CITY COUNCIL
CITY OF NEW YORK

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TRANSCRIPT OF THE MINUTES

Of the

COMMITTEE ON CIVIL SERVICE & LABOR

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HELD AT: Council Chambers

250 Broadway - Hearing Room, 14th

Fl

B E F O R E:

I. DANEEK MILLER

Chairperson

COUNCIL MEMBERS:

Elizabeth Crowley

Daniel Dromm

Costa Constantinides

Robert Cornegy

APPEARANCES:

COUNCIL MEMBERS:

Daniel Dromm Robert Cornegy

Costa Constantinides Elizabeth Crowley

A P P E A R A N C E S (CONTINUED)

Austin Shafran New York State Legislative Director for the Working Families Party

James Parrott Deputy Director and Chief Economist at the Fiscal Policy Institute

Daniel Powers Owner of Real Brave Audio and Director of After School Rocks

Apurva Mehrotra Policy Analyst The Community Service Society of New York

Sebastian Sanchez Attorney for Make the Road New York

Kirsten Foye National Action Network

Rabbi Michael Feinberg Executive Director The Greater New York Labor-Religion Coalition

Frankie Tisdale

Pierre Metivier

Elliott Roseboro

Letitia James Madam Public Advocate 2 [Gavel].

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CHAIRPERSON MILLER: Okay. Good afternoon, I'm Councilman I. Daneek Miller, Chair of Committee on Civil Service & Labor. I'd like to thank everybody for attendance today. Umm, we are here for a hearing on a resolution today that was introduced at yesterday's..., stated by Council Member Dromm and myself. The resolution is Resolution 189 which would call upon New York State legislators to pass..., New York State legislators and the Governor to sign Assembly Bill 9036 and Senate Bill 6516, authorizing local governments to establish and enforce higher levels of minimum wage. I think that most of us here already know that the minimum wage has not kept up with inflation, that federal governments and sometimes states have periodically raised which, they have periodically raised but the purchasing power of the minimum wage has been eroding for decades. And while we are grateful to the state for raising minimum wage, \$9.00 an hour in 2016 remains pathetically low. \$9.00 an hour adds up to \$19,000 a year. For workers with families in a high cost city such as ours, this is just unacceptable.

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Just a few weeks ago this committee heard from low wage workers, including airport workers on similar subjects. We heard from mother's that have forfeited bus trips so that they can buy gifts and food for their children. We heard from workers who were spending well over 50% of their minimum wage salary for rent, which forced them to turn to government subsidies.

The minimum wage in New York City and other high cost areas across our state should not be held to the same economic standards of municipalities such as Albany, Utica and even Buffalo. Eight or even nine dollars an hour is simply not enough. Likewise these cities should not be held to the standards of a high cost city such as New York. has to change. New York City should not have to ask permission to give its lowest earning income workers a break. This legislation has been introduced in Albany by Senator Andrea Stewart-Cousins and Assembly Member Karim Camara. And today we would like to discuss this resolution with you, give you an opportunity come forth and share your experiences as we bring forth an urge the legislators to pass this legislation and as the Governor to sign it.

This is urgent legislation that will free the hands of this council and these workers. It is our hope that umm, this hearing, as a result of this hearing that we can expedite this legislation and bring relief to some of the workers here in New York City.

So before we get started, I'd like to thank the members of the committee that are here now. They are obviously..., this is a very busy time, multiple hearings going on and people will be going in and out, including myself, I will have to ask someone to take over for a moment too while I run over the Transportation hearing. But I'd like to thank Council Member Costa...,

[Laughing]

CHAIRPERSON MILLER: Constantinides, for being here, you know, and I'm gonna leave that one alone..., Rob Cornegy, umm, and then for being here today, so, I would like to get started and umm, and so as we get started, umm, I'd like to thank Council Member Dromm for putting forth this resolution and his vision in doing so and allowing me to be a part of it, so I'm sure you'd like to have a word.

well.

2	COUNCIL MEMBER DROMM: Thank you Chair
3	Miller, and thank you for the work that you've done
4	on this, this legislation as well. While a
5	resolution is not binding, it does send a message
6	about what we, as elected officials, here in the City
7	of New York feel is important to our constituents and
8	certainly having the ability to raise our own minimum
9	wage is something that is long overdue. We know,
10	those of us here, I believe who are sitting on this
11	committee, know and understand the difficulties that
12	low income workers have in terms of meeting their
13	needs, their necessities, the things that most people
14	want in life and without some sort of control over
15	our ability to increase the minimum wage, New Yorkers
16	will continue to remain in those low wage, those low
17	income jobs. So, this is a belief that I've held
18	personally for a long period of time and is glad to
19	see that it's in a resolution and that it will be
20	moving forward. I predict that it will have swift
21	movement through the council and we will send a clear
22	message to Albany about what we here in the New York
23	City Council feel about being able to control the
24	minimum wage and our own destiny in New York City as

So that you for all of your work on this effort and I look forward to hearing the testimony today.

CHAIRPERSON MILLER: Thank you again Council Member for your leadership in this.

Okay, we're going to bring forth our first panel now, and that is Mr. Austin Shafran from the WFP and Professor James Parrott of the Fiscal Policy Institute.

[Pause]

CHAIRPERSON MILLER: So you guys get to decide who goes first, just for the record please state your name.

[Pause]

AUSTIN SHAFRON: Thank you; I'm Austin
Shafran, the New York State Legislative Director for
the Working Families Party. I'd like to start by
thanking Chairman Miller and the members of the Civil
Service and Labor Committee and on behalf of the
Working Families Party and Raise Up New York
Coalition of which we are proud member, I'd first
like to commend the committee for holding today's
hearing to really address the growing income
inequality and specifically the plight of low wage

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workers who have been the group that's been most adversely affected by the stagnant wages and the proliferation in New York and nationally of low wage jobs.

I'll actually just ask the committee's indulgence for a moment, if everyone looks at that clock in the corner of the wall there.

[Pause]

AUSTIN SAFRAN: Ten seconds. In that last ten seconds the fast food industry has just made \$63,000. Let me say that again. In the past ten seconds, the fast food industry has just made \$63,000. On a yearly basis they're earning over \$200 billion, \$23 million an hour. By the time this hearing concludes they'll have made about \$23 million, meanwhile the vast majority of our low wage workers will have made \$8. Shamefully low. And it's one of the major contributing factors to why New York has the highest level of income inequality in the nation. Our state is home to nearly three million low wage workers. That accounts for about 37% of the state's workforce. And new job growth has been disproportionately concentrated in low wage districts. That wage gap is expected to grow even

different life.

worse in the coming years. But unfortunately, unlike
many other states that allow it's cities and counties
to combat stagnant wages with higher local minimum
wage efforts, New York does not allow it's
municipalities like New York City to supplement the
state's minimum wage to meet rising living costs. I
think we all can understand the difference between
living in Brooklyn or Manhattan or Queens and

Plattsburgh. It's a different cost of living, it's a

Local wage authorization which empowers cities and counties with the ability to enact higher local wages that are better suited to regional living costs, is the clearest and most feasible path to addressing wages and the severe economic inequality that New Yorkers across the state are facing. It's been already mentioned by the chairman that there's legislation introduced on the state level by Senator Andrea Stewart-Cousins and Assembly Member Karim Camara that would amend the state's minimum wage law to clarify that it should be considered a floor and not an oppressive ceiling that pushes down workers and forces them into a life of poverty. This would be one of the highest impact policies that the

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legislative could adopt to improve jobs, reduce inequality and actually strengthen our local economies.

That eight dollar an hour minimum wage accounts for just over \$16,000 annually. Even going up to nine dollars as we know will happen in 2016 is just over \$18,000 and that's still not enough for the majority of workers to get by in high cost of living area, especially like New York City. It would leave a family of three well below the poverty wage and we now have seen, most recently, numbers from the Center for Economic Opportunity that show nearly half of all New Yorkers are making less than 150% of the poverty threshold, and that's a figure that we generally use to see, to judge which families are struggling to get by. The inaction has gone on for decades. If the state's minimum wage had simply kept pace with inflation over the past four decades, it would be over \$11.00 an hour. That's almost 40% above the current level.

This is something were I said New York is unique. Other states are getting it right. We're just not following their lead. We are leading in inequality. San Francisco, Santa Fe, Washington DC,

a number of counties in Maryland, have been subject
to several different studies, all of found that their
local minimum wage laws have boosted wages without
any evidence of slow job growth or business
relocations. It's improved jobs and its strengthened
the local economy without hurting those businesses.
You know, healthy economy depends on businesses that
pay their workers enough to get by, not subsidizing
big businesses to pay what is absolutely legally, the
lowest amount possible, as New York does, because

taxpayers end up having to pick-up the slack for all

of those families that are forced onto public

assistance because of those low wages.

So for this reason and many others, the Working Families Party commends the resolution introduced by Council Member Dromm, and the work of Committee Chair Miller and all of the other committee members here today and we strongly support the resolution that would call on the state to amend its minimum wage law allowing those municipalities to set higher local wages that will lift our workers out of poverty and into the middle class.

I thank you for your time.

2 CHAIRPERSON MILLER: Thank you so much

3 Mr. Shafran. Professor, you're up.

Thank you Mr. Chair, members of the committee, it's good to appear again before this committee which seems to be tackling some really important issue this year. So that's heartening to see that. I'm the Deputy Director and Chief Economist at the Fiscal Policy Institute, James Parrott, is my name. Umm, I also support the resolution in the state legislation to allow, that will..., that will allow cities and counties in New York State to set their own minimum wage at a level higher than the statewide minimum.

There's no silver bullet solution to reverse the past three decades of intensifying income and wage disparities but raising the minimum wage locally and adjusting it to keep pace with inflation represents an important step. There are many sound public policy reasons why New York State should allow cities and counties the authority to set their own higher minimum wage.

I attached to my testimony, a report that we did back in February with the National Employment Law Project on the occasion of the introduction of

local conditions.

the legislation that we're talking about at the state level. Umm, this report reviews many of the reasons it's sound public policy to do that. I'd like to touch upon some of those today. Provide some updated, uhh, information on developments regarding minimum wage around the country. And present some new data about disparities and living standards and wage levels around New York State that I think make a compelling case why locality should have the authority to set a minimum wage that's responsive to

In Table 1 attached to my testimony, we look at characteristics of workers in New York City who make less than \$15.00 an hour. Now we're not suggesting that \$15.00 an hour necessarily is the right minimum wage level for New York City, it's a target level, but it gives you an idea of the characteristics of workers in New York City who make less than that level. That's a level on an annualized basis is about \$31,000 a year. That is roughly the poverty line according to the Mayor's Center for Economic, umm, Center for Economic Opportunity, umm, Alternative Poverty measure.

You can see from the table the characteristics of the workers. 37% of all workers residing in New York City make less than \$15.00. In the Bronx that's 52% of all Bronx residents, in Brooklyn 41%. Women are more likely to receive low wages than men. Umm, persons of color account for 63% of all the workforce in New York City, and yet there's 77% of the workers who are making low wages. You can also see that only 3% of low wage workers in New York City are teenagers. Most of these workers are adult workers trying to support families.

And while on the retail, leisure and hospitality sector, over half of the workforce is paid less than \$15.00 an hour. The sector that employs the most low wage workers in New York City is the Educational and Social Services sector, which is largely supported by various levels of government and is something that we should talk about on a separate occasion.

Umm, regarding the purchasing power of the minimum wage, we estimate that for New York State's minimum wage to be returned to its peak purchasing power level, achieved in the late 1960s, it would be \$11.50 an hour today. Even when the

2 state minimum wage rises in 2016 to \$9.00 an hour, it 3 will still be 25% below the level that it would take

4 it restore it to its purchasing power peak level.

There's been a flurry of activity so far in 2014 around the country to raise the minimum wage. Just since the first of the year, six states, Connecticut, Maryland, Minnesota, Delaware, Hawaii, West Virginia, have raised their minimums bringing to 26 the number of states with a higher minimum wage, higher than the federal level.

Four states, California, Maryland,
Hawaii, Connecticut and the District of Columbia are
on the verge of having a minimum wage of \$10 an hour
or greater. And as a result of the fact that they
index their minimum wages to inflation annually,
Washington State and Oregon will soon pass \$10 an
hour. Both houses of the Massachusetts legislative
have also recently passed legislation to raise the
minimum wage in that state to \$10.50 an hour. So
they're in the process of reconciling those bills.
So that will mean another state above \$10 an hour and
here in New York we're on the slow road to raise the
minimum wage to where we will only be at \$9 an hour
in two years.

The District of Columbia, a city a

fraction the size of New York City, will raise its

minimum wage to \$11.50 an hour in mid-2016, a little

more than two years from now. Other localities are

also starting to act. Two Maryland counties that

border on the District of Columbia are following the

district's lead in raising their wage floor in stages

to \$11.50 an hour.

Action is picking up at the local level in many cities around the country. Voters in SeaTac, Washington, the home to the Seattle Airport approved a \$15 an hour minimum wage last fall. The cities of Seattle and San Francisco are considering \$15 an hour. The city council in San Diego is debating a minimum..., in San Diego is debating a minimum of over \$13 an hour. Oakland is considering \$12.25 and the mayor of Portland, Maine is talking about a minimum wage greater than the state's current average.

There are several reasons why New York

State should allow local governments the authority to

determine their own minimum wage. So let me touch on
three of these.

There are wide disparities across counties in terms of the local cost of living.

living wage laws at.

Second there's a similar wide disparity in median

wage levels and third, many local governments in New

York have already established local living wage laws

and when you look at those there's a wide disparity

in the levels that they have chosen, to set those

On the first point, as we showed in the report that we did together with NELP in February, using the self-sufficiency standard for a four person family with two earners, one preschooler and one school age child, the cost of living ranges from \$48,000 to \$55,000 in many large upstate counties, but \$64,000 to \$86,000 in New York City and the downstate suburban counties. That's a difference in the cost of living from one-third to one-half greater in New York City and the downstate area than in upstate counties.

Secondly, on the wage front, Table 2 in my testimony presents median annual earnings for full-time workers, full-time year round workers across the counties of New York State. That also shows a wide disparity. In New York City, in the downstate suburban counties, the median earnings ranged from \$40,000 to \$50,000, so the median level

is the level right in the middle of the wage distribution, so 50% of the workers are making less than that and 50% making more than that. So in New York City in the downstate area, median earnings for a full-time worker, \$40,000 to \$50,000, in the larger upstate counties like Erie, Monroe, Onondaga, median earnings are in the low \$30,000 range, and in thirty smaller upstate counties the median earnings range from \$21,000 to \$30,000 a year. This considerable earnings variation suggests that it may not make sense to have a one size fits all state minimum wage.

Finally, when you look at the variation in living wage levels, I have a little table at the top of page 4, and the testimony that shows the living wage level with health benefits and then without health benefits, which is usually \$1.50 or so an hour higher. You can see that in Nassau and Suffolk County, the current local living wage laws are \$11.74 in Suffolk, \$13.35 in Nassau County. It's still \$10 an hour in New York City. I remember when that was set at that level in 2000. It hasn't been adjusted since then. That's sort of a separate issue from what we're talking about today, but it does

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indicate that there is a lot of room and need for action to adjust these levels.

So, when local governments have turned to setting their own local wages, the experience is that, you know range of outcomes is expected, depending on the coverage and so on and we think that it's entirely reasonable to allow local governments the authority to set an area wide minimum wage.

Finally, I'd like to note that even small business owners in New York are supportive of raising the minimum wage higher than the level that we're talking about now, in giving local governments the authority to do that. A recent poll found that 74% of small business owners in New York State support raising the minimum wage and indexing it to rise with the cost of living. The poll also found that two-thirds of small business owners, believe local economies should be allowed an increase their own minimum wage "to supplement an increase in the state's minimum wage in order to insure it makes sense for local communities".

That's what we're talking about. Having local governments..., giving local governments the

COMMITTEE ON CIVIL SERVICE & LABOR 20 authority to set a minimum wages that makes sense for local communities.

Thanks very much for the opportunity to testify.

CHAIRPERSON MILLER: Thank you so much Dr. Parrott.

I think that the panel would want to ask a few questions, but I as chair want to take that privilege and kind of begin that.

One of the things..., and of course feel free to chime in as well, in terms of industries, servicing the New York City area, umm, I know you kind of mentioned some of the industries that were paying minimum wage above and around, could you kind of go over that again, and specifically the industry's numbers?

DR. JAMES PARROTT: So, in terms of the industries with a high concentration of low wage workers, the two main ones are Leisure and Hospitality which is an umbrella sector that includes, the main low wage industry there is restaurants, including fast food restaurants which we know, have a long tradition of paying very low wages. Also, in a study that we recently participated in, in

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a press conference on it, you know, it was found that in New York State there's considerable taxpayer subsidy that goes to support low wage workers because their wages are so low that they qualify for food stamps, they're eligible for Medicaid, and so on, so in effect, taxpayers are being asked to subsidize the low wage, wage model that exists in the fast food But, beyond that, so, beyond leisure and hospitality and then the retail sector, so in both of those sectors, you know a little over half of all workers are low wage workers according to this \$15 an hour threshold for considering low wage work. the sector that employs the most low wage workers in New York City is the private education, healthcare and social services sector.

Now in previous hearings we talked a little bit about the social services sector, what's unique about that is that, it's a pretty sizeable sector, about 200,000 workers. It is largely a creation of government, this is a sector that's providing human services but under government contract, most of those non-profits work under a city contract. If you look at wages in that sector,

they're not only below \$15 an hour, but one in four

2 workers in that sector are making below \$10 an hour.

3 So this is an area where New York City itself, could

4 act. As necessary as it is to have the state

5 authorize local governments to set their own minimum

6 wage, there's nothing to prevent New York City from

7 | saying that we're going to increase the contract

8 amounts to these non-profit organizations so that

9 | they can raise their wages to a more respectable

10 | level. Because roughly 40% of workers in that sector

11 are living at or near poverty and again this is

12 | wholly the result of City action.

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CHAIRPERSON MILLER: Is that something that could be addressed in an RFP? Kind of requiring certain provisions...

[Interpose]

DR. JAMES PARROTT: Well the city, you know, we're actually working, and we're in discussions with the administration and the non-profit sector on how to do that through the contracts, through the city budget, and so on. So, it would be something that ultimately would be reflected in city contracts.

CHAIRPERSON MILLER: Let me ask you, just stay there for a moment. These are some of the goods

and services on the social and human services side that had been historically or done in the past by public employees or city workers.

DR. JAMES PARROTT: No, not necessarily,

I think that with the emergence of umm, you know this
goes back to the 1960s with the emergence of city

funded support for social service delivery. A lot of
that has always been done through the non-profit
sector. So the city has always induced that through
contracts with non-profits.

CHAIRPERSON MILLER: To kind of digress, and go back to those industries that employ the most uhh...

DR. JAMES PARROTT: Right, so it's education, health and social services. You know if you take that sector with leisure, hospitality and retail, you've got over half of all low wage workers. So that's where the big concentration is. In various other sectors, you'll find some portion of umm, low wage workers. So, I think in terms of..., you know, for example, the airports, that would be in the transportation sector, uhh, also again we've talked about the private school bus contracts that the city has. So those jobs are in the transportation sector.

sustain themselves?

CHAIRPERSON MILLER: Aside from the wage, uhh, do you know that aside from the wage package are any of these industries currently providing a benefit package in that to include paid sick days and if so, what is the impact and could they still continue to

DR. JAMES PARROTT: Well, now they're all subject to the city's expanded paid sick days law, so at a minimum they're providing that. Uhh, for the low wage workforce we're talking about, very few of those workers who were at the lower end of that scale, have paid time off beyond that, at this point. There are some, you know, workers in the health and social services sector, have health benefits and things like that.

To the question about whether or not businesses could sustain paying higher wages. I think, there what we have to keep in mind is that any sort of wage requirement we're talking about would apply particularly a city established minimum wage would apply across the board, so it wouldn't put any particular company at a competitive disadvantage.

And, there is room for some companies to respond by, in certain industries, to respond by raising the

compile the costs that it takes for families of

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different compositions and sizes, you know, to cover

3 | their housing costs, their healthcare costs,

4 | transportation, food, clothing, childcare, and so on.

5 This is..., it's a very wide ranging analysis, it, it,

6 the costs are different for each borough. In

7 Manhattan, the cost varied. Within Manhattan, so

8 | there's a separate calculation for northern Manhattan

9 and a separate one for southern Manhattan.

The date that we have in the background report we put out in February is from 2010. We're in the process of updating that.

That basically says that for a family of four with two young kids, it takes \$60,000 to \$70,000 at a minimum to meet basic budget needs. That doesn't allow for vacation, it doesn't allow for college savings, it doesn't allow for retirement savings, that's just to meet basic budget needs without relying on food stamps or Medicaid or even housing subsidies and so on. So, you know, \$60,000, if you have two earners, what do they need to earn in order to meet that family budget at the low end, \$15 an hour, \$15 an hour you know, roughly. You know two earners making \$30,000 a year. So \$15 an hour is

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2 really what it takes to just have a subsistence
3 budget without reliance on outside subsidies.

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AUSTIN SHAFRAN: I'd just like to add that, I think that question actually gets at the heart of the matter where New York lacks the ability that a lot of other states have granted. deviation between the cost of living in areas that we stated before, makes it almost an absolute necessity that workers in one area are gonna have a higher cost of living and need higher wages to keep up for that, and that's where the additional public assistance money comes in. So what we have is a state where there are payments in lieu of taxes, where industrial development agencies give away property tax, abatements especially in some of the suburban rural areas in upstate and they're basically subsidizing some of these large businesses as opposed to the good actors, the small businesses who by in large, actually do pay above the minimum wage, we are subsidizing them to pay the lowest legally allowable amount and in different areas, that amount is going to have a different effect on families. New York City would be quite different to live in than in Rochester, Ithaca, Buffalo and every place should be

able to have a system where, those who know their areas best get to make some determinative decision as to what wages are appropriate in that area.

COUNCIL MEMBER DROMM: It's a pretty incredible way to look at it when you think about it that we're subsidizing multi-billion dollar corporations, by allowing these low wages to continue to be paid in New York City.

Let me go on just to ask you, how would a higher local minimum wage effect job rates in New York? Because that's a complaint we often hear that if we raise it to \$15 an hour, small businesses will not be able to afford it. And like you said that some small businesses already do it on their own, but overall how would it affect it?

DR. JAMES PARROTT: Well, it depends on what wage level we're talking about I think if you faze in modest increments in the minimum wage level that it allows businesses the opportunity to adapt over time. Umm, for the analysis, there's been a lot of academic research in this area, and I think generally what that shows is that it's not harmful to employment overall, it might have an effect on some companies if they're not able to adapt, if the

resiliency of their management skills is not quite up to par, they may suffer as a result of that, but on the other hand because the workers who have enhanced purchasing power, they are going to be buying more goods in the local economy, supporting an increase in employment overall. So on that, you know it's really hard to say that there's an adverse employment effect and you can make an argument, especially in a time like this where unemployment is very high and there's slack in the economy that an increase in minimum wage is going to have a positive employment effect.

And again, you know, often times, employers think that they, they just can't bear the burden of anything that's mandated or imposed on them. You know, that's what bars and nightclubs said a few years ago when Mayor Bloomberg proposed, you know, banning cigarette smoking in bars, and it turns out a few years later, they're all celebrating the fact that, you know, the environment in my establishment has so improved, and my customers really benefit from it. So I would never go back to that.

You know there's a similar, ahh, approach to minimum wage where it seems like something that is

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counter-intuitive and it's not going to be good for your business but, but again, if it's done across the board, and it raises purchasing power in a community, it expands, you know the bind that low wage workers and communities can afford, it increases the number of jobs. Businesses are adaptive. They'll find ways to respond to that. And again, if they're on a level playing field and it's leveled up, you know they can still compete. You know based on what gives them they're competitive edge, and establishing a minimum wage level and raising that just means that we're going to take out of the equation the ability to seek competitive edge by paying your workers than the business across the street. And that's the way it should be. That's why the federal government, you know passed the Fair Labor Standards Act in 1938.

COUNCIL MEMBER DROMM: So \$30,000 a year to some people doesn't sound like it's that little.

TO me it does. Do you have an idea of what it works out to per week? Is it about \$750 a week, somewhere in that area?

DR. JAMES PARROTT: Well, \$30,000 would be about \$600 a week.

3 taxes?

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DR. JAMES PARROTT: Right.

COUNCIL MEMBER DROMM: And you're going to take taxes out, so you're talking about maybe \$400 take home.

DR. JAMES PARROTT: Although somebody in that range, if that equaled the family income, they would also be able to benefit from the Earned Income Tax Credit, so they may have some withholding, but they're likely to get that back at the end of the year.

COUNCIL MEMBER DROMM: But even with \$15, is what I'm trying to say is that you're not making people rich. And it's still going to be difficult for people to get by. It's not going to make them Jamie Diamonds of the world.

DR. JAMES PARROTT: Then again, I would say that you know, since there are a lot of workers in New York City who are making low wages now, that, umm, we would have to be talking about something where a minimum wage increase is phased in over time and you're not going to do it in one fell swoop,

certainly. You know, it's not done that way 25

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32 anywhere, maybe SeaTac, Washington is the only place where they're going to do that, but because all of companies, you know, all of the employers in SeaTac at basically at the airport. So, they can accommodate something like that, but when you're talking about an economy the size of New York City, you want to do it over time and in more manageable increments.

COUNCIL MEMBER DROMM: Okay. Thank you. CHAIRPERSON MILLER: Thank you Council Member Dromm. Council Member Cornegy.

COUNCIL MEMBER CORNEGY: Dr. Parrott, it's often a pleasure to hear you testify, I think I've been at a few hearings to hear, and your knowledge and depth and breadth of this subject is fantastic. So I'm here as a person on this committee, but I'm also the Chair of Small Business for the New York City Council and I'm really glad to hear that you have a responsible phase in methodology for small businesses, because, so, I just want to propose that it's not the umm, increase, in and of itself that break the back of small business, it's that plus paid sick, plus the affordable act, plus increased taxes, that cause a burden to small

businesses. So the phase in portion of this, and
before you said that, I was going to suggest that I
come and sit with your office to really find a
formula that's workable for small businesses in the
City, because most small businesses like you
mentioned would like to be responsible and do the
right thing. They want to be good corporate citizens
and participate in the economy that gives every
person an opportunity to be successful. But, umm,
the onset of that in any fashion other than
incremental causes a great burden to small
businesses. And we understand that, you know, I
believe what the President believes, which is that
the economy in this city for example will not be
righted by big business, but will be righted building
capacity within small businesses to hire more. So
I'm very concerned when we talk about these things.
Will it build capacity within small businesses, to
hire more? Because right is six in one hand, half a
dozen in the other. If you increase but the ability
to hire, decreases. Then it sets this whole city in
another direction. So I'd really like to spend some
time talking to you about a comprehensive strategy
over a period of time that's going to allow small

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businesses to be good corporate citizens but also to help build capacity to increase small businesses in this city.

DR. JAMES PARROTT: Right. We have looked at an aspect of that, umm, we worked very closely with the Working Families Party when, in the time before last, I mean certainly in the last time, but in the time before last in 2004 when the state minimum wage was increased and at the time in order to address the argument about what's the impact on small businesses. At that point there were 10 or 11 states that had a higher minimum wage than the federal minimum. So we looked at employment growth in small businesses overall, establishments with fewer than 50 employees, and compared job growth in the states that had a higher minimum wage with the states that were at the federal minimum wage which was lower. And what we found was that there was no adverse result for small business, either the number of small businesses or the employment growth in small businesses in states with a higher minimum wage over a period of time compared to the states that had a lower minimum wage.

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COUNCIL MEMBER CORNEGY: And I do just want to make a point about the City of New York is unique, in its ability to create, cultivate and grow small business, as opposed to other places in the country that you may have gotten your data from. actually rely on small business growth in the City of New York, and it's funny that you mentioned the three industries, well, the industry with the most growth, that the city is depending on is hospitality, leisure and tourism. So it's funny that you brought those up when we're actually counting on that to drive some of the economy in the city. So, you know, I just want to point out that New York City is very unique in its need for small businesses, unlike a smaller city somewhere else in the country who has stable, small businesses and doesn't really rely on the growth of small business to drive the economy in those cities and states.

DR. JAMES PARROTT: I don't know that it's fundamentally different, I mean, certainly there are some cities that may be more heavily dependent upon a large employer or so, and while we think that you know, long have thought that New York City is heavily dependent upon the finance sector, when you

look at the contribution to employment that's made across sectors, and by size of employer, New York
City has a very diversified economy and one of the things I didn't mention in my testimony which I think maybe I did I just didn't mention it in the oral part, I think is a compelling reason why New York
City should have the authority to set its own local minimum wage. The size of the New York City economy is larger than that of 45 states. All of those states have the authority to set their own minimum wage.

COUNCIL MEMBER CORNEGY: Lastly, and I have I have to go to another hearing. Can you just address the fact that you did mention a particular industry that we look, we're looking to, now you say that the city may not look to..., look for small businesses, but I happen to know for a fact that we're counting on..., when there's no place else for growth and development, in the city and no new industries out, you know, we're looking every day to develop industry to employment and to drive the economy. We know one that's growing steadily, which is our tourism, hospitality and leisure industry.

But, you've sited that as having some of the most low

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wage jobs. What are we going to do as a formula to mitigate the fact that we're depending on that for growth while simultaneously it is notorious for having some of the lower wage jobs.

DR. JAMES PARROTT: Well, so there are different sub-components of the leisure and hospitality sectors, so there's the hotel sector, and even that is divided into sort of the unionized hotel sector and then the part of the hotel sector that's been growing, the smaller boutique hotels which are less likely to be unionized, and you know, the gold standard, for a good solid middle class living for a less educated worker in New York City is a maid in a hotel. Where, you know, as their contract, you know they recently reached a multi-year contract, as they reach the tail end of that, a maid, who may not even have a high school education in New York City, is making \$60,000 a year with pretty good health benefit plans. So that part of the hotel sector is a great part for job growth. Umm, then there's the food service sector, which is divided into the fullservice restaurants, like the white table cloth restaurants that have been booming all over the five boroughs and fast foods. Umm, you know, the full

service restaurant sector is the part that has been really booming and creating lots of jobs, and those are small businesses where you have some of the most, you know, committed and dedicated small business owners who, you know, choose to open up a restaurant and they rely upon, you know, good quality service for their business to succeed. You can bet that they're paying decent wages to most of their workers. So that's a good part of the leisure and hospitality sector that we don't have anything to worry about.

I think the part that we've been talking about here that does raise cause for concern is that part that's operated by national and international chains that pay very low wages that rely upon basically taxpayers to subsidize those low wages. If nothing else, we should figure what to do to address that part of the sector.

mentioned that because that's what I wanted to say,
there's no way right now to tease apart when asking
for a change to tease apart the good from the bad,
right. And sometimes, there are unintended
consequences in change, and I just want to make sure
that one of the unintended consequences is not a

COMMITTEE ON CIVIL SERVICE & LABOR committee and this hearing, not just that we put forth this resolution to do it, but to insure that we hear from everybody, all the partners involved to insure that we don't have those unintended consequences and that we're able to move forward and at the time provide a minimum wage standard that will allow people a quality of life that they don't enjoy now.

Council Member Constantinides. Damn!
[Laughing]

it. Doctor it's always great to see you again and of course Austin. I just have a few questions, just looking at your document, just a quick comment. The numbers are sobering when you look citywide if I'm reading this correctly it's basically one in three.

DR. JAMES PARROTT: Right.

COUNCIL MEMBER CONSTANTINIDES: More than 33% of our city is in low wage jobs. That's something that, people we should definitely get out there more. Because when you hear in the media, especially on Fox noise and some of their other affiliates, they'll talk about different things going on and really, you mean, one in three workers are out

2 there every day trying to earn a living in low wage
3 jobs, and that's a very sobering thing.

4 I'm actually just

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I'm actually just looking quickly at the taxes, I think actually in New York state, beyond not giving us the ability to set our own minimum wage, they're tax code is hurting us in a way. I didn't know that Senator Peralta in Albany is sponsoring a bill, because right now there's some of these bad actors in the retail industry, which I come from, I put myself through school working for Kay-Bee Toy Stores and I worked in the retail industry for a long time and I saw a lot of the bad practices that went on there and the encouragement from higher management to hold down wages, to hold down promotions, to hold down those in full-time position. But now I am to understand that there's a tax incentive to hire teenagers.

[Interpose]

DR. JAMES PARROTT: Oh you're talking about the Minimum Wage Tax Reimbursement Credit.

COUNCIL MEMBER CONSTANTINIDES: Yes, so we have young people who are, which we need to get employed, of course, but they'll hire a 17 year old, they'll keep them in position for two or three years

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and then when they're 20 they'll find a way to have them move on and then hire someone again exactly at the minimum wage. And I guess you can speak to that and how sort of the bad practice with some of these large box retailers.

DR. JAMES PARROTT: Well, last year when that was passed, along with phased in very modest increase in the state minimum wage without any provision to index it, I characterize that as the worst legislation that I'd ever heard of. Because it basically set a maximum wage, you only get the tax credit if you pay exactly the minimum wage. It takes away any incentive to reward a highly productive, valued employee, by giving them a nickel raise or a quarter raise or a two dollar an hour raise. You're going to lose your tax credit to do that. estimated at the time what the potential benefit to a large company like Walmart would be, because rest assured, that if any company takes advantage of a tax credit like that, it will be the biggest organization, the biggest companies who have the accountants, who can look through the tax code, find things like gimmicks like that, they're going to maximize that. And, this is a company that doesn't

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COMMITTEE ON CIVIL SERVICE & LABOR hesitate to ask people to work off the clock, you know, among other bad practice. Do you think that they're gonna not fire older workers to hire student teenagers that they're not going to fire a nonstudent teenager and hire a student teenager. that they're going to keep their wage right at the minimum wage. So yes, don't get me started on that. I get worked up on that. It is the worse legislation I've ever heard of.

UNIDENTIFIED MALES: Let me just pop in. You know, Albany has not only heard us by not giving us the ability to set our own minimum wage, but actually hurting us by implementing this law.

AUSTIN SAFRAN: And that's one of the big misconceptions, I think it was actually mentioned earlier, that we have over 90% of low wage workers who are above the age of 20. This isn't a teenage problem and the tax credits like that are absolutely antithetical to what we want to do here, in terms of lifting workers out of poverty. We have over a million and a half families with a child that has at least one parent that is a low wage worker. gets at the essence of the problem and that's part of the unfortunate trade-off, that went with that too

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low, too slow, minimum wage package last year and another reason why allowing cities and counties some ability to do this on their own is going to be much more reception to the type of wages we need.

COUNCIL MEMBER CONSTANTINIDES: Just really quick, how would raising the minimum wage help improve our economy. How's it going to create the boom in our community, for our small businesses, for everything else.

DR. JAMES PARROTT: It going to put more money in the pockets of workers who are going to spend every cent of that. They're going to spend more in their local communities. That's going to increase demand, that's going to make healthier those small businesses, and their community that they patronize. That will be a positive thing. Some employers will have to adapt, they may have to raise their prices a little but, they're customer base includes people in the middle income, and upper income range, who can well afford any price adjustment that comes along, necessitated by adjusting to the minimum wage. So, that's not to say that it's you know, win, win, win, you know, nonstop across the board. Some adjustments are going to be

required as part of that, but on the whole, every time the minimum wage has been increase, when we look back on that, we see generally very positive, consistently positive effects from that.

COUNCIL MEMBER CONSTANTINIDES: So if we do it the right way, if we do it as we talked about phasing it in and making sure that we protect small business. Many of the people who shop in the small businesses in our communities live there. They're going to shop in those stores, they're going to leave their job and go to somewhere else in the community and spend that money and help boost other businesses in the neighborhood.

Thank you very much.

CHAIRPERSON MILLER: Thank you Council

Member for those insightful questions. Thank you to
the panel for coming out, obviously we can do this
all day, thank you for your insight, but most of all
to the panel for... and to the Council Members for your
participation and your questions. I think they have
been a big help in moving this along.

So speaking of moving along, we're going to bring up our next panel, um, which is a single panel, right? Mr. Daniel Powers.

[Pause]

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DANIEL POWERS: Good afternoon, my name is Daniel Powers, umm, I'll just begin if that's okay with you. Thank you very much.

I'm a musician and for the past nine years I've owned and managed Real Brave Audio. a music school and small business located out in Fresh Meadows, Queens. I'm also the founder and director of After School Rocks, a soon to be an official 501(c)(3) foundation and the basic premise of Real Brave and After School Rocks is simple and something we can all get behind. It's to give kids access to music education. I've worked with schools in my community to get affordable music instruction to kids and perhaps more importantly develop great paying jobs for musicians and help build their I am of the opinion that there's nothing careers. small about small business. Everything you do, buy, invest in, is big. Every employee you hire is a big deal, every regulation or fine, no matter how small is a game changer and as a member of GoBizNYC, a network of small business groups representing over 25,000 small businesses across the five boroughs, I agree with their mission to strengthen the voice of

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small immigrant and minority owned businesses and to create an environment where small businesses can flourish, create more jobs, and build our cities neighborhood economies and that's why I'm here today.

I'm taking time away from my business to be here because I believe it is important for the council to hear how actions like the one proposed, may, negatively impact small business owners like myself. Many small business owners and start-up entrepreneurs including me, are normal everyday people. We are your neighbors in your corner deli. It is becoming increasingly difficult to rent, insure, build, buy and exist in the five boroughs. What everyday person has the capital to pay for such high rent for a brick and mortar location? common perception is that risk is what you sign up But, let's not make it more for as a business owner. impossible to succeed than it already is. Efforts to improve the livelihoods of employees are admirable, but they shouldn't be undertaken at the expense of small businesses.

Most small business owners, have small margins and our backs are already increasingly burdened. I could easily stand here, or sit, here

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before you today and continue to point out how difficult it is to run a business. But that really isn't my goal today. I want you to know that there is more you can do to make an impact on the lives of the good people of New York. Please understand, I've worked my way up from the bottom to get where I am today, I've worked minimum wage jobs, from paper routes, if anyone remembers those, and retail, to being a porter and working in sales. Before I worked at better paying jobs. So I get the need for a good wage. I understand the spirit of what you aim to do. So I'm not sitting here before you today someone who is exacerbated by the idea of paying people above minimum wage, but I am worried about the precedent you are setting for our future economic success, our kids' ability to find a job in our city's growth. Given that the state has already approved minimum wage increases, I urge you to focus your energies elsewhere.

By forcing a few bad apples, who avoid doing the right things for their employees, you end up unintentionally, possibly, hurting many small businesses that already provide fair wage for fair work.

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2 Raising the minimum wage doesn't address 3 the deeper problem at hand for the city. Which is widespread, under-employment, defined as people 4 working part-time, but want to work full-time or in a 5 6 job that they are over-qualified for, so according to these statistics that I found recently, the under-8 employment rate in New York City was about 14% at the end of third quarter 2013, and I'm not an economist 9 10 but that's what I found and it seems to be right. 11 We're fighting for a minimum wage hike, so that the 12 current college students burdened with mortgage sized 13 debts and under-employment can continue that cycle. 14 So I ask you, do we accept this as a status quo or do we fight for better jobs. Do we want what the Wall 15 Street Journal is calling, the well-educated barista 16 17 economy?

The new economy to me is about jobs, which leads to better wages. Instead of raising the minimum wage, we need to focus on lifting the city by investing in a pathway to better jobs. We need to create and invest in programs that properly develop our workforce, for jobs in the new economy. We need to foster greater coordination between the private sector and our education system, to insure that the

1	COMMITTEE ON CIVIL SERVICE & LABOR 50
2	skills learned in school translate to the real world.
3	I urge the council to instead focus on enabling
4	emerging and successful businesses to grow and
5	insuring that our workers have a better chance at
6	success in this new economy. I believe that we can
7	work together to be career developers but not minimum
8	wage promoter. And I and the rest of the small
9	business community would stand ready to support you
10	in such efforts if you would invite us on that
11	journey.
12	CHAIRPERSON MILLER: Thank you so much
13	for those words. I'm now going to take the privilege
14	as the Chair to open with the questions. And I don't
15	have many.
16	In your current business, how many
17	employees to you employ?
18	DANIEL POWERS: About 15.
19	CHAIRPERSON MILLER: 15?
20	DANIEL POWERS: Yes.
21	CHAIRPERSON MILLER: And what is the
22	average wage?
23	DANIEL POWERS: For the instructors, the
24	average is about to be \$22.00 an hour.

2 CHAIRPERSON MILLER: And obviously now

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DANIEL POWERS: I'm not at that point yet, I'm getting there. It's been about nine years. My goal is to have careers for them, it's just difficult to get to that point where you can have that type of income and pay that type of wage. believe in that, I mean I wanted that as a musician, 20 years ago. You know, to have that career path, but it's difficult to cultivate that and we're on our way, I mean they're working about 25 hours a week, but they are under-employed and they're working another job even with all the things that I try to do for them, because they're like family to me. them all dearly and I have a very low turnover rate because, I guess they realize they have a good thing and I believe, personally, that this something that can be cultivated citywide. I don't disagree with the fact... wait, I'm not agreeing or disagreeing, I should say, with you about wages. I believe people need to make a good wage.

CHAIRPERSON MILLER: So basically, the compensation is based on their skillset and based on your testimony, umm, your primary interest would be

people that are working part-time jobs, we need a

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2 better, in this city, we need access to better jobs.

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3 And, I do believe that it's possible, it just depends

4 on how we go about that.

CHAIRPERSON MILLER: You know what, I agree with you, I think that we do need better paying jobs, but I also think that we need responsible employers, we and this is not for you per se, but for those that are in attendance that we did the low wage airport workers and the fact of the matter is, is that those same jobs 20 years ago earned more than they earn today and considering the industry that's making more money than they've ever earned. at travesty. Those are the things that we're trying to..., just sometimes you need government to stop in and take a position and it is our hopes that our citizens would be more responsible on their own, but in the instances that they're not, that we think that this is, ahh, a responsible thing to do, but the reason to have the hearing is to hear from all parties and perhaps, it's not just what you do but how you do it and what unintended consequences and impact that they may have on the individuals who are providing these services. So at the end of the day, we take into account all that's been said and we

2 appreciate your testimony, umm, and, and certainly as

3 we move forward with this resolution all voices will

4 | be heard. So, Council Member Dromm.

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COUNCIL MEMBER DROMM: Yes, I just agree with you, I think that we do have to take into considerations the concerns of our small businesses, which I don't think we disagree with you on, but where we see real problems of inequity is when you have McDonald's, Duane Reade, stores like that, that are paying people seven dollars and something cents an hour and the corporation is making billions. that's a real inequity in our society and that's what we're kind of trying to address here, but we do want to take into consideration the impact that this would have on small businesses and whether or not they can afford it. I think that Dr. Parrott, when he was here, addressed some of those issues as well, and I hear your statement and I think I'm just going to leave it at that.

CHAIRPERSON MILLER: So with that, thank you so much Mr. Powers for coming out and if you have anything else that you'd like to say.

DANIEL POWERS: Yes, I just want to say one more thing, if that's okay? So this is more

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directed at more of a corporate hire level billion dollar approach. So what if it was phased in so that if that's what you're going for rather than a blanket approach that will affect people like me. People like me, meaning somebody that is just a normal guy, you know, starts a business, he has a bunch of people that works for him. Maybe he can't afford to pay them the most yet, but he's doing the right thing. So how can you go about this, if you're going to try to move ahead with it so it doesn't affect that person?

about a phased in minimum wage. So it would be exactly what it is that you described, in protection of some of the small businesses. Umm, but certainly with the larger corporations, it's an issue of major concern when you have somebody who's working for those corporations and making as little as they are, there's a need to address that as quickly as we possibly can, but there is a phase in part of the program.

CHAIRPERSON MILLER: Thank you again for your time, but let me also say, and I think you heard umm, a lot of the concerns articulated by the Chair

2 Service Society of New York. Thank you to the 3 committee for holing this hearing and to Chair 4 Miller.

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You know I'm going to definitely echo a few of the points that have already been made, particularly by Dr. Parrott. But, umm, I suppose their worth repeating.

So unfortunately, the state of New York is lagging well behind when it comes to providing meaningful increases to the minimum wage. the localities that have far exceeded what New York is doing, have already been mentioned. The State of California which also allows municipalities to set their own minimum wage, cities like Santa Fe, Montgomery and Prince Georges County in Maryland, umm, all of these areas are passing increases to the minimum wage that are really sort of, to put it frankly, putting New York to shame. Umm, as we're all aware, the legislature here in New York provided for an increase to \$9 an hour by 2016, but as has already been discussed, that's woefully insufficient and most importantly the lack of indexing for inflation so that minimum wage is going to stay at \$9 until the states decides to act again and for those

who think that the state will act quickly to raise
the minimum wage again after 2016, well, I appreciate

4 | the optimism but I would disagree with it.

I think the issue of fair labor standards including a reasonable minimum wage is particularly relevant today, given the recent great recession and the recovery that has followed. It's a recovery that has only impacted the highest earners, for those outside the top income brackets, the recovery from the recession has basically just been significant growth in low wage jobs that don't pay nearly enough to support a family.

Umm, a recent study that CSS, my organization, conducted, found that since the beginning of the recession in December 2007 through March 2013, there was a net loss of nearly 34,000 middle and highway jobs and in that growth of nearly 102,000 low wage jobs, and that's here in New York City, and that of course is really following a national trend, but particularly here in New York, the job growth has really been almost exclusively in low wage sectors.

The inability of New Yorkers to find jobs that pay decent wages has real impacts on their

lives. Umm, those who work full-time at the minimum wage and even those who make slightly more than the minimum wage, even working full-time, do not earn enough to keep a family of three out of poverty.

annual survey of low income New Yorkers, tracking their hardships, and when we look at the working poor in New York, we found that nearly two-thirds reported experiencing three or more hardships and 40% reported experiencing five or more hardships. The hardship battery that we look at includes a variety of things across economic hardships, food and security, housing hardships and health hardships. Umm, so just to give a few examples, and again this is talking about the working poor, these are folks that are working, over one-third reported falling behind on their rent or mortgage and nearly one-quarter often ski meals because there wasn't enough money to buy food.

The survey also found that these New Yorkers are consistently on the brink of financial disaster with little or no savings to fall back on.

Again, it's already been discussed. The high cost of living in New York City, and I don't think that's anything that's going to be really a use

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to anyone but just to site one stat that I think is particularly sort of telling, umm, a 2012 report from CSS found that after rent, poor renters in the private rental market were left with an average of just \$4.40 per household member per day for food and all other necessities. So that's \$4.40 a day per person for pretty much everything else besides housing, if you're below the poverty level and in the private unassisted rental market. Needless to say that's not really enough.

Umm, it's also worth noting that low wage workers in New York City are different from the rest of the nation and the state in other ways. Umm, you know, the debate over the minimum wage, you hear a lot about how most minimum wage workers are young workers. Umm, but that's not really the case, and it's especially not the case here in New York and again, Dr. Parrott touched on this but I have some slightly different statistics as well that look specifically at minimum wage workers and not low wage as defined as \$15 or lower, umm, as the FBI and NELP study did. Umm, but the analysis that we've done at CSS found that in the state outside of New York City, 55% of minimum wage workers are between 16 and 24

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City. Umm, over 40% of minimum wage workers in New 3

years old, but that number's only 26% in New York

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York City in 2013, were over 35 years old.

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making the minimum wage in New York in 2013, 40% were

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over 35 years old. In the rest of the state outside New York, only 35% of minimum wage workers are either

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the head of their household or a spouse of the

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household's head. In New York City half of minimum

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wage workers are either the head of the household or

So, contrary to sort of conventional

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the spouse of a household head.

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13 wisdom, and even sort of the way it is to some extent

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in the rest of the country and the rest of the state,

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in New York City, most minimum wage workers are not

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young students earning a little extra pocket money,

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they are men and women with families to support and

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little income to get by on.

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Opponents of the minimum wage often point to the potential adverse impacts on employment, which

again has already been discussed, this is sort of the

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common theme you hear anytime there is any

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legislation or proposal to improve the lives of low

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wage workers, umm, going back to Medicare and Social

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Security, and more recently, here in New York, with

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the fight for paid sick days, it was the same thing over and over again. The impact on business, the impact on business, but time and time again, once these laws get passed, these fears of opponents are There have been several studies done not realized. on the impacts of minimum wage and they have found no adverse impact on employment. Among those studies, which I think was one that was included in the resolution was done by Aaron Duvet (phonetic) and some colleagues looking at counties that were bordering counties, but across state lines, and looking at differences in minimum wage policies and again, that study found no adverse impact on employment, umm, when looking at counties that had higher minimum wage then bordering counties that were in states with lower minimum wages.

Similarly, we did an analysis at CSS looking at two traditionally low wage sectors, the food services and the retail trade sectors and found that in the year after San Francisco increased its minimum wage above federal and state levels, which was a pretty sizeable, from \$6.75 an hour to \$8.50 an hour and that was in 2004. That's when San Francisco separated from the rest of the state. The number of

employees in those low wage industries actually increased when compared to the eight surrounding Bay Area counties that were not subject to the minimum wage hike. And that trend has continued through 2012 when the last data is available.

So at CSS we applaud the new Mayor and the council's efforts to obtain local authority over setting a higher minimum wage. It is clear that New York is in a unique position, given its high cost of living and the demographics of its low wage workforce. Local authority over the minimum wage will allow the city's residents and legislatures to do what's in the best interest of our city without adversely impacting businesses or workers. And, in fact, it will put extra money in the hands of those who will spend it to give the local economy a much needed boost. Thanks.

SEBASTIAN SANCHEZ: My name is Sebastian

Sanchez. I'm an employment attorney at Make the Road

New York. Make the Road New York is a multi-service

organization that builds the power of Latino and

working class communities to achieve dignity and

justice through litigation, legal and survival

services coupled with policy innovation, which is

formative education and community organizing. We operate store front community centers in the high density immigrant neighborhoods of Bushwick,
Brooklyn, Jackson Heights, Queens, Port Richmond,
Staten Island, and Brentwood, Long Island.

Our members are predominately immigrant working class New Yorkers. For our members who do not have to confront wage, the paychecks they receive from their employment are often not enough to support their families or put money back into the economy. Our members work in low paying industries like the retail and restaurant industrial where salaries are barely above the minimum wage and rarely allow for self-sufficiency.

Like the great majority of New Yorkers, our membership overwhelmingly supports raising wages in New York and like was said previously, a lot of this information has been said, but I think it's definitely worth repeating. As we have heard, income inequality plagues our state. A 2012 Census Bureau Report found that New York State had the highest level of income inequality in our nation. That study also found that our state is one of five that has the distinction of having income inequality at a higher

where New York should be a leader.

Approximately 37% of our state's residents were paid low wages which is defined as earning less than \$15 an hour. This translates to a yearly income of \$31,200 or barely over 200% of the federal poverty level. Nearly two-thirds of all low wage workers in New York or approximately two million New Yorkers are paid less than \$12 an hour. In Brooklyn and the Bronx, low wage earners represent approximately 41% and 52% respectively, of all wage earners in the boroughs.

Although this income inequality impacts all New Yorkers, women and people of color are at a particular disadvantage. 40% of women earn less than \$15 an hour and half of all black and Hispanic workers are low wage workers. Even a college degree does not offer protection from this problem, as nearly 28% of workers with at least some college education earn less than \$15 an hour.

Unfortunately, since the great recession ended, job growth in New York has remained disproportionately concentrated in low wage industries such as retail and food services according

2 to the analysis by the Fiscal Policy Institute.

3 According to that study, between the recession and

4 summer 2013, New York had experienced a net loss of

5 | 131,000 middle wage jobs and a net loss of 51,000

6 highway jobs, but a net gain of 282,600 low wage

7 | jobs. These new jobs are found in low wage employers

8 | like restaurants, home healthcare service agencies

9 and retail store. The median wages in many of these

10 | low wage occupations, are around or less than \$10 an

11 | hour, including a median wage of \$10.80 for retail

12 | salespersons, \$9.69 for home health aides, \$9.19 for

13 waiters and waitresses, and just \$8.80 for fast food

14 | workers.

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Making matters worse, worker's wages in these sectors have declined in real terms for the typical New York worker median wages have dropped by almost seven percent for men and one percent for women in the last decade. New Yorkers find themselves forced to accept these low wage jobs because there really are no positions available in our current economy.

Although New York's hourly minimum wage was raised to \$8 this year and will be \$9 by next year, or by 2016, it's still not nearly enough to

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meet basic living costs. Especially in the high cost

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area like New York City. A \$9 an hour wage

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translates to just \$18,720 a year for a full-time

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This wage would leave a family of three well worker.

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below the federal poverty line which is itself an

inadequate measure of what it truly costs to support

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a family. It's estimated that for a family of four,

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with two adult full-time earners in New York City, an

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annual income of \$68,873 to \$70,507 is necessary to

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be self-sufficient.

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Further, New York's minimum wage is significantly below what other states and localities have recently passed or are pushing to enact. As we've heard, California recently raised its minimum wage to \$10 an hour by 2015 and is pushing to raise it to \$13 an hour.

The governors of Maryland and Connecticut have called for raising their state's minimum wage above \$10. And states like Illinois, Massachusetts, Minnesota and Hawaii are pushing for similar increases.

Some cities have been able to set their own minimum wage rates. San Francisco is currently COMMITTEE ON CIVIL SERVICE & LABOR 68

at \$10.74, Santa Fe is at \$10.51 and Washington, DC

will raise its minimum to \$11.50 by 2017.

It is time for New York to join these states and allow localities to enact higher local minimum wages. Study after study has found that these laws have boosted wages without any evidence of slow job growth or business relocations. This is because the substantial majority of the low wage positions affected our fields, such as restaurants, retail and building services that are linked to their city locations and so cannot practically be moved or outsourced by their employers to other locations outside of the city.

In San Francisco, a study found that employers absorbed the higher wage costs through a combination of reduced employee turnover, with corresponding savings in re-staffing and retraining costs and improved customer service and worker productivity. Similarly research at the national level also finds that minimum wages increases have little or no significant impact on employment on minimum wage workers even during times of weakness in the labor market.

The New York City Council should join in the voice calling for an amendment to the Minimum Wage Act of New York, to clarify that the state law is a floor, not a ceiling and that the act was not intended to block localities from supplementing it with higher local minimum wages.

Make the Road's members overwhelmingly and enthusiastically support this push for legislative change. Thank you.

CHAIRPERSON MILLER: Thank you, before

Mr. Foye, let me just mention that we've been joined

by Council Member Crowley.

Chairman, Chairman Miller, Council Member Dromm,

Council Member Crowley, it is good to be with you all

and see you again. Forgive me for not having a

printed testimony, I was afforded the opportunity to

testify last minute and jumped on it, but so much has

been said about the economics behind raising the

minimum wage and certainly the arguments are clear as

to why it is important in a consumption driven

economy to put money in people's pockets so that they

can consume, so that they can further drive the

economy. I think those are fundamental issues. I'm

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really here, on behalf of the National Action Network to talk about the economic and social justice implications of raising the minimum wage. been said about, about the composition of the workforce that make, umm, that make low wages and it is clear that it is overwhelmingly people of color, it is overwhelmingly women and for us there is a clear line of distinction. Either you believe that generational poverty and that discrimination, gender discrimination and these things are tolerable, and so therefore we are at the right wage levels or you do not, and you believe that it is up to government to help to break generational poverty and to undo many of the inequalities that are innate in our economy. And so you believe that we should raise the wage. There is a clear question here about whether we should raise the minimum, which I think has also been answered, but this is really about whether the City of New York should have the authority to do it, and so that's a separate question and also there is an economic justice and a social imperative there as The city is more capable of dealing with the day to day needs of the people in the city. They are more responsive than are other levels of government

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to the people, to the needs of the people, and they can deliver services more effectively and efficiently than other levels of government and so it is clear that in the largest city in our county, with the largest budget, that there should be some measure of autonomy that the city is able to act and to respond to economic crisis and other economic and moral and social imperatives without having to wait for some long protracted political process that is far removed from the immediate needs at hand.

We believe at the National Action

Network, that as the President has taken on income inequality and poverty as a top priority, as our

Mayor has taken it on as a top priority, that the state is an outlier, and so, outliers tend to draw back on progress. And so, we believe that the City of New York should be able to act independently of the state because there are varied interests, there is often times, used as a political football. Albany is used as a political football to talk about what's wrong with government. Well we can't say, it's both the cause of the problems and the solutions to the problem. So if Albany is the cause of much of our dismay, political and governmental dismay, it cannot

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also be the solution. And so, we believe that New York City should be given the opportunity to act autonomously and to be able to act in the most efficiently and affect way necessary to meet the economic needs of the people.

It's clear that the more people make the less they need social services. Those social services are overwhelmingly provided by the city. It's clear that the more people make, the less they need affordable housing subsidies which is also a major need. Affordable housing is both a supply and demand problem. And so, we've got to deal with it from both ends. It's important to create an abundant supply of housing, but it's also important to give people enough disposable income so that they can afford their own housing.

So all of these issues culminate into what I believe and what we at the National Action Network believes is a moral and a social economic justice imperative that the City of New York be given the authority to determine what its own minimum wage will be. Thank you.

CHAIRPERSON MILLER: Thank you for winging it. Umm, and so you did touch on some of the

things that we're going to talk about, because that you gentlemen represent advocacy groups and the people who are really on the front line providing those types of social services.

An opportunity, I would just ask from the folks that you individuals represent, what kind of impact would raising the minimum wage have and the reverse, what would be the impact of not raising the minimum wage?

APURVA MEHROTRA: Well yeh, I'll just sort of again touch on that, umm, on the survey that we do. You know every year The Unheard Third tracks sort of the policy views, and the preferences and the attitudes but also the hardships that low income New Yorkers are facing. So, you know I think on the most basic level when we talk about increasing the minimum wage and you're talking about just a greater amount of economic security for these individuals. There is the economic benefit that's already been touched upon as far as putting more money in folk's pockets so they can go out and spend it in their communities, increased demand, increased employment, and all that. But on the most basic level, it's basically helping people to live their lives in a way where they're not

agree fully with what Apurva said, but as well we

have to look at, and we talked earlier about teens

entering the workforce, but if we are able to get

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parents out of poverty, jobs that create poverty, that's going to have a direct impact and studies have shown that raising the wages of parents, getting parents out of poverty at a younger age for a child will lead to better educational opportunities, better performance in schools and better employment opportunities with that better education. So I think that this is an investment and not only our working population right now but our working population in the future. So I think that's something that's really important, that we keep in mind, I know that a lot of our members are also parents and it's a pressing concern for them when their jobs don't give them enough money to pay their rent or pay for their food. So, I just wanted to add that point.

Since the collapse of the economy and much of our economic problems in the last several years, much of what we are faced with, as an organization, umm, has become more economic driven, so we're dealing with more families who need advocacy for homes, and assistance in securing more social services and so instead of ahh, challenging affirmative, umm, abuses if that's an appropriate term, by the government,

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we're actually advocating for them to do..., to provide increased service. And so, it is clear that our jobs and professions are no different than any others. It's supply and demand. And the more people need, the more our organizations will be asked to do, and so, you know, we are going from dealing with..., responding to social injustices to now responding to economic injustices and it's a lot more difficult to change the economic and the systems behind our economics than it is to ask the government to redress its grievances which is what social justice is intended to be about. And so, it makes, for those of who think that people should be pulling themselves up by their bootstraps, and that government should shrink, then you've got to shrink the demand on government services, and the only way to shrink the demand on government services, is to empower the

ELIZABETH CROWLEY: Thank you chairman miller. Thank you for having this hearing today.

Thank you to Council Member Dromm for introducing this resolution. I'm going to add my name as a cosponsor. I think that it's important that we, as a city have the opportunity to raise the minimum wage.

people that need them the most.

If we believe that it needed, and it is needed in the City of New York today. Far too many New Yorkers are living in poverty. As a working parent myself I know that there are demands on many families. We want to give our kids the opportunity to have better education and go on to college. Many families don't have that opportunity, don't have the means and uhh, we would help in insuring that more families uhh, have the ability to move out of poverty. If we having a living wage in the city that is family sustaining and so, I hope that this bill passes in Albany and that we're able to do that as a Council. So I just want to echo my support and the support that my colleagues have said that they've had on this measure and I think it's a good one. Thank you

CHAIRPERSON MILLER: Thank you so much

Council Member Crowley and thank you for the work

that you're doing on pay equity, umm, gender pay

equity in the city here as well, and we just want to

echo that, because it's all relevant here at this

hearing. Council Member Dromm.

[Pause]

again. Mr. Chairman.

CHAIRPERSON MILLER: Thank you to the panel for coming out again and your insight is just really appreciated. We've had several hearings concerning low wage workers, concerning..., and its impact on the economy and umm, you have come out continuously and shared your insight and your expertise and we're really appreciative as we move forward in implementation and we will be continuing to reach out to you and make sure that we can access your area of expertise. Thanks again.

[Pause]

CHAIRPERSON MILLER: The next panel will include Rabbi Michael Feinberg, Frankie Tisdale, Elliott Roseboro and Pierre Metivier. When you are ready gentlemen you can start from either direction. I just ask that you introduce yourself before giving your testimony.

RABBI FEINBERG: Good afternoon, I want to thank the Chairman and members of the committee for this opportunity to speak before you today. I'm Rabbi Michael Feinberg, I'm the executive director of the Greater New York Labor-Religion Coalition and advocacy group for low wage workers and I want to emphasize that I come here before you today, not as

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an economist, nor a policy expert, but someone who works in the community and as a faith leader being faithful to my own tradition.

So this issue is one that is important to both my organization and myself, and one that we've been deeply concerned about and engage with in the past. I'm testifying here today on behalf of more than the 2000 members including some 800 clergy of the Greater New York Labor-Religion Coalition. The Labor-Religion Coalition is an interfaith alliance drawn from all five boroughs of the city, including Muslims, Jews, Christians, and people from all faith traditions working together to advocate for the rights of low wage and immigrant workers and the working poor here in our city.

We work closely with local labor unions organizing this population of workers. In the coalition we see ourselves as faith allies to these workers in their own efforts to empower themselves and to organize, to improve their working conditions and their lives. In our work we draw upon the central teachings of our faith traditions and their insistence upon the dignity of labor and they're imperative to seek justice for all workers. Here in

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New York City we face the enormous social and I would

3 say religious and ethical challenge of an already

vast and still growing gap in income between the 4

5 highest earners and the low wage workers, largely

immigrant and people of color in the service 6

industries, that we've heard so much about already

this afternoon. 8

> The United States leads the western industrial world in this income gap and New York City leads all other cities in the nation. The facts as we know them are stark. We know that hundreds of thousands of low wage workers in New York City, are majority immigrant, people of color work at or barely above the current minimum wage level. Untold numbers more are forced illegally to work even below the minimum wage, and all this in one of the most expensive high cost cities, high cost of living cities in the entire world.

> One in every five New Yorkers including many full-time workers, the working poor, lives below the federal poverty level. In the richest city on earth, one in three children lives in poverty. That's a fact that to me as a faith leader really should shock and horrify us all into action.

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Allowing New York City to set its own minimum wage will set the record..., will set the state on record as recognizing a basic social contract, that is that all workers should be paid at a wage level that permits them and their families to sustain themselves, to meet their basic needs and to live in dignity. From the voice of our varied faith traditions the prophetic message is clear, to allow workers to work full-time and yet persist in poverty is morally unacceptable and unjust.

My own tradition Judaism is emphatic about the rights of low wage workers. To quote from Hebrew scripture, you shall not abuse a needy and destitute laborer, whether a fellow countryperson or a stranger in one of the communities of your land. Violation of this principal is considered so severe that it was likened by the rabbis of the time would, as akin to murder, that is that one who withholds a workers living wage is as though he has deprived him of his very life. Similar ethical teachings are to be found in Islam and Christianity as well as all other faith traditions.

A raise in the New York City minimum wage and the right for New York City to do so, not only

makes sound economic sense, pumping much needed dollars into economically deprived communities here, but just as importantly, from the standpoint of religious ethics, it is the right thing to do. Let us through the passage of this resolution and through the legislation before the State Legislature, the Raise Up New York proposal. Let us commit ourselves to the pursuit of justice for all workers in our city and state. That all might live in dignify, in sufficiency for themselves and for their families. In the words of Hebrew scripture, Justice, Justice, you shall pursue. Thank you very much

CHAIRPERSON MILLER: Thank you. Let me just mention that we've been joined by Madame Public Advocate, thank you so much for coming in.

FRANKIE TISDALE: Hello. Good afternoon, my name is Frankie Tisdale, I'm a parent and a college graduate and due to the lack of umm, job opportunities, I had to settle for a job in the fast food market and I currently get paid minimum wage and it's hard for me, I struggle to take care of my family, I'm displaced and I most often have to rely on government subsidies to get by and I feel that's wrong because my employer makes enough money to pay

2 us..., to raise the minimum wage and that's why I'm
3 here today.

[Pause]

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First of all I would like thank everyone for being here today, especially, Mrs. Crowley, Mr. Miller, Mr. Daniel Dromm and then Mr. Michael Feinberg for being here today. My name is Pierre Metivier and I'm 25 years old, while I have a daughter to take care. I've been working in a Wendy's which is in downtown Brooklyn. This store got closed in like December, without noticing the workers that the store was closing. But right now I'm working the McDonald's that's on Canal Street, which I'm making \$15..., umm \$8 an hour and I think that we deserve to get more than what we're getting. I would like to let the governor out there to know that right now, I don't like how it's going right now, because in Albany they, umm, we went to Albany on February 23rd or 25th, I found a one bedroom apartment is about like \$650 to \$700. Right now we are paying like \$1,400 to \$1,500 for one bedroom apartment. Back in 2009 the minimum wage was like \$5.15. We're in 2014, tell me something that I don't know, why we still making \$8 right now and I'm here

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today with the fast food for a campaign trying to get

\$15 and right to form a union. Thank you.

ELLIOTT ROSEBORO: Good afternoon. My name is Skip Roseboro, Elliott Roseboro and I'm a leader with New York Communities for Change. I'd like to thank you all for having this hearing. It is extremely important. I wanted to make sure that these gentlemen who are dealing with this are heard first. I think that's extremely important because the difficulty of trying to survive in the city is getting more so and more so and we need to address this as quickly as we can.

I apologize for not having copies for your, but circumstances forced me to kind of write this on the fly. So let me just continue here.

In 1938 our legislatures enacted the first minimum wage assuring that workers were paid at least enough to survive upon. That amount is 1938 was \$.25 an hour. The key point today, is that the current minimum wage, in order to have the same buying power as that original \$.25 would have to be \$12 to \$13 an hour.

That means that our current minimum wage of \$8 is about \$5 an hour short of barely acceptable

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85 So we start off with a wage figure in 1938, that just about allows people a subsistence level of survival. Then over the 75 years, adjustments in the minimum wage haven't kept up with the cost of living, now leaving us with a minimum wage whose buying power is at least 30% to 40% less than that that what we decided was just adequate in 1938.

Now we are in 2014 and in New York City where the cost of living on average is higher than the rest of the country, so that shortfall in the minimum wage could be as high as 50% to 60% or more than half of the buying power that our lowest wage worker should have.

Aside from righting the tragedy to some of our most vulnerable New York families, friends and neighborhood, we need to understand that this is also a need to... also a need to distinguish to this great city's growth and recovery. Because of this situation, low wage earners are forced to spend most of their wages and spend it where they live. Any increase that they receive goes right back into the economy, generating business, jobs, taxes and a number of other revenues for both residents and the government alike.

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So we not only need to raise the minimum wage to its intended benefit and effect, but also adjust it to reflect the increased difficulty of surviving in New York City. I would also like to take a quick change to answer the question as to whether minimum wage is going to hurt this city or not.

First of all, we've had numerous minimum wages and other social improvements in this country and in this city over many, many years and as we go out we can look up and the sky is not falling. Our county, our city, everybody has survived these things and in most cases we've prospered because of it. So, this constant droning on that this is going to hurt the economy has shown itself not to be true.

Secondly, even elementary school kids can understand that if you continually grind down the wages and buying power of workers you are also grinding away the economic engine of your city.

Thank you.

CHAIRPERSON MILLER: Thank you Skip. I'd like to hear from Madam Public Advocate to weigh in on this important issue.

MADAM PUBLIC ADVOCATE: Sure, thank you Chair. Thank you for all that you've done and of course Council Member Dromm for your leadership.

New York City is recovering from the great recession yet that recovery is not touching every part of the city. In inequality gap in New York is large and it's growing and the individuals who are before you on this panel are the face of it. We have the means to fix it, specifically local wage control. By raising the minimum wage we can make sure that our workers are living with dignity and not fighting for survival. To many people in our city are living below the poverty level. All across the city in every borough we have vulnerable communities that are barely scratching by.

Given the high cost of living in New York
City the City Council must have the ability to raise
the minimum wage to reflect the cost of living. We
must wrestle control of this issue away from Albany,
because our concerns are different from other parts
of the state. Should a legislature in Oswego or
Niagara Falls, or Syracuse tell us how to live, I say
no. Or what our minimum should be, I say no.

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An overwhelming majority of Americans support raising the minimum wage, let us make that reality in New York City. We must be successful in this fight because the people of New York City are depending on us and there's just too many children who are living below the poverty level. Our cost of living in New York City, as everyone knows, is considerably higher than the national average, and other parts of New York State. Much higher than in Oswego, much higher than in other parts of New York and we've made some incredible progress in the last few months, thanks to the hard work of Speaker Melissa Mark-Viverito and Mayor Bill de Blasio, and Manhattan Borough President, Gale Brewer. have a paid sick leave bill that is the best one on the country. Buts let's build on that success and make progress on local theft, on local wage control, on the feminization of poverty, on local wage control, on making sure that workers have the right to organize and are treated all with respect. and make sure that the generation of workers coming behind has laws in their favor and that they too can live in the city.

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I see it all too often as I go throughout my travels in the City of New York, we need to do better in the city, we have the..., we really need to really have the control to insure that wages reflect the standard of living in the City of New York.

I thank you Mr. Chair, I thank you

Council Member Dromm and I thank this panel for all
that you have done. Thank you.

CHAIRPERSON MILLER: Thank you so much Madam Public Advocate. Umm, let me just also say that, the New Your City Controller, Scott Stringer has also submitted testimony in favor of raising the local minimum wage for the record and so it is pretty obvious that the council and that the administration values workers in the City of New York, and that we think that this umm, resolution is an important resolution and that we urge, umm the State Legislature to immediately pass it and we urge the Governor to immediately sign it. It's something that certainly cannot wait, based on the testimony of the many experts that have come before the committee today and certainly, most importantly, based on the testimony of the workers who are impacted by these low wages and this impact on our communities,

make this happen as soon as possible.

community of color and based on the basic economy of New York City, that we can be better and that this committee will continue to work, umm, and again I thank Council Member Dromm for his leadership and his vision on this resolution and look forward to working with umm, all the advocates out there, the rest of the committee and council and the administration to

With that, I would just like to give the last word to the man that really made that possible and I think that you know, thank you so much Council Member Dromm.

COUNCIL MEMBER DROMM: Thank you so much Mr. Chair and I don't make it really possible, these young men here are why we are doing this. Their testimony moved me very, very much. I want to thank you for both being here and for listening to the testimony and for staying as long as you did as well, because it really keeps it very clear for me when I heard from people who are out there struggling, doing the right thing, working hard, wanting to succeed, and are still not getting paid what they deserve to be paid and so I appreciate their efforts coming in here today and being a part of this hearing, taking

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2	time off, when you could have been doing other
3	things. You know, and being here and I appreciate
4	the Public Advocate support as well and Council
5	Member Miller thank you for your leadership and for
6	everybody's that come in, we're all old friends
7	around here and we know I think what this
8	administration, particularly with our speaker as well
9	here and the council to be able to move some of these
10	items forward, I think it very, very important for
11	the City of New York. Thank you.
12	CHAIRPERSON MILLER: So as I said
13	yesterday during the Stated Meeting that we are proud
14	of the work that we have worked, that we have done
15	around the areas of working families here in New York
16	City. We look forward to continuing that and so that
17	being said we call this meeting adjourned. Thank you
18	so much for coming out.
19	[Gavel]
20	
21	
22	

$\texttt{C} \ \texttt{E} \ \texttt{R} \ \texttt{T} \ \texttt{I} \ \texttt{F} \ \texttt{I} \ \texttt{C} \ \texttt{A} \ \texttt{T} \ \texttt{E}$

World Wide Dictation certifies that the foregoing transcript is a true and accurate record of the proceedings. We further certify that there is no relation to any of the parties to this action by blood or marriage, and that there is interest in the outcome of this matter.



Date ____05/14/2014_____