

THE ECONOMIC SECURITY AND FINANCIAL WELL-BEING OF ANGELENOS

INITIAL RESULTS FROM THE PEOPLE'S PROJECT



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EXECUTIVE Summary

This report presents the results of the largest known survey of Angelenos since the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic. The Los Angeles County Federation of Labor (L.A. Fed) commissioned this report to understand the economic needs of the people of Los Angeles by hearing directly from the people of Los Angeles. The L.A. Fed partnered with Unemployed Workers United and Catalyst California to conduct surveys with 10,236 residents of Los Angeles County and analyze the survey results.

Virtually all Angelenos (over 99 percent) identified a negative effect of the pandemic that impacted their economic security. A majority report having lost jobs or wages, and a third have suffered negative health or health care effects. More than one in five Angelenos report losing – or being at risk of losing – housing.

Most Angelenos — 62 percent — report receiving some form of government assistance in the past year, with more than a quarter of respondents pointing to Medi-Cal and Medicare. Just under a quarter of respondents cited SNAP benefits (24 percent) and unemployment insurance (23 percent). Fewer than ten percent of Angelenos received rental assistance.

When asked what they need to feel secure, strong majorities cited higher wages (68 percent) and more affordable housing (63 percent). More than a third said better health care (37 percent).

When asked what prevented them from achieving economic security, most Angelenos selected debts/ financial obligations, and a lack of funds/resources.

When asked what currently provides them with economic security, nearly half of Angelenos cited their wages, with union households more likely to identify wages as a key support. Approximately one-third of Angelenos cited housing as providing economic security and roughly the same number cited "stable hours at work."

Over 90 percent of Angelenos indicated interest in some sort of additional assistance. More than half of respondents indicated rental assistance would be most helpful (51 percent), followed by more than a quarter citing food assistance (27 percent). At least ten percent of respondents expressed an interest in COVID testing, vaccinations, workforce training, urban gardening, and child care.

The effects of COVID-19 — and the associated community needs — are felt disproportionately, consistently falling most heavily on poor communities and communities of color. Households with income under \$75,000 were more than twice as likely to suffer lost wages as households with incomes over \$200,000. At the same time, 56 percent of households with incomes under \$50,000 report receiving no government assistance in the past year — a lower rate than average. Although Black Angelenos have worse health outcomes than White Angelenos, White Angelenos report receiving healthcare assistance from the government at higher rates.

To address these ongoing problems, the L.A. Fed launched the People's Project in January 2022. Based on labor ideals of solidarity and mutual aid, the People's Project sought to scale up community support to meet the extent of the need. We now present these survey results for the consideration of policymakers, along with recommendations for action.

INTRODUCTION

In early 2020, the COVID-19 pandemic swept into Los Angeles, as it did the rest of the country. But Los Angeles is not the rest of the country. With 1 out of every 30 Americans living in L.A., it is the nation's most populous county. L.A.'s population of 10 million people is larger than the population of 40 states.

L.A. County is not just large, it is also famously diverse — and famously unequal.¹ U.S. Census data indicates Angelenos, altogether, speak 185 different languages at home.² While L.A. has more unhoused people and more concentrated poverty than any other major metro area, the area also hosts a reported 67 billionaires.³ According to calculations from the United Way of California, median household income in L.A. County is \$77,983 but the real cost to live in L.A. is \$95,112 — suggesting that the average Angeleno lacks the resources needed to live securely.⁴

L.A. County hosts the nation's single most important locus of global trade — the San Pedro Bay Ports. The county's 88 cities are home to Hollywood, as well as the nation's largest manufacturing base, and over a dozen key industry clusters, including finance and technology.

It could reasonably be argued that few counties in the U.S. are as critical to the nation's economic wellbeing as Los Angeles.

When COVID-19 arrived, the Los Angeles labor movement, like many other leaders and institutions, stepped up to help. The L.A. County Federation of Labor (L.A. Fed), along with its non-profit partner Labor Community Services (LCS), fed nearly one million Angelenos in the first year of the pandemic— members and non-members alike. The labor movement provided rental and utility bill assistance and organized food distribution for those in need. Dozens of affiliate unions and thousands of individual union members volunteered in numerous ways, on top of the tens of thousands of union workers classified — sometimes cynically — as "essential," and pressed into service.

Labor stepped up not only to protect its members, but because solidarity is baked into the very mission of labor. As much as unions strive to deliver for their members, unions also strive to raise standards across the board. In general, the higher the union density is in an industry, the higher the standards are for all workers in that industry, as non-union employers are forced into competition to recruit and retain the best talent. This is a large part of why unions are such critical actors not only in improving conditions for workers, but in reducing inequality across the entire economy, and reducing gender and racial wage gaps in particular.⁵ A recent report from the Economic Policy Institute illustrates the relationship between union membership and overall inequality.

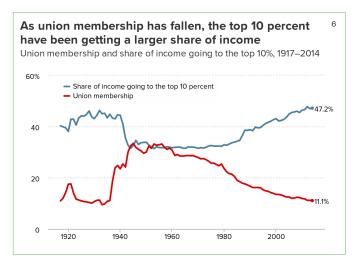
- 1 https://www.policylink.org/sites/default/files/LA_County_Profile_Final.pdf
- 2 https://la.curbed.com/2015/11/4/9904020/los-angeles-languages

³ https://www.forbes.com/sites/rachelsandler/2022/04/05/golden-state-billionaires-california-home-to-the-most-billionaires-in-theus/?sh=5c9e0a8d79ee

⁴ https://www.unitedwaysca.org/images/RealCostMeasure2021/countyprofiles/los_angeles_county.pdf

⁵ See, e.g., Card 1996, 2001; Card, Lemieux, and Riddell 2018; https://www.epi.org/publication/unions-and-well-being/

⁶ As union membership has fallen, the top 10 percent have been getting a larger share of income. Mishel and Scheider. Economic Policy Institute. May 2016. Source: https://www.epi.org/publication/as-union-membership-has-fallen-the-top-10-percent-have-been-getting-a-larger-share-of-income/#:----text=Union%20membership%20fell%20to%2011.learliest%20year%20data%20are%20available).



The spirit of solidarity and mutual aid suffuses the labor movement and is perhaps most clearly evident in the ubiquitous notion of the strike fund. Union members rarely seek to strike, but still regularly contribute a small percentage of dues toward a strike fund. This fund is typically available to workers suddenly left without economic security in times of crisis— perhaps from a strike, or a lockout, or from the many illegal terminations that occur each year in the context of organizing campaigns (ironically, of course, the presence of the strike fund reduces the need to use it).

Though mutual aid may come into sharpest focus during a crisis, the same spirit fills our everyday work. The L.A. Fed and its affiliate unions have established a network of community care to provide economic stability in challenging times: organizing financial donations to member hardship funds, bringing food to picket lines, and donating groceries, along with turkeys at Thanksgiving and toys at the holidays. Mutual aid is not just economic, but also social and emotional: when workers are on the picket line for "one day longer" because their employer forced a strike, or is not bargaining in good faith, it is important to just show up – for moral support – and be present.

MUTUAL AID AND THE PEOPLE'S PROJECT

In January 2022, the L.A. Fed launched the People's Project to scale its mutual aid efforts across the county. The People's Project was created to identify community needs and find resources to meet those needs; while connecting these two things, we train more Angelenos in mutual aid tactics. We bring solidarity to the community, teaching neighbors to help neighbors — just as workers help workers in the labor movement. And just as every workplace is different, so is every community; the People's Project focuses on building small networks, block by block, and understanding the unique needs of each block.

In our experience, many resources already exist for the needs we have heard community members express, and to date the People's Project has connected thousands of people with rental assistance, food aid, financial literacy programs, child care, and other services. Where resources do not yet exist, the Project helps to build them, as with our work around food access. The simple mapping of existing neighborhood food drives — when combined with the Project's novel outreach approaches and ability to provide food resources based on the specific requests and needs of neighborhoods— has resulted in more people getting access to needed, quality resources. With its involvement, the People's Project has also worked to enhance the *quality* of food at several drives. People utilizing the food resources have requested access to fresh fruits and vegetables, and to hot meals. The People's Project has partnered with local food vendors and markets to increase the pantries and food availability of many existing food programs.

More than two years into the pandemic, we can survey the extensive damage. The L.A. County Department of Public Health reports 3.4 million COVID-19 cases at this point, along with over 33,000 dead Angelenos.⁷ Communities of color have disproportionately borne the brunt of the health-related effects of the pandemic, with the latest data showing Black, NHPI, Latinx, and AIAN Angelenos having death rates over 1.5 times the rate of White Angelenos.⁸

⁷ http://publichealth.lacounty.gov/media/coronavirus/data/, accessed September 2, 2022.

⁸ http://dashboard.publichealth.lacounty.gov/covid19_surveillance_dashboard/. Accessed on September 7, 2022.

The economic damage has also been extreme, and the recovery in Los Angeles is lagging. According to figures from Beacon Economics, the state of California has recovered over 97 percent of the jobs lost during the pandemic; Orange County has recovered 96 percent and San Diego County has recovered 99 percent.⁹ Meanwhile, L.A. County has recovered only 88 percent of its jobs.

With newly elected leadership soon to arrive at both L.A. City and L.A. County, along with much of the region, now is a moment to take stock and map out next steps. We know that the value of solidarity – expressed in structures of mutual aid and structures of government – works. It has been and will continue to be a major part of any solution. But we also know that these structures have not been enough – at least not at their current scope and scale. To start, we set out to better assess the needs.

THE SURVEY

To inform policymakers, we conducted this survey to understand the economic needs of the people of Los Angeles — as told by the people of Los Angeles. We wanted not only to understand the effect of the COVID-19 pandemic on Angelenos, but also to understand what Angelenos feel they need to achieve economic security. While media outlets and polling firms publish no shortage of public opinion surveys, and while government statistics can and do provide critical context, there is more to the picture. Too often the voices of marginalized Angelenos are not heard. When the topic of study is *economic need*, however, it is precisely these marginalized Angelenos we can least afford to overlook.

This survey addresses the challenge by proactively seeking out groups that many surveys consider "hard-to-find." In many ways, this means that our survey respondents are in fact *not* representative of Los Angeles overall. Relative to the County population, our respondents are more likely to be working age, and less likely to be particularly young or particularly old. Relative to the County population, our respondents are much more likely to have household incomes under \$75,000. Relative to the County population, our respondents are also more likely to be Black, more likely to be renters, and more likely to be unhoused.¹⁰

To ensure the most robust results possible from this often-overlooked population, we set out to conduct the largest survey of Angelenos in years. Starting in February 2022, we initially reached out to over two million people through a mix of text-based and in-person approaches. Text messages were sent to lists compiled from voter files, consumer data, and union membership; text messages included a link to a survey, which respondents could complete either online or over the phone with a human. Respondents received a gift card for participating. In addition, we approached Angelenos in person – at grocery stores, swap meets, and by going door to door – in targeted zip codes in South L.A. and Southeast L.A. By June 2022, we successfully conducted 10,236 surveys.¹¹ This is over 3,000 more surveys than were completed for the 2018 L.A. County Health Survey, the County's largest periodic survey.¹²

In addition to gathering detailed demographic data — including their L.A. city council and county supervisorial districts¹³ — respondents were asked the following questions:

- 10 See appendix for complete data on the respondent demographics relative to the County overall.
- 11 See appendix for complete survey methodology and tool.

⁹ Beacon Economics, Beacon Employment Report California, August 19, 2022.

¹² http://www.publichealth.lacounty.gov/ha/docs/2018LACHS/Methodology/LACHS_2018_Methodology_Report_FIN.pdf

¹³ Find all City Council and County Supervisor District data at <u>https://thepeoplesproject.la</u>.

- 1. How has the COVID-19 pandemic impacted your economic security?
- 2. What allows you to be economically stable?
- 3. What do you need to feel economically secure?
- 4. What prevents you from having economic security now?
- 5. Have you received any government assistance in the last year?
- 6. What services would be most helpful for you and your family?

Respondents were presented with multiple choice answers and also given open-ended options on all questions. Respondents could provide multiple answers to questions and could skip questions.

While this was certainly not a perfect process – and while it certainly *was* a time-consuming process – we believe the effort to have been worthwhile. No other survey (to our knowledge) has captured the voices of so many struggling, overlooked, and underrepresented Angelenos. Not since at least the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic has so many Angelenos specifically addressed questions of need and economic security. It is vital we hear what people are saying and respond to what they are asking for.

RESEARCH TEAM

The Los Angeles County Federation of Labor (L.A. Fed) is the umbrella organization representing over 800,000 workers in over 300 affiliate unions across L.A. County. In January 2022 the L.A. Fed launched the People's Project and commissioned this report and this research.

Unemployed Workers United (UWU) is committed to creating an economy and society that respects all working people. UWU and the L.A. Fed conducted all surveys.

Catalyst California is a next generation, multiracial civil rights advocacy organization. Catalyst California analyzed the collected data and reported all survey results.

Through the course of the survey work and in connecting Angelenos to resources, our team engaged in deeper conversations with a number of respondents. Select quotations from these respondents accompany their pictures throughout this report; we are incredibly grateful for their time.

A follow-up survey of 432 was completed with results to be published in a subsequent report.

FINDINGS

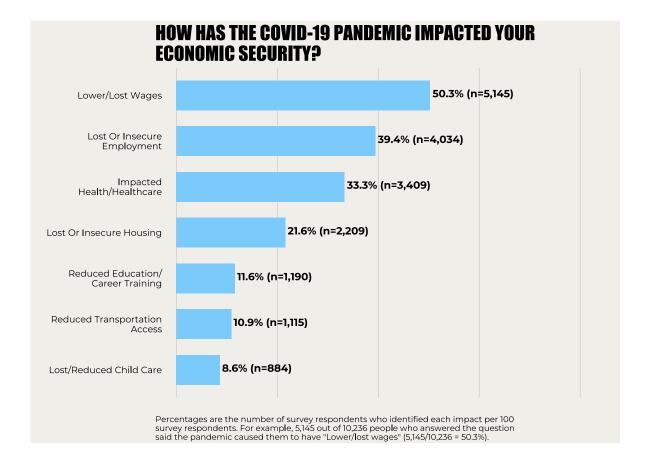
THE NEGATIVE EFFECTS OF THE PANDEMIC HAVE BEEN FELT WIDELY – AND DISPROPORTIONATELY

- The fact that a global pandemic directly and indirectly caused widespread suffering is hardly surprising, but the extent, the nature, and the variety of effects are notable:
- Over 99 percent of Angelenos identified a negative effect of the pandemic that impacted their economic security

- A majority of Angelenos report losing jobs or wages¹⁴
- One-third of Angelenos have suffered negative health effects, or negative effects on health care¹⁵
- More than one in ten Angelenos reported a negative effect on their education or career training similar rates noted impacts on their transportation access and on their child care¹⁶

These burdens were not borne equally. The negative effects of COVID-19 have been disproportionately felt – particularly by communities of color and lower-income Angelenos.¹⁷ The ethnicities experiencing the highest rates of lost wages are Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islander (NHPI) communities and American Indian and Alaska Native (AIAN) communities.¹⁸ These groups also experience a higher baseline amount of poverty.¹⁹ The impact of lost wages on Latinx and Black communities is also considerable given their population sizes and reported rates above the county total.

Also unsurprisingly, survey data found those with lower household incomes were considerably more likely to report negative effects due to the COVID-19 pandemic. For instance, households with an income under \$75,000 were more than twice as likely to suffer lost wages as households with incomes over \$200,000.



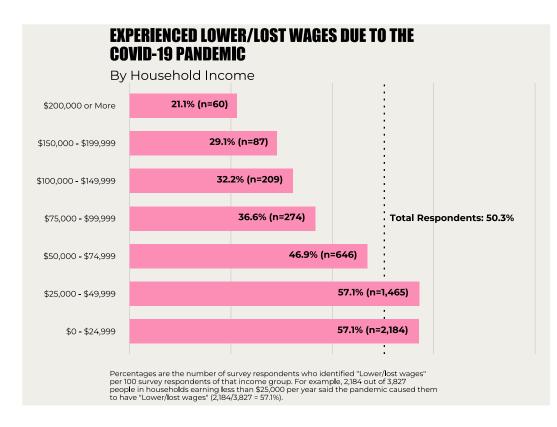
^{14 50.3%} of Angelenos reported lower/lost wages due the to pandemic and 39.4% reported lost or insecure employment.

15 33.3% of Angelenos report their health/healthcare was impacted due to the Covid-19 pandemic.

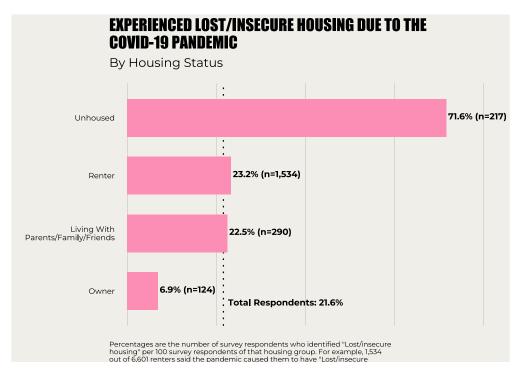
16 11.6% reported reduced education/career training due to the Covid-19 pandemic

- 17 See also Los Angeles County Economic Development Corporation, Pathways to Economic Resiliency, 2021.
- 18 60.6% and 58.8%, respectively.

¹⁹ Center for Budget and Policy Priorities, Tracking the COVID-19 Economy's Effects on Food, Housing, and Employment Hardships, February 2022.



More than <u>one in five</u> Angelenos report losing — or being at risk of losing — housing.²⁰ Here, too, the results are racialized, with housing insecurity reported by <u>one in four</u> Black and NHPI Angelenos. Worse still, <u>one</u> <u>in three</u> Angelenos from the American Indian and Alaska Native community report housing insecurity. Currently unhoused Angelenos are of course significantly more likely to have experienced housing insecurity caused by the pandemic, while homeowning Angelenos are least likely to.



Survey results also show gender effects, with women twice as likely as men to report lost or reduced access to child care due to the pandemic (10.9% vs. 5.5%).

20 21.6% of Angelenos reported losing or being at risk of losing housing due to the Covid-19 pandemic.

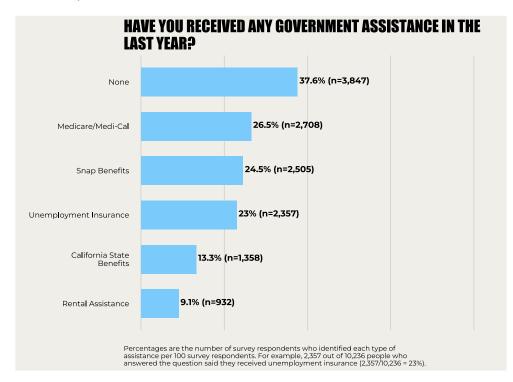


"The pandemic impacted me in various ways, from losing my job and my income, which meant I lost my health insurance. I was just diagnosed with a brain tumor, so finding a way to pay for health insurance while not having a job was really difficult."

– Danielle Harris

GOVERNMENT SUPPORT HAS BEEN NECESSARY – BUT NOT SUFFICIENT

Survey data bear out the fact that government programs are vital in providing health, housing, and other needs and supports to Angelenos. Over 62 percent of Angelenos reported receiving some form of government assistance in the past year (the remaining 38 percent reported receiving no government assistance).



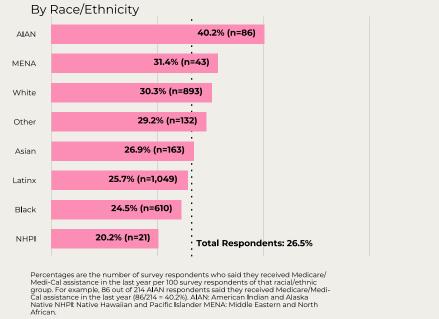
Yet we also see a disconnect in the survey data about how effective the flow of resources can be. While Black Angelenos were more likely to have negative health effects, our survey data shows Black Angelenos were the second-least likely to have received health assistance in the form of Medi-Cal/Medicare in the last year.²¹ By contrast, White Angelenos have significantly lower COVID-19 case and death rates, yet report receiving health care assistance at higher rates than average.²² The group least likely to report receiving any health care assistance is Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islanders.²³

^{21 24.6%} of Black respondents reported receiving Medicare/Medi-Cal.

^{22 30.3%} of the respondents who identified as White reported receiving health care assistance in the last year.

²³ Only about a fifth, 20.2% of NHPI identifying respondents reported receiving health care assistance in the past year.

RECEIVED MEDICARE/MEDI-CAL ASSISTANCE IN THE LAST YEAR



Overall, Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander and Latinx respondents were least likely to report receiving government assistance of any kind (43% and 41%, respectively, reported receiving no government assistance). These populations face specific barriers, often related to citizenship and language, that prevent them from accessing services.

As expected, Angelenos with lower incomes report a greater rate of government assistance. Respondents with household incomes under \$75,000 were nearly twice as likely to report receiving assistance in the last year compared to those who made over \$75,000 (69% vs. 37%). Still, it is notable that three in ten (31% percent) of survey respondents with household incomes below \$75,000 reported receiving no government assistance.

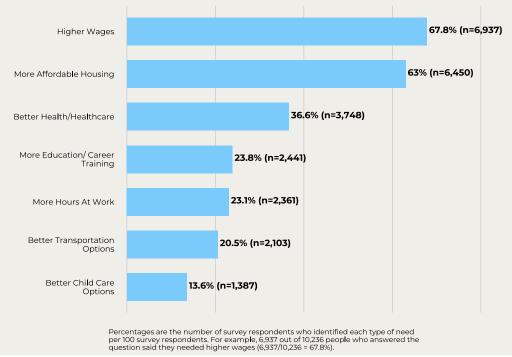


"They make it too hard for resources to reach our community. I'm a resourceful person. I go and I find things. But a lot of the programs that I found nobody has any idea about... They're not well-known."

– Joy Brown

ECONOMIC SECURITY RELIES ON GOOD JOBS AND AFFORDABLE HOUSING

When asked what they need to feel economically secure, over two-thirds (68 percent) of Angelenos said higher wages and nearly as many (63 percent) said more affordable housing. This is unsurprising and is consistent with the finding above that wages and housing were the top two impacts of the pandemic. Once more, survey data show the need falling most heavily on disadvantaged groups.



WHAT DO YOU NEED TO FEEL ECONOMICALLY SECURE?

Relative to homeowners, renters were 14 percentage points more likely to report needing higher wages and 41 percentage points more likely to report needing affordable housing. In fact, renters reported higher rates of need for economic stabilizers in every category except child care. Stable, affordable housing plays a significant role in a family's financial capacity and flexibility, much as homeownership contributes to wealth and stability for families.



"How can I pay rent when I don't have a job, you know what I mean?"

– Trina Denise Johnson

Unfortunately, current trends indicate housing unaffordability increasing along with inequality.

Unhoused Angelenos also reported housing and wages as the greatest needs. Notably, more than one in four unhoused respondents reported needing more education or career training, more hours at work, and better health and transportation options to achieve financial security.

BARRIERS TO ECONOMIC SECURITY LOOM LARGE

We asked Angelenos what prevented them from achieving economic security; a majority of respondents cited debts and a lack of resources. This is perhaps unsurprising, as reporting indicates that mortgage debt, student loan debt, and car loan debt all increased during the survey period.²⁴ Even before the pandemic, small loans with rates of over 100 percent – so-called predatory loans – made up nearly one-third of California's non-bank consumer lending market.²⁵

Lower-income Angelenos are more likely to report that debts and a lack of resources prevented their achieving economic security. While more than half of respondents with household income under \$75,000 reported debts as a barrier, only 26 percent of households with income over \$200,000 indicated the same.

²⁴ Jessica Dickler, "Amid rising prices, American families fall deeper in debt," CNBC, January 11, 2022.

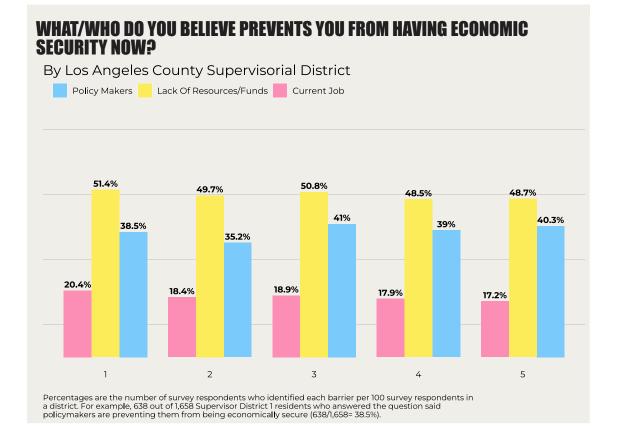
²⁵ Ben Christopher, "As more Californians borrow at shockingly high interest rates, will state crack down on 'predatory lending'?" Cal Matters, May 13, 2019.

The COVID-19 pandemic is broadly recognized to have had a more profound impact on women than on men.²⁶ Women were more likely than men to report that debts and a lack of resources prevented their achieving economic security. Non-binary Angelenos were more likely to report obstacles to financial security *across all categories*.

Relative to homeowners, renters are more likely to report debts and a lack of resources as obstacles to their achieving economic security (homeowners were more likely to cite policymakers).

Younger survey participants were more likely to report barriers to financial security *across all categories* relative to older respondents.

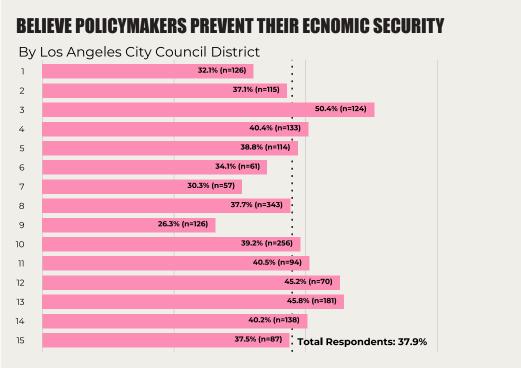
Interesting differences emerge in responses to this question between council or supervisorial districts. In L.A. County, the residents of Districts 3 (including Santa Monica, Malibu, and parts of the San Fernando Valley) and 5 (including Santa Clarita, the Antelope Valley, and parts of the San Gabriel Valley) were most likely to cite policymakers as obstacles, while District 1 residents were most likely to report their current job as a barrier to economic security.



Compared to other LA City Council Districts, residents of Council Districts 3 (Woodland Hills) were most likely to identify policymakers as obstacles to economic security. Every single City Council District was most likely to site debts or resources as what prevents them from economic security.

26 Why has Covid-19 been especially harmful for working women? Brookings Institute. October 2020. Source: https://www.brookings.edu/essay/why-hascovid-19-been-especially-harmful-for-working-women/

Gender equality, dealt a blow by Covid-19 still has much ground to cover. Akrur Barua. Deloitte Insights. January 2022. Source: https://www2.deloitte.com/us/en/insights/economy/impact-of-covid-on-women.html



Percentages are the number of survey respondents who identified each barrier per 100 survey respondents in a city council district. For example, 126 out of 393 City Council District 1 residents who answered the question said policymakers are preventing them from being economically secure (126/393= 32.1%).

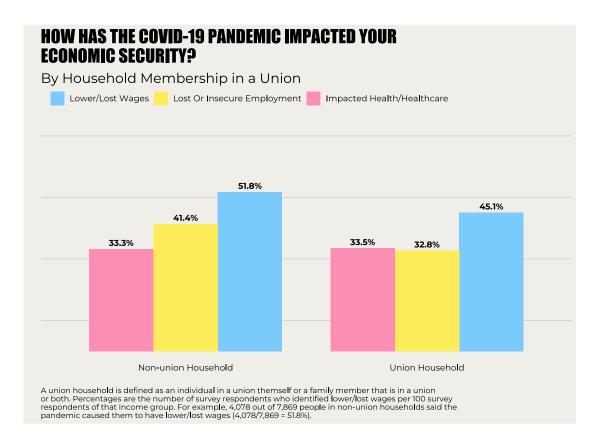


"I'm just like them. Even though they're in power and stuff, I'm just like y'all. I'm just trying to survive, feed my family, and live."

- Daveyon Lewis

UNIONS CONTRIBUTE TO ECONOMIC SECURITY AT MULTIPLE LEVELS

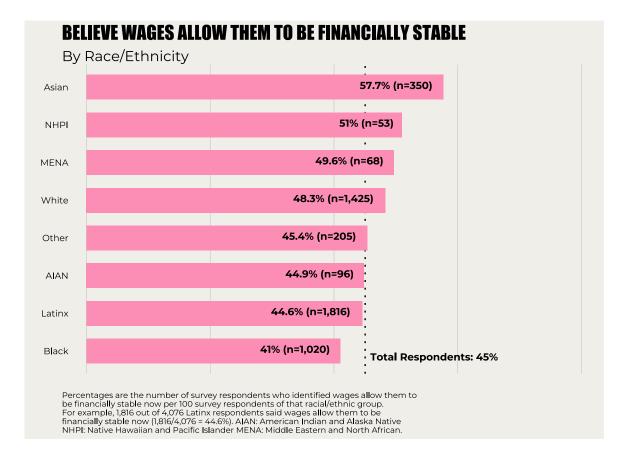
The pandemic impacted everyone, but union households often fared better than their non-union counterparts. Union households were less likely to report lower/lost wages or lost or insecure employment from the pandemic.



This should not be surprising, given the famed "union difference." Research from the Economic Policy Institute finds that all else being equal, a union worker will typically earn over ten percent higher wages than her non-union counterpart; the union premium for Black and Latinx workers is even higher.²⁷

When we asked Angelenos what currently provides them with economic security, the most popular answer was wages, which was reported by nearly half of respondents (45%). Approximately one-third of respondents cited housing and roughly the same number cited "stable hours at work." Once more, responses are racialized, with Black Angelenos least likely to report wages and hours as existing supports, and Asian Angelenos most likely to report wages and hours as helpful supports. Latinx Angelenos were least likely to report housing as an effective support.

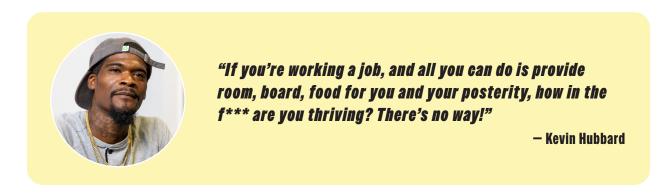
27 Unions are not only good for workers, they're good for communities and for democracy. Banarjee, et al. Economic Policy Institute. December 2021. Source: <u>https://www.epi.org/publication/unions-and-well-being/</u>



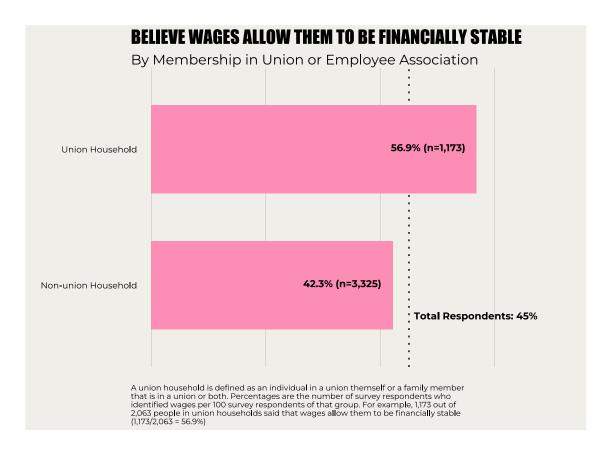
Relative to their higher-income neighbors, lower-income households were less likely to indicate wages and work hours as contributors to economic security, suggesting the need for more stable and better-paying jobs.

Nearly half of unhoused Angelenos reported zero economic supports.

Union households were more likely to report wages as a financial stabilizer than non-union households.²⁸ Union households were also more likely to report housing, health/health care, and stable hours at work as existing supports— all are likely part of the union difference.

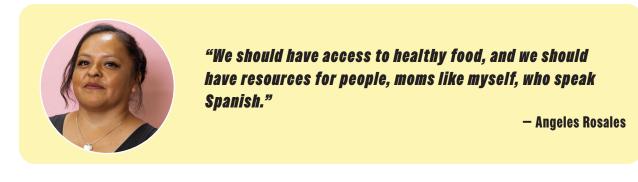


28 55.7% of union households reported wages as a financial stabilizer and 42.2% of non-union households reported wages as a financial stabilizer.



ANGELENOS NEED CONCRETE HELP – STARTING WITH RENT AND FOOD

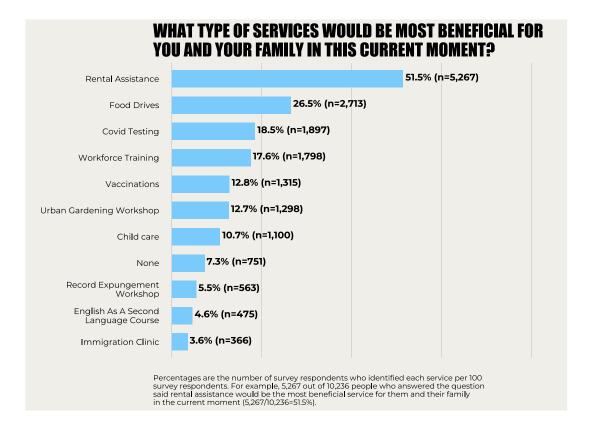
Over 90 percent of Angelenos we spoke with indicated interest in some sort of additional assistance. More than half of respondents indicated rental assistance would be most helpful, followed by more than a quarter citing food assistance.²⁹ According to a 2022 report by the National Low Income Housing Coalition, the average rate for a two-bedroom apartment in Los Angeles is \$2,044.³⁰ This means that an Angeleno needs to earn \$81,760 annually to afford a two-bedroom apartment. The cost of housing coupled with inflation and job loss have further perpetuated the crisis in Los Angeles. Being able to afford rent is a necessity for survival, and too many Angelenos are struggling with this basic necessity. Interventions such as rental assistance can stabilize the economic insecurities facing Angelenos.



29 51.5% of respondents identified rental assistance as a service that would be most beneficial to them and their family.

30 Out of Reach. National Low Income Housing Coalition. 2022. Source: https://nlihc.org/sites/default/files/oor/California_2022_OOR.pdf

That we have problems with food access and housing affordability in Los Angeles is hardly new information, but the depth of the need is striking.

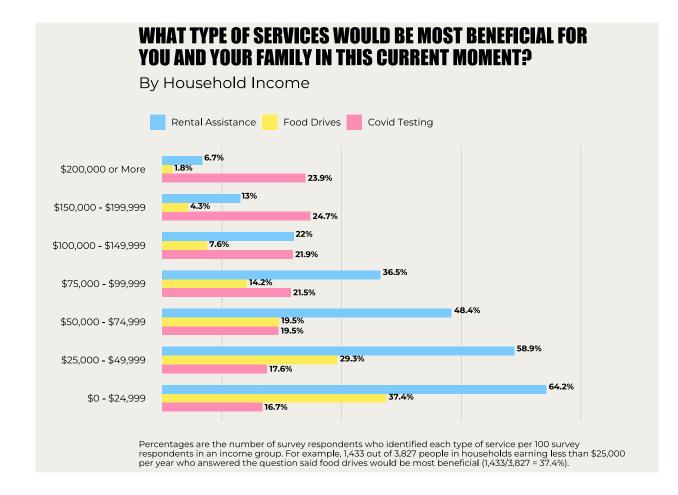


While rental assistance ranked as the most important support needed by all ethnic groups, there were some notable differences, as different groups face different barriers to different supports. Asian Angelenos selected testing and vaccinations more than any other group. Latinx respondents most frequently chose food drives, immigration clinics, and language assistance. Black and NHPI respondents asked for expungement and rental assistance more than any other racial group. The AIAN community was most likely to select workforce training, financial literacy, and urban gardening workshops. White respondents were most likely to report needing no services.

SERVICES MOST NEEDED - BY RACE/ETHNIC GROUP

Race/Ethnic Group	American Indian / Alaska Native	Black	Latinx	Asian	Native Hawaiian / Pacific Islander	Middle Eastern / North African	White
Top need	Rental	Rental	Rental	Rental	Rental	Rental	Rental
	assistance	assistance	assistance	assistance	assistance	assistance	assistance
Second need	Food drives	Food drives	Food drives	Food drives	Food drives	Financial literacy	COVID-19 testing
Third need	Financial	Workforce	COVID-19	Financial	COVID-19	COVID-19	Financial
	literacy	training	testing	literacy	testing	testing	literacy

Low-income respondents were most likely to report needing rental assistance and food supports. As household income increases, the share of Angelenos in need of services predictably tends to decrease.



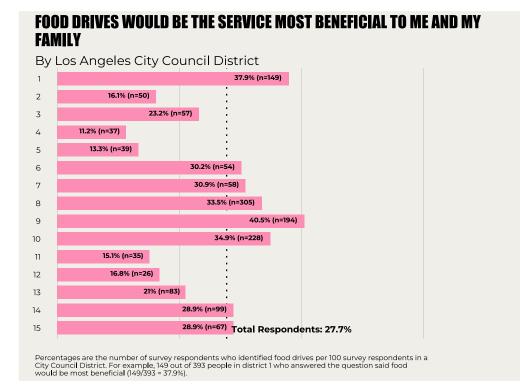
Interesting differences emerge in responses to this question between Los Angeles City Council districts. Respondents of Council Districts 1 and 9 were most likely to select COVID-19 testing and vaccinations. Council Districts 7, 8, and 9 – portions of which have long been plagued by food insecurity and where residents endure racist food deserts – were most likely to choose food drives.³¹ Districts 1 and 7 asked



"My parents... are in a house of 5 with my 3 other siblings so... groceries are really expensive. I think having a food bank somewhere nearby that could deliver them food . . . that would help them out a lot."

– Herbert Corleto

31 Food Insecurty in Los Angeles County. LA County Department of Public Health. November 2021. Source: http://publichealth.lacounty.gov/nut/media/ nutrition-physical-activity-resources/LA County Food Insecurity Report 2021 508Compliant.pdf for immigration clinics at higher rates than other districts, and District 7 respondents were also most likely to select workforce training and expungement services. District 3 most frequently cited child care, and District 12 respondents were most likely to identify financial literacy as a key need.



DISCUSSION

Very few survey results presented here are surprising. Academics, journalists, and public-policy experts have reported for decades on the various forces affecting the economic security of Angelenos: deindustrialization, the growth of the service sector, and the rise of disposable jobs. Subcontracting, fissuring, and a growing precariat. Organized attacks on the power of the labor movement. Entire sectors of the economy – health care, education, housing – engaging in relatively naked and abusive rent-seeking. Underinvestment in transportation, infrastructure, and other public goods.

Importantly, these forces are experienced differently by different people and groups. The racist legacy of many U.S. laws and practices casts a long shadow, and ongoing dynamics thus cannot avoid racial dimensions. Survey results consistently showed that Angelenos of color typically experienced greater need, and less support, than their White neighbors. The explanations for this gap are beyond the scope of this report; while explanations vary, it seems reasonable to observe that, for instance, the history of redlining has obvious relevance to questions of race and housing, and the history of Tuskegee has relevance to questions of race and health care. Of course, not all discrimination is racial, and survey results point to the need to better support unhoused Angelenos, renters, non-binary people, and others.

Against this chaotic, inhospitable backdrop, COVID-19 landed as an accelerant, exacerbating existing trends, and kicking inequality into overdrive.

We set out to learn how Angelenos are doing economically today, and what they need to be economically stable. They told us their basic needs are not being met. More than half of Angelenos lost jobs or wages in the pandemic, with low-income and communities of color reporting greatest losses. Half of Angelenos need housing support, and one in four need food assistance.

Both government and labor currently provide critical supports for workers and communities, but more is needed. Lessons from the People's Project mutual aid efforts, informed by survey results, can point the way forward.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Local governments should use their power to achieve the following:

RAISE THE BAR IN LOW-WAGE INDUSTRIES

The survey results indicate that the top priority for residents across Los Angeles is access to good jobs with sustainable wages. With its strong tourism and hospitality industry, Los Angeles is a hub for unsustainable, low-wage, service-sector jobs. A review of the ten jobs with the most job openings in Los Angeles shows a predominance of minimum wage, or near-minimum wage jobs.³² To reduce the structural economic inequality resulting from low-wage jobs, we must raise the bar in Los Angeles' abundant low-wage industries.

The best way to raise the bar in low-wage industries is to establish mechanisms for genuine worker empowerment and true workplace democracy. Academics consistently find that unionization and collective bargaining are correlated with increasing wage growth and decreasing inequality. The broad appetite for unionization among low-wage workers is seen in the ongoing organizing efforts of Amazon and Starbucks workers.³³ Policymakers and other leaders should support them and other workers seeking to organize. Leaders should seek to facilitate a process that strengthens worker empowerment and secures protection from workplace retaliation.

Creative policy efforts by local governments are needed to raise wages across industries, especially in low-wage industries. City and County leaders have indeed forged a path forward with such policies including the City of L.A. minimum wage, the City of L.A. hotel worker minimum wage, and the City of L.A.'s recent passage of a health care worker minimum wage.³⁴ More such efforts are needed.

BUILD MORE AFFORDABLE HOUSING

The contours of the housing crisis are broadly understood and were brought into sharp relief during the COVID-19 pandemic. Housing access and affordability was a top concern of respondents virtually across the board.

³² California Employment Development Department, Employment Projections 2021-2028, https://www.labormarketinfo.edd.ca.gov/data/employment-projections.html

³³ Sharon Block, "Amazon and Starbucks Aren't Listening to Their Workers," Bloomberg Law, May 26, 2022.

³⁴ Emily Alpert Reyes, "L.A. City Council backs \$25 minimum wage for some health workers," Los Angeles Times, June 21, 2022.

Government efforts like the eviction moratorium are helpful but fail to address the basic and underlying problem of affordability: high rents and low wages. Government must foster more investments in housing, especially in lower-income communities. In addition, increased funding and incentives for affordable housing construction are necessary, and any expenditure of public funds or subsidies must be matched by deep affordability requirements and strong worker protections.

As part of the development process, local governments can and should foster the creation of Community Benefits Agreements (CBA) — particularly if public funds are involved. A CBA is a legally binding contract between a developer and the local community that may address a broad range of community needs,

potentially including the construction of affordable and workforce housing at different levels of affordability. Specifically, we recommend CBAs be used to place caps on rent increases and to create specific housing set-asides — at 30 percent and 15 percent of the Area Mean Income level — as part of any publicly-subsidized housing development. CBAs can also be tailored to create employment pathways for local and disadvantaged residents into construction and/or service jobs. Survey results demonstrated the consistent need for such pathways.

BRING BIG-BOX GROCERS TO TRADITIONAL FOOD DESERTS

Food assistance was a top need identified by Angelenos, particularly in low-income communities of color, where government programs may provide some resources, but where various constraints lead to substandard nutritional content in the food that is available.³⁵

To attract a better quality of retailer with more nutritional offerings, local governments should craft subsidies to incentivize grocers to locate in traditionally low-wage communities (food deserts). If done well, such approaches can also lead to jobs for local residents. In one project in Philadelphia, unionized grocery chain ShopRite partnered with the



"You want me to tell you the number one reason why people homeless?: Because they need affordable housing. I know, I was one."

– Darlene Hester

community to roll out a set of stores more responsive to community needs and hiring concerns.³⁶

Ultimately, all governments should commit themselves to improve access to nutritious food, much as the Los Angeles Unified School District has begun to do.³⁷ And ultimately, all levels of government must work together to update and revise eligibility criteria for programs such as SNAP, which fail to account for regional differences in cost of living, a major problem in L.A. County.³⁸

MODERNIZE LOCAL GOVERNANCE TO MEET TODAY'S LOS ANGELES

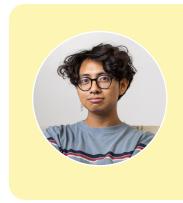
We recommend a thorough review of the current design of local government to ensure that it is maximizing its capacity to adapt to the rapidly changing circumstances of the digital age. This is critical for local

³⁵ Yu Chen, Bling-Hwan Lin, et al., "Nutritional quality of retail food purchases is not associated with participation in the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program for nutrition-oriented households," *PLoS One*, December 18, 2020.

³⁶ Michael Klein, "ShopRite owner Jeff Brown forms partnerships with Philadelphia's Black-owned food businesses: "We'd like to try new things and we like local stuff." Philadelphia Inquirer, April 10, 2021.

³⁷ Ali Tadayon, "Healthier options on the menu as California begins providing free meals for all students," *EdSource*, August 16, 2022.

³⁸ Caroline George and Adie Tomer, "Beyond 'food deserts': America needs a new approach to mapping food insecurity," Brookings Institution, August 17, 2021.



"My community is used to being in survival mode. It's like, all of the problems are there, we really just need to do something... to make the community feel like a community . . . Why isn't there more being done towards us when we can clearly see abundance in other locations? There is a very clear unfairness to all of it."

– Capri Merida

government as it is often the most accessible to people in need and has the greatest potential to empower its residents through an expansion of human rights and policymaking to meet the basic economic needs of the most vulnerable communities.

The denial of what can be considered basic human rights—like food, shelter, and access to a good jobforms the basis for what it means to be poor. We recommend governments adopt an approach based on human rights to produce more effective and equitable responses to poverty. We need to provide not just resources, but a shift in power relations.

Mutual aid has been lifesaving and we strongly encourage all levels of government to continue funding these efforts. At the same time, we must recognize that only structural changes can achieve sustainable economic justice. We must continue investing in the formation of mutual aid networks while simultaneously focusing on modifying structural causes of poverty.

Given the diversity of the county – along a variety of axes – it is important that our leaders and policymakers commit themselves to a vision of intersectionality. Survey results demonstrate how different groups have different experiences with need and resources. The historically used one-size-fits-all approaches have often ignored the particular needs of more marginal groups.

APPENDIX A. DETAILED SURVEY METHODOLOGY

With a goal of 10,000 completed surveys, the L.A. Fed and UWU contacted 2,007,579 people between February 15 and June 30, 2022. The survey targeted all of Los Angeles, microtargeting South L.A., Southeast L.A., and less-populous demographic groups to ensure stable estimates for low-income communities and communities of color. In total, 10,236 surveys were completed correctly and stored on an Alchemer system. Surveys were disqualified if the respondent didn't live in L.A., we couldn't verify it came from the person it was sent to, or if it was filled out incorrectly. A follow-up survey of 432 was completed with results to be published in a subsequent report.

Surveys were conducted over the phone, in person, or digitally through a unique link given over text message. For phone surveys, people were able to schedule times to talk to a live person. For in-person surveys, we met people at swap meets, shopping plazas, at events and resource fairs, farmers markets, parks, and other common gathering places. We conducted door-to-door surveys in select areas. We texted people asking if they were interested in a survey; those who were interested received a unique digital link to the survey.

Each data point in the report is statistically stable (with a coefficient of variation under 40% or flagged) and subgroups required at least five survey respondents to be analyzed. Generally, subgroups had over 100 people responding to each question, but a smaller number of respondents was at times used to generate findings for less populous subgroups (e.g., American Indian/Alaska Native (AIAN) and Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander (NHPI) subgroups). Respondents were categorized as AIAN or NHPI if they reported AIAN or NHPI as any one of their races.

The report presents findings on economic security and holistic financial health for key subgroups (e.g., houseless and Middle Eastern North African (MENA) residents) but these groups are likely less statistically reliable than more populous groups. Findings presented in bar charts do not display margins of error and comparisons between bars on those charts don't report whether differences are significant. The report provides insight into the economic needs and disparity in Los Angeles and the findings should be supplemented with strong qualitative research when interpreting the results.

SURVEY QUESTIONS

1.) How has the COVID-19 pandemic impacted your economic security? (allow

2.) What/who do you believe prevents you from having economic security now? (allow

3.) What allows you to be financially stable,

now? (allow them to answer before suggesting
options, check all that apply)
Wages
Housing
Health/Healthcare
Stable hours at work
Education/ Career training
Child Care
Transportation
(Other) __________
(Don't know/Refused)

4.) What do you need to feel economically

5.) Have you received any government assistance in the last year?

Unemployment insurance Medicare/Medical California State benefits Rental assistance SNAP benefits (Other) ______ None (Don't know/Refused)

6.) What type of services would be most beneficial for you and your family in this current moment?

COVID Testing Vaccinations Food Drives Rental assistance English as a second language course Workforce training Record expungement workshop Immigration clinic Childcare Urban gardening workshop Financial literacy , Other - Write In, None (Don't know/Refused)

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION:

1.) Age Range

18-29 30-39 40-49 50-64 65 or over (Refuse to answer)

2.) Race/ethnicity

Latina/o/x
Black/ African American
Asian
Native Hawaiian/ Pacific Islander
American Indian/ Alaska Native
Middle Eastern/North African
White
Other
(Don't know/Refuse to answer)

3.) What is your total household income?

\$0 - \$24,999 \$25,000 - \$49,999 \$50,000 - \$74,999 \$75,000 - \$99,999 \$100,000 - \$149,999 \$150,000 - \$199,999 \$200,000 or More (Don't know/Refuse to answer)

4.) Do you identify as male, female, nonbinary, or another gender identity?

Male Female Non-binary Another gender identity (please specify) (Don't know/Refused)

5.) Are you currently a homeowner or renter? Owner Renter

Living with parents/family/friends Unhoused (Other) ______ (Don't know/Refused)

6.) What is your current job status? (READ LIST IF NECESSARY)

Employed full time Employed part time Self Employed Unemployed Retired Student Homemaker/caretaker (Other) ______ (Don't know/Refused)

7.) IF EMPLOYED: Where do you work?

8.) Are you or is any member of your household a member of a union or employee association? Yes, self Yes, family member Yes, both

No (Don't know/Refused)

9.) What community/neighborhood/ faithbased organizations are you involved with?

(list org)	
None	
(Don't know/Re	efused)

APPENDIX B. DEMOGRAPHICS OF PARTICIPANTS

10,236 residents of Los Angeles County were surveyed in English or Spanish.

AGE

10,207 survey respondents reported their age. As seen in the table below, the survey population captures a sizable share of every age group and corresponds well with the LA County population, with slightly fewer youth and seniors in the survey population.

Age Group	Survey Participants	Survey Participants (%)	LA County Adults (%)	Difference
18-29	1,820	17.8%	22.9%	-5.1
30-39	2,511	24.6%	19%	5.6
40-49	2,194	21.5%	17.1%	4.4
50-64	2,645	25.9%	23.6%	2.3
65+	1,037	10.2%	17.4%	-7.2

SHARE OF SURVEY PARTICIPANTS, LA COUNTY ADULTS, AND DIFFERENCE IN SHARES

LA County Adult Source: ACS 2020 5-year estimates table B01001

INCOME

For this analysis, it was essential that low-income populations were surveyed because their need for financial equity is likely greater than higher-income populations. 9,748 survey participants reported their household income, 39.3% of whom reported household incomes below \$25,000 per year.

SHARE OF SURVEY PARTICIPANT HOUSEHOLDS, LA COUNTY HOUSEHOLDS, AND DIFFERENCE IN SHARES

Household Income	Survey Participants	Survey Participants (%)	LA County Households	Difference
\$0 - 24,999	3,827	39.3%	17.9%	21.4
\$25,000 - \$49,999	2,564	26.3%	18.3%	8.0
\$50,000 - \$74,999	1,377	14.1%	15.8%	-1.7
\$75,000 - \$99,999	748	7.7%	12.3%	-4.6
\$100,000 - \$149,999	649	6.7%	16.3%	-9.6
\$150,000 - \$199,999	299	3.1%	8.2%	-5.1
\$200,000+	284	2.9%	11.1%	-8.2

LA County Household Income Source: ACS 2020 5-yr estimates table S1901

RACE/ETHNICITY

This survey included a broad cross-section of racial-ethnic groups in Los Angeles County as reported by 9,992 respondents who provided their race/ethnicity. 40.8% of respondents identified as Latinx, 29.5% as White, 24.9% as Black, and 6.1% identified as Asian. This survey also aimed to reach communities often underrepresented in research. It included a category for Middle Eastern and North African (MENA) to more accurately represent the experiences of the MENA community. Additionally, a higher share of the sample identified as American Indian and Alaska Native (AIAN) and Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islander (NHPI) compared to the LA County population.

Race/Ethnicity	Survey Participants	Survey Participants (%)	LA County Population	Difference
Latinx	4,076	40.8%	48.3%	-7.5
White	2,948	29.5%	25.9%	3.6
Black	2,486	24.9%	7.8%	17.1
Asian	607	6.1%	14.6%	-8.5
AIAN	214	2.1%	1.8%	0.3
MENA	137	1.4%	0.7%	0.7
NHPI	104	1.0%	0.6%	0.4
Other	452	4.5%	3%	1.5

SHARE OF SURVEY PARTICIPANTS, LA COUNTY POPULATION, AND DIFFERENCE IN SHARES

LA County Population Source: ACS 2020 5-yr estimates table DP05 and Migration Policy Institute.³⁹ Racial-ethnic group percentages will not sum up to 100% because Latinx, AIAN and NHPI figures include people of those groups alone or in combination with other groups. The survey population (adults) is different from the county (total) population so some of the differences can be appriled to differences in the registration makeum of the county wouth population.

ascribed to differences in the racial-ethnic makeup of the county youth population.

HOUSING STATUS

Most of the 10,153 survey respondents who reported their housing status identified as renters (65%), while 17.7% reported being owners. Another 14.3% reported living with a relative or friend, and 3% of respondents stated they were unhoused at the time of the survey. Compared to the United States and California, Los Angeles County on average has a greater percentage of renter households.

SHARE OF SURVEY PARTICIPANTS, LA COUNTY POPULATION, AND DIFFERENCE IN SHARES

Housing Status	Survey Participants	Survey Participants (%)	LA County Population	Difference
Renter	6,601	65%	53.5%	11.5
Owner	1,799	17.7%	46.5%	-28.8
Unhoused	303	3%	0.6%	2.3
Other	1,450	14.3%	-	-

LA County Source: ACS 2020 5-yr estimates table B25003, Los Angeles Homeless Services Authority (2020)⁴⁰ and ACS 2020 5-yr estimates table DP05. LA County population statistics exceed 100% as renter and owner percentages do not include unhoused or other residents in their denominator.

³⁹ Middle Eastern and North African Immigrants in the United States. Harjanto and Batalova. Migration Policy Institute. January 2022. Source: https://www. migrationpolicy.org/article/middle-eastern-and-north-african-immigrants-united-states

⁴⁰ Homeless County by SPA. Los Angeles Homeless Services Authority. 2020. Source: https://www.lahsa.org/data-refresh

GENDER

Over half of the survey respondents who reported their gender identified as Female at 58.1%, another 39.3% identified as Male and finally the remaining 1.8% identified as non-Binary or did not answer. Historically, gender has played a large role in access to labor participation and pay equity. The study ensured that the survey respondents were well represented by the gender group that research has shown faces greater barriers to financial prosperity.

Gender	Survey Participants	Survey Participants (%)	LA County Population (%)	Difference
Female	5,961	58.6%	50.4%	8.2
Male	3,996	39.3%	49.6%	-10.3
Non-binary	181	1.8%	-	-
Other	36	0.4%	-	-

SHARE OF SURVEY PARTICIPANTS, LA COUNTY POPULATION, AND DIFFERENCE IN SHARES

LA County Resident Source: U.S. Census Quick Facts 2021. Note the Census does not report comparable non-binary or other genders.

UNION MEMBERSHIP

Los Angeles is home to some of the largest union movements and organizations in the country. Unionization has long been a protective shield for many workers to ensure their rights in the workplace. About one fifth (20.8%) of the survey population is made up of union households and the remaining three quarters (79.2%) did not report involvement in a union. A union household is defined as an individual in a union themself or a family member that is in a union or both. The union participation rate of survey participants is slightly higher than the 15.9% statewide union participation rate (the closest comparison).⁴¹

SHARE OF SURVEY PARTICIPANTS, UNION HOUSEHOLD MEMBERSHIP, AND DIFFERENCE IN SHARES

Union Membership	Survey Participants	Survey Participants (%)	State Union Participation (%)	Difference
Union Household	2,063	20.8%	15.9%	4.9
Non-Union Household	7,869	79.2%	84.1%	-4.9

State Union Participation Source: U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2021.

⁴¹ Union Members in California. US Bureau of Labor Statistics. 2021. Source: <u>https://www.bls.gov/regions/west/news-release/unionmembership_cali-fornia.htm#:~:text=ln%202021%20%20union%20members%20accounted.of%20Labor%20Statistics%20reported%20today.</u>

GEOGRAPHY: LOS ANGELES CITY COUNCIL DISTRICTS

The City of Los Angeles has fifteen City Council districts, and we surveyed at least 156 people from each district. As mentioned previously, we oversampled in low-income communities of color to ensure we heard from voices that have traditionally held less sway in City Hall. This is evident in the larger share of survey participants from City Council Districts 8, 9, and 10.

City Council District	Survey Partici- pants	Survey Participants (%)	District Population (%)	Difference
1	393	7.4%	6.7%	0.7
2	310	5.8%	6.7%	-0.9
3	246	4.6%	6.7%	-2.1
4	329	6.2%	6.7%	-0.5
5	294	5.5%	6.7%	-2.2
6	179	3.4%	6.7%	-3.3
7	188	3.5%	6.7%	-3.2
8	910	17%	6.7%	10.3
9	479	9%	6.7%	2.3
10	653	12.2%	6.7%	5.5
11	232	4.3%	6.7%	-2.4
12	155	2.9%	6.7%	-3.8
13	395	7.4%	6.7%	0.7
14	343	6.4%	6.7%	-0.3
15	232	4.3%	6.7%	-2.4

SHARE OF SURVEY PARTICIPANTS, RESIDENTS, AND DIFFERENCE IN SHARES BY LA CITY COUNCIL DISTRICT

The LA City Council redrew its boundaries in the past year to achieve roughly equal populations across its fifteen districts. Note: 223 surveys (2.2% of the total) were not able to be geographically located more locally than the County of Los Angeles

GEOGRAPHY LA COUNTY SUPERVISOR DISTRICTS

Los Angeles County has five Supervisorial districts, and we surveyed at least 1,585 people from each district. As mentioned previously, we oversampled in low-income communities of color to ensure we heard from voices that have traditionally held less sway in County politics. This is evident in the larger share of survey participants from Supervisorial District 2.

SHARE OF SURVEY PARTICIPANTS, RESIDENTS, AND DIFFERENCE IN SHARES BY LA CITY COUNCIL DISTRICT

County Supervisorial District	Survey Participants	Survey Participants (%)	District Population (%)	Difference
1	1,658	16.2%	20%	-3.8
2	3,475	33.9%	20%	13.9
3	1,875	18.3%	20%	-1.7
4	1,585	15.5%	20%	-4.5
5	1,643	16%	20%	-4

LA County Supervisors redrew their boundaries last year to achieve roughly equal populations across its districts. Note: 223 surveys (2.2% of the total) were not able to be geographically located more locally than the County of Los Angeles.

