



# Building One Ohio



# LiUNA!

## OEA

OHIO EDUCATION ASSOCIATION



Ohio Federation of Teachers AFT, AFL-CIO  
*A Union of Professionals*



## *Seizing the moment*

*racial justice and economic opportunity*

1. There have been “moments” before.
2. “Moments” don’t change things - power does...and *movements* are sustained by powerful organizations.
3. The labor movement was the most powerful force behind reducing inequality and expanding opportunity.

*Less well known is the labor movement’s role in supplying power, money, people & leadership behind the civil rights movement – with an infrastructure built decades before*

4. Leaders like Randolph forged a *unified* agenda that combined economic justice and civil rights (“jobs and freedom”)

# What happened?

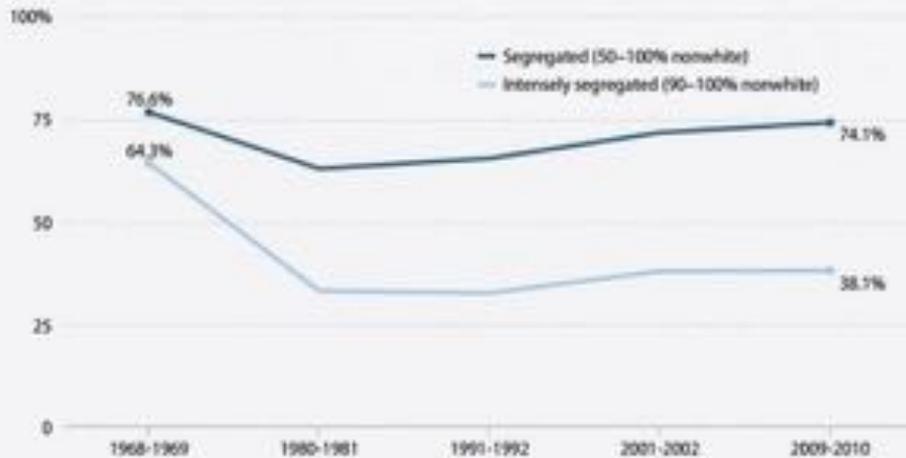
- It's well known that the rise in inequality in recent decades is tied to the decline of the labor

Unions and shared prosperity



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Share of black children in segregated and intensely segregated schools, 1968-2010

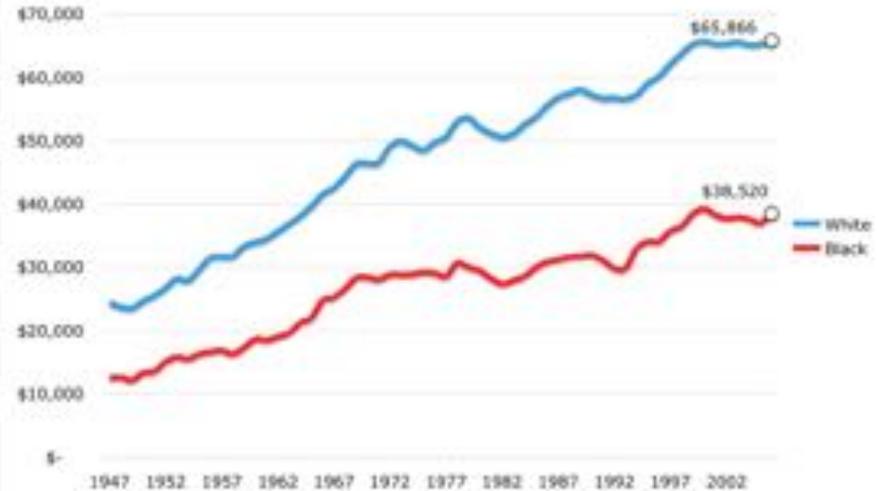


Note: The trend lines reflect a linear interpolation using data points from 1968-1969, 1980-1981, 1991-1992, 2001-2002, and 2009-2010.

Source: Orfield, Kucera, and Siegel. "Family 2012, 2011"

ECONOMIC POLICY INSTITUTE

Median Family Income by Race, 1947-2006  
(in 2006 dollars)



Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Historical Income Statistics, Table F-5.

- Less well known is how the decline in labor's power is directly tied to the decline in the fortunes of African Americans and the economic and political damage caused by segregation and discrimination.

- **Dr. King wrote that the real purpose of segregation:**
  - is not to keep people separate but *to oppress and to exploit the segregated*”.
- **Randolph prophetically warned us, if segregation is not ended in jobs and communities, black workers will become:**
  - “*the forgotten slum proletariat in the black ghettos of the great metropolitan centers of the country, existing within the grey shadows of a hopeless hope.*”

**There are countless ways our divided society creates opportunities for the exploitation of working people and their communities**

- millions are made in the for-profit poverty housing industry
- billions in the privatization of public institutions
  - including schools, prisons, and for-profit colleges
- over a trillion in middle-class wealth lost to the subprime mortgage industry

**There are countless ways our divided society creates opportunities for the exploitation of working people and their communities**

- abandonment and sprawl
  - fosters a race to the bottom for tax-base and jobs,
  - non-union commercial development, tax giveaways and low wage, anti-union big-box retail.
- and building trades are weakened as public spending for badly needed infrastructure is kept at near starvation levels.

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*The obstructionists who block funding for roads, transit and bridges are the same ones attacking public sector unions and supporting the privatization of government.*

*And they are the same ones who curtail voting rights and fight fair housing, while supporting policies that maintain segregation and deepen concentrated poverty*

**There are countless ways our divided society creates opportunities for the exploitation of working people and their communities**

**Consequences for families, children, and communities can be devastating:**

- Countless studies show the direct correlation of segregation to:
  - poor education outcomes,
  - devastating health disparities,
  - wealth inequality,
  - and a destructive, and sometimes deadly, relationship to law enforcement and the criminal justice system.

## **The purpose of today's conversation is to:**

- draw from our history, look at our present, and:
  - make the case for a renewed alliance between labor and civil rights,
  - with a unifying agenda of racial justice *and* economic opportunity,
  - to build a more powerful, multi-racial movement,
  - to energize our members, galvanize our allies,
  - and begin to reverse the three decade coordinated assault on workers and civil rights.



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# Marching Forward Together: Key to Sustained Progress

By David Rusk

Building One Ohio Labor-Civil Rights Forum

Cleveland State University

May 6, 2016



# Building One Ohio

## **Demands from the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom**

as read by A. Philip Randolph

1. Comprehensive and effective civil rights legislation - to guarantee all Americans: *access to all public accommodations, decent housing, adequate & integrated education, and the right to vote*
2. Withholding of Federal funds from all programs in which discrimination exists.
3. Desegregation of all school districts *in 1963*.
4. Enforcement of the fourteenth Amendment
5. A new Executive Order banning discrimination in all housing supported by federal funds.
6. Authority for the Attorney General to institute injunctive suits when any constitutional right is violated.
7. A massive federal program to train and place all unemployed workers on meaningful and dignified jobs at decent wages.
8. A national minimum wage that will give *all* Americans a decent standard of living.
9. A broadened Fair Labor Standards Act to include all areas of employment.
10. Fair Employment Practices Act barring discrimination by federal, state, and municipal governments, and by employers, contractors, employment agencies, and trade unions.

# Right To Vote

## **Steps forward**

- Federal Voting Rights Act (VRA) of 1965 greatly expanded access to polls for African Americans, other minorities
- Section 5 required federal pre-clearance for any changes that might adversely affect minority voting rights

## **Steps backward**

- US Supreme Court gutted Section 5 in 2012
- Some states now have requirements and procedures that, in practice, suppress voting by minorities and allow racial gerrymandering

# Raise Minimum Wage to \$2.00

## Steps forward

Federal minimum wage raised periodically from \$1.25 in 1963 to \$7.25 in 2009 --- still its current level in 2016

## Steps backward

- Current \$7.25 worth only \$0.93 in 1963 dollars --- minimum wage lost  $\frac{1}{4}$  of real value over 53 years
- Strong opposition to raising current \$7.25 to \$15.00
- \$2.00 demanded by March on Washington in 1963 equals \$15.50 today in buying power

# Other Key 1963 Demands

## **Ban Housing Discrimination**

- Fair Housing Act of 1968 banned discrimination in housing
- Community Reinvestment Act of 1977 boosted loans to minorities, underserved neighborhoods

## **Adequate, Integrated Schools**

- In 1974 US Supreme Court exempted suburban schools from region-wide school integration plans, placing local “home rule” above national civil rights
- In 1990s federal courts began declaring districts “unitary” despite de facto racial segregation, ending desegregation plans

# Black/White Housing Segregation in Ohio

SEGREGATION INDEX: 100 = TOTAL RACIAL APARTHEID

<u>Metro area</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>2000</u>	<u>2010</u>
Cleveland OH	91	86	83	77	73
Columbus OH	82	73	68	62	60
Cincinnati OH-KY-IN	77	78	76	73	67
Dayton OH	na	79	77	71	63
Akron OH	na	74	69	65	58
Toledo OH	na	75	74	70	63
Youngstown OH-PA	na	78	75	72	65

# Poor/Affluent Polarization in Ohio

POLARIZATION INDEX: 100 = TOTAL ECONOMIC APARTHEID

<u>Metro area</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>2000</u>	<u>2010</u>
Cleveland OH	35	48	42	45
Columbus OH	33	42	39	42
Cincinnati OH-KY-IN	31	41	35	38
Dayton OH	30	39	32	36
Akron OH	29	40	37	38
Toledo OH	29	39	34	38
Youngstown OH-PA	21	27	26	32

## **Overall Conclusion**

Jim Crow by income  
is steadily replacing  
Jim Crow by race.

**The result?**

# Concentration of Poverty Grows

NUMBER OF HIGH POVERTY TRACTS (> 40% POVERTY)

<u>Metro area</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>2000</u>	<u>2009</u>	<u>2014</u>
Cleveland OH	20	42	71	52	76	94
Columbus OH	6	22	24	13	32	44
Cincinnati OH-KY-IN	17	21	35	25	38	53
Dayton OH	4	13	17	7	15	24
Akron OH	3	6	19	7	16	21
Toledo OH	4	12	20	9	24	36
Youngstown OH-PA	2	5	20	8	21	22

# Concentrated Poverty Is Color-Coded I

- 31% of *poor* Whites live in poverty tracts (>20%)
- 11% “ “ in high poverty tracts (>40%)
- 75% of *poor* Latinos live in poverty tracts (>20%)
- 28% “ “ in high poverty tracts (>40%)
- 81% of *poor* Blacks live in poverty tracts (>20%)
- 37% “ “ in high poverty tracts (>40%)

# Concentrated Poverty Is Color-Coded II

- 10 % of *all* Whites live in poverty tracts (>20%)
- 2 % “ “ in high poverty tracts (>40%)
  
- 52% of *all* Latinos live in poverty tracts (>20%)
- 17% “ “ in high poverty tracts (>40%)
  
- 61% of *all* Blacks lived in poverty tracts (>20%)
- 20% “ “ in high poverty tracts (>40%)

*“We are witnessing a nationwide return of concentrated poverty that is racial in nature, and that this expansion and continued existence of high-poverty ghettos and barrios is no accident.”*

*--- Dr. Paul Jargowsky, Rutgers-Camden*

Housing Policy *IS* School Policy

School segregation

tracks

housing segregation

--- just worse

# Black/White Housing Segregation in Ohio

SEGREGATION INDEX: 100 = TOTAL RACIAL APARTHEID

<u>Metro area</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>2000</u>	<u>2010</u>
Cleveland OH	91	86	83	77	73
Columbus OH	82	73	68	62	60
Cincinnati OH-KY-IN	77	78	76	73	67
Dayton OH	na	79	77	71	63
Akron OH	na	74	69	65	58
Toledo OH	na	75	74	70	63
Youngstown OH-PA	na	78	75	72	65

# Black/White School Segregation

SCHOOL SEGREGATION INDEX: 100 = TOTAL APARTHEID

<u>Metro area</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>2000</u>	<u>2010</u>
Cleveland OH	88	78	77	81	81
Columbus OH	83	67	67	69	66
Cincinnati OH-KY-IN	80	79	77	81	80
Dayton-Springfield OH	83	71	69	72	67
Akron OH	77	71	69	69	66
Toledo OH	85	76	73	75	65
Youngstown OH-PA	75	78	77	77	75
Charlotte NC-SC	67	35	36	47	58

Racial School Segregation =  
Economic School Segregation  
% LOW INCOME CLASSMATES BY TYPICAL PUPIL

<u>Metro area</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>Latino</u>	<u>Asian</u>
Cleveland OH	33%	70%	69%	28%
Columbus OH	35%	68%	57%	26%
Cincinnati OH	35%	74%	51%	21%
Dayton-Springfield OH	42%	73%	52%	29%
Akron OH	36%	71%	50%	40%
Toledo OH	37%	77%	60%	24%
Youngstown OH-PA	46%	79%	67%	42%

## Why % of Low-Income Pupils (FARM)?

- “The educational resources provided by a child’s fellow students are more important for his achievement than are the resources provided by the school board....The social composition of the student body is more highly related to achievement, independent of the student’s own social background, than is any school factor.”

--- Dr. James Coleman, *Equality of Educational Opportunity* (1966)

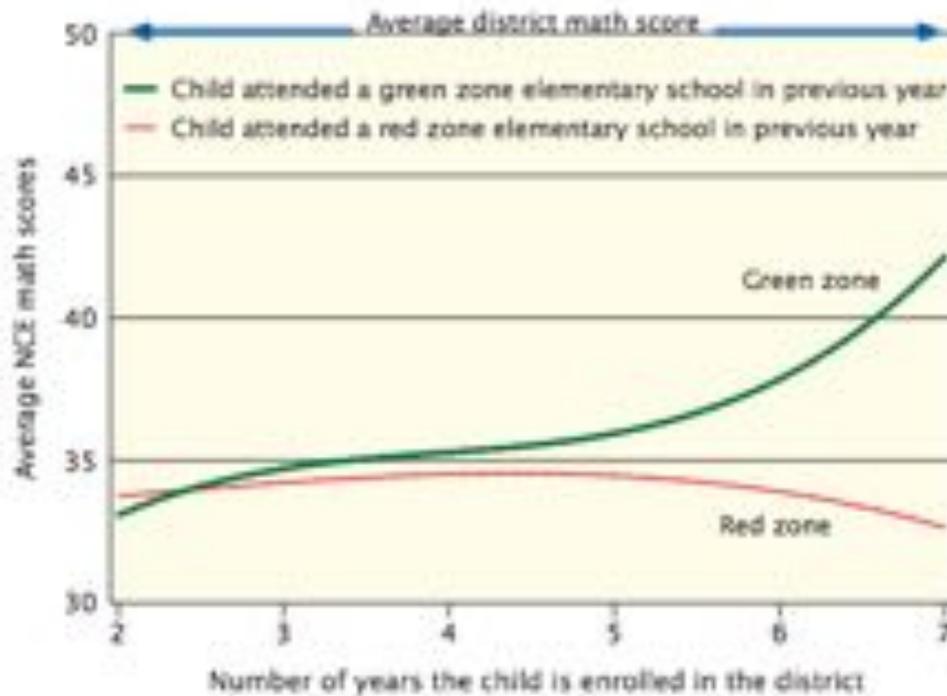
# Rusk's Ohio School Studies

- % FARM and % minority accounted for 75% of differences in test scores for 365 elementary schools in Cleveland-Akron MSAs in 2013
- % FARM alone accounted for 77% of differences in test scores for 110 elementary schools in Toledo MSA in 2001

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## Economic integration improves school performance

Figure 6. Effect of Red Zone/Green Zone Designation on the Math Performance of Children in Public Housing



**Housing Policy**  
***IS***  
**School Policy**

# Suburban Sprawl = Core Decline

GROWTH OF URBANIZED AREA AND URBANIZED POPULATION 1950-2010

<u>Urbanized area (UA)</u>	<u>land growth</u>	<u>population growth</u>	<u>land-to-pop growth ratio</u>
Cleveland OH	157%	29%	5 to 1
Columbus OH	691%	213%	3 to 1
Cincinnati OH-KY-IN	407%	85%	5 to 1
Dayton OH	461%	109%	4 to 1
Akron OH	231%	55%	4 to 1
Toledo OH	244%	39%	6 to 1
Youngstown OH-PA	206%	30%	7 to 1

## JOB SPRAWL

Percentage of jobs  
Distance from Downtown Cleveland

	<u>1998</u>	<u>2006</u>
Within 3 miles	18.0%	16.2%
3 to 10 miles	38.9%	38.1%
10 to 35 miles	43.1%	45.7%

# JOB SPRAWL

## Percentage of jobs

Distance from Downtown Akron

	<u>1998</u>	<u>2006</u>
Within 3 miles	28.8%	25.1%
3 to 10 miles	43.2%	40.2%
10 to 35 miles	28.0%	34.0%

**JOB SPRAWL**

**+**

**HOUSING SPRAWL**

**+**

**“little boxes”**

**=**

**“Today’s winners become  
tomorrow’s losers.”**

**GROWTH AND DECLINE  
AS MEASURED BY  
CITY MEDIAN FAMILY INCOME  
AS PERCENTAGE OF  
METRO MEDIAN FAMILY INCOME**

**GROWTH >>> PEAK >>> DECLINE**

# Many suburbs peaked, then declined

> 100% = > regional median income; <100% = < regional median income

<u>city/village</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>2000</u>	<u>2010</u>
Parma	<b>117%</b>	114%	110%	107%	106%	101%	<b>98%</b>
Lakewood	<b>122%</b>	110%	102%	<b>89%</b>	101%	103%	98%
Euclid	<b>118%</b>	113%	104%	100%	93%	87%	<b>87%</b>
Cleveland Hts.	<b>147%</b>	125%	118%	112%	118%	111%	<b>109%</b>
Maple Heights	<b>112%</b>	109%	104%	98%	96%	93%	<b>85%</b>
South Euclid	<b>137%</b>	130%	117%	113%	110%	113%	<b>108%</b>
Brook Park		103%	110%	<b>111%</b>	109%	102%	<b>97%</b>
Bedford	100%	<b>106%</b>	106%	105%	97%	97%	<b>86%</b>
Brooklyn		<b>109%</b>	105%	107%	92%	90%	<b>74%</b>
Woodmere					85%	<b>89%</b>	<b>65%</b>
Wickliffe		109%	<b>112%</b>	109%	102%	99%	<b>90%</b>
Barberton	<b>97%</b>	92%	86%	83%	75%	75%	<b>73%</b>
Kent	<b>111%</b>	100%	99%	90%	<b>82%</b>	85%	90%
Cuyahoga Falls	<b>120%</b>	115%	107%	104%	104%	100%	<b>98%</b>

# Growth of Income Inequality *within* White Population

GINI INDEX: HIGHER NUMBER = GREATER INEQUALITY

<u>Metro area</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>2000</u>
Cleveland OH	36.4	39.8	43.5
Columbus OH	38.0	39.4	41.9
Cincinnati OH-KY-IN	37.1	40.3	44.0

Income inequality among whites increased in every major metro area and continues today.

## The Radical Right's Targets

“No two groups have been more damaged by the rightward backlash in American politics than the institutions of labor and civil rights. Their once powerful alliance has fractured under sustained assault from the wealthiest and most reactionary forces in the land, resulting in diminished power and harmful reversals of some of the most important social, political and economic advances of the past 75 years.”

“The continued existence and acceleration of racial segregation and the concentration of poverty have played a major role in driving economic inequality for *all* Americans and fueling racial polarization, while strengthening a reactionary, anti-worker political agenda that benefits Wall Street investors and anti-union corporations.”

“Just as the labor and civil rights movements came together in 1950s to act on the critical opportunities of their time, we need to act together on the critical opportunities of our time to move toward greater inclusiveness, economic justice and power.”

**like Randolph and King – look for where you can  
“change the rules of the game”.**

Build a strong, multiracial coalition that goes beyond the usual suspects of activist and union supporters to include local leaders, congregations and civil rights groups in middle and working class communities – *particularly suburbs becoming increasingly diverse and fiscally challenged - where many union members live and where politics is more competitive. These places are natural allies for labor and civil rights.*

**like Randolph and King – look for where you can  
“change the rules of the game”.**

Work on issues that unify, *not divide*, working people by race and ethnicity, but yet are *explicitly* about racial justice *and* economic opportunity because:

- *It’s more just and more morally compelling*
- *It’s a more powerful cause and actually more unifying.*

# “change the rules of the game”.

## **Fair Housing**

Work to eliminate housing segregation and concentrated poverty in Ohio, and stabilize politically important, diverse suburbs by promoting strong regional fair housing policies.

## **Education**

We can fight back more powerfully against the attacks on public education by making ours a *moral fight* against school segregation and the forces that maintain and exploit it.

*One of the first things you might do is demand the implementation of the DeRolph decision - Propose a winning formula that promotes and rewards inclusive and integrated schools in cities and in suburbs.*

# “change the rules of the game”.

### **Jobs**

Save inclusive middle class Jobs – fight back against the attack on local government and public sector workers with a broad, diverse and middleclass grassroots (and grass-tops) constituency to fight to restore local government funds with a fair funding formula.

Push to create inclusive middle class Jobs – Support the expansion of transportation and water infrastructure to bolster diverse middle class communities and demand fully inclusive middle class jobs.

### **Justice**

Ending the school to prison pipeline includes attacking the pipeline itself – *not the schools or the teachers but the structures of inequality* – including the *segregation of schools and discrimination* in both the job and housing markets - as well as meaningful criminal justice reform.



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