The Development of Boston's Seaport District: Employment Opportunities and Community Strategies

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The Development of Boston’s Seaport District: Employment Opportunities and Community Strategies

by O. Steven Quimby

A Report Prepared for
The Center for Community Economic Development
University of Massachusetts Boston
Funded by the Hyams Foundation, the Foley, Hoag and Eliot Foundation and the Chancellor's Urban Mission Committee and Office of Economic Development
July 2001
The Center for Community Economic Development

The Center for Community Economic Development (CCED) is a university – community collaboration comprising the Mauricio Gastón Institute for Latino Community Development and Public Policy, the Institute for Asian American Studies, the Doctoral Program in Public Policy and, the College of Public and Community Service of the University of Massachusetts Boston, and more than 25 community-based organizations in Boston. The CCED focuses on some of the poorest, most underserved and diverse communities of Boston, including Chinatown, Roxbury, Dorchester, and parts of Jamaica Plain and the South End.

The Seaport Community Access Project

The Seaport Community Access Project is a new initiative undertaken by the CCED to promote the involvement of communities of color in the Seaport planning process and to ensure their participation in the long-term economic benefits associated with the development of the Seaport District. The project has benefited from the generous support and participation of community leaders, city officials, and university administrators, faculty, staff, and graduate students. The Hyams Foundation, the Foley, Hoag and Eliot Foundation and the Chancellor’s Urban Mission Committee and Office of Economic Development have generously provided funding for the project. The CCED and its university partners are committed to supporting its community partners in organizing, advocacy, and direct service efforts to ensure equitable participation of all of Boston’s communities in the Seaport development process.
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About the Author

O. Steven Quimby is a Research Associate of the Center for Community Economic Development and a doctoral candidate in the Public Policy Program at the University of Massachusetts Boston. His research interests include workforce development program implementation and evaluation, the interface of nonprofit organizations and government, and regional economic development.

This paper is part of a series of reports issued by the Seaport Community Access Project of CCED.
The Development of Boston’s Seaport District: Employment Opportunities and Community Strategies

Executive Summary

The development of Boston’s Seaport District will create thousands of full-time employment opportunities over the next decade. To ensure equitable access to these opportunities for Boston’s communities of color, it is imperative that organizations offering employment-training programs begin to take these opportunities into account now in their training efforts. The Center for Community Economic Development (CCED) at the University of Massachusetts Boston has prepared this report, *The Development of Boston’s Seaport District: Employment Opportunities and Community Strategies*, as a step in becoming informed about these opportunities.

This study examines employment opportunities to be created in three industries projected to be critical employers in the Seaport District: hospitality, legal services, and insurance. For each industry, we examine the occupational opportunities for people without a four-year college degree. In addition, we provide information on case studies in the areas of linkage and development resulting from military-base closings that provide lessons that can be applied to the development of Boston’s Seaport District. Our general findings and major findings for each industry are described in the sections below.

**General Findings**

Perhaps our most important overall finding is that the major industries that are likely to provide the greatest number of employment opportunities in the Seaport District are all service industries. Service industries have several common characteristics that impact employment opportunities. First, wages are generally lower in service industries than in others. Although we find some higher wage opportunities, particularly in the legal services industry, many of the critical occupations in the major service industries pay relatively low wages. A second finding is that lack of English-language skills, both verbal and written, is likely to be a barrier to employment for many of Boston’s residents. The vast majority of jobs in the three major industries we studied involve contact with customers, which necessitates excellent English-language skills. Jobs that involve limited contact with customers, such as "back of the house" jobs in hospitality including cleaning, maintenance, and food preparation, tend to be among the lowest paid in the industry. English-language skills are also a prerequisite for moving to supervisory positions in each of the three industries we studied.
From the case studies, our most important finding is that programs that seek to provide access to employment opportunities in newly developed areas are most effective when specific interviewing and hiring commitments are obtained from employers. In addition, where development can be planned to include specific industries and employers that provide higher-wage jobs and access to employment for low-income residents, the result is often more employment opportunities and improved access for community residents who need jobs.

**Major Findings for Hospitality Industry**

- With a demand for more than 4,000 new hotel rooms in Boston by 2008, employment demand in the hospitality industry will be substantial. Growth projections for occupations in the hospitality industry over the next five years are strong.
- More than 80% of the jobs open to people without four-year college degrees will be entry-level positions requiring very minimal levels of experience and education. These positions may provide access points for the clients of community-based training providers.
- English-language skills are an important barrier to moving from lower-paid, "back of the house" jobs such as cleaning, maintenance, and food preparation, to higher-paid, "front of the house" positions such as waiter and waitress, hotel desk clerk, and supervisory positions.
- While wages for many positions in the hospitality industry are low, there is hope that current union organizing efforts in Boston’s hospitality industry may result in increasing wages for workers.
- There are several examples of effective training programs, both locally and nationally, that can be replicated by local providers.

**Major Findings for the Legal Services Industry**

- Spurred on by lack of office space in the financial district and the building of the J. Joseph Moakley Federal Courthouse in the Seaport District, law offices are eager to locate in the Class-A office space that is planned for the Seaport District.
- Pre-baccalaureate employment in the legal services industry is spread quite evenly among entry-level positions and those that have potential for increasing wages. Employment-training programs that promote career-ladder development and wages sufficient to support a family in the greater Boston area are possible in this industry.
- Legal services wages are the highest of the three industries we studied for this report. Growth projections for many of these occupations are also strong.
Major Findings for the Insurance Industry

• The occupational structure in the insurance industry, similar to that in the legal services industry, is spread across occupations that could potentially support career advancement.

• However, the wage potential in critical occupations in the insurance industry is not as high as it is in the legal services industry. Furthermore, the growth projections for many of the critical industries in the insurance industry are very low or negative over the next five years.

Recommendations

The following recommendations are based on the research conducted for this report and are presented in detail in the following pages. They are divided among three sets: 1) planning process; 2) infrastructure; and 3) workforce development training.

Planning Process

• Ensure community representation in the planning and approval processes for the development projects, with the goal of obtaining hiring commitments for residents of Boston’s communities of color;

• Ensure that all agreements reached with developers and employers in the Seaport District include provisions for community oversight and stringent sanctions for failure to meet the terms of the agreements;

• Create a working relationship with public workforce development funders to obtain commitments of training resources to support employment training for the critical industries and occupations identified in this report.

Infrastructure

• Coordinate with groups working on transportation plans for the Boston Seaport District to ensure that public transportation access from Boston’s communities of color is direct, unimpeded, and scheduled in accordance with work and training schedules for the occupations being pursued;

• Work with developers, public officials, and unions to provide on-site training facilities within project developments. A training site for the hospitality industry appears particularly promising in this regard.
Workforce Development Programming

- Identify those employers who are likely to locate in Boston’s Seaport District and work with them to develop training programs that meet their specific skill needs for critical occupations; obtain interviewing and hiring agreements for training-program graduates in return;

- Identify career pathways for occupations covered by entry-level training programs and pursue curriculum development and funding opportunities, in partnership with private employers, for these programs.

Finally, ongoing surveillance of the development of the Boston Seaport District and the employment opportunities generated by that development is a necessary component of a successful plan. As projects begin to be built, a great deal of additional information regarding specific employers planning to locate in the Seaport District will become available. A process to continually obtain, track, and disseminate this information in a timely manner must be developed and implemented.
Introduction

This report provides information on the full-time employment opportunities that will be created by the Boston Seaport development process. The development of Boston’s Seaport District will create thousands of full-time employment opportunities over the next decade. To ensure equitable access to these opportunities for Boston’s communities of color, it is imperative that organizations offering employment training programs begin to take these opportunities into account now in their training efforts. This report is the first step in helping these groups to become informed about these opportunities.

The Center for Community Economic Development (CCED) of the University of Massachusetts Boston produced this report as part of its Seaport Community Access Project. This initiative, which has benefited from the generous support and participation of community leaders, city officials, and local funders, as well as university administrators, faculty, staff, and graduate students, is designed to promote the involvement of communities of color in the Seaport planning process, and to ensure their participation in the long-term economic benefits associated with the development of the Seaport. The need for information on employment opportunities and hiring was identified by community representatives as critical. In addition, we hope that advocacy organizations and unions will also use this report in their work to develop strategies for equitable access to the opportunities of Boston’s Seaport District for Boston’s communities of color.

In this report, we offer a brief introduction to four parcels of property in Boston’s Seaport District that are scheduled for development over the next five to ten years. These parcels have been selected because they contain the majority of the area that will have development that results in permanent employment. Each property’s current development plans are detailed and the types of development usage currently envisioned for each are described. In the next sections, we detail the occupational make-up of industries likely to locate in the Seaport District and the skill needs and educational requirements for accessing these employment opportunities. We also describe potential career ladders that may be pursued from entry-level positions within each of these industries to allow employees to transition to sustainable wages. We provide recommendations for Boston’s employment training community to promote access to employment opportunities in the Seaport District. In addition to specific information about developments in the Seaport District, we also provide information from two case studies of employment opportunities created by major development projects. Finally, we provide recommendations for employment training providers to obtain access to permanent jobs resulting from the development of Boston’s Seaport District.
Methodology

Employment projections in this report were made using the latest publicly available data from each proposed development project’s Draft Environmental Impact Review and Article 80 filings with the state and city, respectively. Although these numbers are estimates, they demonstrate the approximate magnitude of the employment opportunities that will be available in the Seaport District.

Occupational projections for the portions of development projects where the industry is known, such as restaurants, are based on occupational matrices of individual industries supplied by the Massachusetts Department of Employment Training. These matrices identify all occupations that represent more than 0.5% of employment in that industry. The matrices for relevant industries are located in Appendix A. Within the matrices, we also provide information on the mean and median wages for each occupation, drawn from the Occupational Employment Statistics (OES) survey.

The occupational matrices serve three main functions. First, an examination of the wages paid for the most important occupations in an industry gives an indication of whether or not an investment in training programs for these occupations is likely to provide a payoff for workers. Second, an examination of the occupational mix in an industry allows providers to focus on large and/or fast-growing occupations within an industry when determining the focus of new program efforts. Finally, an analysis of the mix of jobs at different skill and training levels provides information on the potential for developing career ladders within an industry.

Career-ladder potential is defined by levels, each job categorized by level, with a mix of levels indicating the existence of a career pathway. The levels are a qualitative measure that demonstrates the approximate location of particular occupations within an occupational pathway. To construct these levels, the occupations were first grouped on the basis of similar but progressive job functions and skill sets. Then, skill and educational requirements were examined. Within an occupational family, levels one, two, and three generally reflect increasing wages. However, wage levels are not comparable across occupations due to the inherent inequities of the labor market. Within an occupational pathway, higher levels generally require additional skills, experience, and/or educational attainment. The additional amount of increased skills, experience, or education required to advance from one level to another varies across different occupational pathways. None of the positions in the occupational matrices generally requires a bachelor’s degree as a condition of hiring, although some incumbents in these jobs may have one. In the illustrations included in this paper, level-four positions are those that require a bachelor’s degree or additional education for entry and the category “unaccounted for” is an aggregation of all occupations in an industry that contain less than 0.5% of total industry employment each.
Providing information about occupations in the part of the development where Class-A office space is a major component presents a number of challenges. Until a project has received all approvals and is nearing completion, it is unlikely to have tenants signed up to rent space. Therefore, it is difficult to know with any certainty which industry or industries will be represented. This is true for the development projects discussed in this report. Therefore, we provide information on two industries likely to be heavily represented in the Class-A office space of the Seaport District: insurance and legal services. Occupational information for these two industries and the restaurant industry will be provided in the occupational matrices described above.

For the major occupations within each industry, we describe the education and skill requirements of the jobs. This information comes from two main sources. The United States Bureau of Labor Statistics produces research describing the educational requirements of occupations included in the OES study. Also, CCED has conducted extensive employment research on occupations and skill and educational requirements for critical industries in the greater Boston area. The knowledge gained through interviews with employers and labor-market intermediaries has been brought to bear on the research for this report.

Finally, within each industry we describe potential career pathways to enable employment training providers and their clients to think beyond access to entry-level employment in the Seaport District to what is necessary to advance to positions that offer the increased wages and benefits that are necessary to ensure family self-sufficiency. We use the Self-Sufficiency Standard, a measure of the level of income required to cover basic living costs in the regular "marketplace" without public or private subsidies, to examine basic household-income requirements for Boston. The Self-Sufficiency Standard is calculated for different family sizes and geographic regions.¹

**Project Descriptions**

This research report focuses on the employment opportunities that will be derived from four development areas in the Boston Seaport District: the Fan Pier Development Project, the Boston Convention and Exhibition Center (BCEC), the Fan Pier Gateway Development, and the Commonwealth Flats Development Area (see table 1). These areas were selected for two reasons. First, these developments are the furthest along in the approval process, which means the most specific data on size and usage of these developments are available from the developers of these projects. These data include square footages of developed space, the general usages of these spaces, and some very rudimentary employment projections. Second, these developments, taken together, represent the vast majority of space to be developed in the Boston Seaport District, and therefore will provide the majority of permanent employment to be generated by the new development. Additional details about these development projects are available in the CCED report *The Boston Seaport Development Process: Overview and Access Points.*²
Fan Pier Development Project

The size of the Fan Pier Development Project, popularly known as the Pritzker Development, has been reduced from 3.3 million square feet to 2.9 million square feet. The proposed development includes over 1 million square feet of Class-A office space, a 700,000 square-foot hotel, and a new building to house the Institute for Contemporary Art. This development project is likely to be a significant source of demand for labor in all three of the industries described in this report.

Boston Convention and Exhibition Center (BCEC)

Plans for the BCEC were very much in flux at the time this report was prepared. As of February 17, 2001, a compromise financing plan was accepted by the Massachusetts Convention Center Authority Board of Directors, which reflected slight reductions in the amount of meeting and exhibition space and in the number of parking spaces. An overall 6%-8% reduction in space from the original 1.7 million square-foot development is anticipated.

Associated with the BCEC is a $270 million "headquarters" hotel to be developed by Starwood Hotels & Resorts International, in cooperation with local partner Carpenter & Co. Most of the estimated 3,000 permanent jobs to be created by the BCEC will be in the hospitality industry.

Fan Pier Gateway Development

The Fan Pier Gateway Development, commonly known as the McCourt Development, consists of two plans. Plan A contains a total of 3.36 million square feet of developed space, including 2 million square feet of office space and 394,000 square feet of hotel space. Plan B, which was predicated on the reduction of the Pritzker plan to 2.1 million square feet, contains 2.9 million square feet of total developed space, including 1.4 million square feet of office space and 327,000 square feet of hotel space. Because the Pritzker plan was only nego-
tiated down to 2.9 million square feet of developed space, it is not clear which plan McCourt will seek approval for. However, both plans contain substantial Class-A office space and a hotel, making this report relevant to either plan as the development of this property goes forward.

Commonwealth Flats Development Area

The Commonwealth Flats Development Area is a 30-acre site owned by the Massachusetts Port Authority (Massport) that consists of thirteen separate parcels. Massport plans to develop these parcels to include an estimated total development of 3.4 million square feet, generating an estimated 16,000 to 17,000 jobs. Two development projects are currently being proposed, one for a 470,000 square-foot office building and a six-hundred-room hotel.

Employment estimates from development proposals are necessarily broad and should be used as baseline data only for what levels of employment will eventually be made available as a result of a particular proposal. Despite occupational information being based on percentages of employment within particular industries rather than on specific development projects, specific numbers of jobs to be created can only be estimated within broad parameters.

Employment Opportunities in Three Critical Boston Industries

Given the size of the area proposed for development in the Boston Seaport District, there will be a diverse set of industries located in the district once construction is completed. In this report, we focus on three industries that will generate critical demand for labor: hospitality (hotels and restaurants), legal services, and insurance. Information about hotel and restaurant usage is the most complete because of the specialized facility needs of the hospitality industry. Because legal services and insurance are both users of Class-A office space, we are less certain about the total levels of employment to be generated in each of those industries.

In this section of the report, we provide an occupational overview for each industry, outlining the most common occupations in each sector, including the percentage of all jobs in the industry that do not traditionally require a bachelor’s or higher-level degree, and the percentage of jobs in each level of employment. For some of the most common occupations in each industry, we provide information on skill and experience requirements and, where available, examples of successful training programs that have targeted the specific occupation and industry under discussion. Finally, for each industry, we provide an analysis of the career-ladder potential for positions that do not require a bachelor’s degree and offer a set of recommendations for accessing employment.
Hotels and Restaurants: Employment in the Hospitality Industry

The hospitality industry may provide communities of color the greatest degree of opportunity for employment of all the industries studied in this report. Each of the four plans discussed in this report includes a hotel as part of the overall project, responding to the well-documented need for additional hotel space in the city. Even taking into account the hotels planned as part of the Seaport District, the Boston Redevelopment Authority estimates that an additional four thousand hotel rooms will be required in Boston and Cambridge by 2008.7

Each hotel will likely contain one or more restaurants providing additional employment opportunities. Restaurants may also utilize a portion of the space described as retail space in the project descriptions. Overall, the hospitality industry appears likely to have a strong impact on employment in the Boston Seaport District. Finally, the fact that a number of Boston organizations serving communities of color have experience working with the hospitality industry, particularly the Seaport Hotel, which is located near the Boston Seaport District, demonstrates the employment training possibilities for this industry.

Occupational Overview

The hospitality industry consists of two important sectors: hotels and other lodging places and eating and drinking establishments. Employment in eating and drinking establishments does not generally require a bachelor’s or higher-level degree, with 81.7% of employment in hotels, and 84.9% of employment in eating and drinking establishments distributed among the first three job levels. (Specific jobs, mean and median wages, and growth projections are shown in Appendix A, table 1.) These levels of employment are sufficiently high to provide a pool of employment opportunities for clients of community-based employment training providers.

In addition to total employment, employment training providers may also be interested in the opportunities for employment that exist at various levels of experience, skill, and educational attainment (see figure 1).8 Levels one through three represent positions that require less than a bachelor’s degree. Level-four positions generally require a bachelor’s or higher-level degree, although exceptions may be made for individuals who have acquired the requisite skills through other means. The column labeled “unaccounted for” is an amalgamation of positions that each represent less than 0.5% of total employment in an industry and therefore are not reported in the data.

Nearly two-thirds of total employment in hotels is categorized as level one, entry-level employment, requiring limited skills and experience, and with limited wage potential. An
additional 7% of employment is categorized as level two and 8.5% as level three. In practical terms, this means that the potential for advancement to employment opportunities with sustainable wages, according to the Self-Sufficiency Standards for Massachusetts, is limited in the hotel sector. Examples of training programs in this sector are described in the next section.

Compared with the hotel sector, employment in eating or drinking establishments is even more heavily concentrated in level-one positions (69.4%), with less than one percent of employment in level-three jobs (figure 2). As shown in the occupational matrix presented in table 2 of Appendix A, employment in this sector of the hospitality industry is confined to a relatively few occupations, which further restricts advancement opportunities.

For the level-one positions that predominate in both sectors, the average wage is less than $10.00 per hour. For some positions, such as waiters and waitresses and baggage porters and bellhops, wages are augmented by tips, which vary widely depending upon the shift worked and the clientele of the establishment, and are governed, to some extent, by chance. However, for the most part, the earning potential for level-one positions is limited to employer-paid wages.

Despite limitations, level-two and level-three positions, represent potential opportunities for career and wage advancement. However, in the two industry sectors we’ve just described, the highest-paid level-three positions do not offer wages over $16.00 per hour, on average, a level that is still below the Massachusetts Self-Sufficiency Standard for wages.

An encouraging factor is that growth projections for occupations in each of these sectors of the hospitality industry are positive through 2006, in several cases strongly so. Growth rates for employment are 14.6% for hotels and 13.3% for eating and drinking establishments. Union organizing in Boston’s hospitality industry is an additional factor that has the potential to increase wages and benefits for workers even further.

**Experience and Skill Requirements**

Experience and skill requirements for many of the level-one positions in the hospitality industry sectors we’ve described are fairly minimal. While experience in similar occupations or other customer-service occupations is desirable, a successful work history in any job is often enough to access employment in service positions. Certain positions, however, do require state or industry certification in food handling and alcohol service.

Level-two and level-three positions generally require additional experience and specific skills in return for higher wages. Specific skills required and the methods for obtaining them vary widely by industry and occupational cluster. Some occupations require an associate’s degree, while many others may be obtained through certification courses and on-the-job
apprenticeships, both informal and formal. Specific examples of career pathways in hotels and eating and drinking establishments and examples of best practices in providing training for these sectors are described in the next sections.

English-language fluency is important for many positions in the hospitality industry. Jobs in the hospitality industry can be thought of as either "back-of-the-house" or "front-of-the-house" positions. Back-of-the-house positions, such as food preparation, cleaning, and function set-up, involve minimal contact with guests and therefore require lower levels of English-language proficiency. These positions generally pay lower wages and do not offer the potential for receiving additional income from gratuities. In contrast, front-of-the-house positions involve much more contact with guests, pay better wages, and require stronger English-language communication skills. Therefore, lack of English-language fluency can be a formidable barrier to accessing employment in front-of-the-house positions that offer the highest wage levels in the hospitality industry.

**Career Pathways and Advancement Potential**

Two career groupings that emerge in both the hotel and eating and drinking establishments sectors are food preparation and service (see figure 3) and maintenance.

Accessing progressively higher-level positions in food preparation generally relies upon gaining on-the-job experience. To reach the highest levels in the cooking profession, specialized education is also required. Accessing career-ladder positions in food service relies upon successful experience on the job and a positive recommendation from a supervisor. The greatest opportunity for intervention by community-based organizations appears to be in the food-preparation career pathway.

The second career grouping worth noting is cleaning and maintenance services. Janitors and cleaners, including housekeeping and maid services, is the largest occupation in the hotel industry, accounting for 23.6% of total employment. Wages in Boston for these positions average $9.00 to $10.00 per hour. Positions that transition from cleaning to maintenance, sometimes with front-line supervisory responsibilities for cleaning and janitorial services, offer higher pay rates. Opportunities also exist for those with certificate training and/or informal, on-the-job apprenticeships to advance to positions that require higher-level maintenance skills, such as basic electrical and HVAC repair and troubleshooting. In Boston, pay rates for these positions average $14.00 to $16.00 per hour. Short-term training and on-the-job experience are required to access these positions.

Finally, hotel desk-clerk positions may serve as an entry point, from which higher-paying jobs such as bookkeeping, accounting, and auditing clerks, may be accessed with additional training and the development of a positive work history.

English-language fluency is an important factor in advancement in the hospitality industry. Many of the back-of-the-house positions, including food preparation, cleaning,
housekeeping, and maintenance positions, are generally lower paid and do not require English proficiency. Front-of–the-house positions, such as waiter and waitress, concierge, and front-desk positions, are generally higher paid and do require high levels of English proficiency. This may be a barrier for some employees seeking career advancement within the hospitality industry.

With regard to the maintenance career pathway, access to higher-level occupations is likely to be mediated by gender, in addition to English-language proficiency, skills, and experience. The level-two and level-three occupations in this career pathway tend to be male-dominated. The institutional requirements to access these positions, such as education, training, and informal apprenticeships, also tend to be male dominated.

**Best Practices for Employment Training in the Hospitality Industry**

A number of training efforts in the hospitality industry exist, both in Boston and elsewhere. The hospitality industry is responsible for more than $350 billion in annual national revenues. Training programs serving the hospitality industry are in strong demand because the industry is so labor intensive and training is seen by the industry as the critical factor in the success of both a particular property and the industry as a whole. From the employment training-organization perspective, the hospitality industry offers a number of consistently available positions and strong support for advancement of internal candidates. One of the critical challenges is to ensure that clients do not become stuck at the lowest levels of employment. In the cases cited below, we have looked for examples that have addressed both entry-level employment and career advancement within the hospitality industry.

The Culinary Union Training Center (CUTC) of Las Vegas offers an example of how an employment training program can provide both access to entry-level employment and opportunities for career-ladder advancement to positions offering higher pay. CUTC offers training programs in thirteen different occupations that are in demand in the hospitality industry, ranging from cashier to prep/fry cook. GED and ESL classes are also offered. Time periods for each training range from 30 to 330 hours, depending the type of class. Most classes are offered twice per day to accommodate workers on various shifts. Classes are free based upon membership in or registration with the Culinary Union. Completion of a class in basic job skills is accepted by both the union and employers in the hospitality industry in Las Vegas as evidence of acceptable work experience for entry-level employment. Completion of advanced classes gives a participant certification in the course competency and the opportunity to bid for promotions.

In Hawaii, where 58% of all workers are employed in the hospitality industry, the state Department of Labor and Industrial Relations created the Tourism Training Council to oversee training programs for the hospitality industry. Apprenticeship programs in building maintenance, cooking leading to executive-chef positions, and cooking leading to pastry-chef positions are critical to the training council’s efforts. Admission to the apprenticeship programs requires a high-school diploma or GED and successful completion of an entrance examination. The program is funded by employers who have signed a union contract and the union-management nonprofit training fund. Community colleges also offer courses in
tourism, food service, maintenance, Hawaiian cultural interpretation, Japanese language and culture, and certification courses in a variety of hospitality-related areas. At a more advanced level, the Visitor Industry Council of Dade County, Florida, has created a program to increase the participation of African-Americans at the higher levels of the hospitality industry. Employees who have an associate's degree and experience in the hospitality industry are given scholarships to Florida International University, in conjunction with an internship in positions of increasing responsibility in local hotels. Students commit to working in the hospitality industry in Dade County for two years after graduation. More than one hundred students have completed the program to-date.

There are a number of examples in Boston that are worthy of examination, as well. A collaborative of seven Boston-area community-based organizations, including VietAID, Dorchester Bay Economic Development Corporation, the Asian Community Development Corporation, and the Boston Technical Center, provided outreach and employment referrals to the Seaport Hotel. Residents who needed job-readiness training were referred to the Boston Technical Center. The Seaport Hotel compensated the referring organization for each employee referred, which created a true win-win partnership. Community residents were able to access employment opportunities, the participating CBOs were compensated for their work, and the Seaport Hotel was able to obtain the workforce it required. Pine Street Inn and the Crittenton Hastings House also offer noteworthy training programs for the hospitality industry.

**Recommendations for Employment Training in the Hospitality Industry**

The following recommendations are based on the research for this report. Readers are cautioned that these recommendations are based on aggregated information on the hospitality industry and that conditions within specific firms may vary significantly from what is presented here. Therefore, training providers are urged to work closely with specific employers in developing and implementing their training programs.

- Identify the companies that will be operating hotels in each of the developments in the Boston Seaport District and begin to work with them at the early stages, even before the construction of the property is completed, to develop training programs and hiring or interviewing agreements that will meet employer needs;
- Explore partnerships with the Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees Local 26 and other unions in the hospitality industry to develop and deliver training programs;
- Work hard to ensure that all training programs for this industry are targeted to career-ladder opportunities, due to the relatively low wages paid for work in entry-level positions in hospitality;
- Provide ESL, GED, and adult basic education as part of a comprehensive training program, as these requirements are often barriers to employment at higher levels.
Legal Services: Employment in Law Offices

Class-A office space represents the largest proportion of development planned for the Boston Seaport District in terms of square footage of space to be developed. Law firms will be a critical user of is Class-A office space. The location of the new federal courthouse on the waterfront has encouraged law firms to locate new offices there, as well as signaled that locating in the downtown financial district is no longer a business imperative. Foley, Hoag & Eliot has already signed up for space on the waterfront, reserving the top six floors of World Trade Center West.15

Legal Services has not interested employment training providers to the same extent as financial services and other users of Class-A office space. However, there are a number of reasons why employment training providers should consider developing programs to serve this industry: 1) the industry is large and growing in Boston; 2) it offers a significant number of positions that offer substantial wages for workers with less than a bachelor's degree; and 3) growth projections for these occupations over the next five years are strongly positive.

Occupational Overview

Of the total employment in legal services, 61.3% is in positions that do not require a bachelor’s degree or higher levels of education. Employment at the three levels that do not require a bachelor’s degree is spread more evenly than in either of the two other industries described in this report (see figure 4).

Growth projections, particularly for level-two and level-three positions, are very strong. Paralegal employment, for example, is projected to grow by 70% in Massachusetts between 1996 and 2006. Some training programs may consider the concentration of pre-baccalaureate jobs in eleven occupations to be a potential downside to the relatively even distribution of employment among the three levels.16 However, this downside risk is countered by the strong growth projections and relatively high wages paid for these occupations.

Wages in the occupations represented in legal services are relatively high, particularly in level-two and level-three positions. For example, legal secretaries in Boston have hourly wages averaging more than $18.00, while paralegals earn wages higher than $20.00 per hour, on average.
**Experience and Skill Requirements**

Experience and skill requirements for clerk, general secretarial, and typist/word processing positions are usually generalist in nature. Knowledge of common computer applications, particularly office-suite programs like Microsoft Office, is most relevant. Excellent customer service, written and verbal English capacity, and personal interaction skills are also required. Specific employers may also require skills in particular database and desktop publishing computer applications. A number of excellent examples of training programs designed to meet these requirements are available in Boston and nationally.

Legal-secretary positions require additional skills beyond what is required for general secretarial positions. These skills may include knowledge of legal concepts and proper legal-citation formatting. Community colleges, proprietary business schools, adult-education centers, and professional organizations may offer legal-secretarial training.

Legal-education courses and professional certifications are offered by the National Association for Legal Secretaries (NALS). The Accredited Legal Secretary (ALS) designation is for someone entering the legal-support field. To take the exam, one must complete two legal-training courses. To become certified as a Professional Legal Secretary (PLS), one must have three years experience in the legal field. The ALS and PLS designations can create more job opportunities and higher salaries.

The skill and education requirements for paralegals vary substantially across the industry. Approximately 85% of all paralegals receive some form of formal paralegal education. Paralegals are educated through certificate programs at community colleges or proprietary schools, two-year degree programs at community colleges or universities, or four-year degree programs at colleges and universities. At least twenty-four credit hours of legal specialty courses are recommended as a minimum qualification for paralegals, although individual employer requirements may differ substantially. Some programs are certified by the American Bar Association and are generally considered the most reputable. Colleges offering American Bar Association certified paralegal courses of instruction in Massachusetts are: Anna Maria College (Paxton), Bay Path College (Longmeadow), Bentley College (Waltham), Elms College (Chicopee), Northern Essex Community College (Haverhill), North Shore Community College (Danvers), and Suffolk University (Boston).

Experience requirements for paralegal positions vary widely as well, depending upon the position’s work duties for a specific employer. Paralegals work independently, under the supervision of a lawyer. Tasks performed may include preparing contracts and forms, performing investigations, doing legal research, interviewing clients, and performing other duties to assist lawyers in delivering services to clients. General skills required by most employers include computer applications usage, and excellent writing, reading, and research skills.

English-language capacity is an issue that may cut both ways in the legal services industry. On the one hand, employers increasingly recognize that a diverse clientele includes many languages. This recognition may lead employers in this industry to increasingly value employees who are fluent in languages other than English. On the other hand, English-language fluency is still required for positions that involve client contact, which includes the vast majority of positions in this industry. Therefore, English-language proficiency is likely to continue...
to be a strong requirement for accessing employment in the legal services industry. Also, it is important to remember that the vast majority of written communication continues to be in English, so written English skills are required, as well.

**Career Pathways and Advancement Potential**

A clear potential career pathway exists in the legal services industry. Entry-level employment is available in file-clerk and general-office-clerk positions, as well as in secretarial and word-processing and typist jobs. Secretary and typist/word-processor positions may also be thought of as a step up from clerk positions because of their higher wages and increased accessibility to higher-level positions. Legal-secretary positions represent a significant advancement opportunity over secretarial and typist/word processor positions in terms of both wages and projected occupational growth. Paralegal positions, in turn, represent another step up from legal secretarial jobs (see figure 5).

**Best Practices for Employment Training in Legal Services**

Training programs run by community-based organizations specifically for the legal services industry appear to be in short supply. Many community-based organizations offer office-skills training that could result in placement in law offices, as well as other businesses.

A number of community-based organizations do offer skills training for legal secretaries. In the case of Job Corps, this involves the addition of skills needed to become a legal secretary on top of the skills provided in their general secretarial program. Also, internship placements in legal settings help ease the transition to employment for Job Corps graduates.

**Recommendations for Employment Training in Legal Services**

- Develop and expand current training for clerical, receptionist, and basic secretarial positions to include law offices as placement sites by working with employers to identify their needs and establish a placement relationship for program participants;
- Develop partnership agreements with community colleges for advanced training and certification in legal secretarial and paralegal skills for participants who have completed basic skills training and become employed in the legal services industry;
- Consider the development of stand-alone programs that add the necessary skills for employment as a legal secretary to those already in place for general secretarial and clerical skills.

**Insurance: Employment in the Insurance Industry**

The insurance industry is one of the largest employers in the greater-Boston region and will be a significant user of Class-A office space, along with legal services, in Boston’s Seaport...
District. The importance of the insurance industry is underscored by the fact that many of the clerical positions that make up a large portion of the employment in this industry are also significant occupations in a variety of other industries, such as financial services and business services. Much of the information in this section is thus transferable, on an occupational basis, to other critical industries in Boston.

Data provided by the Massachusetts Department of Employment Training for the insurance industry are distributed widely across a variety of industry sectors. For this report, we are using the life-insurance sector because it is one of the largest insurance sectors in Boston and because its occupational matrix is highly correlated with other insurance sectors.

**Occupational Overview**

Most positions (62.7%) in the insurance industry do not require a bachelor’s degree. The distribution across the pre-Baccalaureate positions in the insurance industry is quite even, ranging from 18.5% for level-one positions, to 11.9% and 32.3% for level-two and level-three positions, respectively, totaling 62.7% of all employment in the industry. This implies that career pathways to higher-paying positions may exist in this sector (see figure 6).

There are several downsides to the occupational structure of the insurance industry. First, the wage levels for many of the occupations in the insurance industry are quite low, even for second- and third-level occupations. Compared with the legal services industry, the pay in critical occupations in the insurance industry is significantly lower. Also, statewide growth projections for many occupations in the insurance industry are very low or even negative. For example, the growth projections for insurance sales workers, a level-three occupation, and insurance-policy processing clerks, a level-two occupation, are -10.7% and -17.4%, respectively, between 1996 and 2006 (see Appendix A, table 4). Therefore, employment training programs may find fewer placement opportunities for their clients in the insurance industry than in other industries. It is not clear whether the employment opportunities in the Seaport District will represent additional employment opportunities or merely relocated jobs that currently exist in other areas of Boston.

**Experience and Skill Requirements**

Like legal services, experience and skill requirements for clerk, general secretarial, and typist/word processing positions in the insurance industry are often fairly general. Excellent customer service and personal-interaction skills are required. Successful applicants for these
positions are usually able to demonstrate at least minimal levels of successful work experience. Because specific procedures vary widely by company, on-the-job training is provided for entry-level positions, making knowledge of specific skills and procedures less important. However, many clerical and secretarial positions in the insurance industry are beginning to require more advanced experience with computer applications and information technology. These needs are discussed in the following section.

Insurance adjusters, examiners, and investigators decide whether claims are covered by the customer's policy, confirm payment, and investigate the circumstances surrounding a claim. Most entrants to these positions have a strong work history, organizational skills, and demonstrated ability to interact well with a wide variety of clients. Firms generally provide extensive on-the-job training and mentoring of new employees by seasoned professionals.

The issue of English-language proficiency in the insurance industry is similar to the legal services industry. The ability to communicate in languages other than English is increasingly needed in communicating with customers whose first language is not English, but excellent oral and written English-communication skills are still a prerequisite to employment in the industry.

**Career Pathways and Advancement Potential**

A number of potential career pathways exist in the insurance industry (see figure 7).

Many of the positions in the insurance industry are clerical or secretarial. Access to higher-level positions generally requires successful work experience and the ability to gradually take on additional duties. Specific classes, such as advanced computer applications or bookkeeping certificate programs, may also aid in moving employees to higher levels of employment. In addition, clerical and secretarial positions increasingly require sophisticated use of computers and information technology for both entry-level and advanced positions.

Certification also plays a critical role in the insurance industry. Sales positions require certification and licensing. Many people who obtain these jobs start at lower positions in the industry and gain the knowledge and experience required for licensing while on the job. Although many employers prefer candidates for sales positions to have a bachelor's degree, it is not an absolute requirement. Also, there are industry-recognized certification programs for a variety of other positions, such as claims examiners and adjusters.

Finally, there is a growing trend in the insurance industry, as in many other industries, toward automation of routine processes. This trend has led to an increased need for information-technology employees at various levels with experience in computers and computer software as well as in the insurance industry.
Best Practices for Employment Training in the Insurance Industry

The Dane County (Wisconsin) Economic Summit Council has developed a training program for information technology that encompasses both the finance and insurance industries. The program offers training for career-ladder advancement for incumbent clerical employees of finance and insurance firms in Dane County. The training is offered through a partnership with the Madison Area Technical College. Training lasts for sixteen weeks, twenty hours per week. Employers are required to prescreen referrals to the program and to assign an employee mentor to each program participant. People who successfully complete the program receive eleven hours of credit toward an associate's degree and the promise of consideration for internal promotion to information technology positions within their companies.21

Case Studies

Information gathering is only one part of the struggle facing communities of color in obtaining access to the employment opportunities that are derived from major developments like the Boston Seaport District. A well-developed strategy is also required. This report hopes to contribute to the development of that strategy by providing descriptions and analyses of two case studies of how other communities of color made the connection between commercial development and employment, with lessons that can be applied to the situation in Boston. Following the pattern used previously in this report, each section will contain a description of the case being studied, analysis of the lessons to be learned from the case, and recommendations for practice.

Three Communities and Their Use of Linkage to Impact Employment Opportunities

Linkage programs, utilized at their best, have the potential to bring private employers to the table to create equitable access to employment opportunities. Linkage programs work toward this goal along three dimensions: finding incentives to bring employers to the table, providing information on employer needs early on in the process, and linking that information to people seeking jobs and employment training providers. The three programs discussed in this study are the Portland, Oregon, JobNet, the Minneapolis Neighborhood Employment Network (NET), and the Berkley, California, First Source program.22

Bringing Employers to the Table

The three long-standing linkage programs we examined use different incentives to bring employers to the table. The linkage programs in Portland, Oregon, use economic-development incentives as leverage. Employers who receive such economic development incentives as tax abatements, relocation assistance, and financing are required to sign a linkage agree-
ment, the features of which are described in the following section. The program in Berkeley, California, uses zoning, permitting, contracting, and the provision of financing to leverage employer participation. Triggers for the program are "new, non-residential real estate development of more than 7,500 square feet; city public works contracts more than $100,000; or any loan commitment from one of the four city loan, industrial revenue bond financing, or local facade grant programs." Both construction and permanent jobs are included in the program. The program in Minneapolis started by requiring participation of employers receiving redevelopment assistance, but has evolved to the point where participation is voluntary. Participation is driven by the extremely tight labor market and the high quality of services provided to employers as part of the program.

**Obtaining Information on Employer Needs**

Policy makers and employment training providers widely recognize the need for employment training programs to connect closely with employers to be effective. One reason to do this is to obtain critical early information on employers' needs. Staff of the Portland JobNet program are included in the initial negotiating sessions with employers, even prior to the employer receiving the local governmental assistance that will trigger participation in the program. By being included early in the process, JobNet staff gain valuable connections with employers, which in-turn facilitates ongoing relationships. Gaining information on employment opportunities early-on allows JobNet staff to give local training agencies an early "heads up" on what jobs will be available in the future and what skills and experience levels employers anticipate requiring of entrants. JobNet staff then work with community-based organizations to identify and train community residents for the positions that will become available. As the jobs come on line, employers are required to advertise the positions with JobNet prior to advertising the positions publicly, giving community residents the first opportunity to apply for newly created positions resulting from development.

In the Berkeley and Minneapolis programs, up-front information is gathered on a much more ad-hoc basis, due in part to lack of sufficient staff resources to meet this need. The focus in Berkeley is on keeping up with changing employer needs through the job-opening information that companies are required to provide to the First Source office as soon as openings become available. The Minneapolis NET program has two full-time job developers on staff who contact employers regularly for job leads and then disseminate the information to its network of employment training providers.

**Linking to Employment Training Providers**

Each of the three communities in this study works in partnership with community-based employment training programs. Portland's JobNet takes over the placement function from the employment training providers after training to ensure screening and candidate quality control. Direct access for providers to employers is limited to special orientation sessions with employers who are preparing to hire large numbers of employees. All other direct employer contact is handled by JobNet staff. Berkeley's First Source program plays a more
traditional intermediary role of providing information to employment training providers, but only limited quality control and matching services. The Minneapolis NET program is limited to providing information on current job openings and employer contacts to employment training programs on a daily basis.

These programs were found to be effective along several dimensions. Large numbers of community residents were served by each program and all three programs were particularly effective at placing low-income workers as well as racial and ethnic minorities in jobs. Racial and ethnic minorities were placed at two to three times their rate of representation in the local workforce. Job placements varied across the three cases, but in general clients were placed in good entry-level positions.

It is important to note that the linkage programs described in this section are substantially different from Boston’s linkage program. Boston’s linkage program requires developers to pay into funds set aside for job training and housing development. The funds for job training are administered by the city and are disbursed to employment training providers through an RFP process. While the training programs are required to have close links with private employers to enhance the success of placement efforts, they are not generally required to work with employers planning to locate in the development that provided the funds. The linkage programs in Portland, Berkley, and Minneapolis do not extract funds from developers, but rather work to get access to jobs for city residents, particularly low-income residents. These linkage programs seek to make a direct link between specific employers and residents who need jobs.

**Recommendations from the Linkage Case Studies**

- Develop, implement, and monitor a contractually obligated system of employer participation in the city’s workforce development system, with an eye to the provision of permanent jobs to residents of Boston’s communities of color;
- Ensure that transparent monitoring policies, backed up by enforcement mechanisms including economic sanctions, are in place to ensure employer participation;
- Provide a coordinating role for representatives of local communities of color and representatives of employment training programs that serve those communities;
- Work toward the development of hiring policies that contain mandates similar to those currently in place for publicly financed construction jobs. (Leverage for these policies may be most available in the development of the parcels owned by Massport.)

**Military-Base Closings and Redevelopment**

Military-base closings and their subsequent redevelopment are relevant to the focus of this report for at least two reasons. First, military-base closures disproportionately impact racial and ethnic minorities through the elimination of civilian jobs on the bases. For example, five base closings in the San Francisco Bay Area were found to result in the loss of approximately 66,000 jobs, of which 40 percent were held by people of color. The closures were
estimated to result in a 50% increase in unemployment, 84% of which was projected to be people of color. Second, the redevelopment of these bases, like the development of Boston’s Seaport District, will provide opportunities and access points for permanent employment opportunities that can be accessed by communities of color with effective planning, public policy involvement, and training. Some instructive examples are provided below.

Military-base redevelopment typically involves a multi-faceted approach, including recreational land preservation, homeless housing development, as mandated by the McKinney Homeless Assistance Act of 1987, educational facilities, and private commercial development. However, private commercial development is generally the main driver in base redevelopment. In addition, it is important to remember that employment opportunities and businesses in the area surrounding the base are important as well.

Communities that have been most effective in redeveloping their bases have been those that linked the needs of their current workforce to the types of businesses they were seeking to attract. For example, when the Charleston Naval Base closed, the community had a surplus of blue-collar workers, so the redevelopment plan focused on the recruitment of manufacturing and distribution jobs in industries that could use the trade skills of Charleston’s unemployed or underemployed workforce. An additional benefit of these types of jobs is that they balance the lower-paying service economy jobs that are growing fastest in most areas of the United States.

A second characteristic of communities that have been successful in developing employment opportunities for their residents after a base closing is a willingness to focus training efforts on the needs of the new industries that will move onto the base. In Almeda County, California, the location of six base closings, the local Private Industry Council and the University of California conducted demographic studies of civilian workers who would be affected by the base closings and industry studies of potential locators in the new development. The findings were used by the PIC and local training and human-service providers to design services and training programs.

Finally, development occurring in the area around the base is also critical. The mix of businesses that surrounded a base while it was open may not be relevant to the new uses of the base. In addition, new civilian development may provide additional small business opportunities since civilian employees will not have the base PX store to serve their basic needs as their military predecessors did.

Recommendations from the Base Closing Studies

- Develop a collaborative working group to include policy makers, funders, and employment training providers to proactively develop and implement training programs for industries that will become key employers;
- To the extent feasible, attempt to have industries with employment opportunities that match the skills, education, and experience of residents of Boston’s communities of color locate in the Seaport District;
Consider both employment and small business opportunities that can be generated in the areas surrounding, as well as within, the Boston Seaport District.

**Recommendations**

The development of the Boston Seaport District is a long-term effort. Responding effectively to this project to ensure access for communities of color to the employment opportunities that will be created as a result of the project will require ongoing planning and program development. The changes in development plans that will no doubt occur in the future will necessitate rethinking any of the recommendations provided in this report. That said, there are a number of recommendations that can be made at the present time with regard to three areas of focus of this report: planning process, infrastructure, and workforce development programming.

**Planning Process**

- Ensure community representation in the planning and approval processes for the development projects, with the goal of obtaining hiring commitments for residents of Boston’s communities of color;
- Ensure that all agreements reached with developers and employers in the Seaport District include provisions for community oversight and stringent sanctions for failure to meet the terms of the agreements;
- Create a working relationship with public workforce development funders to obtain commitments of training resources to support employment training for the critical industries and occupations identified in this report.

**Infrastructure**

- Coordinate with groups working on transportation plans for the Boston Seaport District to ensure that public transportation access from Boston’s communities of color is direct, unimpeded, and scheduled in accordance with work and training schedules for the occupations being pursued;
- Work with developers, public officials, and unions to provide on-site training facilities within project developments. A training site for the hospitality industry appears particularly promising in this regard.
Workforce Development Programming

- Identify those employers who are likely to locate in Boston’s Seaport District and work with them and any unions that represent their workers to develop training programs that meet their specific skills needs for critical occupations; obtain interviewing and hiring agreements for training-program graduates in return;

- Identify career pathways for occupations offering entry-level training programs and pursue curriculum development and funding opportunities, in partnership with private employers and unions, for these programs;

- Develop and implement training programs that include ABE, ESL, and GED training, as well as occupational skills training.

Finally, ongoing surveillance of the development of the Boston Seaport District and the employment opportunities generated is clearly a necessary component of a successful plan. As projects begin to be built, a great deal of additional information regarding specific employers planning to locate in the area will become available. A process to continually obtain, track, and disseminate this information in a timely manner must be developed and implemented.

Using This Report

This report has been designed to provide data and information for community-based employment training organizations to use as a starting point in developing plans to maximize access to permanent jobs in the Seaport District for their communities. The following are a few suggestions for the use of this report.

1. Use report as a basis for beginning dialogue with private employers who are contemplating moving into the development. For example, a CBO that provides training in the hospitality industry could arrange to meet with Human Resources personnel from hotels planning to move into the district, using the occupational and best-practice information from this report as the beginning of a dialogue about skill requirements for specific occupations in that particular company. This dialogue could eventually result in forming a partnership to provide a training program, internship placements, and/or agreements to interview program graduates.

2. Use the report as the basis for a dialogue with funders. Given the large number of permanent jobs that will be created in the Boston Seaport District when completed, workforce development funders will likely look favorably upon training providers who have planned strategically to ensure access for residents of Boston’s communities of color, who remain an underutilized labor resource. Both private and public workforce development funders have a stake in seeing that residents of communities of color have access to this infusion of permanent jobs.
3. Use this report to think beyond entry-level positions. One focus of this report has been on the consideration of employment opportunities beyond the entry level. These positions are the ones that pay wages that can lead to a family's economic self-sufficiency. Despite the current focus of workforce development policy on entry-level "work-first" types of positions, we suggest that there are opportunities to obtain access to both the entry-level positions that can get a worker in the door of a company and the higher-level positions that can lead to economic self-sufficiency. Pilot programs that address this need may be particularly valuable.

4. Use this report as the basis for further research and planning. Modifications to the development proposals, changes in labor-market conditions, and workforce development policy changes will all have an impact on what can be done and how, in gaining access to permanent employment opportunities in the Boston Seaport District. Using this report as baseline information, community-based organizations can identify the ways in which changes relating to the Seaport District will impact the information in this report and be able to respond quickly and effectively to these changes.

Advocacy organizations and unions may also find value in this report in providing information that will support their efforts to organize around access to Boston's Seaport District for Boston's communities of color. Advocacy and workforce development organizations are encouraged to work in partnership to develop the political leverage to implement policies that will ensure equitable access to the employment opportunities discussed in this report.
Endnotes


6. Levels are based on entry-level requirements and career-ladder potential, which includes trainable steps and salary increases. See appendix section for more detailed information.


8. See Appendix A, table 1, for a detailed description of job titles and levels along with wages and growth projections.

9. For example, the Self-Sufficiency Standard for Boston for a family comprised of one adult, one preschool child and one school-age child is a full-time job paying $18.54 per hour. (Pierce and Brooks with Russel, "The Self-Sufficiency Standard").


12. A complete listing is available at http://www.culinaryhoteltraining.com/training_available.html

13. Herman and Eller, “Training for hospitality.”


16. See Appendix A, table 3, for details.
19. Source: "Paralegal Colleges: A Directory of Colleges Offering Paralegal Programs Approved by the American Bar Association (ABA)," http://www.paralegalcolleges.com
26. Gail Hanson, September 12, 1994, "Base closings: Shelter for the homeless or new job opportunities," Insight on the News, p. 6-10.
### Appendix A Table 1

**Occupational Matrix: Hotels and Other Lodging Places**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hosts and Hostesses</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>$9.22</td>
<td>$7.85</td>
<td>7.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secretaries, except legal and medical</td>
<td>1.0%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>$15.74</td>
<td>$15.17</td>
<td>-3.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales and Related Workers, all others</td>
<td>0.9%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>$15.91*</td>
<td>$14.32*</td>
<td>7.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food Preparation and Service Workers, all others</td>
<td>0.9%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>$7.44*</td>
<td>$6.22*</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Switchboard Operators</td>
<td>0.7%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>$12.80</td>
<td>$11.43</td>
<td>2.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleaning and Building Service Workers, all others</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>$11.65*</td>
<td>$10.62*</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marketing and Sales Worker Supervisors</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Office Clerks</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>$12.07</td>
<td>$11.37</td>
<td>4.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Employment in Positions Not Requiring a Bachelor’s Degree</td>
<td>81.7%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


[^a]: Levels are estimated based on entry-level requirements and career-ladder potential, which includes trainable steps and salary increases. Methodology is author's.

[^b]: Mean and median hourly wages are for the city of Boston, except where followed by an asterisk (*), indicating they are for all Massachusetts.
## Appendix A Table 2

**Occupational Matrix: Eating and Drinking Establishments**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Job Title</th>
<th>% of Employment</th>
<th>Level&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>Mean Wage&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>Median Wage&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>Growth Projection</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Waiters and Waitresses</td>
<td>21.5%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>$6.75</td>
<td>$8.87</td>
<td>7.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food Counter, Fountain, and Related Workers</td>
<td>17.2%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooks, short order and fast food</td>
<td>9.8%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>$9.35</td>
<td>$9.15</td>
<td>19.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food Preparation Workers</td>
<td>8.3%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>$8.07</td>
<td>$7.63</td>
<td>10.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooks, Restaurant</td>
<td>7.9%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>$10.44</td>
<td>$10.07</td>
<td>13.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service Workers, all others</td>
<td>3.9%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>12.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dining Room and Cafeteria Attendants</td>
<td>3.7%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>$7.40</td>
<td>$5.94</td>
<td>11.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bartenders</td>
<td>3.4%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>$7.86</td>
<td>$6.85</td>
<td>-0.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hosts and Hostesses</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>$8.22</td>
<td>$7.85</td>
<td>7.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Janitors and Cleaners, including maids and housekeepers</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>$9.79</td>
<td>$9.15</td>
<td>3.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Driver/Service Worker</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>$11.19</td>
<td>$10.55</td>
<td>12.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Truck Drivers, light and heavy</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>14.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooks, institution or cafeteria</td>
<td>0.7%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>$10.94</td>
<td>$11.13</td>
<td>2.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salespersons, retail</td>
<td>0.7%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>$8.63</td>
<td>$7.99</td>
<td>8.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bookkeeping, Accounting and Auditing Clerks</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>$13.33</td>
<td>$12.80</td>
<td>-4.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bakers, bread and pastry</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>$11.09</td>
<td>$10.99</td>
<td>25.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

83.9%


<sup>a</sup>Levels are estimated based on entry-level requirements and career-ladder potential, which includes trainable steps and salary increases. Methodology is author's.

<sup>b</sup>Mean and median hourly wages are for the city of Boston, except where followed by an asterisk (*), indicating they are for all Massachusetts.
### Appendix A Table 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Standard Industrial Code 81</th>
<th>Occupational Matrix: Legal Services</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Job Title</strong></td>
<td>% of Employment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legal Secretaries</td>
<td>29.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paralegals</td>
<td>10.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Receptionists and Information Clerks</td>
<td>4.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bookkeeping, Accounting and Auditing Clerks</td>
<td>4.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Office Clerks</td>
<td>2.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legal Assistants, including law clerks, all others</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secretaries, except legal and medical</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Typists and Word Processors</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>File Clerks</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Messengers</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Janitors and Cleaners, including maids and housekeepers</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


aLevels are estimated based on entry-level requirements and career-ladder potential, which includes trainable steps and salary increases. Methodology is author’s.

bMean and median hourly wages are for the city of Boston, except where followed by an asterisk (*), indicating they are for all Massachusetts.
### Appendix A Table 4

#### Occupational Matrix: Life Insurance

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Job Title</th>
<th>% of Employment</th>
<th>Level(^a)</th>
<th>Mean Wage(^b)</th>
<th>Median Wage(^b)</th>
<th>Growth Projection</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Insurance Sales Workers</td>
<td>19.1%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>$23.79(^*)</td>
<td>$21.50(^*)</td>
<td>-10.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Office Clerks</td>
<td>6.6%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>$12.07</td>
<td>$11.37</td>
<td>4.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insurance Policy Processing Clerks</td>
<td>5.7%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>$13.62</td>
<td>$13.29</td>
<td>-17.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insurance Claims Clerks</td>
<td>4.4%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>$14.61</td>
<td>$14.09</td>
<td>14.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Management Support Workers, all others</td>
<td>4.2%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>$21.18(^*)</td>
<td>$18.87(^*)</td>
<td>11.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secretaries, except legal and medical</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>$15.74</td>
<td>$15.17</td>
<td>-3.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insurance Adjusters, Examiners and Investigators</td>
<td>3.5%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>$19.82</td>
<td>$18.95</td>
<td>5.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical and Administrative Support Workers, all others</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>$13.00(^*)</td>
<td>$12.41(^*)</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bookkeeping, Accounting and Auditing Clerks</td>
<td>2.1%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>$13.33</td>
<td>$12.80</td>
<td>-4.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjustment Clerks</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>$13.66</td>
<td>$12.80</td>
<td>44.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Claims Examiners, property and casualty</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>$18.64</td>
<td>$17.76</td>
<td>5.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales and Related Workers, all others</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>$15.91(^*)</td>
<td>$14.32(^*)</td>
<td>7.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Typists and Word Processors</td>
<td>1.0%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>$13.54</td>
<td>$12.89</td>
<td>-22.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>File Clerks</td>
<td>1.0%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>$9.41</td>
<td>$0.30</td>
<td>-2.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corresponding Clerks</td>
<td>0.9%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>$12.00(^*)</td>
<td>$11.17(^*)</td>
<td>12.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Data Entry Keyers, except composing</td>
<td>0.9%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>$10.16</td>
<td>$9.75</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mail Clerks, except mail machine operators and tenders</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>$9.92</td>
<td>$9.66</td>
<td>5.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjusters and Investigators, all others</td>
<td>0.7%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Receptionists and Information Clerks</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>$11.11</td>
<td>$10.89</td>
<td>26.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Billing, Cost, and Rate Clerks</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>$13.52</td>
<td>$12.92</td>
<td>14.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


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\(^{b}\)Mean and median hourly wages are for the city of Boston, except where followed by an asterisk (*), indicating they are for all Massachusetts.