## **Iowa State University**

## From the SelectedWorks of Joshua L. Rosenbloom

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The Boston Renaissance: Race, Space, and Economic Change in an American Metropolis. By Barry Bluestone and Mary Huff Stevenson, with contributions from Michael Massagli, Philip Moss, and Chris Tilly. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2000. Pp. xiii, 461. \$45.00.

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women were allowed to lift and carry, for instance, varied greatly across states and in many states, was less than the weight of a toddler. But protectionists also used the wartime experience to support their position. They noted that absenteeism in war-related industries was higher among women than men and attributed this to women's responsibilities at home. Hepler argues that the protectionists' strategy had the unintended consequence, however, of supporting employers' claims that a worker's health was more dependent on her personal behaviors than on conditions in the workplace. In the decades following the war, gender-specific labor laws were eliminated or expanded to include men. In their wake, some private companies instituted fetal protection policies which prohibited childbearing women from certain areas of the workplace. Women once again were being targeted because they were mothers, but now motherhood was defined narrowly as the biological ability to bear children. In 1991 the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that fetal protection policies were unconstitutional and gave women the right to choose the risks they faced in the workplace.

Hepler provides a convincing account of how changes in medical theory and practice and the debates among feminists shaped discussions of women's occupational health in the twentieth century. Particularly effective is how Hepler weaves these themes together by examining the career of Alice Hamilton, an industrial toxicologist and protectionist who dropped her opposition to the ERA in 1952. But Hepler's history seems incomplete. The variation in protective legislation across states and across industries that Hepler notes at several points in the text call attention to the fact that these laws were the outcomes of a political process. Yet this political process receives almost no discussion. The motives and actions of unions and employers—groups that also played roles in shaping protective legislation—receive only brief mention. As Hepler notes, ideas about occupational health are the "complex product of political, economic, social, and cultural pressures by employers, workers, state and federal health officials and physicians" (p. 1). Hepler adds greatly to our understanding of some of these interactions but leaves other unaddressed.

One important conclusion that emerges from Hepler's research is that promoting equal treatment in the workplace has its costs. A recent study found that women, especially mothers, are more stressed at work than men. As Hepler writes, "For wage-earning mothers, this study must have seemed like a waste of research money" (p. 128). Even though labor laws no longer take into account women's domestic roles, these roles continue to impact women's occupational health.

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The greater Boston area has experienced a remarkable economic resurgence in the last two decades. Beginning in the late nineteenth century the declining fortunes of its leading manufacturing industries—textiles and boots and shoes—contributed to a sustained economic slide that was not reversed until the early 1980s. By 1982 a Brookings Institution study citing high and rising unemployment, rising crime rates, poor housing, municipal debt burden and tax disparity ranked the Boston SMSA near the bottom of urban America, below cities such as Detroit, Gary, Newark, and Oakland. These trends were sharply reversed in the 1980s and early 1990s, however. Propelled by the rise of high-technology

industries, the growing importance of medical care in the economy, and the contributions of its concentration of colleges and universities, Boston ranked first among urban areas in growth of median family incomes during the 1980s, while its surrounding suburbs ranked second among suburban areas.

The Boston area's rapid recovery in the 1980s and early 1990s provides the context for this study, which explores the effects of the region's economic transformation on the lives and livelihoods of the region's residents. Drawing on a specially conducted survey—the Greater Boston Social Survey (GBSS)—and a set of interviews with area employers, the authors explore the links between labor-market outcomes on the one hand and residential location, ethnic and racial discrimination, and the region's shifting industrial structure on the other hand. Funded by the Russell Sage Foundation and the Ford Foundation, the GBSS was designed in collaboration with researchers studying three other cities—Los Angeles, Detroit, and Atlanta—where similar surveys were conducted, and collected data on residential location and characteristics, racial and ethnic attitudes, and labor-market experience from interviews with a stratified sample of 1,820 adults from throughout the metropolitan area.

After an introductory chapter that describes the transformation of the Boston economy, poses the questions that motivated their study, and articulates a theoretical framework for analyzing their results, the authors devote the next three chapters to laying out what they describe as Boston's triple revolution: the transformation of the region's demographic composition, industrial structure, and spatial organization. Demographically, the recent influx of blacks, Hispanics, and Asians has transformed a previously white ethnocentric region into a much more racially and ethnically diverse, and multicultural community. Industrially, the region has moved from a "mill-based" to a "mind-based" economy. Spatially, the central city's dominant role as hub of the regional economy has declined while surrounding regions have become more important, producing a truly metropolitan region.

Beginning in chapter 5, the book shifts gears, embarking on an extended analysis of the results of the GBSS in conjunction with data gleaned from federal censuses and a survey of Boston area employers. Chapter 5 introduces the survey and uses it to paint a quantitative picture of the region's population in the early 1990s. As this initial exploration makes clear, there are large differences in occupation, earnings, and residential characteristics by race and gender. In Chapter 6 the survey data are used to explore racial and ethnic attitudes -including how each racial and ethnic group sees itself and others, the prevalence of stereotypes, and the extent to which individuals have experienced racial or ethnic discrimination—as well as the extent of satisfaction with a wide range of community characteristics—including the quality of schools, police protection, and city services, among others. Chapter 7 documents the persistence of a high degree of racial and ethnic segregation in housing within the Boston area, and attempts to identify the reasons for this segregation. Although housing costs in the Boston area are generally quite high, the evidence shows that a large fraction of the region's minority families could afford to live in white communities. Thus affordability is not the issue. Instead, the authors point to discrimination, differences in access to information, and varying perceptions of desirability of particular communities as more important factors. Intriguingly, the authors document a pronounced incompatibility between different groups in their perception of the ideal racial and ethnic mix of residents

In Chapters 8 and 9, the survey data are used to explore in more depth the sources of differences in labor-market outcomes. Chapter 8 focuses in particular on less-educated workers, confining much of its analysis of individual variation in earnings to those with no more than a high school diploma. Chapter 9 offers a more general analysis of earnings. The results of these investigations suggest that while the substantial differences between white and Hispanic earnings are due largely to differences in human capital characteristics,

simply increasing black human capital would not equalize earnings. Rather it appears that black workers in Boston continue to suffer from the effects of discrimination, as well as the negative consequences of what the author's term "cultural capital"—negative impacts of family background and residential location. The final substantive chapter, chapter 10, augments these findings with the results of a survey of Boston-area employers showing that employer attitudes, the location of jobs, and rising skill requirements for even entry-level jobs all pose problems for the economic advancement of minority workers.

The GBSS and employer survey that underlie this study are rich sources of data about the economy of the Boston area in the early 1990s, and the authors do a good job of presenting and analyzing these data. Their attention to the historical context that produced these data is also gratifying, but the authors do little to integrate this historical background into their analysis of the data. Further, as interesting as the data they have gathered may be, from the perspective of historians seeking to chart change over time and identify the explanations for these changes, they represent a single observation. One can only hope that subsequent studies will follow up with the collection of similarly rich sources of data in the future.

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## GENERAL AND MISCELLANEOUS

Political Economy in Macroeconomics. By Allan Drazen. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000. Pp. xiv, 775. \$55.00, £ 35.00.

This is a colossal volume—it is at once a compendium, a survey, a critical evaluation, and a clear exposition of a burgeoning field. It is a study of macroeconomic policy-making in the presence of heterogeneity across actors. Allan Drazen argues that the *sine qua non* of politics is the conflict of interests; and the core of political economy is that policies are the outcome of the interaction of competing individuals and groups whose concern is their own welfare and not necessarily that of any other individuals or the society as a whole.

This is a comprehensive analysis. After three introductory chapters on the tools of political economy (an extraordinarily useful, concise summary of the fundamental concepts—voting theory, lobbying, and transactions-costs politics as well as the core growth and overlapping generations models), Drazen makes a compelling case for a political interpretation of the time-consistency (TC) problem. In its usual form, an infinitely-lived, social-welfare-maximizing social planner "surprises" a representative agent with a higher policy (tax or inflation rate) after the agent has taken an irreversible action (chosen an investment level, or signed a fixed-term nominal contract) in the absence of a commitment technology. This structure (representative agent and social planner) seems as far from political economy as one can possibly reach. Yet Drazen argues that while all individuals are identical ex ante, there is heterogeneity ex post. If the representative agent is the average of many (perhaps identical) agents, any agent desires a low tax rate (to preserve income) but to have the representative agent taxed at a high rate (to provide more public goods). So the ordinary agent internalizes the government's budget constraint in its objective function while the representative agent does not, creating a heterogeneity across agents, and hence a political problem.

This is clearly not the standard view of politics, in which (ex ante) heterogeneity across preferences leads to conflict over the use and control of power, especially the power to tax and redistribute. Yet it is a somewhat compelling logic and does speak to the much-needed problem defining the breadth or scope of this field.