey.

The neighborhood is increasingly foreign-born and 42 percent of Black residents are foreign-born. Cape Verdeans and Haitians constitute significant populations in Roxbury, accounting for 12 percent and 10 percent of the neighborhood's foreign-born, respectively. Of the Black immigrant population in Roxbury, 26 percent identify continental and coastal Africa as a place of birth (**Figure 3.5**).

INCOME, HOUSING AND WEALTH CREATION

In Roxbury, median household income is slightly higher among Black households than it is for the total Roxbury population. However, income generally is much lower in Roxbury than it is citywide. Income among Black households in Boston overall is more than $10,000 higher than it is for Black households in Roxbury.

While home values in Boston increased 391 percent since 1996, the Boston neighborhood of Roxbury experienced disproportionately high growth in home values—on the order of 531 percent. Still, the average

FIGURE 3.5

Black immigrants to Roxbury come from all over the world.

Share of Black foreign-born population, by continent and country of birth. Roxbury. 2016.

Country or Continent	Percent
Africa	26%
Nigeria	3%
Somalia	3%
Cape Verde	12%
Haiti	10%
Jamaica	6%
Trinidad and Tobago	5%
West Indies	2%

Source: 2012–2016 American Community Survey

cost of a home in Roxbury is about $100,000 lower than the average citywide. According to a 2016 *Boston Magazine* report, the average price of a single-family home in Roxbury is about $680,000 (more than double that in Brockton). Furthermore, Roxbury is particularly vulnerable to gentrification since some 81 percent of its residents are renters rather than homeowners *(Boston Planning and Development Agency, 2017)*.

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Meanwhile, the shifting student population has gradually created more schools where the majority of the students are white; these majority-white schools are emerging in the same neighborhoods where they had existed before court-ordered desegregation in 1974 *(Hilliard and Williams, 2018; Vaznis, 2018)*. In 2016, the U.S. Attorney's office in Boston found that Boston Latin School (BLS), famed as "America's first public school" lacked sensitivity, sufficient seriousness and

paid inadequate attention to racial issues (*Boston Latin School, n.d.; Mosley, 2016*). The BLS case highlighted how racial diversity was sidelined in the Boston Public School system *(Kenworthy, 2016)*.

According to the 2011–2016 ACS data, white and African American people have similar rates of having high school degrees in Roxbury. However, African Americans have lower rates of bachelor's or higher degree attainment.

Boston must consider policy adjustments to address educational challenges as demographics change. For Roxbury in particular, that means asking how successful are schools in creating an environment where a growing diversity of students all feel accepted and appreciated? How successful are they at hiring teachers who will give their students the best chance for success? In what follows we explore some parallel and some divergent trends in the city of Brockton.

Brockton

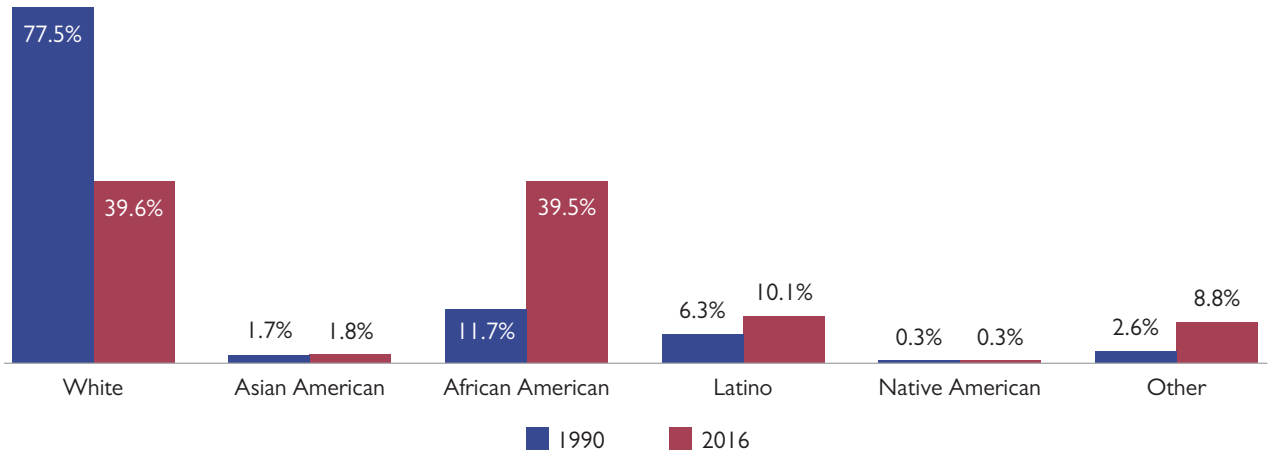
With 23 percent of its population being foreign-born around the time of its incorporation in 1881 (*U.S. Census Bureau, 1890*), Brockton has long been a place of settlement for immigrants. In contrast, its Black population has grown from very small beginnings. In 1900, there were only 600 African Americans in the city, and as recently as 1950, Brockton's population was only about 1 percent Black. By 1990, the Black community had grown to 12 percent, and by 2016 that figure had reached 40 percent (**Figure 3.6**). Blacks have had good reason to be attracted to Brockton—the city is close to jobs, has an excellent public bus system and offers relatively affordable housing, including rental stock, close to Boston (*Bluestone and Stevenson, 2000*). Since 1990, the white share of the population fell by almost half as the Black share more than tripled.

Foreign-born Black residents make up an increasingly large share of the African Americans and of the total population of Brockton—Brockton is now 27 percent foreign-born and 41 percent of Black residents are

FIGURE 3.6

Brockton's African American population share has more than tripled since 1990.

Population share by race and ethnicity. Brockton.



Note: "Other" includes "Two or More Races," which was not an option in Census 1990, "Some Other Race Alone," and "Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islander."

Source: U.S. Census 1990. 2012–2016 American Community Survey.

foreign-born. Cape Verdeans and Haitians have made even more of an impact in Brockton than they have in Roxbury, with Cape Verdeans making up 37 percent of the foreign-born population today and Haitians 27 percent. Of the total immigrant population in Brockton, 43 percent (compared with 26 percent in Roxbury) identify Africa as a place of birth (**Figure 3.7**). Even amid such diversity, the Black community of Brockton is economically less advantaged relative to the city overall, as in Greater Boston.

FIGURE 3.7

Black immigrants to Brockton come predominantly from Africa.

Share of Black foreign-born population, by continent and country of birth. Brockton. 2016.

Country or Continent	Percent
Africa	43%
Nigeria	2%
Cape Verde	37%
Haiti	27%
Jamaica	2%
Trinidad and Tobago	1%

Source: Extracted from Statistical Atlas, 2012–2016 American Community Survey.

INCOME, HOUSING AND WEALTH CREATION

Compared with Boston or Greater Boston, the city of Brockton has a much smaller income disparity between African American households and the population overall. And yet, the economic disadvantage among African Americans in the region and in Brockton has a measurable impact on homeownership trends. This is captured both in the stories of those displaced from Boston to Brockton and the lower home ownership rate among Brockton's African Americans.

Naomi Cordova, a Roxbury resident, did not want to buy a home in Brockton, with its reputation for gang violence. But she ended up in the working-class city despite her job at a tech company in downtown Boston where she earned more than $90,000 a year. With a home-buying budget of $275,000, Brockton was the only real choice for Cordova, a 34-year-old single mother of Puerto Rican and African American descent, who had limited options *(Johnson, 2017)*. Cordova's story demonstrates how gentrification unfolds along racial and ethnic lines, manifest in the Boston-Brockton artery.

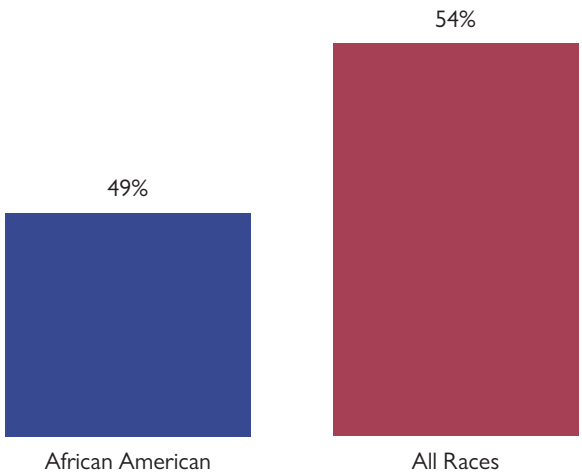
Opportunities for wealth and income growth in Roxbury seem to be on the decline while Brockton becomes a new site of economic opportunity for displaced Blacks from Boston and for new Black immigrants. With a median home value of $285,200, housing costs remain substantially lower in Brockton than the regional average at $458,000. Home loans for Brockton are remarkable: 18.4 percent of all home loans to Black borrowers statewide are going to Brockton, even though Brockton accounts for just 1.7 percent of total statewide loans for all races *(Campen, 2018)*.

While in Greater Boston the Black homeownership rate is roughly half the overall homeownership rate, homeownership among African Americans in Brockton is double that of Roxbury and it's very close to the homeownership rate in Brockton for all races (**Figure 3.8**).

FIGURE 3.8

The African American homeownership rate in Brockton is close to the citywide average.

Homeownership rate. Brockton. 2016.



Source: 2012–2016 American Community Survey.

REPRESENTATION

Political representation has not yet caught up to Brockton's changing demographics, with whites holding 85 percent of the political seats. In 2010, Jass Stewart became the first person of color elected to the City Council. Since then, Brockton has elected a Cape Verdean and a Haitian councilor, as well as Councilor at Large Shaynah Barnes, elected in 2014, the first Black woman to win a council seat in Brockton. Barnes' mother had moved the family up from Alabama several decades before. Barnes had hoped to help change the City Council and unite the city. In 2013, she said:

> "I think ... [the Council has] bred apathy and withdrawal. For instance, the Haitian community is very close-knit. They're doing things for their own. But everything is kind of separate. Cape Verdeans as well. They have their own way of… helping one another… the meshing hasn't happened. I'm not in either of those communities, I'm just speculating, but I can see how someone can say, I don't really see [the Council] doing anything that I really want to happen. I'm going to do it for my own community" *(Barnes, 2013)*.

But in 2017, Barnes stepped down, noting that the Brockton City Council hasn't kept pace with the increasingly diverse city for decades.

Despite historically limited access and political representation, African heritage activists in Brockton are organizing for more inclusion, voice and representation. Consequently, white elected officials are aware of and sensitive to the imbalance. In her dissertation research on the political incorporation of immigrants, Victoria Show interviewed Cape Verdeans in Brockton. Respondents noted that "[t]he new immigrants are not part of the story Brockton tells about who it is," and that "the European immigrants of the 19th and early 20th centuries were still seen as the real Brocktonians," exemplified by the city's fixation on the boxer Rocky Marciano as the city's favorite son *(Show, 2016)*. Nevertheless, Black immigrants are asserting their presence by forging community coalitions among ethnic groups to influence Brockton politics. In 2009, a collaboration between Haitians and Cape Verdeans created a radio station called The Brockton Heat, which gives their communities "a whole voice" through announcements on health issues, job opportunities, religion and community programs *(Valencia, 2008)*.

In another important dimension of representation, education, Brockton is also behind. The disparity in representation for Blacks among educators is starkly higher in Brockton than in Roxbury, with 58.2 percent students of color and only 7 percent teachers of color, a difference of 51.2 percentage points *(Boser, 2014)*.

EDUCATION

The Brockton Public School district ranks fifth in diversity in Massachusetts. The district has 17,154 students in grades Pre-K and K–12, and a student-teacher ratio of 16 to 1. Furthermore, its state test scores show that 41 percent of its students are at least proficient in math and 53 percent in reading. As noted, representation of diversity among teachers is markedly lacking *(Niche, 2019)*.

In Brockton, where a significant and growing minority population is now in the majority, the city is facing issues that cities like Boston faced decades ago. In 1995, Brockton passed a school desegregation plan in response to the failure of four of its schools to meet the Commonwealth's racial imbalance law *(Ayscue, Greenberg, Kucsera and Siegel-Hawley, 2013)*. Brockton's increased diversity, especially among immigrants in schools, is also contributing to mixed educational outcomes for Blacks and African American residents in the city. Increased competition, exposure, interactions and conflicts among the different Black groups have led to efforts to preserve students' cultural differences and the establishment of multicultural educational practices, including bilingual education for Haitian and Cape Verdean student majorities *(Brockton Public Schools, n.d.)*.

In Brockton, the percentages of African Americans with at least a college degree (16 percent) is lower than that for whites (19 percent) and Asians (31 percent).

Brockton, like Roxbury, must consider policy adjustments to address local educational challenges as demographics change. With its high concentration of foreign-born Blacks in the public school system, considerations must include: What effects do multicultural educational models and the immigrant paradox (where recent immigrants often outperform more established immigrants and non-immigrants, despite the numerous barriers they face in achieving successful social integration) have on educational outcomes for Blacks and African American communities? Are Black immigrant youth academically successful compared with children of U.S.-born parents? Does mobility upward or downward depend on the resources immigrant youth bring with them, or on how they are received in Brockton or other destination communities?

Conclusion

National headlines recently have invoked Congresswoman Ayanna Pressley as representative of a rising tide of women of color challenging historically white male power structures in politics. These women reflect the diversity of their constituents, who have long lacked one of their own in congressional seats or governor's offices. Pressley's slogan, "Change can't wait," has served as a rallying cry for Roxbury and other neighborhoods in the state's only Black minority-majority district.

Pressley's win was the biggest sign yet that a "new Boston" is emerging in the shadow of the city's historically white, union-driven political establishment. This new electorate is powered by minorities, immigrants and young college students, who have flocked to the city's start-ups and tech-friendly industries *(Seelye, 2018)*.

But the sentiment applies as well to Brockton, where a burgeoning Black and majority-minority population cannot help but shape the city's future.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This report section would not have been possible without the research assistance of three doctoral students of the McCormack School of Policy and Global Studies the University of Massachusetts, Boston:

Nyingilanyeofori Hannah Brown, Ph.D. candidate in the Global Governance and Human Security Program. Her interests include marginalized populations, conflict prevention and management, corporate governance and responsibility, coexistence, sustainable solutions and project and crisis management.

Olanike Ojelabi, Ph.D. student in the Public Policy Department. Her research interests focus on advancing social justice and equity. She researches issues and policies around immigration, nonprofit organizations and population health.

Tian Wang, Ph.D. candidate in the Public Policy Department. She focuses on organizational and community studies, especially Asian American organizations and their political participation. She is passionate to promote conversations among racial minorities and achieve social justice by research
and action.

NATIVE AMERICANS IN MASSACHUSETTS:
NEW HOMECOMINGS AND ONGOING DISPLACEMENTS

By J. Cedric Woods, *Director, Institute for New England Native American Studies, UMass Boston*

What is now the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, was, is and always will be Indian Country. The names used for the inhabitants and settlements of this land have changed over the last 10,000 years, but thousands of Indigenous Peoples from the Massachusett, Nipmuc and Wampanoag tribes historically resided in the areas on which this section focuses: the town of Aquinnah on Martha's Vineyard (what Natives call Noepe) and the Greater Boston region (**Figure 4.1**).

For these people, catastrophic population loss followed sustained contact with Europeans due to disease, enslavement and warfare, but nevertheless Native Peoples are still very much present in Massachusetts. The trends of loss and survival would continue, although punctuated by periods of stabilization, throughout much of the 17th century. The 18th century brought new challenges as the ongoing entanglement of Natives in European, and later American, military conflicts and physically dangerous employment (like

FIGURE 4.1

Several distinct Native Peoples inhabited what is now Massachusetts and points south.

Tribal territories of Southern New England. Around 1600.

Author: Nikater, adapted to English by Hydrargyrum.

Retrieved from: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Tribal_Territories_Southern_New_England.png#/media/File:Tribal_Territories_Southern_New_England.png

whaling) led to chronically disproportionate loss of life, particularly of Native men (**Figure 4.2**). The 19th century saw efforts by the Commonwealth to politically dismantle Native communities (whether categorized as Plantations or Districts), leading to yet another outmigration of Native residents of places like Aquinnah.

As in other sections of this report, the examination of the region's Native American demography will take a deeper look at two specific sites. Because of the small numbers of the local Native population, however, we use a slightly different approach to selecting geographies for the two case studies in this section. For the community outside of Boston, we look at Aquinnah. While it's technically outside of Greater Boston, it represents the Massachusetts town with the highest concentration of Native residents and offers an important glimpse into the impact of tribal federal recognition. As for Boston, rather than focus on one neighborhood, we discuss the city as a whole since it functions as an urban Indian center within the larger region that is home to a diverse Native community.

For those unfamiliar with ongoing trends in Indian Country demographics, a look at the most commonly used Census data for the Massachusetts Native population may be deceiving. As in other states across the country, the longstanding practice of counting only those who select American Indian/Alaska Native (AI/AN) as their sole identification, and disregarding those who select AI/AN along with one or more other Census race categories, has led to a systemic undercounting of their actual numbers in the population.

While this discrepancy applies to those of any race who check more than one box, its relevance for local Native Peoples goes back centuries, to a time when the numbers of Native men were constantly diminished due to death in colonial wars, dangerous jobs tied to whaling and diseases imported from the Old World. This made families with Native mothers and non-Native, often African American, fathers a common occurrence. Two famous examples from Massachusetts history are Crispus Attucks, widely considered to be the first American killed in the American Revolution, and sea captain and abolitionist leader Paul Cuffee, for whom a Boston school is named. Both of these men had Native American mothers and fathers of African descent.

FIGURE 4.2

Catastrophic population loss followed sustained contact with Europeans.

Population totals and mortality for selected Southern New England tribes.
Before and after contact with European settlers.

Tribe	Population before or around contact	Population after contact	Mortality Rate
Massachuset/Wampanaog/Narraganset*	44,000	6,400	86%
Pocumtuck/Nipmuck*	18,400	920	95%
Mahican*	6,400	500	92%
Martha's Vineyard**	3,000 (in 1642)	800 (in 1720)	74%
		313 (in 1764)	90%

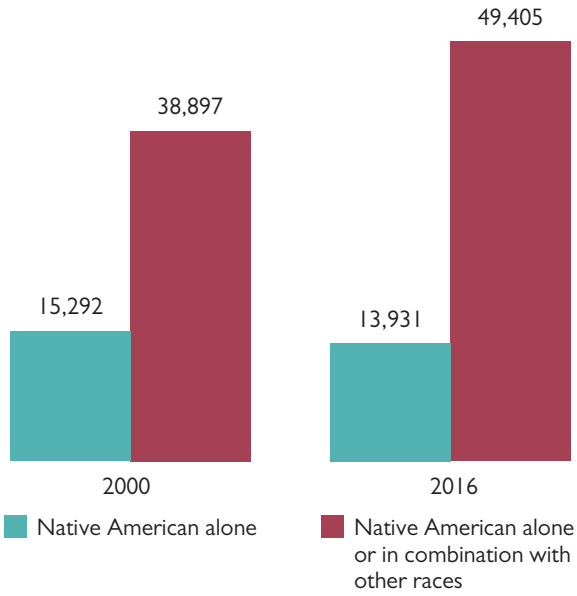
* Snow and Lanphear (1988: 24)

** Campisi (1991: 75)

FIGURE 4.3

Counting only people who select "Native American" alone dramatically understates the true number of people with Native American ancestry.

Number of people who select only Native American and number who select N.A. in combination with another Census race category. Massachusetts.



Source: U. S. Census 2000. 2012–2016 American Community Survey.

That reality echoes today in Massachusetts, where a growing number of people choose to self-identify as Native American combined with another racial or ethnic category, following national trends (*Nagel, 1997: 951–953*). The implications are significant. Census data for Native Americans in the state show a population of 13,931 in 2016 (**Figure 4.3**). But when we add those who identify with more than one racial category, this total increases more than threefold to 49,405. This phenomenon has implications for counting Native populations in both Aquinnah and Boston. In 2016, 39.9 percent of Aquinnah residents checked only one box. Boston also saw an increase in the self-identified American Indian population when the count included those who checked more than one category. In terms of the percentage of the population of the city of Boston, the Native American population has essentially remained the same at 0.9 percent of the city's population since 2000. This is a marked difference from Aquinnah, where Native residents make up a sizable percentage of the population. Still, the Boston number is not insignificant, as it's almost twice as large as the share of Native Americans in the state as a whole, which is about 0.5 percent (*2010 census*).

Despite Boston's passing a law in 1675 excluding Indians, the city was by no means devoid of Native presence over past centuries. Native Peoples from surrounding colonies and states made frequent trips to the city, sometimes resulting in extended stays. The city's status as a destination for Indians from a variety of tribes continues to this day, resulting in a small but diverse Native population. In fact, there are just as many, or possibly more, Native Peoples in Boston who hail from outside the region as there are Natives descended from local tribes (*Granberry, 2006: 66*). The largest of these outside groups consists of Mi'kmaq and other First Peoples from the Maritimes of Canada, whose longstanding presence leads some to consider Boston their home almost as much as the Maritimes (*Guillemin, 1975: 18, 57, 581; Granberry*). Indeed, Boston's urban Indian population is continually evolving, as new indigenous groups, such as the Maya from Guatemala's highlands, settle in this and other urban areas of the Commonwealth (*Capetillo-Ponce and Abreu, 2010: 63*). (See the Latinos in Greater Boston section, page 49, for more on the Guatemalan community in Waltham.)

FIGURE 4.4

Native Americans in Massachusetts are of diverse tribal affiliations.

Selected tribal affiliation of Native Americans in Massachusetts, alone or in combination with any other race.

	2000	2010	2016
American Indian or Alaska Native totals	**38,897**	**51,707**	**49,405**
Cherokee	4,037	4,539	7,049
Wampanoag	2,121	*1,953	**2,727
South American Indian	-	1,747	2,601
Blackfeet	1,521	1,645	2,275
Micmac	1,468	*2,028	**2,265
Iroquois	1,464	1,441	1,976
Mexican American Indian	-	1,580	1,044
Nipmuc	-	*871	644
Central American Indian	-	967	604
Canadian and French American Indian	-	458	362
Spanish American Indian	-	459	112
Aquinnah Wampanoag	343	-	-

* ACS 2006-2010 5-year estimates ** ACS 2011–2015 5-year estimates

Sources: 2000 and 2010 data are from the decennial census; 2016 data: ACS 2012–2016 5-year estimates.

Aquinnah: An Incomplete Journey Home

While the history of the Wampanoag on Martha's Vineyard goes back millennia, the earliest population estimate dates back to 1642, when calculations derived from early English accounts, Native oral traditions and archaeological assessments place the Native population at around 3,000 (*Campisi, 1991: 75*). At earlier points the Wampanoag population on Martha's Vineyard was almost certainly much higher, as a virgin soil epidemic that occurred between 1616 and 1619 likely killed many residents several decades prior (*Bragdon, 1996: 26*). By 1764, ongoing decline had diminished the population by about 90 percent, down to 313 individuals (*Campisi, 1991: 75*).

What would become the Praying Town and later Indian District of Aquinnah was already the site of a longstanding sachemdom, the term for the most basic unit of governance in the region. Its identification as a Praying Town was established when local Wampanoag leaders allowed missionary efforts in their territory as a way to protect their land from the depredations of other English colonists. In return for the transition to a Praying Town, the Massachusetts General Court recognized a high degree of self-governance by the Wampanoag. Although continually faced with population and land loss, tribe members remained the vast majority of Aquinnah's residents in 1859, with 194 of 204 residents described as "Natives" (*Earle, 1861: 30*).

Along with the rest of the Native population of Massachusetts, the Wampanoag of Aquinnah faced a new set of challenges with the passage of the Indian Enfranchisement and Allotment Act in 1869. This legislation built upon the Earle Report, the last comprehensive survey of the Native population in the state, published in 1861. While viewed by the legislature as an act of emancipation because it extended citizenship to members of all the tribes residing in the state and voting rights to Native men, the Act had some severe negative consequences for Native peoples. Native women, who could vote in many of the Indian districts or towns, were disenfranchised by the legislation (*Plane and Button, 1993: 605*). After something of an equilibrium had been reached following the American Revolution, the Act set in motion another rapid round of Native land loss, usually due to taxation or liens. The impact on the Indian Town of Aquinnah included a drop in population as Native residents who lost land migrated to the mainland, including Boston, the urban areas of Fall River and New Bedford—where many Natives were already involved in the whaling industry—and other Native communities (*Shoemaker, 2014: 102; Earle, 1861: 31, xvii*). The Act also separated the town of Aquinnah and the Aquinnah

Wampanoag Tribe, which until then had functioned as a single entity. In spite of this new legal dichotomy, the Wampanoag population would continue to play a dominant role in town politics until becoming the numeric minority in the 1970s.

TRIBAL GOVERNMENT AND TOWN: TWO SPACES FOR WAMPANOAG INFLUENCE AND SOVEREIGNTY

The Town of Aquinnah's American Indian population decline, which started with the Enfranchisement and Allotment Act, would not begin to reverse itself until 1987, with the success of the Wampanoag's protracted efforts to become a federally recognized tribe. With federal recognition, the tribe was able to reassert a limited degree of sovereignty over its territory, reacquiring portions of its homelands and placing them in trust, which protected them from town and state taxation. Federal recognition unequivocally reestablished Aquinnah Wampanoag jurisdiction over trust lands in the town, and it reestablished a body that solely represented their interests and rights in dealing with federal, state and town governments. Unlike in any other Massachusetts town, Wampanoag tribal members in Aquinnah have frequently maintained a Native presence on the town board of selectmen. At present, one of the three selectmen is an Aquinnah Wampanoag tribal member and local business owner. The current town administrator is also an Aquinnah Wampanoag tribal member and former town selectman of 17 years. In the recent past a former tribal council chair also served on the town board of selectmen, making for robust representation and engagement of Aquinnah Wampanoag individuals at the town and tribal levels. This has, on occasion, led to some differing perspectives on tribal activities by tribal members on the tribal council versus the town board of selectmen.

TRIBAL HOUSING AND THE RETURN OF AQUINNAH WAMPANOAG FROM DIVERSE ECONOMIC BACKGROUNDS

Equally important to the change in sovereignty and representation, federal recognition gave the Aquinnah Wampanoag access to federal Indian housing dollars. This enabled the tribe to build 30 affordable homes between 1995 and 2000 and make them available to Native community members that otherwise could not afford to live on Martha's Vineyard *(personal communication, Durwood Vanderhoop, Wampanaog Tribe of Gay Head (Aquinnah) Tribal Planner, 2019*). Along with affordable housing, the tribe constructed a multi-purpose community facility with space for the programs and offices of the newly-robust tribal government. The tribal community also developed a land use master plan (*Commonwealth v. Wampanoag Tribe of Gay Head, No. 16-1137, 1st Cir. 2017)*. The strengthened tribal government meant an increase in jobs in housing, health, education, natural resources and other tribal services and administrative functions. Since federally recognized tribes are allowed to prioritize Indians in hiring, this made more positions available to Native residents.

The availability of affordable housing and employment opportunities has led to a recent rebound in the size of Aquinnah's Native population. In 1990, the number of self-identified American Indians/Alaskan Natives was 135. It more than doubled to 335 by 2016. This includes a notable increase in the number of children ages 5 to 9, from eight to 41 individuals. These youth and their families are supported by educational programs, health services and a tribally administered Child Care and Development Block Grant, which provides direct financial assistance for tribal families in need of child care.

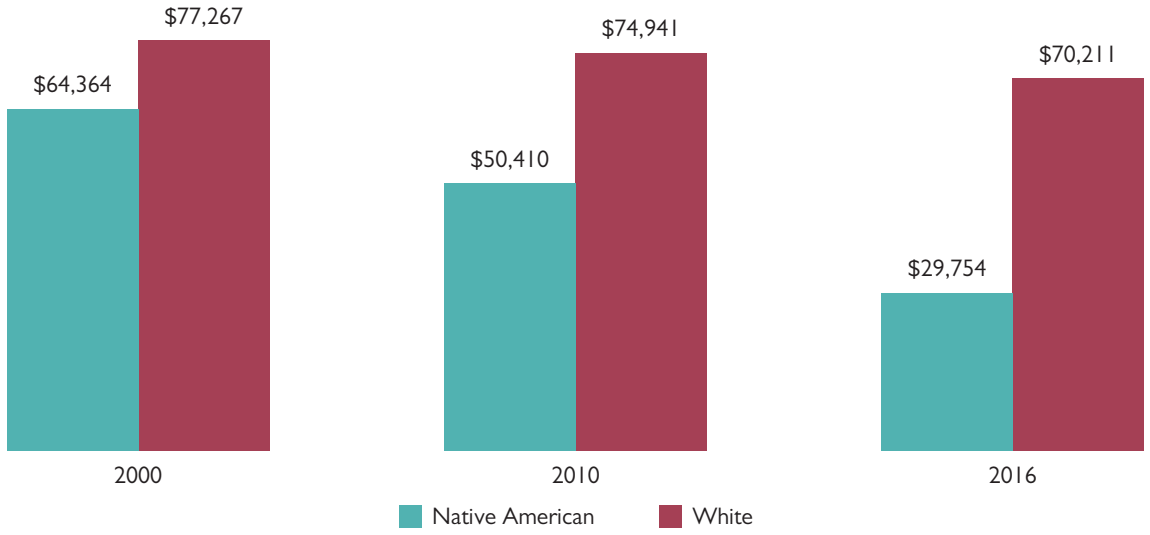
Median household income among Native Americans in Aquinnah dropped significantly from 2000 to 2014, as shown in the table below. Part of what may have happened is not so much that specific households saw a reduction in their incomes but more that a meaningful number of low-income Wampanoag families from the mainland have been able to come home due to this new provision of affordable housing.

Aquinnah's Native community still faces significant challenges in repatriating tribal members to their homelands. More than a thousand Aquinnah

FIGURE 4.5

Affordable housing built after tribal recognition may have allowed more low-income Native Americans to move back to Aquinnah.

Median household income. Aquinnah. 2017 $.



Note: Other races/ethnicities not reported due to small sample sizes in Aquinnah.
Source: 2012–2016 American Community Survey.

Wampanoag live off the island, largely invisible to their non-Native neighbors in urban areas of Fall River, New Bedford and their environs. Housing costs in Aquinnah have increased by 303 percent from a little more than a decade ago, and due to the presence of wetlands and sensitive archaeological areas, tribal sources estimate that only 98 acres of the Wampanoag land base is developable. As a result, this homecoming remains an incomplete one—but the efforts continue.

Boston: A Diverse and Evolving Native Population

Unlike Aquinnah, Boston did not persist as a homeland over which Native Peoples exercised significant control after the 17th century. As a result of the outbreak of King Philip's War in 1675, the mainland (approximately the area from present-day Providence to Cambridge) saw a precipitous drop in the Native population, with combined populations of Narragansett, Massachusett and Wampanoag tribal members decreasing by an estimated 86 percent, from 44,000 in 1600 to 6,400 in 1700 (*Snow and Lanphear, 1988:24*). Many who survived King Philip's War were sold into slavery, or their descendants later died fighting as allies of the British in the Seven Years War or with the Sons of Liberty in the American Revolution. Others would enter into indentured servitude to disappear into the growing "free colored" population of the United States, thereby erasing their indigenous identities from historic records. Massachusett tribal communities near the coast were quickly pushed into interior territories, with their reservation/Praying Town moving to Ponkapoag, now part of Canton. As if this were not enough, a 1675 law, the Indian Imprisonment and Exclusion Act, banned indigenous residents from living within Boston's city limits. Though unenforced in modern times, it was not formally stricken from the books until 2004.

AMERICAN INDIAN REPRESENTATION IN BOSTON: STILL EXCLUDED?

A lack of representation at the civic and political level for Boston's Native American residents is the predictable legacy of this history. While Aquinnah evolved from the sachemdom system into a Praying Town and then a modern-day municipality, Boston's transition away from Native domain was more abrupt, with colonial government taking over directly after pushing the sachemdoms into the Blue Hills and Mystic River regions. With Indians officially banned from Boston, categorized as resident aliens or merging into free communities of color, there was no place for Native American representation in city government. It was not until 1969 that Boston's Native community found a voice in the Boston Indian Council, an advocacy organization that emerged from the Civil Rights and Red Power movements. The Council laid the groundwork for greater Native American visibility in the city. But to date, no Boston City Councilors have identified as American Indian/Alaska Native in their biographies, and Native political representation still has a long way to go.

The diversity of Boston's Native population is reflected in the makeup of the boards and staffs of local organizations that work most closely with Native residents of the city. These include the North American Indian Center of Boston (NAICOB), Native American Lifelines and the Massachusetts Center for Native American Awareness.

Of these groups, NAICOB is the longest-standing, for more than 45 years providing cultural, social, educational and professional services to the region's Native population, with an emphasis on Greater Boston. To accomplish its stated mission of "[empowering] the Native American community with the goal of improving the quality of life of Indigenous Peoples," NAICOB has accessed a variety of state, foundation and other funds to develop programs that support Native residents. The organization includes members of at least 25 federally recognized tribes indigenous to the U.S. and Canada.

As a nonprofit organization, NAICOB's influence is more limited than that of an officially constituted tribe with clear powers of self-governance, but it has nevertheless played an important role in responding to demographic trends and the changing needs of Greater Boston's Indigenous communities. As Boston's Native population becomes younger (a shift from a median 31.6 to 27 years of age), the organization focuses on developing more programs to engage this younger demographic, who frequently are in attendance at one of the many universities and colleges in the city. As the median income of Native residents in the city drops from $32,820 to $28,225—an increase in the poverty rate from 38.1 to 41.7 percent, as compared with 21.7 to 33.2 percent for all the people in Metro Boston—NAICOB assists its constituents with such programs as job fairs and computer skills training.

SAMPLE NAICOB PROGRAMS

- Timothy Smith Network Computer Technology Lab
- Advocacy services
- Workforce development services
- Math | Culture | Environment Academy
- Support for Native grandparents raising grandchildren
- Healthy diet and wellness training
- Support for Native survivors of domestic violence and sexual assault

AND COLLABORATIONS...

- Philips Brooks House's Native American Youth Enrichment Program
- New England Native American Studies at UMass Boston
- Other Universities

URBAN INDIAN HOUSING: AN ONGOING NEED

It's no stretch to connect the growing economic risk of American Indians/Alaskan Natives with the increase in the cost of housing by 391 percent in Boston and 205 percent in the Greater Boston area since 1996. As a nonprofit Native organization, NAICOB has no statutory authority or access to funding to create an American Indian–specific affordable housing community. As a result, an already diffuse community is becoming even more dispersed. Anecdotally, we see many of those who are middle class and cannot afford to buy a home move out of the city, which may in part explain declining median incomes as the renters who remain are typically lower-income, or students.

Another data set that could point to this growing dispersal of Native population across the city, and further removed from work sites, is the data on how American Indian/Alaskan Natives get to work. From 2010 to 2016, the number who drove to work increased from 13.3 to 31 percent. The number who carpooled dropped precipitously from 60 to 4.5 percent, while those who took public transit increased from 26.7 to 46.5 percent. The one clear conclusion from this data is that fewer Native people in the city live in close enough proximity to one another, or with others with whom they work, to carpool. This is reflected in larger numbers driving alone to work and would further exacerbate increased poverty rates. These dramatic changes in transportation habits invite further research, but could in part reflect the nature of the gig economy, in which people have to work for several places to make ends meet, and so aren't just going to a single work site.

WHAT MIGHT BE NEXT?

The last decade (2010 to 2019) has seen the continuation and acceleration of trends established in the previous decade (2000 to 2009) among the areas examined for Native Americans, for good or ill. Federal recognition of the Wampanoag Tribe of Gay Head (Aquinnah) has served to create the conditions for a return home of some of their tribal members from a variety of socioeconomic backgrounds. This is reflected in the larger percentage of American Indians in the town of Aquinnah. Additionally, representation of Wampanoag needs and interests are guaranteed by political representation on their tribal council, and their significant population in the town of Aquinnah increases the likelihood of their engagement in town affairs. However, the geographic challenges of their island homelands set a limiting factor over how many of their citizens can repatriate to Aquinnah. For Native Peoples in Boston, the continuing trend has been for greater tribal diversity, but also greater economic marginalization. If these trends persist, Greater Boston's Native communities will remain struggling on the boundaries of its economic success, continually seeking to navigate structures that rarely account for their presence. A tactic for mutual benefit might be more direct partnerships between federally recognized tribes like the Wampanoag Tribe of Gay Head (Aquinnah) and Native organizations in Boston and other cities where many Native citizens will most likely continue to reside and work in the decades to come. A shared push for the creation of an urban Indian housing authority, as exists in Minneapolis, could support both Aquinnah Wampanoag tribal members and the diverse eligible Native population resident in the city. This kind of synergy could be what allows for a more vital Indian community in Boston, versus one surviving in the shadows.

LATINOS IN GREATER BOSTON:
MIGRATION, NEW COMMUNITIES AND THE CHALLENGE OF DISPLACEMENT

By Lorna Rivera, *Director, Mauricio Gastón Institute for Latino Community Development & Public Policy, UMass Boston.*

The Latino community in Massachusetts is character-ized by two important trends: dramatic population growth overall and increasing intra-Latino diversity in terms of country of origin, ethnicity, culture and language. Between 1980 and 2017, the state's Latino population increased by 475 percent, with many new Latino immigrants moving to Greater Boston as a result of the violence, repression and poor socio-economic conditions in their home countries.[i] With this surge in new arrivals have come changes in the overall makeup of the area's Latino population. Before the mid-1980s, Latinos in the state were primarily from Puerto Rico, Cuba and the Dominican Republic. But in the mid-1980s and 1990s, Massachusetts experienced a significant influx of immigrants and refugees from El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Colombia—all countries where U.S. intervention contributed to civil wars followed by post-conflict social breakdown and economic devastation. That migration trend has continued in recent years. As of 2017, there were 811,038 Latinos living in Massachusetts, whose diverse origins include South America, Central America, North America and the Caribbean (**Figure 5.1**). Moreover, a recent Gastón Institute statewide projection suggests that our state's Latino population will grow to over 1 million by 2030, then comprising nearly 15 percent of the statewide population.

By far the largest Latino subpopulation in Massachusetts is the Puerto Rican community, whose members are U.S. citizens whether born in Puerto Rico or the mainland U.S. Taken together, Latinos from Caribbean nations (Puerto Rico, The Dominican Republic and Cuba) make up more than two-thirds of Latinos statewide. The next largest Latino group is of people from Central America—Salvadorans, Guatemalans and Hondurans. South Americans are the smallest regional Latino group in Massachusetts, the majority of whom are Colombian.

The unique cultures, languages and highly distinct conditions in the home countries of the various Latino subpopulations tend to relate to their socioeconomic well-being in Massachusetts. **Figure 5.2** maps the

FIGURE 5.1

Latinos in the Commonwealth hail from a wide range of countries in the Americas.

The 10 largest Latino subgroups in Massachusetts by nativity. 2017.

		Native-Born	Foreign-Born	Total
1	Puerto Rican	334,959	-	334,959
2	Dominican (Dominican Republic)	79,888	92,689	172,577
3	Salvadoran	21,344	38,599	59,943
4	Guatemalan	15,992	26,118	42,110
5	Mexican	29,705	9,614	39,319
6	Colombian	12,701	24,320	37,021
7	Cuban	14,555	3,962	18,517
8	Ecuadorian	5,959	8,831	14,790
9	Honduran	2,162	10,809	12,971
10	Peruvian	3,500	5,261	8,761

Source: 2017 American Community Survey.

[i] For detailed characteristics of the Latino subpopulations in East Boston and Waltham, the ACS does not provide estimates for these Latino populations. Thus, when examining 2006–2010 or 2012–2016 data, we can only extrapolate that Guatemalans represent their percentage of the Latino estimate of Waltham and that Salvadorans and Colombians represent their share of the East Boston Latino population. This allows for identifying trends for all Latinos from 2010 to 2016, but they cannot be quantified for these three populations.

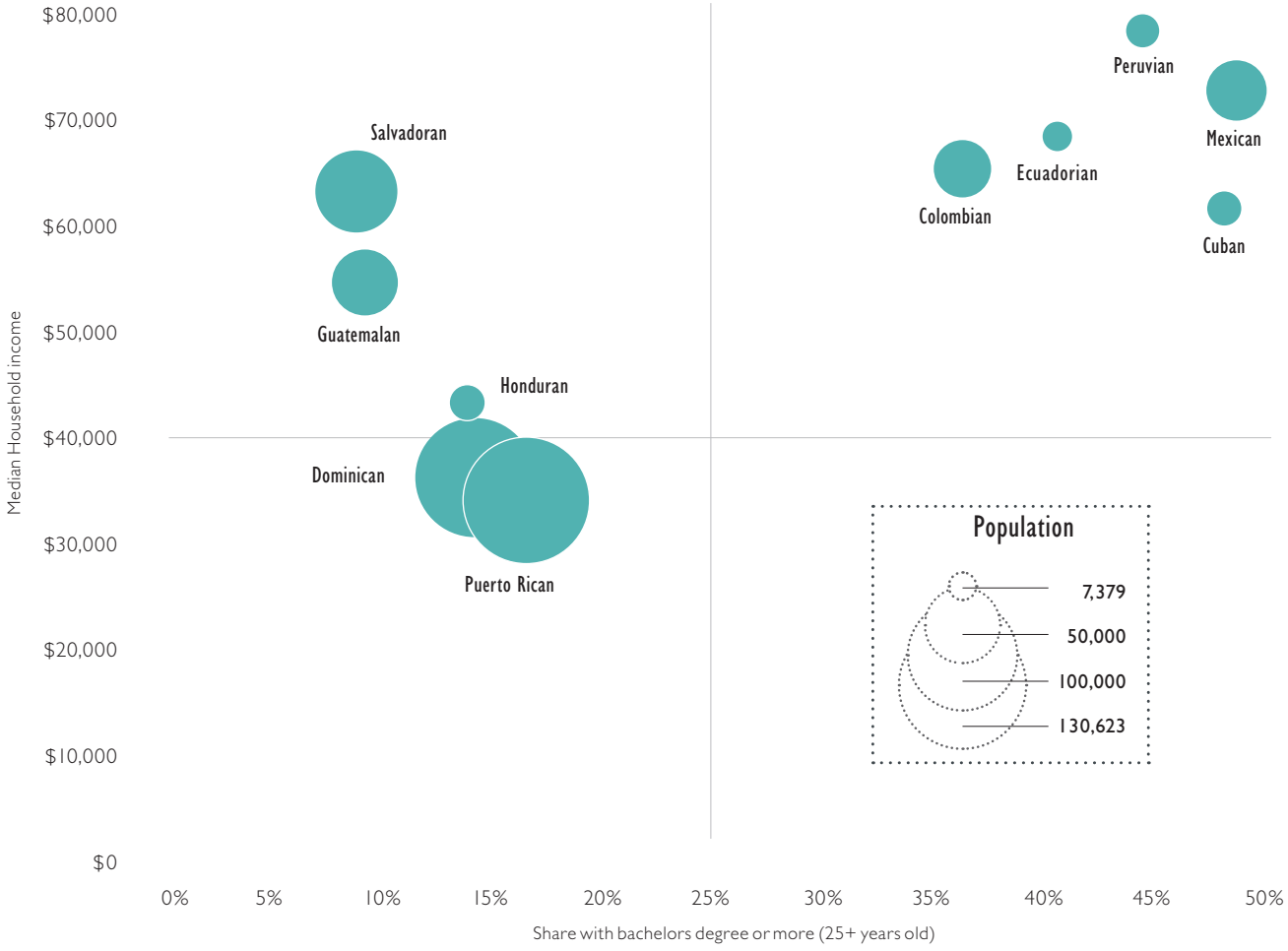
population size, educational attainment and median household income of the 10 largest Latino subpopulations in Massachusetts. The data illustrate how those with relatively poorer and less stable countries of origin or ancestry (Central America and the Caribbean) tend to cluster at the lower end of the skills-income distribution, while those from relatively more stable and prosperous countries (South America) have attained a greater degree of economic well-being here in Greater Boston.

In this section, we focus on two communities where Latino population growth has been especially rapid: Waltham, with its significant Guatemalan population, and East Boston, where Colombians have recently concentrated. In both of these locations, a large share of the population growth since 2010 can be attributed to Latino migration, facilitated by a gradual consolidation of Latino social networks and relationships that paved the way for new arrivals to succeed. These two populations illustrate the ways in which Latino

FIGURE 5.2

There's significant diversity *within* Greater Boston's Latino community.

Top 10 countries of ancestry for Latinos. 2017.



Source: 2012–2016 American Community Survey

subgroups can be characterized by important cultural differences and disparities in quality of life. For example, only 8 percent of all Guatemalans in Greater Boston have a bachelor's degree or more and their median income is $52,155. The situation for Colombians is quite different: 32 percent have a bachelor's degree or more and their median income is $62,639. But despite such differences, the similarities are striking. Both groups have made significant contributions to the economic growth of their communities. Both suffer from the lack of Latino representation and leadership in the political, corporate and nonprofit spheres and share a need for more culturally and linguistically responsive services, particularly in areas whose Latino populations have grown rapidly in the past decade. Both also have been critically impacted by the high cost of housing, with increasing rents pushing them out of communities where they have put down roots, raised families and built social networks that have helped them thrive.

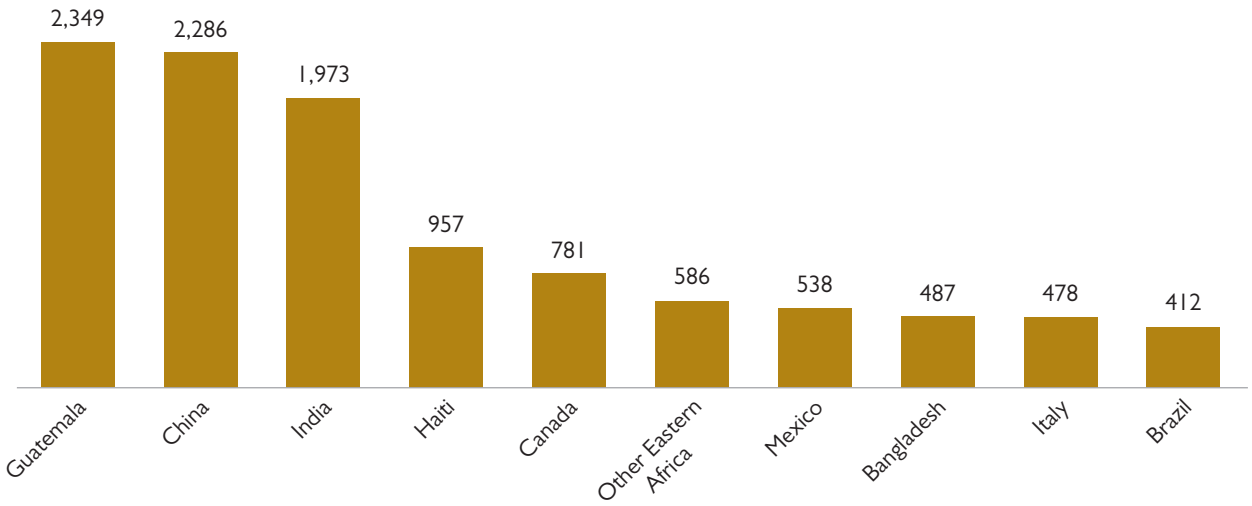
From Guatemala to Greater Boston: Chapines in Waltham

Founded in 1738, Waltham was a leading center of the American Industrial Revolution. The Charles River runs through the city, and its waters powered textile mills like those of the Boston Manufacturing Company, the first mill in the world to mass-produce cotton cloth "from start to finish" (*Mannon, 1978: 7–8*). In the 19th century, the Waltham Watch Company was the world's largest watch factory. In the 20th century, Waltham became an early home for computer and electronics companies, site of the first critical inventions of microwaves and lasers. Today, the city remains a hub for the technology industry in Massachusetts. Nevertheless, though surrounded by some of Greater Boston's wealthiest towns, Waltham itself has remained relatively affordable, with a downtown known for its wide variety of ethnic restaurants and retail establishments. Among these are Latino markets, bakeries and restaurants that cater to an emerging population of Central American origin, the majority of whom are Guatemalan (**Figure 5.3**).

FIGURE 5.3

Immigrants living in Waltham come from many parts of the world.

Top 10 countries of origin for foreign-born Waltham residents. 2017.



Note: The American Community Survey does not specify Uganda, which is noted anecdotally as having a large presence in Waltham, and so for this region the "Other Eastern Africa" category is included here.

Source: 2013-2017 American Community Survey.

Waltham has long been a destination for international migrants, and today it has a greater concentration of foreign-born residents (28 percent) than the Commonwealth as a whole (16 percent). Immigrants living in Waltham come from many parts of the world, including Latin America, Asia and Africa.

According to researchers Phillip Granberry and Priyanka Kabir, the growth rate of the Latino population in Waltham is similar to that of rates reported for Latinos statewide. Guatemalans are a significant factor in the city's overall Latino growth, currently representing 30 percent of the city's Latino population. Waltham's Guatemalan residents are part of the fourth largest Spanish-speaking Latino subgroup in the state, numbering roughly 42,000; in the Greater Boston MetroWest area (of which Waltham is a part), Guatemalans are the second largest subgroup of Latinos (*Granberry and Kabir, 2015*).

POLARIZATION, INEQUALITY AND QUALITY OF LIFE

Waltham's Guatemalan community benefits from proximity to some of the wealthiest towns in the area, where workers find job opportunities in landscaping, construction, snow plowing, cleaning and domestic work. According to the Boston Planning and Development Agency (BPDA), "more than 43 percent work in service occupations, and 28 percent work in blue-collar jobs such as construction, transportation, production, installation and maintenance" (*BPDA, 2017: 8*). Between 2010 and 2016, the number of Waltham Latinos working in service jobs declined, while the real wages of workers increased by about $3,000. This trend is even more pronounced for full-time year-round workers, who experienced an increase of almost $10,000 in Waltham. These numbers suggest that Latinos in Waltham may be doing better than those in other areas. Nevertheless, there are serious economic issues affecting Latinos, and in particular the Guatemalan community, in Waltham.

Waltham faces some critical challenges when it comes to serving its Guatemalan immigrant population. A 2006 Brandeis University assessment noted the need for more immigrant-friendly, Spanish-speaking services in the city (Sier, 2006). Currently, Waltham's Family Resilience Network mobilizes resources to improve the well-being of Waltham's immigrant families; members include Reach Beyond Domestic Violence, Peers Against Violence, Charles River Health Services and Jewish Family Services. A variety of additional agencies provide services to immigrant youth and families, including Waltham Partnership for Youth, the YMCA, More Than Words, Boys & Girls Club and the Waltham Family School. But Guatemalans in Waltham face critical barriers to accessing such services. This is because many Guatemalan families are undocumented or of mixed immigration status. Even though Latinos in Waltham have actually gone from being 60 percent foreign-born to majority native-born since 2010, many still live in fear of deportation. This fear has been exacerbated by Trump administration rhetoric and policies; people are often reluctant to engage with service providers and government agencies or to reach out for assistance when they need it.

Prominent among the quality of life issues affecting Waltham's Latinos is a lack of affordable housing. According to one leader interviewed by the Gastón Institute, the quality of life for Waltham's Latinos is diminishing due to increasing rents and home prices. With a median gross rent of $1,507 in 2017, multiple families are sharing living spaces, and extended families and non-related individuals are sharing apartments. Some community leaders feel that landlords are taking advantage of immigrants and charging them higher rents. Some believe that the next Census will show a significant drop in Waltham's Guatemalan population, as Guatemalans move to areas such as Framingham, Marlborough and Lynn because they can no longer afford to live in Waltham.

ECONOMIC CONTRIBUTIONS AND POLITICAL REPRESENTATION

Another challenge for Waltham's Guatemalans is finding a stronger voice in the larger community. One Latino—Carlos Vidal, a Peruvian—sits on the Waltham City Council. Casa Guatemala founder Elvis Jocol is the only person of color to serve on Waltham's Chamber

of Commerce. Key community members interviewed by the Gastón note that while a handful of individuals have emerged as charismatic leaders in the Latino community, they tend to act on their own rather than be based in established nonprofits or agencies. Collective leadership needs to be strengthened if Latinos, and Guatemalans in particular, are to increase their representation in the city. In addition, Guatemalans face particular barriers to greater civic engagement. For some, the expectation that they will someday return to their homeland makes them less likely to focus on civic participation in the United States. Several Waltham leaders described Guatemalans as unlikely to "resist or organize" against discrimination or oppression, a reluctance rooted in traumatic memories of political repression and government-sponsored violence against their communities.

Guatemalan newcomers who hail from indigenous Maya communities were targeted for genocide and repression during the country's long and brutal civil war. Many Maya who come to the U.S. speak one of Guatemala's 21 Mayan dialects as their primary language—most likely, in this area, Maya Q'iche. Receiving communities may find it particularly challenging to meet the needs of these newcomers, who bring not only unique linguistic needs but a cultural experience that is rich but little understood. Latino leaders interviewed by the Gastón Institute were quick to cite these challenges. One noted that he was hired to provide medical interpreter services, only to find that the family he was trying to help did not speak Spanish, but rather a Mayan dialect. The school system, as well, has been challenged by an influx of students and families who speak a Mayan language as their mother tongue.

Nevertheless, Guatemalans have had an unmistakable impact on the city's schools. In 2018–2019, 41 percent of all students in Waltham Public Schools were Latino. At Waltham High School (WHS) an estimated 12.5 percent of Latino students have immigrant status. Seventeen percent of WHS students are English language learners, and many of these are classified as Students with Limited or Interrupted Formal Education. Latino students, including many Guatemalans, make up a large proportion of these categories. Latino students have the school district's highest dropout rate at 16 percent, and lowest college enrollment, 59 percent. Such low college enrollment very likely is the result of a large share of Latino households being economically disadvantaged and their students being English language learners. While it is impossible to accurately count undocumented individuals and families, advocates believe that the majority of Guatemalan students in Waltham's public schools are undocumented.

One leader interviewed by the Gastón criticized the schools for having an "assimilationist" approach, and posited that Waltham is experiencing "white flight" due to the shifting student population. But at least at the high school level, there have been concerted efforts to address the needs of the district's Latino and other immigrant students. These include a Newcomer Academy and a program to train Guatemalans to act as Maya Q'iche interpreters and partner with family engagement coordinators on outreach to Guatemalan families. Such efforts suggest that the schools have the potential to be a critical pathway for Guatemalans to both find their place and make their mark in the larger Waltham community.

Recognizing the need for more public education about Guatemala's history and rich cultural diversity, Elvis Jocol, a Guatemalan civic leader and, as mentioned, the only person of color to serve on Waltham's Chamber of Commerce, co-founded Casa Guatemala in 2009. Its website explains that Casa Guatemala was "founded by young Guatemalan leaders who understand the struggle of balancing two worlds while trying to succeed in one. To ensure a better future without forgetting the past, Casa Guatemala aims to preserve and celebrate Guatemalan culture and at the same time empower all Latino youth to become the future leaders of tomorrow."[ii] With the help of volunteers from Brandeis

[ii] http://www.casaguatemalaboston.org/.

and Bentley universities, Casa Guatemala offers after-school tutoring and college readiness for Latino youth and their families. Every September, the organization sponsors the annual raising of the Guatemalan flag at City Hall, along with a concert and cultural festivities in collaboration with Latinos en Acción and other local organizations representing Puerto Ricans, Salvadorans, Colombians and Haitians. (*Valienti, 2016; Whelan, 2016*).

The Journey from Don Matías: Colombians Make Their Mark in East Boston

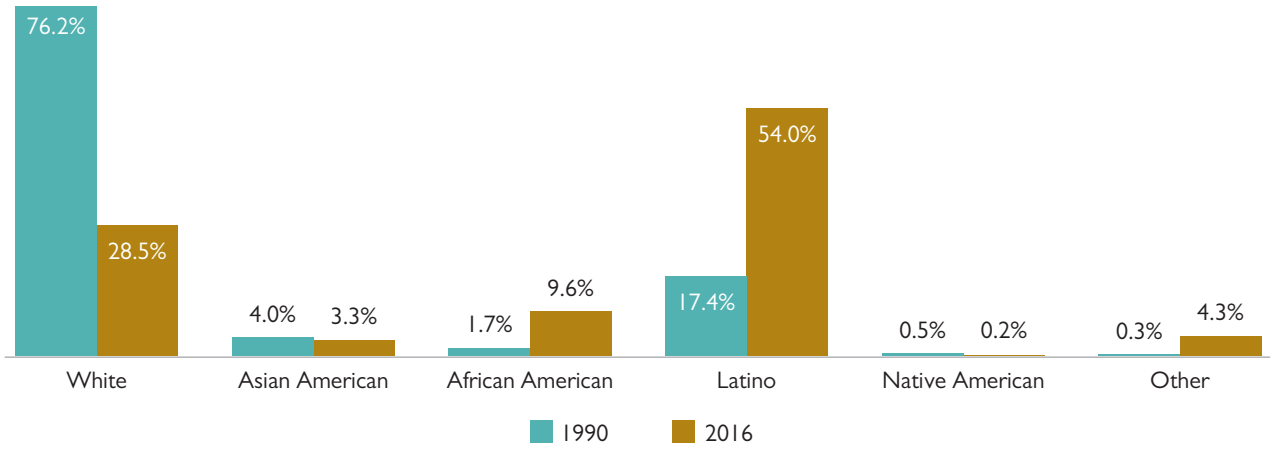
Founded in 1636, East Boston once comprised "five separate islands—Noddle, Hog, Governor's, Bird and Apple islands. The area supplied firewood and open land for grazing cattle throughout the 17th and 18th centuries" (*Sammarco, 1997: 7*), according to a popular history of Eastie. Since then, the neighborhood's story has been one of continual development and displacement. Over 633 acres of upland and marsh were filled in by the East Boston Company on a massive project that developed Jeffries Point, Eagle Hill and Orient Heights. In 1836 the Eastern Railroad Company was established with a terminal in East Boston's Maverick Square and then in 1839 the Cunard Line of ships established its first port in the United States in Maverick Square. In the 1920s the development of Logan Airport led to the demise of Wood Island Park, and continued expansion by MassPort through the 1960s led to the bulldozing of homes and displacement of families. By 1976 Logan had become an international airport and quadrupled in size (*Sammarco, 1997: 92*), and today it takes up most of the land in East Boston. Yet for those who live in the neighborhood today, change in the form of gentrification is a looming presence.

Change has also been a theme in regard to the neighborhood's demographics. Nowhere is this more evident than in East Boston's Latino population. In 1970, the neighborhood had fewer than 500 Latino residents. In the 1980s, a stream of refugees from El Salvador's civil war settled in the neighborhood, whose existing population was primarily Italian with some Cambodian, Vietnamese and Brazilian immigrants. Today, more than half the residents of East Boston, 54 percent, are Latino (**Figure 5.4**).

FIGURE 5.4

East Boston's Latino population has grown more than 3x since 1990.

Population share by race and ethnicity.



Note: "Other" includes "Two or More Races," which was not an option in 1990, "Some Other Race Alone," and "Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islander."
Source: U.S. Census 1990. 2012–2016 American Community Survey

While Salvadorans are the largest Latino subpopulation in East Boston, we focus this case study on the neighborhood's Colombian population, which is growing rapidly (**Figure 5.5**). Also, the Gastón Institute has done longstanding research on Colombians in the region and they have received less attention in the public discourse than some other Latino groups.

FIGURE 5.5

Salvadorans and Colombians make up the largest Latino populations in East Boston.

Populations with Hispanic or Latino origins.
East Boston. 2016.

Origins	Total Population
Salvadoran	13,022
Colombian	4,930
Guatemalan	1,820
Mexican	1,770
Puerto Rican	1,416
Dominican	1,044
Peruvian	679
Honduran	440
Costa Rican	204
Argentinian	139

Source: 2012–2016 American Community Survey

According to the Boston Planning and Development Agency: "Colombian migration to the U.S. has taken place in phases, fueled by civil war in the 1950s, drug-related violence in the 1980s, and collapsing social institutions in the mid-1990s. While the 1980s migration was primarily from rural areas, 1990s migrants were more urban and included more professionals. As a result, the Colombian population in the United States represents diverse segments of the country's population" (*BPDA, 2017: 3*). Massachusetts has the seventh largest Colombian population in the United States. Boston is home to a quarter of Massachusetts' Colombians, 61 percent of whom live in East Boston (*BPDA*).

The Gastón Institute interviewed one East Boston Colombian community leader who noted that most of the more than 4,000 Colombians in East Boston come from Don Matías, a small Andean town outside of Medellín, Colombia's second largest city. Migration from Don Matías to Boston began in the late 1960s, with a new wave beginning in the 1980s and 1990s when paramilitaries brought violence and armed conflicts to the area. Don Matías is a center for Colombia's textile factories, and its residents gravitated to work in New England's textile industry, which was declining but still a source of employment for those with the necessary skills (*Chomsky, 2008*). According to blogger Caraballo, who writes about Colombians in East Boston: "When one donmatieño arrives to Boston, finds a job and saves some money, he or she sends it back to Don Matías to help another relative make the journey to the U.S." The newcomers often found housing in the neighborhood's ubiquitous triple-deckers, some of which had been purchased by earlier Colombian arrivals who lived in one apartment while renting the other two to family and friends. This process of migration and settlement "explains why 25 percent of the town's population live in Boston," writes Caraballo, who notes that East Boston's sizeable Spanish-speaking population, relatively affordable rents, accessibility to public transit and closeness to service industry jobs at Logan Airport, hotels and other Boston venues have made it an attractive place for Colombians to settle (*Caraballo, 2015*).

POLARIZATION, INEQUALITY AND QUALITY OF LIFE

The affordable housing stock that drew immigrants to East Boston is no longer a reality. Between 1996 and 2018, home values in East Boston increased by an extraordinary 800 percent, the highest increase for any of Boston's neighborhoods. The median home value is now $476,100 in East Boston. The median rent in East Boston in 2015 was $1,139, compared with $1,320 for Boston as a whole (*BPDA, 2018*).

Activity by private developers who recognize the area's economic potential has driven up housing costs and seems to have exacerbated a gentrification process. According to a 2018 report, East Boston's housing development will continue to grow with 2,828 new units of housing approved between 2010 and 2015 (*BPDA: 17*). But it is unlikely that Latinos in East Boston, including Colombians, will benefit from all this new housing development. The most recent statistics from the BPDA show that "Colombians are less likely to own their own home (13 percent) than other Latinos (17 percent) and non-Latinos (37 percent). More than half of Colombian households (53 percent) are housing burdened and pay more than 30 percent of their income in housing costs" (*BPDA: 8*). In an interview with the Gastón, one Colombian community leader who moved to East Boston in 1983 commented on the impact of recent development in the neighborhood. "The Colombian population is shrinking because of gentrification," she noted. "Many people are moving to Revere. Some cannot afford Revere so they are also moving to Lynn." Concerns about declining enrollment at East Boston High School is a sign of this trend.

ECONOMIC CONTRIBUTIONS AND POLITICAL REPRESENTATION

Despite the pressures that are forcing many out of the neighborhood, Colombians have made a significant economic impact on East Boston. As of 2015, labor force participation among Colombians was especially high—80 percent—compared with other Latinos and non-Latinos, who participated in the labor force at rates of 66 percent and 68 percent, respectively. Poverty among Colombians was lower than for other Latino subgroups in Boston. Most Colombians work in Boston's service sector and only 8 percent worked in professional or managerial jobs in 2015. However, Colombians have a very high rate of self-employment, which is indicative of entrepreneurial activity (*BPDA, 2017*).

This propensity for self-employment is documented by Gastón Institute research on Latino business owners in East Boston, of whom the majority were Colombian. One informant noted that historically, entrepreneurship has been part of Don Matías' local culture, and residents carry that mindset with them when they migrate: "Anywhere they move… the first thing [they] do is open a business. Look at the amount of beauty salons, restaurants, stores; they are going to start businesses wherever they move." Thus, Colombian entrepreneurs have contributed to "a spatially-consolidated Latino business presence … that is attracting businesses to locate in East Boston as well as incubating new Latino and non-Latino businesses and promoting general commercial stability" (*Borges-Mendez, et al., 2005: 33*). Business owners interviewed by the Gastón described how the expansion of the East Boston immigrant community has increased the number of Latino businesses and revitalized areas such as Maverick, Day and Central squares. Boston Police confirmed the positive impact that such businesses have had on safety and reduced crime.

Gastón Institute researchers documented a process of immigrant business growth that began when current business owners arrived in East Boston in their teens and earlier twenties, and were mentored by older, more established entrepreneurs from their community. What is remarkable is that these Latino business-owners were almost entirely self-reliant. According to those researchers, "Proudly, business owners in their narratives told stories of saving every penny and of raising funds among friends, employers and family members who had confidence in the future success of the enterprise" (*Borges-Mendez et al., 2006: 36*). Nearly all business owners relied on income from property ownership and equity to obtain additional capital or invest directly into their businesses. Employees often included relatives and Latino workers, but sometimes non-Latinos were hired for specific skills or to provide access to non-Latino clientele. Businesses often relied on Latino suppliers and service providers and some businesses utilized highly particular co-ethnic distribution channels for supplies. City and state officials praised the vibrant Latino business community, but also suggested those businesses were not well connected with local economic development programs. In fact,

since the report came out in 2006, there has been an increased investment by the local Chamber of Commerce and other initiatives to support immigrant entrepreneurs.

A unique contribution made by Colombians and other Latino immigrants to East Boston's economy is the establishment of worker-owned cooperatives—a business model common in Latin American countries that is less familiar in the United States. Luz Zambrano, host of the radio show *Cooperaya* on Zumix Radio 94.9 FM, believes that joining a cooperative is valued and a desirable pathway to economic success for immigrants. Her program highlights successful cooperatives in the fields of arts and crafts, media and technology, catering, and cleaning in East Boston. Often organized by Colombian women, these enterprises provide socio-emotional support as well as basic infrastructure, financing and mobilization of resources for immigrant entrepreneurs who may not have access traditional forms of capital to start their own businesses.[iii]

In addition to their strong leadership in the business arena, Colombians have also made their mark on East Boston's robust nonprofit sector, as staff of nonprofits and leaders of community organizing initiatives. According to Caraballo (2015), "Although Colombians have not formed their own service organizations, they have contributed to pan-Latino organizations, such as the East Boston Ecumenical Community Council (EBECC). Founded to aid immigrants and refugees in the 1980s, EBECC has evolved into a neighborhood-based organization that promotes the advancement of Latino immigrants of all ages through education, services, advocacy, community organizing and leadership development." Two local churches, Most Holy Redeemer and Our Saviour's Lutheran Church are notable for welcoming and advocating for East Boston immigrants; the former is the religious home for many Colombians, and the latter played a key role in the establishment of both EBECC and the Neighborhood Association of Affordable Housing (NOAH), as well as organizing campaigns against gentrification and ICE deportation. In addition, Caraballo notes: "Colombian immigrants sustain their culture through local religious and cultural organizations such as Bajucol, a traditional Colombian folk dance group founded in 1995 by Miguel Vargas, a Colombian immigrant who moved to Boston to attend Northeastern University. El Festival Colombiano, celebrating Colombia's Independence Day in mid-July, was founded as an East Boston event in 2009; its relocation to City Hall Plaza in 2016 is a sign of the growing profile of the city's Colombian population."

Such visibility has not yet translated into political power or representation for the Colombian community—whether in East Boston, the city or the Greater Boston region. Though there are several notable Colombians in leadership positions at City Hall, running for office is not common. One community leader speculates about the reason for this scarcity of candidates, observing, "I cannot speak for everyone. But coming from Colombia myself, I feel change comes from people. We cannot wait for people in power to change anything and that was so true when I lived in Colombia where there is so much corruption and power is concentrated in wealthy families. Why bother trying to run for office when we can make a difference in our school or something like that? Change always comes from the bottom and not the top. Maybe other people when they come here feel the same way."

The challenges Latinos face in East Boston and Waltham reflect some of the universal hurdles faced by many immigrants in Massachusetts. As described in this section, there are important differences and quality of life issues affecting distinct Latino populations. It is critical that we understand more deeply the many socio-cultural differences among Latinos so we can more effectively address their specific community needs. In the cases of Waltham's and East Boston's Latino communities there is a clear need for greater representation, leadership, voice and power in the political, corporate and nonprofit spheres.

[iii] https://www.zumix.org/radio.

NEWLY DIVERSE COMMUNITIES IN GREATER BOSTON

By Trevor Mattos, *Research Manager, Boston Indicators*

Thus far the case studies in this report have focused on areas with sizeable and often growing concentrations of a particular racial or ethnic group (e.g., Asian Americans in Quincy or Latinos in East Boston). Another key part of the changing faces of Greater Boston story is areas that are increasingly diverse across multiple groups. "Diversity" is often thought of as synonymous with "non-white," but that is incorrect, strictly defined. Diversity means having a mix of different people represented across multiple groups. So, in this section we explore communities that were once predominantly white and have rapidly transformed to become more diverse in recent years. We also look at the increase in people who identify as multiracial; not only are Boston's communities of color growing, but families are increasingly forming across racial and ethnic lines.

After detailing some of these trends at the regional level, we then look closely at Boston's Hyde Park neighborhood and the city of Malden to provide two brief case studies that illustrate how growing diversity is playing out on the ground. Through these case studies we focus on this report's overarching three key dimensions and find that: 1) skyrocketing housing costs within Boston have forced many residents, but especially people of color and those with lower incomes, to search for housing outside of the urban core; 2) these newly diverse areas tend to have relatively lower levels of economic inequality; and 3) community-based organizations tend to respond more quickly than political institutions to represent the unique interests of newly diverse communities, although all forms of representation lag behind this rapid demographic change.

In recent years, these residential shifts have led some suburbs to become almost as diverse as Boston itself. Cities like Randolph to the south and Lynn to the north now rival Boston in terms of racial diversity (**Figure 6.1**).

FIGURE 6.1

Several Boston suburbs are now almost as racially diverse as Boston.

Top 10 most diverse cities in Greater Boston. 2016.

City	Rank	Diversity Index	White	Latino	African American	Asian American	Native American	Other	Multiracial
Boston	1	69.7%	45.3%	19.0%	22.8%	9.3%	0.2%	1.0%	2.4%
Randolph	2	69.1%	37.6%	7.8%	38.4%	11.7%	0.1%	2.0%	2.6%
Lynn	3	68.3%	39.0%	38.0%	11.5%	7.9%	0.2%	0.9%	2.6%
Everett	4	68.0%	48.0%	21.9%	18.9%	7.0%	0.0%	1.2%	3.0%
Malden	5	67.9%	48.6%	9.7%	14.7%	23.0%	0.1%	0.9%	3.1%
Brockton	6	67.3%	39.6%	10.1%	39.5%	1.8%	0.3%	5.8%	2.9%
Lowell	7	66.9%	49.4%	19.4%	6.7%	21.0%	0.3%	1.1%	2.1%
Revere	8	57.2%	58.4%	28.4%	4.7%	5.5%	0.1%	0.5%	2.4%
Cambridge	9	57.2%	62.2%	8.5%	10.0%	15.2%	0.2%	0.3%	3.6%
Quincy	10	54.3%	61.2%	3.2%	5.1%	28.0%	0.2%	0.3%	2.1%

Source: 2012–2016 American Community Survey

There's also a striking cluster of cities north of Boston that has diversified especially rapidly: Malden, Everett, Revere, Chelsea and Lynn all used to be majority white just a couple of decades ago and now are among the most diverse cities in Greater Boston. (All but Chelsea make the top 10 list; Chelsea is the 13th most diverse).

Comparisons of racial diversity can be tough to conceptualize because they involve looking across multiple racial/ethnic categories all at once. For this reason, we use the "diversity index" in several places throughout this section. The diversity index factors in the relative sizes of multiple racial groups, ultimately calculating the odds that two people chosen at random will be different from each other.

Among Boston neighborhoods, Mission Hill is the most diverse, having been near the top of the diversity rankings citywide for some time (**Figure 6.2**). Hyde Park, however, is unique in that today it's among Boston's most diverse neighborhoods, but was not 25 years ago. The share of people of color living in Hyde Park increased dramatically from 28 percent in 1990 to 74 percent in 2016.

As diversity increases throughout the region, more families are forming across racial lines. And as a result, our multiracial population is also growing rapidly. While traditionally the U.S. Census only allowed respondents to select a single race, this changed in 2000 when people could then select as many race categories as reflected their true identity. In Greater Boston, our multiracial population made up 2.5 percent in 2000, but has since expanded by about 30 percent to now comprise 3.3 percent of the region's population. The multiracial population share for Boston proper is even higher, having grown from 4.4 percent to 4.9 percent between 2000 and 2016. These multiracial estimates are distinct from all others cited in this report because they include people of Latino ethnicity, who make up a significant portion of the multiracial population. Elsewhere, Latinos are separated into their own group, regardless of their race. The multiracial population in Boston is 4.9 percent when including Latinos and 2.4 percent when treating Latinos separately (as we do in Figure 6.1).

These local trends are directly related to the share of interracial newlyweds having steadily increased from 3 percent in 1967 to 17 percent of new marriages nationwide by 2015.[i] In this way, multiracial identity is also expanding at the level of the household.

It's important to note that these estimates of our multiracial population almost certainly understate the true share of individuals with multiple racial/ethnic backgrounds. Although respondents now have the option of selecting two or more races on the Census, they still do not have the option of selecting multiple

FIGURE 6.2

Hyde Park is now among Boston's most diverse neighborhoods.

Top 10 most diverse Boston neighborhoods. 2016.

	Neighborhood	Diversity Index
1	Mission Hill	70.9%
2	Dorchester	70.8%
3	Hyde Park	66.6%
4	South End	64.0%
5	Roslindale	63.9%
6	Roxbury	62.2%
7	Allston	61.9%
8	Jamaica Plain	61.5%
9	Downtown	57.4%
10	Fenway	57.1%

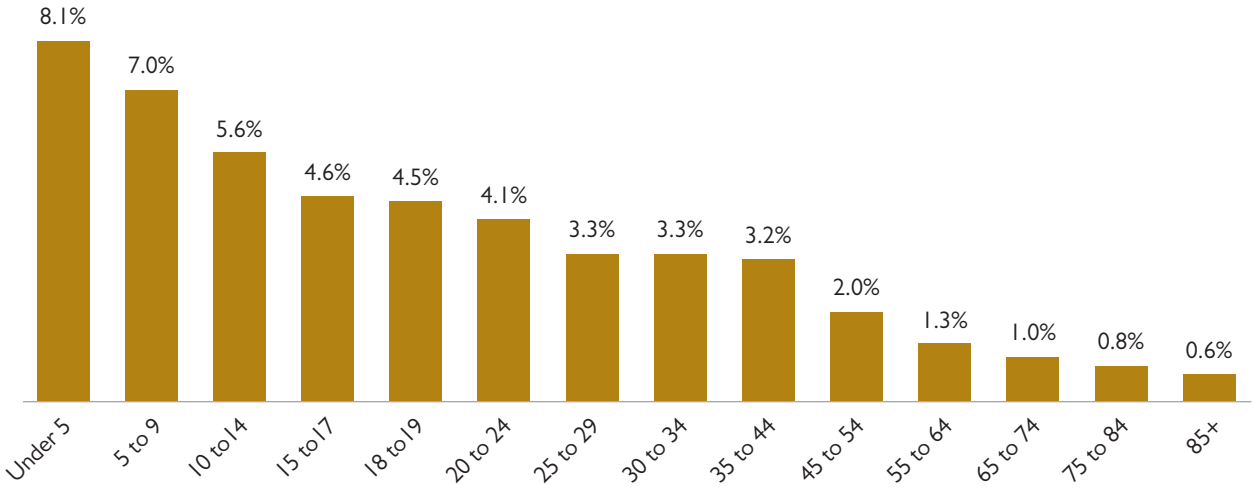
Source: 2012–2016 American Community Survey.

[i] Hansi Lo Wang. "Steep Rise in Interracial Marriages among Newlyweds 50 Years after They Became Legal." National Public Radio (accessed March 13, 2019). https://www.npr.org/sections/codeswitch/2017/05/18/528939766/five-fold-increase-in-interracial-marriages-50-years-after-they-became-legal

FIGURE 6.3

Younger people are more likely to be multiracial, suggesting that growth in our region's share of people who identify as multiracial will continue over time.

Share of age group that identifies with two or more races. Greater Boston. 2016.



Source:2012–2016 American Community Survey

ethnicities—people are only given the binary option of selecting "Hispanic/Latino" or "not Hispanic/Latino."

Looking just at the share of the total population that identifies as multiracial masks a bit of the real growth that is occurring in Greater Boston. Younger people are much more likely to be multiracial, with over 8 percent of children under age five being multiracial compared with less than 1 percent for people 75 years or older (**Figure 6.3**). The multiracial population share steadily declines as age increases, suggesting that increasing ethnic and racial diversity is associated with a new and steadily growing multiracial population.

With this broader context in mind, we analyze the cases of Malden and Hyde Park, where ethnic and racial diversity has increased rapidly in recent years.

Malden

Malden is a city of 60,000 people just five miles north of Boston. The city was once home to a robust manufacturing base along the Malden River that produced textiles, metals and military supplies. Malden is deeply integrated with the city of Boston, connected by major roadways and transit lines. Its proximity and accessibility to Boston have made Malden a more affordable alternative to living within Boston's urban core. In recent years, Malden—along with neighboring cities like Chelsea and Everett—have become destinations for local and international families, immigrants and refugees from all corners of the world. Though a city in its own right, Malden is both closer to the heart of Boston and more urban than some outlying Boston neighborhoods, including Hyde Park.

Almost 90 percent white in 1990, Malden has dramatically diversified over a short period of time (**Figure 6.4**). Today, its population is over 50 percent people of color. The city lost 17,801 white residents during this period, but losses were more than offset by rapid growth in communities of color and new immigrants. Collectively, the non-white population grew 379 percent since 1990. The Asian and Pacific Islander population expanded the most, while African American and Latino groups more than tripled their (smaller) respective shares of the city population. Overall, this

FIGURE 6.4

Malden has gotten much more diverse since 1990.

Population share by race and ethnicity.

	1990	2016	% change
White	88.0%	48.6%	-45%
Latino	2.6%	9.7%	+268%
African American	4.0%	14.7%	+269%
Asian American	5.2%	23.0%	+343%
Native American	0.1%	0.1%	+6%
Other	0.1%	0.9%	+598%
Multiracial	-	3.1%	-
Total	53804	60732	+13%
Diversity Index	22.1%	67.9%	+207%

Note: Respondents did not have the option of selecting more than one race on the 1990 Census.

Source: U.S. Census 1990. 2012–2016 American Community Survey.

FIGURE 6.5

Immigrants to Malden come from many regions of the world.

Top 10 places of birth outside the U.S. Malden. 2016.

Total foreign-born:	25,972
China	5,903
Haiti	3,248
Brazil	1,970
India	1,571
Vietnam	1,469
El Salvador	1,131
Morocco	943
Italy	551
Saudi Arabia	432
Nepal	425

Source: 2012–2016 American Community Survey.

amounts to a huge uptick in diversity, captured by the diversity index, which grew from 22 percent in 1990 to 68 percent in 2016. In fact, today Malden's diversity index is just two percentage points lower than Boston's.

Much of Malden's increasing diversity has been driven by immigration. The wide-ranging origins of Malden's growing foreign-born community truly make the city a center of multiculturalism. Between 1990 and 2016, the foreign-born population grew in share from 14 percent to 43 percent. The Chinese make up the largest foreign-born subpopulation, which has grown significantly to a total of 5,903 foreign-born Chinese residents (**Figure 6.5**). The number of residents born in Haiti has also jumped—to 3,248 in 2016—forming the second-largest foreign-born community in Malden. Other large foreign-born communities have come from Latin America, Asia and North Africa.

ECONOMIC INEQUALITY ACROSS RACE AND ETHNICITY

In 2016, median household income for the city of Malden overall was $60,085, which is slightly higher than that of Boston. Interestingly, median income for white households in Malden is much lower than in Boston, but is higher or substantially higher for most other groups (**Figure 6.6**). This type of equity across ethno-racial groups may uniquely contribute to well-being and social cohesion within a region characterized by relatively stark economic disparities between racial groups.

Poverty rates are also lower in Malden than in Boston, especially for Latinos, whose poverty rate is about one third that of Latinos in Boston. Combined, income and poverty levels for the Latino group in Malden indicate that this group is faring much better here than in the region overall or in Boston, where Latino income is the lowest and poverty the highest.

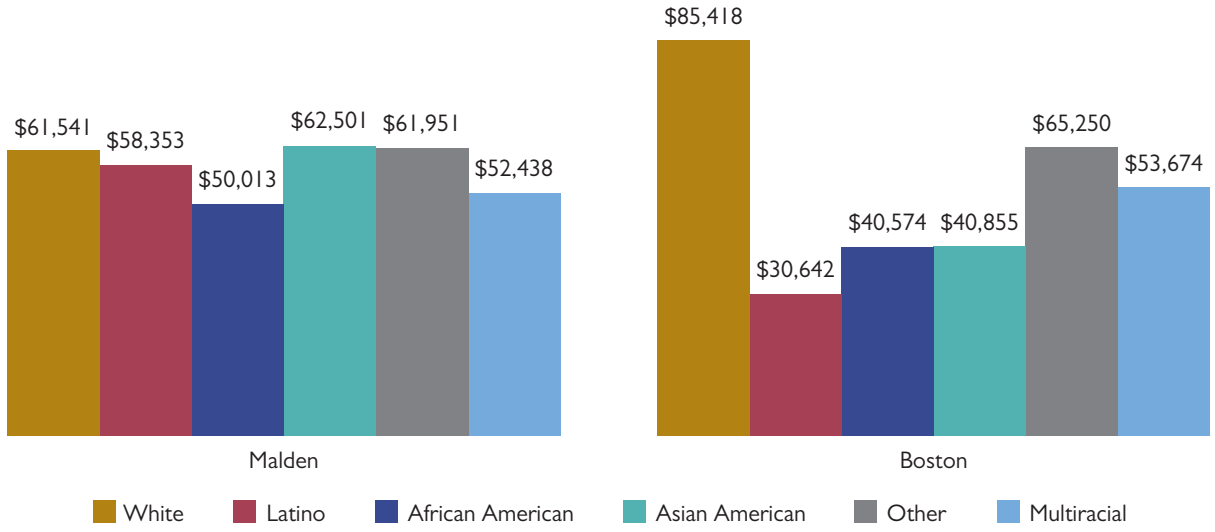
A more nuanced story emerges for Asian Americans, who have both the highest incomes and the highest poverty rate in Malden. This suggests some degree of intragroup economic inequality in the Asian American community. Educational attainment data seem to support this notion.

Asian Americans in Malden have the highest level of educational attainment, with nearly 45 percent holding a bachelor's degree or higher. Thus, considering the characteristics of the Asian American community

FIGURE 6.6

Racial income disparities are lower in Malden than in Boston.

Median household income in 2017 inflation-adjusted dollars.



Source: 2012–2016 American Community Survey

in Malden along the three dimensions of 1) income, 2) poverty and 3) educational attainment, the data indicate a polarized or bimodal education and income distribution.

Overall, Malden has a lower share of college graduates and a higher share of individuals with a high school credential or less, relative to Boston. This is particularly true for white residents of Malden, who tend to be from working-class families. Lower educational attainment almost certainly contributes to white and Asian American residents of Malden earning less compared with their more highly educated counterparts in Boston and Greater Boston, respectively.

THE COST OF HOUSING

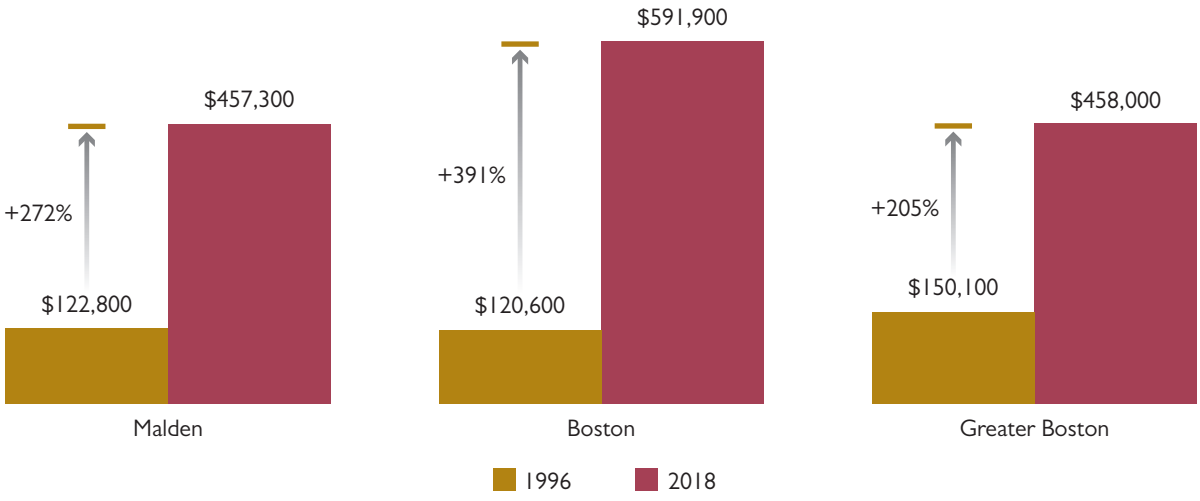
Located relatively close to downtown Boston, Malden shares many urban characteristics with inner core Boston neighborhoods. Malden has high population density and a relatively dense housing stock, particularly when compared with outlying Boston neighborhoods like Hyde Park. Growth in home values in Malden has been more moderate than in Boston, similar to Hyde Park. In fact, if Malden is placed into the context of Boston neighborhoods, the city would be tied with Hyde Park for most affordable in Boston (Roxbury and Mattapan are cheaper but becoming more expensive more quickly). However, set against the backdrop of trends in the regional housing market, Malden has seen disproportionately high growth in home values (**Figure 6.7**). While a variety of new construction is currently underway, an affordability crisis is unfolding for the most vulnerable and economically disadvantaged. With a large and growing immigrant community, new housing development will have to be sensitive to the economic realities facing newly arriving and less established families. Trends in the housing market present serious risk for displacement from Malden as home values and rents continue to rise.

Homeownership is higher in Malden than in Boston, but is still much lower than homeownership throughout Greater Boston. Despite Malden's having higher homeownership rates than Boston for all race groups, disparities across groups follow a familiar trend. Homeownership is highest among white residents of Malden and Boston, and quite low for Latinos in both

FIGURE 6.7

Malden is comparatively affordable given its proximity to Boston, but home values are rising rapidly.

Median home values.



Source: Zillow Home Value Index.

places. Specifically, Malden's white homeownership rate is 48 percent, versus Boston's 44 percent. For Latinos, the gap is a bit wider—23 percent of Malden's Latinos own homes versus just 16 percent of Boston's Latinos.

CIVIC AND POLITICAL REPRESENTATION

Elected officials who represent the people of Malden at city, state and federal levels tend to not reflect the new diversity of their constituents. Malden residents are represented at the state level by Massachusetts Senator Jason Lewis and Congressman Steven Ultrino—both white men. Katherine Clark, who is also white, has represented the city in the U.S. Congress since 2013. Much like representatives for state and federal government, there seems to be little racial diversity among the city's elected representatives. Although it is difficult to establish the exact demographic characteristics of city officials without self-reported data, it appears there is one city councilor of color and four women among 11 city councilors and the mayor.

There are, however, a wide range of civic, community-based and religious organizations that provide services and support to Malden residents of all backgrounds. For instance, the Action for Boston Community Development (ABCD) office in Malden helps lower-income residents access public assistance and provides legal assistance to immigrants. The Malden Interfaith Association meets monthly, gathering together local reverends, imams and rabbis alongside local political leaders and other key stakeholders in the community.

Civic organizations provide a great deal of support for people of all backgrounds and work to minimize tension across groups in Malden. Groups like the Immigrant Learning Center (ILC) and the Muslim Outreach Community and Reform Center work to bring people together and increase cross-cultural tolerance and understanding. For example, since 2001, the ILC has administered an outreach program that promotes the ways immigrants contribute to society. As another example of cross-cultural cooperation in Malden, the Chinese Culture Connection (CCC) supports efforts to build cross-cultural connections with other local communities in the area through educational programs and the arts. Thanks to the hard work of civil servants and community-based organizations, one of the most

diverse cities in the state is also a place where people come together to support one another and stand in solidarity. For example, in the aftermath of an anti-Muslim incident several years ago, an interfaith vigil was held, where a representative of the ILC said, "The important message from the vigil was that we are one, and the only thing that really matters is not where we're from, how we look or which religion we practice, it's how we treat each other." [ii]

Hyde Park

The southernmost neighborhood in Boston, Hyde Park historically served as a manufacturing center and residential village for predominately Irish and Italian families. As manufacturing declined, Hyde Park continued to serve as a bedroom community, with a disproportionately large share of single family homes and greater affordability than other Boston neighborhoods closer to the urban core. Connected to downtown by the Boston-Providence commuter rail line and filled with large greenspace areas, the neighborhood largely maintains its "small town in the city" character.

Since 1990, Hyde Park has undergone tremendous demographic change, losing more than 12,000 white residents—once its largest racial subgroup by far. Over the course of roughly one generation, the white share of the neighborhood plummeted from 72 percent to 26 percent (**Figure 6.8**).

Fast growth in communities of color, however, more than made up for these losses. The most significant growth took place in the Latino and African American communities. The African American population more than doubled in population share from 22 percent to 46 percent, while the Latino population grew even faster, jumping from 4 percent to 23 percent. In fact, by

FIGURE 6.8

Hyde Park has gotten much more diverse since 1990.

Population share by race and ethnicity.

	1990	2016	% change
White	72.3%	25.6%	-65%
Latino	4.3%	22.8%	+428%
African American	21.9%	46.4%	+112%
Asian American	1.0%	1.7%	+70%
Native American	0.2%	0.1%	-62%
Other	0.2%	1.1%	+502%
Multiracial	-	2.2%	-
Total	30490	36123	+18%
Diversity Index	42.7%	66.6%	+56%

Note: Respondents did not have the option of selecting more than one race on the 1990 Census.

Source: U.S. Census 1990. 2012–2016 American Community Survey.

FIGURE 6.9

More than two-thirds of Hyde Park's foreign-born population is from the Caribbean.

Place of birth of foreign-born population. 2016.

Total foreign-born:	10,175
Haiti	3,638
Dominican Republic	1,320
Jamaica	1,218
Barbados	388
Nigeria	382
Trinidad and Tobago	297
Italy	205
Colombia	203
Ireland	159
Honduras	139

Source: 2012–2016 American Community Survey.

[ii] Nathan Lamb, "Interfaith Healing in Malden." Wicked Local, April 24, 2013 (accessed January 30, 2019). https://www.wickedlocal.com/x94497819/Interfaith-healing-in-Malden. Additionally, to gain deeper understanding of the local Malden context, Boston Indicators interviewed the Malden Mayor Gary Christenson, as well as representatives from the Immigrant Learning Center and the Action for Boston Community Development Malden office – the Mystic Valley Opportunity Center.

2016, Hyde Park became the third most diverse Boston neighborhood (after Mission Hill and Dorchester), according to the diversity index.

Much of the growth in communities of color in Hyde Park comes from an increase in the foreign-born population. In 2016, nearly 7,000 African American residents and about 2,000 Latinos were born outside of the United States. Growth in foreign-born black and Latino communities comes largely from the Caribbean, with more than half of Hyde Park's foreign-born community coming from Haiti, the Dominican Republic, Jamaica, Barbados and Trinidad and Tobago (**Figure 6.9**). The Irish and Italian foreign-born, however, remain among the 10 largest foreign-born groups, as members of longstanding communities of European origins in Hyde Park.

INCOME INEQUALITY ACROSS RACE AND ETHNICITY

Boston is a city with a great deal of economic inequality, where people of color often do not benefit from the booming economy as much as white residents do.[iii]

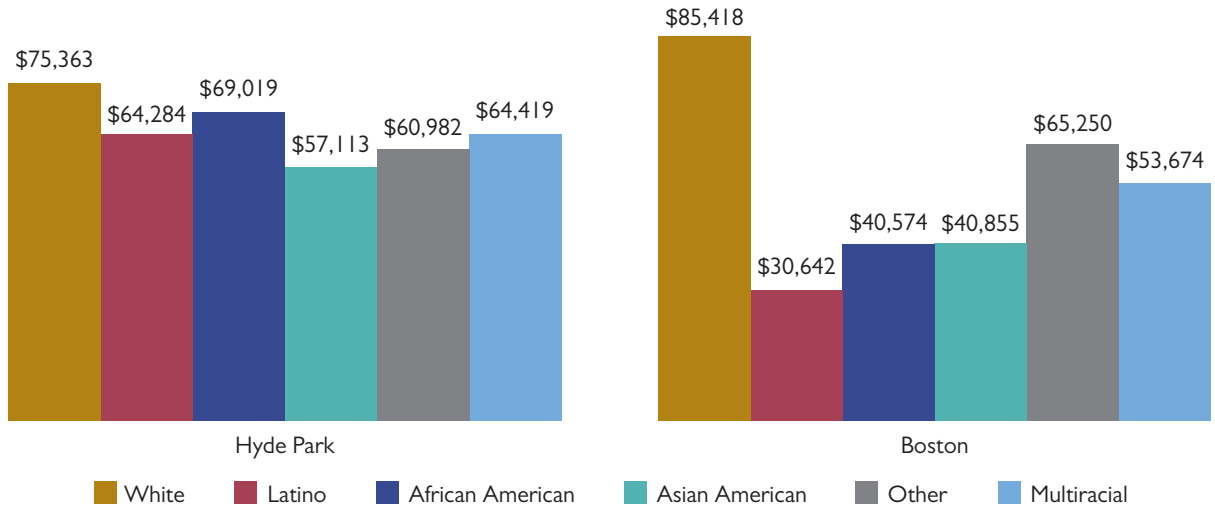
However, Hyde Park has much less of this inequality than the city overall. Part of this story is that median household income for all communities of color (except the Census category "Other Race") is higher in Hyde Park than it is in Boston overall. For example, median household income for black households in Boston is $39,746, but in Hyde Park it is $69,019. Similarly, median household income for Latino households in Boston is $31,167, while in Hyde Park it is $64,284 (**Figure 6.10**). These enormous differences in income suggest that Hyde Park is a place for upwardly mobile and professional families of color, in many cases. Interestingly, median household incomes among the white population are about $10,000 lower in Hyde Park than citywide.

While median incomes tend to be higher in Hyde Park than in Boston overall, poverty rates are lower for nearly all race groups in the neighborhood. Lower poverty rates may be in part related to the neighborhood's provision of affordable housing, which advocates suggest is insufficient. Of all housing units in Hyde Park, 15 percent are income-restricted, representing just 3

FIGURE 6.10

Racial income disparities are substantially lower in Hyde Park than citywide.

Median household income in 2017 inflation-adjusted dollars.



Source: 2012–2016 American Community Survey.

[iii] Luc Schuster and Peter Ciurczak, *Boston's Booming…But for Whom?* Boston Indicators, October 2018. https://www.tbf.org/-/media/tbf/reports-and-covers/2018/bostonisbooming20181010.pdf

percent of affordable units throughout Boston. This places Hyde Park a bit below average for the provision of affordable housing relative to other neighborhoods in the city, and effectively limits the number of poor people that can afford to live in the neighborhood.

THE COST OF HOUSING

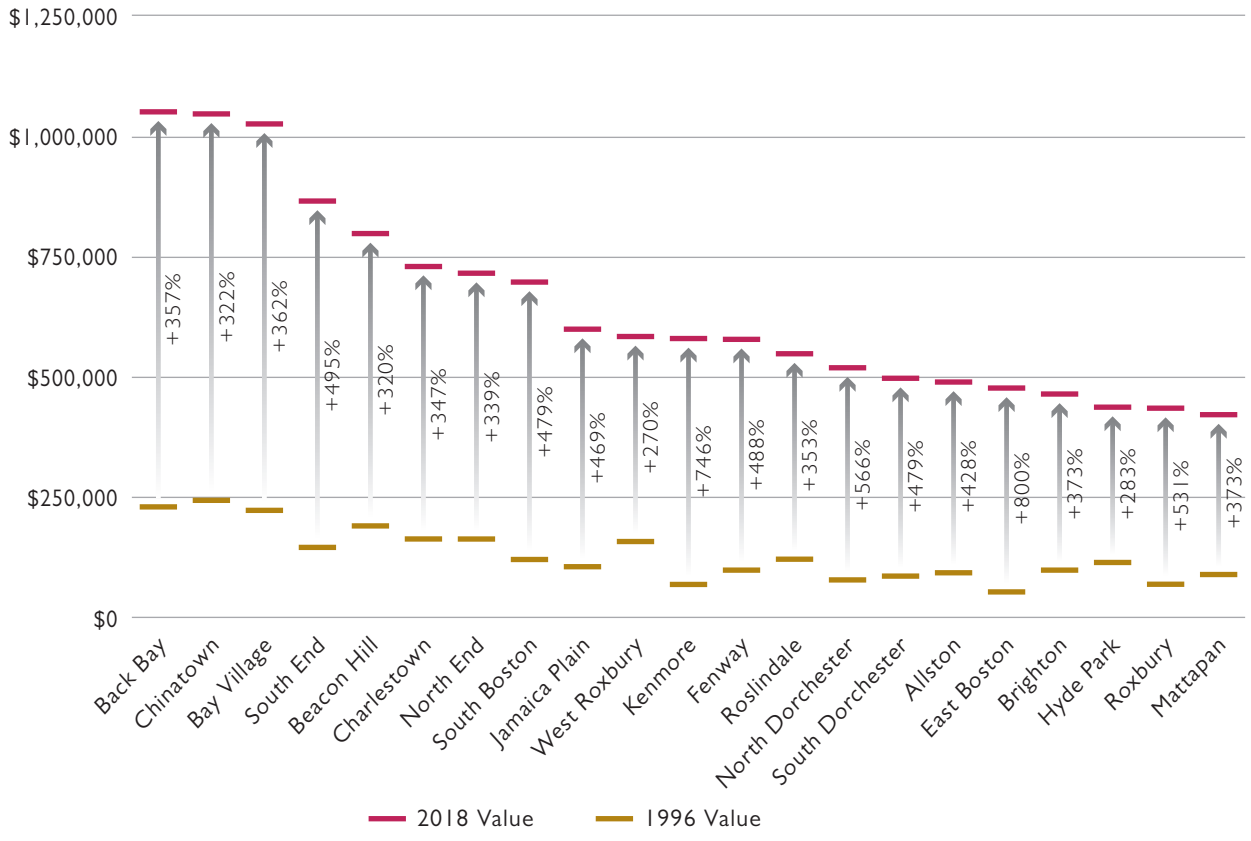
Between 1996 and 2018, home values in the city of Boston have increased in value by 391 percent. This is approaching four times the growth in home values nationwide, which only increased by 119 percent during the same time period. Hyde Park also experienced dramatic increases, but prices increased more slowly than in every other Boston neighborhood except for West Roxbury. While places like East Boston increased by 800 percent, and South Boston increased 479 percent, home values in Hyde Park increased by 283 percent (**Figure 6.11**). Of course, this is still a large increase that places significant financial strain on those who've sought a home in Hyde Park. But compared with other neighborhoods, Hyde Park remains arguably the most affordable place to live in Boston, when both growth in home values and the current median home value are considered.

Homeownership rates in Hyde Park are substantially higher than they are in Boston overall, largely resulting from relatively higher incomes and a much higher concentration of single family housing than in most other Boston neighborhoods. Hyde Park's higher homeownership rates overall, however, do not correspond with more equitable homeownership across race and ethnic groups. Homeownership is highest among white households in both places—75

FIGURE 6.11

Hyde Park is still one of Boston's most affordable neighborhoods.

Median home values.



Source: Zillow Home Value Index.

percent in Hyde Park and 41 percent in Boston overall. Meanwhile, Latinos are at the lower end of the homeownership distribution in both places, with a homeownership rate of 47 percent in Hyde Park and a mere 16 percent citywide. Latinos have attained a higher degree of economic wellbeing in Hyde Park relative to the city, but still lag the prosperity of the longstanding white community there.

A good deal of recently constructed and planned development in Hyde Park follows the transit-oriented-development (TOD) model, particularly along the Fairmount Corridor commuter rail stations. New housing plans seek to provide more affordable units and accessibility to public transportation. However, there are concerns among longtime residents about the scale of development,[iv] and that not enough has been done to ensure the creation of an adequate stock of truly affordable units. With median home values and rents as high as they are, displacement continues to be a pressing issue for the most economically disadvantaged residents of Hyde Park, as it is throughout the city.

CIVIC AND POLITICAL REPRESENTATION

As the population of Hyde Park has rapidly diversified, political representation appears to be changing to some degree as well, even if at a slower pace than civic organizations. Residents of Hyde Park are represented at the statehouse by State Representative Angelo Scaccia, a white male serving since 1980, and State Senator Sonia Chang-Diaz, a woman of color serving since 2009. For the U.S. Congress, Representative Michael Capuano, also a white male, served from 1998 until he lost reelection in 2018 to Ayanna Pressley, another woman of color. At the city level, Hyde Park is currently represented by District 5 City Councilor Timothy McCarthy, a white male elected in 2013, who recently decided not to seek reelection. A number of candidates of color have since emerged in the contest for District 5 City Councilor.

Hyde Park also has a relatively robust civic infrastructure, with many community groups dedicated to increasing well-being among all communities that call the neighborhood home. Southwest Boston Community Development Corporation is an example of a community-based organization working to support low income residents and advance racial equity in Hyde Park by creating and preserving affordable housing. Hyde Park Main Streets is another locally-based group that provides assistance for local businesses, delivering a variety of business services, such as matching grants for store improvements. There are also civic groups that exist to support the unique needs of particular ethnic groups, such as Youth and Family Enrichment Services Inc. (YoFES) and The Boston Haiti Health Support Team, which both work in the Haitian community.

Even as community leaders work to bring diverse groups and interests together, and empower the local business community, some residents feel that there is a long way to go.[v] Specifically, there is a desire for a more vibrant business district with a wider variety of amenities. Newer residents have entered a context where political and business power structures have traditionally been dominated by the more established white community. Older businesses in some cases have been less than welcoming to the growing share of customers who are people of color. Longstanding community events such as the Anderson tree lighting, or even the more recent 150th Anniversary of Hyde Park, have notably struggled to engage effectively with communities of color and the immigrant community. This has created some friction between various community based organizations and different segments of the community. Community leaders recognize these significant challenges and have made attempts to unite the community, with a common vision for a more vibrant and welcoming Hyde Park.

[iv] Tim Logan, "Plans to Add Housing Rile Readville." *The Boston Globe*, March 2019. https://www.bostonglobe.com/business/2019/03/10/readville/yBTVklhn8ziAngTxr6T3HL/story.html

[v] Boston Indicators interviewed the Mayor's Liaison for Hyde Park, as well as representatives from Southwest Boston Community Development Corporation, and Hyde Park Main Streets to gain perspectives from local leaders.

CLOSING THOUGHTS:
NOT JUST DIVERSITY, BUT EQUITY AND INCLUSION

By Elena Stone, *Program Development Specialist, Collaborative of Asian American, Native American, Latino, and African American Institutes, UMass Boston*

More than two decades ago, the Boston Foundation and UMass Boston joined forces to document the changing realities of Boston's population in their report *A Dream Deferred: Changing Demographics, Challenges & New Opportunities for Boston*. While noting that "harsh, troubling and prolonged realities" of inequality stubbornly persisted for Boston's communities of color, *A Dream Deferred* concluded with a call:

> to build a new community in Boston that learns from the past while harnessing the current forces of change. This new Boston would recognize that racial and ethnic diversity creates opportunities, rather than burdens, for all of the city's residents (*Watanabe et al., 1996*).

Our current report shows that, in many ways, this call is still an aspirational one, and one that must be heard region-wide, not just in Boston proper. Not only do adversities remain, but some have been exacerbated by a considerably more polarized political and economic climate on the national level. Even locally, challenges related to polarization highlight the need to go beyond merely tolerating differences, indeed to celebrate our region's racial diversity and to take action to make equity and inclusion on every level a reality.

This report attempts to capture some of these complexities. As we consider the three themes that our essays address, a picture unfolds not only of the challenges that come with changing regional demographics, but of the accompanying opportunities to consider new models and approaches for making Greater Boston a welcoming and thriving hub for everyone who calls it home.

RESIDENTIAL PATTERNS AND HOUSING ISSUES

The growing scarcity of affordable housing is an important catalyst for the latest demographic shifts within Greater Boston. While much of the growing diversity in outlying cities and towns may be due to immigration from abroad, there is ample evidence that the limited availability of affordable housing in the urban core is also pushing all kinds of families away from neighborhoods where they otherwise may prefer to live. Among them are many who settled in Boston as migrants fleeing poverty, violence or repression who may once again feel pressure—this time from tightening economic screws—to leave a community they call home. It is important to think about how best to support the families making tough choices in order to stay afloat financially, the neighborhoods struggling to ensure that new development benefits existing communities, and the municipalities called to embrace increasing diversity as new populations arrive.

The experience of the Native American community of Aquinnah highlights a striking variation on this theme—displaced residents returning home when federal recognition for the Aquinnah Wampanoag tribe made it possible to offer affordable housing to low-income tribal members. Rather than seeing the Aquinnah story as an outlier, we might consider it as a model of the power of affordable housing to stabilize and enhance a community.

INCOME STRATIFICATION, POLARIZATION AND INEQUALITY

While our report documents severe income disparities correlated with race and ethnicity throughout Boston and the region, it is interesting to note how the level of economic inequality varies among neighborhoods, cities and towns. Particularly striking is the story of Malden, where less substantial income inequality seems to coincide with a greater sense of inclusion and the ability to incorporate diverse groups into the social fabric. It is worth further exploring the relationship between these two factors in order to better understand how to promote both economic equity and social inclusion as communities become more diverse. Equally important to note are income variations within broad populations, reminding us how new immigrant subgroups can change the face of racial and ethnic communities over time, challenging expectations and bringing with them diverse experiences and needs.

These essays point to the question of how we can build on already proven pathways to economic success, such as immigrant entrepreneurship, to create new possibilities for economic growth for communities of color, while at the same time increasing access to opportunities in the tech sector and other areas of regional economic growth. For this, education is key. While this report did not identify education as one of its major themes, each community studied has pointed to educational disparities as a critical factor to overcome in order to achieve greater economic equity. Our region needs the perspectives, skills and wisdom of all its residents to create a future of growing and inclusive prosperity. As we educate and train an up-and-coming generation to take its place in a 21st century economy, we must help students of all backgrounds to become not just workers but leaders, who use their knowledge, creativity and voices to move all of us forward.

POLITICAL, BUSINESS AND CIVIC REPRESENTATION

Since the *A Dream Deferred* report, Boston proper has seen a significant leap in political representation, with its elected officials better reflecting the racial and ethnic diversity of the city. In line with national trends, this shift has largely been driven by women of color. As of this writing, women of color now hold six out of 13 seats on the Boston City Council, including the Council presidency. The Massachusetts 7th District Congressional seat, which includes about three quarters of Boston as well as surrounding cities and towns, is now held by an African American woman, the first woman of color to serve in the state's delegation. Other cities and towns discussed in this report have experienced varying levels of progress when it comes to diversifying their political landscapes, with Quincy standing out as a city whose Asian American population has increased electoral participation and increased political representation at both local and state levels.

Both business and civic representation provide pathways to political leadership for immigrants and people of color, as well as being in and of themselves important avenues for improving communities and neighborhoods. In this report, we see, for example, the powerful role that Cape Verdean and Haitian businesses owners play in recycling dollars into black communities, and the transformative effect of Vietnamese and Colombian-owned businesses on Fields Corner and East Boston, respectively. A question worth raising is whether such business know-how and related cultural capital can be shared across ethnic and racial lines, as a way of building majority-minority economic representation while developing leadership on a cross-cultural basis.

In the nonprofit arena, we see how civic and community-based organizations—from Casa Guatemala in Waltham to VietAID in Fields Corner, from Roxbury's Nubian Square Coalition to the North American Indian Center of Boston in Jamaica Plain—make it possible for populations of color to advocate for themselves, serve the needs of vulnerable members, and engage with the larger community. This is particularly important because often, as we see in a number of neighborhoods and towns cited in this report, community-based organizations are ahead of the political arena when it comes to representing underserved groups that are relatively new to a given area. But many of these groups are sorely under-resourced, relying on volunteer labor and donations, and even those that are more established operate on a shoestring in a difficult funding environment. It is critical that the funding and government sectors recognize the key role that such groups play in addressing unmet needs and leveling the playing field as populations become increasingly diverse. These organizations, including those emerging in diversifying areas outside of Boston proper, need robust and consistent support. Finally, we must consider how best to leverage the entrepreneurial and nonprofit sectors as incubators for civic and political leadership, creating more pathways for residents of color to move into elected and appointed positions that give their communities a voice in policy making.

Finally, our hope is that the end of this report is the beginning of many conversations within and across Greater Boston. There is much work to be done, and we hope that the stories told here help to spark dialogue, suggest opportunities and motivate those who care deeply about our evolving diversity to work together toward a future of full equity and inclusion and a dream no longer deferred.

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