

Promise and Challenge:  
**Achieving Regional Equity in Greater Boston**



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**Achieving Regional Equity in Greater Boston**

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**Principal Author**

Dwayne S. Marsh

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**PolicyLink Team**

Kalima Rose

Victor Rubin

Rachel Poulain

Tony Davis

Melissa Magallanes, *consultant*

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This report is the product of a PolicyLink team led by Senior Associates Dwayne S. Marsh and Kalima Rose. Consultant Melissa Magallanes greatly contributed to the development of the document. The guidance of Research Director Victor Rubin helped produce a document that captures the wisdom, lessons, analysis, and reflections from many sources and people. Most important among them are the seventeen leading advocates for regional equity in the Greater Boston region, who have come to be known as the Greater Boston Action Committee:

- Warren Goldstein Gelb and Penn Loh, Alternatives for Community and the Environment
- Douglass Ling, Asian Community Development Corporation
- Kathy Brown and Roxanne McKinnon, Boston Tenant Coalition
- Aaron Gornstein and Karen Wiener, Citizens' Housing and Planning Association
- Gladys Vega and Ed Marakovitz, Chelsea Human Services Collaborative
- Mark Pedulla, City Life/Vida Urbana
- Stephanie Pollack, Conservation Law Foundation
- Nancy Goodman, Environmental League of Massachusetts
- Ed Becker, Essex County Greenbelt Association
- Marvin Martin, Greater Four Corners Action Coalition
- Kenn Elmore, Lexington Fair Housing Committee
- Maureen Carney, Massachusetts AFL-CIO
- Tom Callahan, Massachusetts Affordable Housing Association
- Andrea Luquetta, Massachusetts Association of Community Development Corporations
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# Executive Summary

## Why Regional Equity Is Important

Many of the challenges facing families and communities in the Greater Boston region cannot be adequately addressed within traditional political boundaries. The growing housing crisis increases costs across the region. Economic development extends beyond Boston's cities to regional clusters of industries. Transit systems cut across neighborhoods and towns. Environmental issues exist within bioregions. And sprawling development draws resources out of urban core communities.

Nonprofit, community development, and social equity advocacy groups in the Boston area recognize that the future of all residents is tied to new regional strategies, opportunities, and resources. These groups have been meeting for the last year as the Greater Boston Action Committee to develop the requisite analysis, engagement, and strategies to create policy impact at the regional level.

Regional equity means giving children and families of all races and classes the best possible environment in which to live. Advancing regional equity involves reducing social and economic disparities among individuals, social groups, neighborhoods, and local jurisdictions within a metropolitan area. Progress toward regional equity requires mechanisms that reverse the inequitable patterns of development that have concentrated poverty, segregated communities, and limited opportunities for lower-income residents of the region. Regions grow healthier economically when all communities in the region are strong.

### **The Greater Boston Action Committee**

The Greater Boston Action Committee, which represents leaders from more than fifteen diverse

urban and suburban nonprofit advocacy organizations, is working to advance a community based policy agenda for achieving regional equity. Their vision for equity in Greater Boston is guided by four underlying principles:

- Environmental justice and social equity must be central components of regional development;
- Public transit, affordable housing, workforce development, and open space issues are closely linked and require integrated solutions at the regional level;
- Displacement of low-income residents should be avoided through local and regional mechanisms that connect low-income communities to opportunities and resources; and
- Equitable development is guided by policies that promote balanced land use decisions across jurisdictions.

If equity is embraced as central to the pursuit of smart growth and regional development, Greater Boston can be a model for building a dynamic, multicultural region that takes advantage of strong information and technology economies. Such a reality must be guided by a new generation of policies that enable communities to cooperate across jurisdictions, share fairly in the benefits of development, build a diverse housing stock, ensure accessible green space, create efficient transit systems, and maintain bustling commercial services.

## Challenges to Achieving Regional Equity in Greater Boston

**A politically fragmented region inhibits equitable development.** With 101 separate jurisdictions in the metropolitan region, it is difficult for communities to develop adequate responses to economic development, housing, environmental, or social concerns that cross jurisdictions. Allocating costs more fairly, or catalyzing economic opportunities for both suburban and urban communities, requires new state and regional approaches.

**Regional development patterns promote an inequitable distribution of social and economic resources.** While research shows that the best outcomes for low-income families are realized in mixed-income communities, the region's development trends continue to concentrate poverty and racially segregate communities. These trends include large lot subdivisions, the proliferation of large, single-family homes, and continuing decline in the production of multifamily housing. These development patterns are driven through land use, fiscal, and tax policies and compounded by the wave of displacement that the pronounced economic boom of the 1990s produced—with harsh implications for neighborhoods such as Roxbury and Chinatown. Displacement from these neighborhoods and the influx of new immigrants has had a spillover effect on the industrial cities such as Chelsea, Lawrence, Lowell, and Brockton. Besides putting upward pressure on housing prices, the demand for social services and other civic infrastructure has intensified.

**The structure of the economy increases income inequality.** Although the region enjoyed a strong economy and high labor participation during the 1990s, there was an overall increase in earnings inequality. Several trends contributed to the growing earnings gap: a shift from manufacturing jobs to service jobs, a demand for higher skilled workers, and a shift of entry level jobs from the urban core to the suburbs.

## Policy Opportunities to Promote Regional Equity

### **Build the Capacity to Influence Regional Plans, Policies, and Decision Making**

Community organizations usually focus their work to achieve equity on specific issues areas such as housing, transportation, land use, economic development. Achieving regional equity requires

understanding the intersection of several issues and working in an integrated way. Community organizations need a new set of capacities to do this successfully. The report outlines key steps to build these capacities:

- Create a decision-making and action structure for social equity actors in the Greater Boston area that builds a power base for regional equity; and
- Provide community based organizations, CDCs, and other organizations with resources to organize their communities and advance regional equity goals.

### **Recommendations for Policy Action**

The Greater Boston Action Committee, an alliance of urban and suburban groups, identified their common development challenges. This study offers a roadmap for building a common urban/suburban agenda.

The Action Committee prioritized key policy goals to advance regional equity in Greater Boston. These groups will work to enact these goals by moving legislation in the Massachusetts legislature, influencing the direction of the Office of Commonwealth Development, increasing community advocacy at the Metropolitan Planning Organization, and advancing their priorities with the Metropolitan Area Planning Council.

### **Affordable Housing**

Greater Boston's strong economy attracted new residents and resulted in a housing affordability crisis that has rippled throughout the region. Addressing this will require an improved regulatory framework and incentives for building affordable housing. Priorities for action:

- Strengthen, refine and enforce Comprehensive Permit Law Chapter 40B
- Require permanent affordability for all subsidy investments
- Restore rent stabilization mechanisms

### **Transportation Equity**

Diminished investment in public transportation has left much needed transit projects in competition for limited public dollars. This minimizes the ability of low- and moderate-income residents to connect to the regional economy and jeopardizes community stability. Priorities for action:

- Improve public transportation service, access, and equity
- Sharpen the equity focus of Metropolitan Planning Organization allocations

### **Environmental Justice**

The concentration of environmental hazards in low-income, people of color neighborhoods continues to be a persistent issue for Boston's urban areas. Meanwhile, suburbs struggle with development patterns that increase sprawl, eradicate precious open space, and diminish the overall quality of life. Policies are needed that recognize the connection between these issues and address it:

- Convert the Environmental Justice Policy into law
- Enact the Act for a Healthy Massachusetts

### **Equitable Investment**

Public agencies can advance regional equity goals by attaching community benefits criteria to public investment in major development projects or through major expenditure streams. In recent years, advocates have utilized various policy mechanisms to ensure that concrete community benefit results from public investment. These approaches can link the multiple issues discussed throughout this report:

- Redirect public investment through use of equity criteria
- Enact An Act to Promote Fiscal Accountability in Economic Development
- Employ equity criteria in public land distribution

The ideas and recommendations in this report lay promising groundwork for action to achieve regional equity in the Greater Boston area.



## I. Why Is Regional Equity Important?

*Everyone wants to live in a decent neighborhood.*

This simple statement is the essence of regional equity. If communities cooperate across jurisdictions, neighborhoods could fairly share in the benefits of development supporting a vibrant community through diverse housing stock, accessible green spaces, an efficient transit system, and bustling commercial services. Cooperation could resolve the land use patterns that currently concentrate poverty and wealth, racially isolate communities, create differential tax burdens, consume green space, and generate environmental hazards. A regional approach is needed to address these critical issues. A growing interest in “smart growth” is beginning to influence these concepts in Massachusetts. If equity is embraced as central to smart growth, Greater Boston can be a model for building a sustainable, dynamic, multicultural region that takes advantage of strong information and technology economies and is guided by a new generation of effective policies.

Achieving regional equity will depend on changes in the many public and private policies and practices that drive development. Progress toward regional equity requires an appreciation of the region—its people and their experiences; its neighborhoods and their histories; its communities and their resources. It also requires a commitment to mechanisms that promote equitable development across jurisdictions.

The work to achieve regional equity has never been more important. The decennial census reveals that during the most prosperous decade in United States history, there was still a growth in poverty in absolute terms. This trend was reflected in the Greater Boston area, where the gap

between lower-income and upper-income residents increased. A new generation of policies can address the issues of limited wealth creation and access to resources for low-income urban communities while offering remedies for suburban concerns of unchecked sprawl, unbearable commutes, and the need to support a more diverse workforce. Recent dialogue between suburban and urban representatives has revealed greater common cause for cooperation than either anticipated. Regional equity squarely identifies the avenues for mutual benefit of all communities in accommodating future growth.

A focus on regional equity would mean different outcomes for many communities in the region. The infill development principles of smart growth with an equity lens would have meant the development of mixed-income housing for Chinatown residents’ small, dynamic community—rather than focus on the high-rise luxury condominiums that are squeezing them out. The Massachusetts Bay Transportation Authority’s (MBTA) development of a regional transit network would not have substituted Roxbury’s former light rail line with the much less effective Silver Line bus service if equity principles had been applied. And through an equity lens, Four Corners’ affordable housing advocates and Topsfield’s open space proponents would see the inextricable linkage of their issues and work for common goals.

The path toward regional equity in the Greater Boston area will be built upon its history of strong neighborhoods, independent jurisdictions, and sophisticated advocacy organizations that can make connections between seemingly disparate policy interests. The more that local communities can be oriented toward regional cooperation—that decisions about the built environment and transportation enhance the lives of low-income residents, and that mixed-income communities become integral to the regional economy—the

### *What is...*

*Smart Growth* is the most common name for a set of principles and policies that counter the prevailing trend of sprawl-based development. It is best known as a strategy for building more compactly to conserve open space, reduce automobile dependence, reduce energy consumption, and integrate land uses into more mixed-use, pedestrian-accessible neighborhoods.

*Regional Equity* is the state of reduced social and economic disparities among individuals, social groups, neighborhoods, and local jurisdictions within a metropolitan region. It has become a valuable framework for community organizing and policy advocacy on transportation, housing, health, education, fiscal, infrastructure, and environmental justice issues.

*Equitable Development* refers to a multifaceted set of tools and strategies that support both people and places by promoting investments that have both economically sustainable and socially positive returns.

*Social Segregation* denotes the isolation of specific groups or communities within neighborhoods and regions, caused by areas of concentrated poverty, racial segregation, or physical separation by barriers such as highways.

*Greater Boston area.* For the purposes of this report, the Greater Boston area roughly encompasses the 101-jurisdiction service area of the Metropolitan Area Planning Council, although three older industrial centers, Brockton, Lowell, and Lawrence were included in the analysis. When the Metropolitan Statistical Area or Consolidated Metropolitan Statistical Area is used for analysis, the report indicates this.

closer the Boston area will come to achieving regional equity. The social justice goals of equity advocates can be incorporated with the interests of those concerned with smart growth, environmental quality, and effective transportation systems.

This report, drafted by PolicyLink and the Greater Boston Action Committee—which represents leaders from more than fifteen diverse nonprofit and advocacy organizations—has three purposes. The report:

- (1) describes the current context of regional development in Greater Boston;
- (2) documents key equity concerns that demand attention; and
- (3) identifies the opportunities for advancing regional equity.

The document reflects an approach to community-based policy advocacy guided by four underlying principles:

- Environmental justice and social equity should be central components of regional development.
- Equitable development is guided by policies that promote balanced land use decisions across jurisdictions.
- Transit, affordable housing, workforce development, and open space are closely linked issues that require integrated solutions.
- The gentrification-driven displacement of low-income residents should be avoided through regional and local mechanisms.

This document captures the research and deliberations of public, nonprofit, academic, and resident leaders throughout the region. It identifies specific actions that participants in local and regional planning and development can take—individually and collectively—to define a common vision, refine existing policies, and introduce new strategies that advance equity. It describes the new kinds of capacities that organizations and governments will need in order to bring about a more equitable region.

This report has been drafted after an extensive period of research and discussion, including more than 80 interviews with Boston area leaders, the review of dozens of existing research documents, and two summits held in November 2002 and April 2003 that were attended by 165 representatives of 100 community based, local, and regional organizations. It reflects the findings and priorities of the Action Committee and provides a blueprint for next steps.



## II. Prospects for Regional Equity in Greater Boston

Regional equitable development engages all stakeholders in building the economic, environmental, social, and political health of a region. This is an important principle for any metropolitan area, but it has special salience for the Greater Boston region, which has undergone a twenty-year renaissance that has reversed decades of economic decline.<sup>1</sup> Boston has the fourth largest regional economy in the United States, and would be considered the 23<sup>rd</sup> largest economy in the world.<sup>2</sup> Its overall economic success, however, is built upon growing economic inequities, characteristic of several similar information economy regions. While Massachusetts featured the nation's fourth-highest per capita income in the mid 1990s,<sup>3</sup> it also suffered the decade's third-largest poverty rate increase.<sup>4</sup> Greater Boston's residents and families contend with the nation's fifth-highest

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### A Different Standard

A family in the Boston metropolitan region would require approximately 18 percent more income to achieve the same standard of living as its average metropolitan counterpart in the United States.

*Massachusetts Institute for the New Commonwealth*

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cost of living<sup>5</sup> and third-highest housing prices.<sup>6</sup> In addition, manufacturing jobs fell from 24.1 to 12.7 percent of the employment base between 1982 and 2002.<sup>7</sup>

The problems generated by the economic boom of the 1990s extended beyond those living in poverty. High housing costs became the biggest factor influencing Massachusetts' cost of living, reaching well into the middle class,<sup>8</sup> and contributing to the exodus of more than 220,000 people from the region. Such economic conditions require new approaches to development that allow all people better housing and employment options.

**Figure One. Income Inequality in Massachusetts, 1978 through 1998**

	1978-'80	1988-'90	1996-'98
Average Income, Bottom Fifth of Families	\$15,712	\$16,755	\$15,342
Average Income, Top Fifth of Families	\$110,718	\$144,505	\$156,606
Income Inequality Ratio	7.05	8.62	10.27

*Income inequality* is the ratio of the average income of the wealthiest 20% of families compared to the average income of the poorest 20% of families.

Source: Bernstein et al. 2000. Pulling Apart.

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### Local Research Confirms Regional Equity Imperative

Two seminal studies, *The Boston Renaissance: Race, Space, and Economic Change in an American Metropolis* and *Boston Metropatterns*, document the region's vulnerability in the absence of regional equity. The region's economic success has been coupled with negative trends. *Renaissance* argues that, "if income inequality continues to grow, it could undermine the progress that has been made by creating sharper political and social divisions within and between communities." And *Boston Metropatterns* concludes: "Despite a strong economy and reinvestment during the last decade, concentrated poverty and racial segregation persist in many of the region's older areas."

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## Challenges to Regional Equity

Realizing equity throughout the Greater Boston region will require resolving: (1) political fragmentation that undermines balanced regional growth; (2) economic and social segregation that perpetuates an inequitable distribution of service and infrastructure costs; and (3) a regional economy that increases income inequality.

### A Politically Fragmented Region Inhibits Equitable Development

In Greater Boston, decentralization from the region's urban core began earlier than in most other areas of the country, with town centers showing some suburban characteristics as early as 1820.<sup>9</sup> As a "home of industrialization" in the United States, towns in Massachusetts grew in patterns outside the urban core near natural resources and local industries, rather than contiguously from the urban core, as with many states in the Sun Belt.<sup>10</sup> Annexation was limited compared to many other regions, contributing to the maintenance of localized political power in a large number of towns and cities. Although this pattern strengthens civic participation at the local level, it intensifies government fragmentation at the state and regional levels. Many residents in the Greater Boston area attach great value to the high levels of democracy and home rule afforded by their form of local government. At the same time, local home rule has been a leading obstacle to planning and collaboration on a regional scale.

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### Face Reality

The truth is, development occurs whether regions prepare for it or not.

*Interview with Regional Advocate*

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As a consequence, when economic development, housing, environmental, or social concerns cross jurisdictions, it is difficult for communities to develop adequate responses. Communities with concentrations of poverty or environmental hazards argue that they face an unfair proportion of these burdens, while many wealthier communities maintain that they are unable to assume additional public service and infrastructure costs. The resulting stalemate leaves unresolved any new approaches for allocating costs more fairly or catalyzing economic opportunities for both suburban and urban communities. Community organizations and the Metropolitan Area Planning Council (MAPC) have begun the important work of creating dialogue across the region's 101 diverse jurisdictions, but these efforts will take time to come to fruition. The capacity of nonprofit development and advocacy organizations is more limited in suburban communities across the region than in the urban centers.

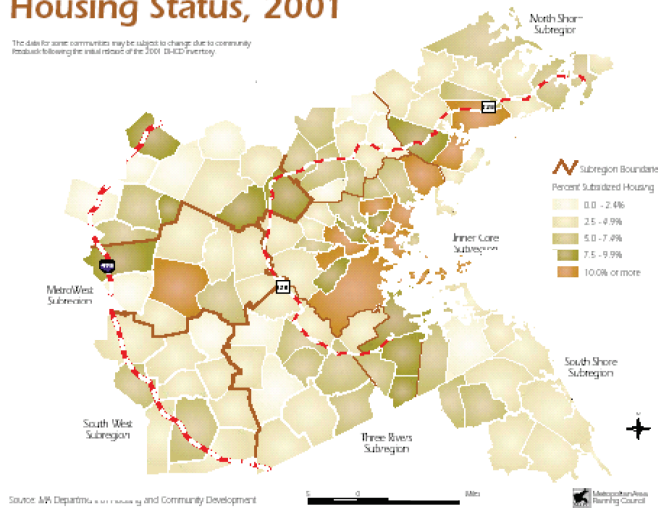
### Balancing Local Governance Pressures with Commonwealth Interests

Two existing policies represent the promise and challenge inherent in regional equitable development. Comprehensive Permit Law: Chapter 40B is one of Massachusetts' potentially most effective policy tools for ensuring that affordable housing is spread fairly across all communities. It mandates that each jurisdiction in Massachusetts provide 10 percent of its housing stock as affordable. While the law has resulted in 18,000 affordable units being produced in the state since 1969,<sup>11</sup> only 12 jurisdictions have achieved the 10 percent threshold for affordable housing,<sup>12</sup> accounting for 60 percent of the region's total assisted inventory.<sup>13</sup>

Figure Two. Communities fall short of affordability goals

#### Chapter 40B (Subsidized) Housing Status, 2001

The data for some communities may be subject to change due to community feedback following the initial release of the 2001 D&CD Inventory



Source: Metropolitan Area Planning Council

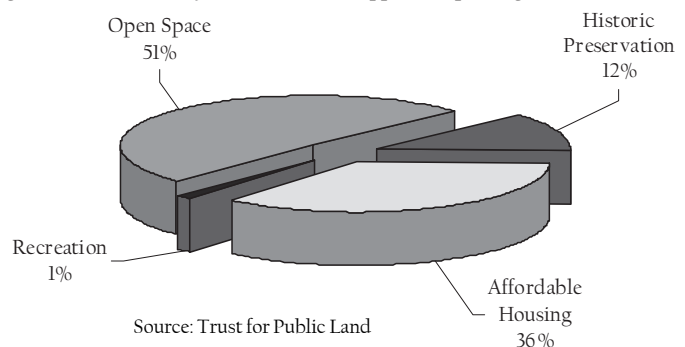
The Community Preservation Act (CPA), enacted in September 2000, is statewide enabling legislation that allows cities and towns to add a surcharge to local property taxes and use the revenue to acquire and protect open space, preserve historic resources, and create and maintain affordable housing. A minimum of 10 percent of the annual revenues of the fund must set aside for each of these three core community concerns with remaining revenues allocated at the jurisdiction's discretion. It has passed primarily in wealthier and more rural jurisdictions.<sup>14</sup> While an important benchmark for bringing three key community concerns under one umbrella, equity advocates are concerned that jurisdictions are placing more emphasis on open space preservation (see Figure Four and Appendix A). Only Cambridge has presented plans to use more than 50 percent of these funds for affordable housing.<sup>15</sup> Further, CPA's effectiveness is limited because it allows local jurisdictions not to opt in (via home rule) and thus does not ensure equal implementation across communities.

Figure Three. Subsidized Housing Production, Top Producing Communities, October 2001

Community	Subsidized Housing Inventory	Proportion Subsidized	Total Housing Units
Boston	49,147	19.63%	250,367
Chelsea	2,098	17.03%	12,317
Cambridge	6,886	15.60%	44,138
Lawrence	3,821	14.96%	25,540
Lowell	5,312	13.49%	39,381
Lynn	4,401	12.73%	34,569
Salem	2,263	12.50%	18,103
Brockton	4,259	12.24%	34,794
Malden	2,874	12.20%	23,561
Beverly	1,668	10.33%	16,150
Framingham	2,704	10.17%	26,588
Revere	2,024	10.07%	20,102
Holbrook	392	9.46%	4,145
Somerville	2,828	8.73%	32,389
Newburyport	666	8.63%	7,717

Source: Greater Boston Housing Report Card 2002

Figure Four. Community Preservation Act Approved Spending, 2002



Source: Trust for Public Land

The region does have several authorities charged to address regional issues ranging from commerce to transportation to water resources. Two governmental entities manage important aspects of regional planning and governance. The Metropolitan Planning Organization (MPO) is federally designated to manage allocation of transportation dollars throughout the region. While it has solicited community participation in its planning, social equity advocates report a strained history with the agency over its policy directives—most notably, the MPO's failure to adopt its own Environmental Justice Committee's recommendations. MAPC, the principal entity for coordinating regional planning and development in the Boston area, is in the midst of preparing its next 10-year comprehensive regional plan. The initial stages have engaged a more diverse group of participants than any past process, and the new director brings demonstrated experience in community development and civic participation. Because MAPC has limited authority to enforce its plans, community based organizations express skepticism about meaningful results from the process—a key issue for groups with limited staff capacity.

Another important regional actor was introduced in January 2003. It is too soon to know what the long term impacts will be of the new state Office of Commonwealth Development recently established by Governor Romney and directed by longtime smart growth advocate Doug Foy.<sup>16</sup> As Chief of this office, Foy will coordinate the policies and programs of the Executive Office of Environmental Affairs, the Executive Office of Transportation, and the Department of Housing and Community Development. There currently is no blueprint for the state's role in fostering regional cooperation and equity, though models from other states do exist. These include locating state facilities in order to guide growth to specific areas; offering incentives for equitable development; establishing criteria for state grants or financing of infrastructure, affordable housing,

or school construction; and strengthening regional planning structures. Opinions of advocates in the field at the time of this report reflected guarded optimism about this restructuring, but all believed that a progressive policy agenda needs to be presented at the executive and legislative levels to take full advantage of the opportunity.

### An Inequitable Distribution of Social and Economic Resources Persists

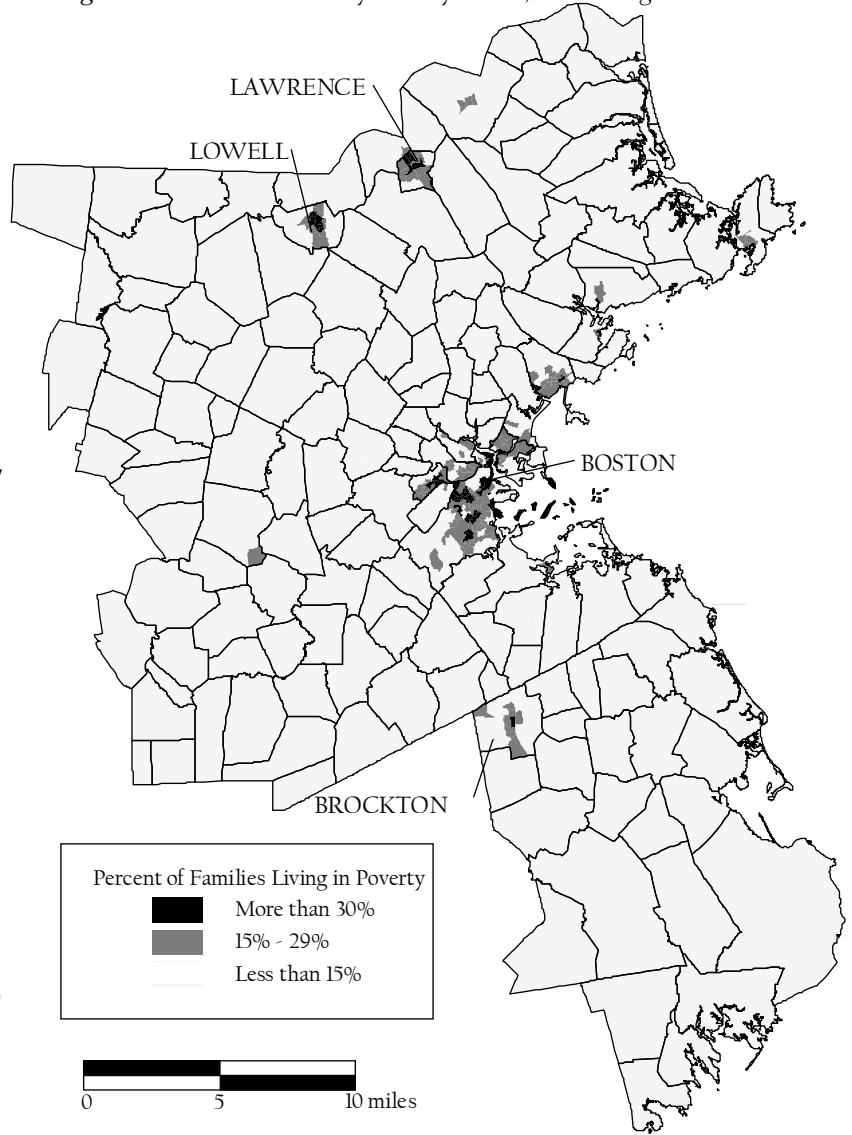
Communities in the Boston region predominately house people with similar incomes, and maintain separation between racial groups. High levels of economic and racial separation persist despite the reduction of legal barriers to racial discrimination and scattered gains in the economic integration of wealthier suburbs through production of affordable housing. The increasingly multicultural and multiracial nature of the region has yet to translate to integrated neighborhoods.<sup>17</sup> Income differences and racial isolation within cities and towns have significant individual and social costs, and they place unmanageable burdens on poorer communities.

An analysis of the 2000 Census underscores the substantial income stratification.<sup>18</sup> One-fifth of the census tracts in the region have at least 15 percent of their population living in poverty, and almost one-third of these tracts have a poverty rate of 30 percent or more.<sup>19</sup> Figure Five maps the location of these tracts and demonstrates that they are concentrated almost entirely in Boston, a small number of surrounding municipalities, and three outlying industrial cities.

This concentration of low-income populations reflects significant racial disparities. The population in the tracts with more than 30 percent poverty was 52 percent persons of color, including 17 percent black, 27 percent Hispanic, and nine percent Asian. A quarter of this population was foreign-born. In contrast, these racial and ethnic groups combined comprise 11 percent of the region's low-poverty census tracts.

Figure Five. Census Tracts by Poverty Status, Boston Region

While extensive research shows that the best outcomes for low-income families accrue in mixed-income communities, the region’s most recent development trends have further concentrated poverty. The most prevalent form of development in the region continues to be single-family, owner-occupied homes on large lots of formerly undeveloped land.<sup>20</sup> The Route 495 corridor produced the highest growth in these units during the 1990s, with the number of single-family units growing at a rate four times greater than the multifamily units that are more able to accommodate affordable housing. Fifty-three percent of the region’s communities issued permits solely for single-family housing during 2000-1.<sup>21</sup> Multifamily housing developments, meanwhile, represented only 13 percent of new housing permits in the Boston Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA) since 1990—down from 40 percent in the 1980s. More than half of this production took place in just five cities: Boston, Braintree, Quincy, Waltham, and Woburn. Boston alone was responsible for 20 percent of the decade’s new subsidized units, though it accounted for less than 2.5 percent of the overall housing growth.<sup>22</sup>

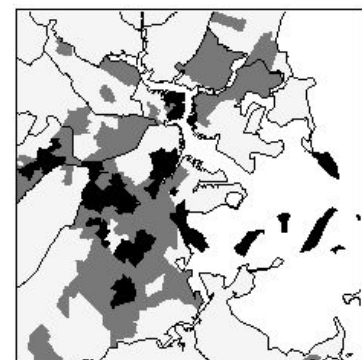


Data: US Census 2000, Summary File 3  
PolicyLink 2003

Figure Six. Distribution of Census Tracts by Poverty Status: Boston Region

City	Percent of Families Living in Poverty					
	More than 30%		15% - 29%		Less than 15%	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Boston	35	22.29	61	38.85	61	38.85
Lawrence	7	38.89	9	50.00	2	11.11
Lowell	6	23.08	8	30.77	12	46.15
Brockton	1	4.76	8	38.10	12	57.14
Cambridge	0	0.00	11	36.67	19	63.33
Chelsea	0	0.00	5	83.33	1	16.67

Source: 2000 US Census, Summary File 3



Boston Inset



Figure Seven. Total Property Tax Revenues and Tax Rates for Selected Cities, 2001

Cities	Total Population (2000) <sup>1</sup>	Median House Value <sup>2</sup>	Commercial/ Industrial Property Tax Rates <sup>3</sup>	Residential Property Tax Rate <sup>3</sup>	per capita
Lowell	105,167	\$168,500	38.46	18.32	\$378
Lawrence	72,043	\$149,900	35.08	15.61	\$218
Chelsea	35,080	\$198,700	33.53	14.39	\$274
Framingham	66,910	\$282,900	30.28	16.55	\$829
Boston	589,141	\$263,900	30.17	10.58	\$469
Brockton	94,304	\$164,000	29.49	16.62	\$466
Medford	55,765	\$279,900	25.09	12.52	\$755
Waltham	59,226	\$319,000	24.46	11.10	\$590
Cambridge	101,355	\$506,750	23.39	9.21	\$608
Lexington	30,355	\$499,500	21.93	12.11	\$1,676
Pembroke	16,927	\$241,486	14.43	14.43	\$925
Arlington	42,389	\$372,500	13.17	13.17	\$1,224
Essex	3,267	\$273,500	11.54	11.54	\$1,371

Sources:

1. U.S. Census Bureau, 2000 Census, Summary File.

2. The Greater Boston Housing Report Card 2002. 3. MA Department of Revenue, Division of Local Services

These development patterns are promoted through the tax code. Communities with more expensive housing stock derive greater budgetary benefit from the assessed property values through the taxes they collect. The main revenue-generating option for the low-wealth communities is to raise their tax rates. At a certain point, the higher tax rates limit their attraction for business investment, undermine residential stability, and produce diminishing fiscal returns.<sup>23</sup>

Figure Seven shows the extraordinary range in local commercial/industrial property tax rates for a dozen selected cities.<sup>24</sup> The city with the highest rate, Lawrence, charges more than triple the rate charged in Essex to generate a similar amount of revenue per capita. The variations in residential tax rates show the greater revenue capacity of cities with higher house values. For example, Pembroke and Chelsea have virtually identical residential property tax rates, but Pembroke raises more than three times as much revenue per capita from the tax because of the high value of its housing stock.

The current tax system creates a disincentive for all housing types except more expensive single-family units. Resistance to the development of affordable

and multifamily housing is based on a calculation by municipalities that equates denser housing with higher school and infrastructure expenses—the very expenses that communities with greater poverty must shoulder with less revenue. These patterns proliferate throughout Massachusetts, despite growing evidence that greater spatial distribution of affordable and multifamily housing can allocate assets more equitably, addresses traffic congestion, air quality, and jobs-housing balance.<sup>25</sup>

As in many major metropolitan areas, the pronounced economic boom of the 1990s in the Boston region spawned a wave of gentrification—the process by which higher-income households displace lower-income residents of a neighborhood, changing its essential character.<sup>26</sup> Low-income and working-class residents of many neighborhoods were driven out of those housing markets by skyrocketing prices. Gentrification was compounded when displaced people from one neighborhood contributed to increased housing prices in their new neighborhoods. The trends were exacerbated by the concurrent elimination of rent control in 1994 (discussed below, p. 24) and by the flurry of new investment in real estate that made rent increases disproportionate to wages,<sup>27</sup>

rendering the housing unaffordable. In 1998, approximately 39 percent of all Massachusetts renters and 61 percent of Latino renters were shelter poor.<sup>28</sup> Between 1998 and 1999, the median rent for a two-bedroom apartment in Roxbury increased by 30 percent,<sup>29</sup> pushing residents to move to neighborhoods with less desirable housing stock, public transit access, or environmental conditions. Evictions for non-payment of rent in Massachusetts increased 64 percent between 1990 and 1997.

In Chinatown, still a first stop for many new Chinese and Vietnamese immigrants, residential space has shrunk due to commercial and institutional development, leading to severely overcrowded living conditions. Twenty-two percent of Chinatown residents live in overcrowded conditions compared to a citywide rate of 3.46 percent.<sup>30</sup> Forty-four people live in each acre of Chinatown, compared to 18 per acre citywide.

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**Hard Work, No Reward**

“What is really tragic is that many of these people were actively engaged in the economic revitalization of their neighborhoods. Forced out, they are unable to reap the benefits of their efforts.”

*Kathy Brown*  
*Boston Tenant Coalition*

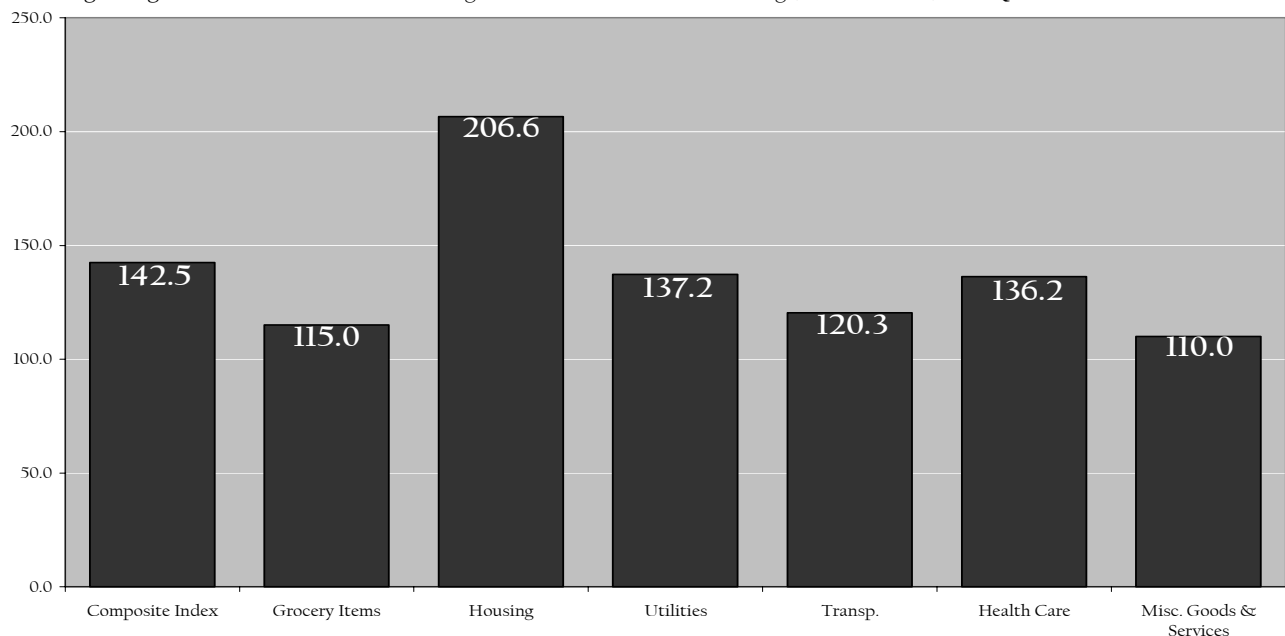
**Familiarity Erodes Barriers**

“Eighty percent of the current affordable housing advocacy is geared toward holding on to the supportive policies we have. Suburban resistance to affordable housing is widespread...The irony is, once the housing is developed and occupied, with real residents, the opposition diminishes.”

*Aaron Gornstein*  
*Citizens' Housing and Planning Association*

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**Figure Eight.** Boston Metro Area Cost of Living as a Percent of the All Urban Average, ACCRA Index, Third Quarter 1996



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## The Chinatown Story: A Neighborhood's Struggle with Regional Forces

Adjacent to downtown Boston, Chinatown has been dramatically impacted by the resurgence of the region's economy. A small but diverse neighborhood, Chinatown has lost 66 percent of its original land base since the 1950s to highway construction and institutional expansion. In addition, the explosion of luxury hotel and condominium developments in the 1990s has left residents with few housing alternatives. The 1990 Master Plan for Chinatown documented the necessary zoning requirements to mitigate some of these impacts, but local advocates contend that the Boston Redevelopment Authority has failed to adhere to them in the face of the unprecedented development pressures. What has been an economic renaissance for the region translated to the most intense forces of gentrification this neighborhood has ever known.

The Chinese Progressive Association has joined with three other local organizations and the region's Chinese population living in outlying communities such as Quincy and Malden to wage the *Campaign to Protect Chinatown*. Their resident-led constituent base is allied with the Boston Tenant Coalition and the Campaign on Contingent Work to help them advocate for affordable housing and jobs for their community.

Chinese Progressive Association director Lydia Lowe is frustrated that the rapid development of their community has not led to increased employment opportunities for Chinatown residents. "Traditional jobs in the garment industry have disappeared as neighborhood rents have steadily risen over the past two decades," she explains. "Some residents manage to transition into food preparation jobs in the institutional cafeterias, or cleaning for new luxury hotels, but language barriers make job training in other fields inaccessible. Those facing residential displacement have few options for reestablishing their economic stability."

The further development of urban space without a firm commitment to equity has deleterious consequences for the low income residents who currently inhabit those spaces.



**Dominant Industry.** The New England Medical Center is one of several health and university institutions in the neighborhood that serves the entire region.

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The domino effect of displacement has led to increased housing pressures on the industrial cities of Chelsea, Lawrence, Lowell, and Brockton, which all faced an influx of residents seeking their relatively affordable housing. Besides putting significant pressure on housing prices, the demand for social services and other civic infrastructure has intensified.

Displacement and immigration contributed to a growing concentration of residents of color in older industrial cities during the past two decades, including Brockton, Lowell, Lawrence, and Boston, while many white residents moved to locations with better housing and more adequately funded public services and schools.<sup>31</sup>

Without immigration, absolute population in the city of Boston would have decreased during the decade. Lawrence's minority population grew

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### See Chelsea Grow

“Between 1990 and 2000, the population of Chelsea grew 22 percent. Housing units increased only 6.6 percent, overburdening an already taxed social service base. “So many families are moving in, when a new school was built to accommodate growth, it was overcrowded the first day it opened.”

*Ed Marakovitz*

*Chelsea Human Service Collaborative*

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from 18 percent to nearly 65 percent from 1970 to 2000,<sup>32</sup> driven by the influx of immigrants, especially from the Dominican Republic. Lowell has become home to one of the largest Cambodian populations in the country. These new residents provided vital labor and services to the region's growing industries during the 1990s boom, creating a new working class in search of affordable housing.

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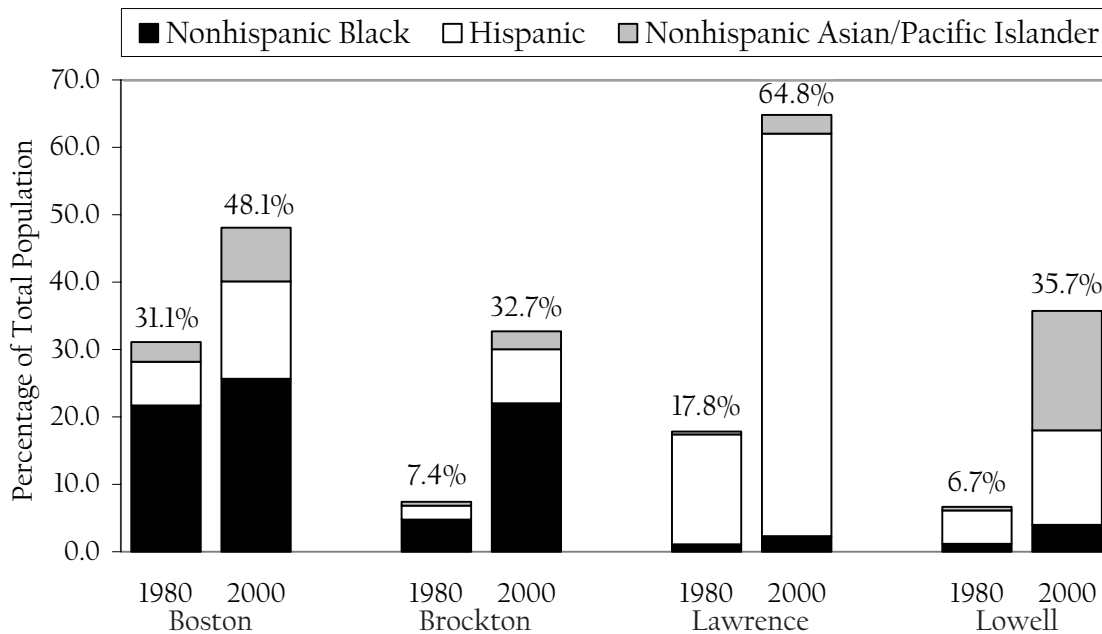
### A Fresh Start Getting Hard to Find

Since 1990, more than 250,000 new immigrants have arrived in Massachusetts. Their presence has contributed to the state's strong economy during the past decade, and has enriched the cultural and ethnic diversity of the region. Immigrants from Latin America, Asia, Europe, and Africa have built a significant presence in Boston and small formerly industrial cities in the region. Despite housing, transportation, and education challenges, immigrants are contributing to the economic revitalization of disinvested commercial districts.

However, newly arrived immigrants are increasingly vulnerable to the region's high cost trends. Limited housing, employment, and skill training threaten the asset building that has become a key part of immigrant ascension into the mainstream economy. Jurisdictions with large immigrant communities struggle for development solutions that will allow them to serve this growing segment of their population. Additional research is needed to track the entry paths of new Americans and understand how to connect them to regional opportunities in ways that contribute to regional equity.



Figure Nine. Population Change, Selected Cities 1980-2000

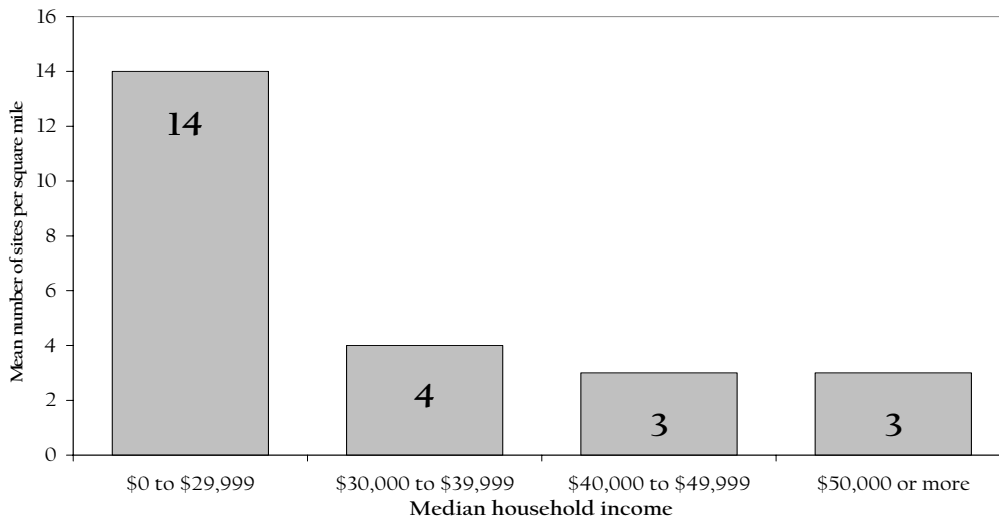


Source: Neighborhood Change Database, Census 2000 SF1

Another impact on people of color and low-income residents is their disproportionate exposure to environmental hazards in Massachusetts. A person of color is 19 times more likely than a white person to live in one of the 25 most environmentally overburdened communities

in the state,<sup>33</sup> including Boston, Chelsea, Lowell, Lawrence, and New Bedford. While the risks to residents are great, these communities have little capacity to reverse political, historic, and economic influences<sup>34</sup> that have resulted in such toxic exposure.

Figure Ten. Exposure to Hazardous Waste Sites, Median Household Income, Massachusetts Communities, 2000



Source: Faber & Krieg, 2002.

Lower-income workers depend more heavily on the metropolitan transit system than their better-paid counterparts, but the system does not adequately meet their needs, especially to towns where there is new job growth. Twenty-five percent of the workers who live in the Boston region's high poverty tracts take public transit to their job, compared to just nine percent of the overall workforce of the region.<sup>35</sup> The region's transit system adequately serves people coming into the city from neighborhoods along transit lines, but does not serve cross-city, outlying neighborhoods, or intra-suburban travelers.<sup>36</sup> While the lower housing costs of former industrial centers is a draw to lower-income residents, these locations limit their access to many of the region's jobs.<sup>37</sup> Workers who rely on public transit cannot get between outlying suburbs and industrial centers without going through Boston.

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### Transit Matters

"Our policy directions have to recognize people who depend on public transportation for *all* of their trips."

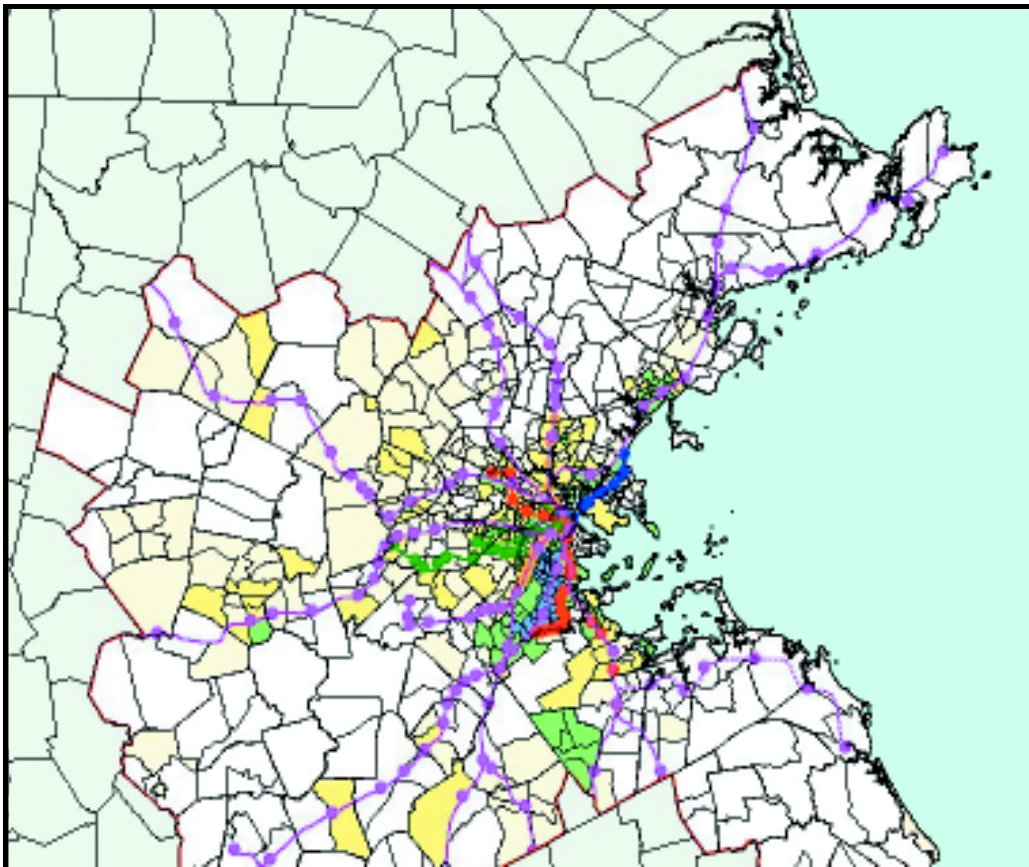
*Penn Loh*

*Alternatives for Community and Environment*

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The corridor that runs through Roxbury, Dorchester, and Mattapan is the densest, most populous corridor of low-income and minority residents in the region, yet it is served exclusively by buses. Lack of funds has led to overcrowding, delays, and inadequate amenities in these communities.<sup>38</sup> Towns suffering severe disinvestments, such as Lynn, Quincy, and Framingham, have growing numbers of residents due to housing costs, but few public transit options exist.<sup>39</sup>

Figure Eleven. Transit Lines and Communities Greater Than 50 Percent Minority



Source: Metropolitan Area Planning Council, 2002

## The Boston Regional Economy: A Rising Tide, Leaky Ships

The extraordinary economic growth of the Boston region from the 1980s through the 1990s was accomplished by one of the nation's most highly educated workforces.<sup>40</sup> The boom allowed its knowledge-based and professional sectors (including high technology research and manufacturing, construction, finance, and personal services) to thrive. It also relied on a sufficiently large pool of workers to fill the lower-paid, lower-skilled, mostly service sector jobs that support these sectors.

Although the region enjoyed a high rate of labor participation, there was an overall increase in earnings inequality.<sup>41</sup> Several trends in the region (as in many other metropolitan areas in the United States) contributed to the growing earnings gap: a shift from manufacturing jobs to service jobs; a demand for higher-skilled workers; and a shift of entry level jobs from the urban core to the suburbs.

### **A Shift from Manufacturing to Service Jobs.**

While the region experienced a 10.5 percent net increase in total jobs between 1990 and 2000, 71,243 jobs were lost, more than 35,000 of which were in the manufacturing sector.<sup>42</sup> In contrast, 174,000 jobs were created in the service industry, representing 40 percent of total new jobs in the region.<sup>43</sup> The service sector expanded in two directions, one with occupations that featured relatively high pay and required relatively higher levels of skills or education than the manufacturing economy that preceded it. The other, larger component of growth in the sector represented jobs that were lower in average pay and benefits than most manufacturing jobs they replaced, offered little security or opportunity to learn new skills, and had little upward mobility.

**Demand for Higher Skilled Workers.** During the 1990s, the increase in average hourly wage for high-paid workers grew faster than for other workers.<sup>44</sup> Less-educated workers faced limited job options. Jobs in Boston's industries requiring higher education increased 41 percent between 1970 and 1990, while jobs accessible to those with limited education dropped 14 percent.<sup>45</sup> While 30 percent of Boston area adults have at least a bachelor's degree, one of the highest levels of education of any region in the country, the proportion in the region's areas of concentrated poverty is only 16 percent.<sup>46</sup>



### **Solidarity Shows Promise for Regional Equity**

Calling for improved wages, health care, and full time jobs, a janitors strike led by SEIU Local 254 mobilized more than 2,000 janitors in downtown Boston office buildings in October 2002. The strike drew surprising support from suburban allies whom have begun to see the connection between workforce housing and the viability of their communities. Labor and affordable housing advocates were close allies during the standoff. The resulting contract extended benefits never before granted to part-time workers in this region.

More than 1.1 million adults, representing 35 percent of the state's labor force, are not trained in skills relevant to the emerging economy.<sup>47</sup> Immigrants with limited English skills earn 24 percent less than workers fluent in English. One in 11 persons of the total state workforce does not hold a high school credential, seriously compromising family earning potential.<sup>48</sup> According to state labor research organization MassINC, while 1 in 12 positions for skilled workers remain unfilled, residents with limited skills are falling further behind.

Residents across the state are ready to upgrade their skills, but adequate opportunities do not exist. At the Boston Chinatown Neighborhood Center, the waiting list for employment training is almost twice as long as the enrollment list. In recent years, the waiting lists statewide have remained as long as 16,000 residents.<sup>49</sup>

**A Shift of Entry Level Jobs from the Urban Core to the Suburbs.** Growth along I-495 and Route 128 has led to an increase in entry-level service jobs that offer opportunities for underemployed residents, but they concentrate in areas often inaccessible by public transportation. The I-495 region is growing faster in terms of number of job opportunities than the metropolitan area average by a ratio of 3.5 to 1.<sup>50</sup> The 495 region is now a recognized commercial market, and developers perceive the Corridor as a preferred location for certain industries looking to locate in eastern Massachusetts. These businesses in turn fuel the growth of new shopping malls, office parks, and housing developments, driving the need for retail salespeople, janitorial services, food services, cashiers, and receptionists. An informal survey found that only approximately 35 percent of the workforce lived in the 495 region.<sup>51</sup> The mismatch between jobs and housing will increase the level of economic and social segregation—making the opportunity for a diverse economic base throughout the region elusive.



## Key Elements of Regional Equity

People across the Greater Boston area are looking for solutions to resolve these challenges and prevent deleterious consequences of growth and development for the entire region. Smart growth issues were raised in the recent gubernatorial campaign, and the new administration has reconfigured its cabinet to respond to these issues. The implementation of policies that promote equitable development must be a central part of that agenda.

The coalition of organizations representing affordable housing, open space, and historic preservation interests that collaborated to enact the Community Preservation Act in 2000 took the first step to meet this challenge. They represent the convergence that regional equity requires—one that crafts solutions that holds the interests of varied constituencies on equal footing. To win this initiative, advocates had to build consensus, gain an understanding of how their issues are interrelated, and collaborate with unfamiliar groups. A similarly diverse coalition will be needed to maintain the integrity of Chapter 40B.

The complexity of regional planning lies in the interrelationships among issues, but those relationships can get lost when groups focus on resolving their most pressing concerns. Middle-income residents and their representatives may focus on issues affecting their property values and economic development; low-income residents may demand improved transit, affordable housing, or health care; and wealthier residents call for open space and environmental protection. The challenge is to find common strategies that can address the interrelatedness of these issues. Identifying the mutual opportunity to bring these groups together is central to understanding the policy priorities that follow.

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### Priced Out

“The lack of affordable housing issue disproportionately drives the high cost of living in Massachusetts.”

*Barry Bluestone*

*Northeastern University*

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To achieve regional equity through policy change, communities and their advocates must find ways to build integrated and comprehensive solutions to the critical issues identified in the research are summarized below.

### Affordable Housing

Greater Boston’s ability to attract new residents has contributed to its economic success, but also to a housing crisis that had a ripple effect throughout the region.<sup>52</sup> Lack of adequate new housing production created the third-highest housing costs in the country.<sup>53</sup> According to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts Executive Office for Administration and Finance, 7,200 units above current annual production levels would be needed over the next five years to get housing costs under control.<sup>54</sup> Housing production in the region has not always been this low. During the middle 1980s construction hit an all time high of approximately 25,000 units, but has remained at an average of 11,000 units per year since 1994.<sup>55</sup> Inadequate state regulatory control, local exclusionary zoning restrictions, and a reduction in federal and state funds have combined to fuel the affordable housing supply crisis. Bluestone, Escher, and Weidman cite “a confusing array of regulations and a patchwork of funding sources and programs, each with its own limitations and transaction that creates time delays and boosts the cost of building housing.”<sup>56</sup> Construction costs for housing are 16 percent higher than the national average. Also, exclusionary local zoning and restrictive regulations in wealthier suburbs undermine development of affordable housing.

Almost all of the 12 cities that have met the 40B Comprehensive Permit Law were urban centers.<sup>57</sup> In 2001, 112 of the 161 jurisdictions featured median household incomes that were insufficient to afford the median-priced home in their own community.<sup>58</sup>

With the elimination of rent control by state ballot in 1994 and the expiring use of properties with federal mortgage subsidies, the challenge to build and maintain affordable housing has been daunting. Student housing has also played a significant role in raising rates in the rental market. More than half of the approximate 250,000 students in the region live off campus, frequently pooling incomes to increase their purchasing power, and creating competition for housing among local working families.<sup>59</sup> In the city of Boston, the median advertised rent for a two-bedroom apartment in 2001 would claim 60 percent of the household income of the median renter, and 50 percent of household income for median renters living in Chelsea, Revere, and Cambridge.<sup>60</sup>

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### Keep It Real

“Resistance to affordable housing relates to race, class, and assumptions about people different than us. One community actually argued that their MCAS test scores might drop. We have to get past code words of community character, or school capacity and get at the real issues.”

*Kenn Elmore*

*Lexington Fair Housing Committee*

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To meet the critical housing requires increased demand, housing subsidies, more private sector involvement in housing production, concerted infill and brownfield development, and higher density in the suburbs. Housing advocates interviewed for this report see opportunities emerging from the reality that affordable housing is an issue for the middle class as well. A key first step will be building the capacity of community organizations to do more thorough education about the role and value of affordable housing to all communities.

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### Affordable Housing: A Suburban Priority

As one of the first towns in Massachusetts to approve the Community Preservation Act, Bedford has begun to grapple with its housing challenges. During the 1990s, median housing prices increased from \$228,000 to more than \$400,000, 113 rental units were lost, and small homes on large lots that had infill density potential have been replaced with large houses costing as much as \$750,000. Bedford residents have identified diversity as a valued element of the 12,000-resident town’s character, but few of the town’s municipal employees can afford to live there, and parents are discouraged that their grown children cannot afford to return home to raise their families.

Three agencies—the Bedford Housing Partnership, the Bedford Housing Trust (BHT), and the Bedford Community Preservation Committee—have joined forces to revise the Bedford Comprehensive Affordable Housing Plan, committing to an increase in housing considered affordable under 40B from 4.5 percent to 11 percent by 2011. Their aggressive strategy is being pursued on multiple fronts. It includes a purchase and rehab program for two-family structures operated by BHT; condominium buy-downs with permanent affordability provisions funded through CPA funds; and a partnership with the local Veterans Administration hospital to develop a ten-unit complex with four affordable units. Gene Clerkin, CPA committee member and Bedford resident, points to the importance of having access to technical expertise and financial support in navigating the complexity of Massachusetts’ affordable housing process. He also identified organizing, education, and citizen participation as crucial for building public will, noting that many suburbs have an uninformed notion of what affordable housing is and how well it can be designed.

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## Environmental Justice

Where low-income housing is most concentrated, so are conditions of environmental degradation. As many white and middle-class residents left economically declining urban core locations, low-income residents, and people of color stayed or filled in these vacancies.<sup>61</sup> Low-income communities and communities of color in Massachusetts endure a significantly greater exposure to pollution emitted or abandoned by large industrial facilities.<sup>62</sup> The most affected neighborhoods include former industrial sites in East Boston, Dorchester, Roxbury, and Allston-Brighton—with Central Boston having the highest number.<sup>63</sup> Sites that once provided job opportunities for local residents now deepen the economic disadvantages of these neighborhoods. Throughout Greater Boston, noxious materials and facilities, such as garbage dumps, toxic waste disposals, and parking facilities have had a history of being disposed of disproportionately in low-income communities.<sup>64</sup> Meanwhile, in the outer suburbs, open space is increasingly compromised by sprawl; the amount of land consumed for development grew at a rate far greater than the region's population growth. Since 1950, suburban towns like Burlington and Plymouth have grown more than 200%, while older cities have lost populations to their sprawling neighbors.<sup>65</sup> According to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts Executive Office of Environmental Affairs, between 1950 and 1990, Massachusetts population increased by 28% while the amount of developed land increased 188 percent.<sup>66</sup>

Several factors exacerbate these development trends. Cities and towns infrequently make long range development plans, and do not generally analyze regional impacts as a criterion. It is difficult for local officials to become educated on the complex range of environmental protection strategies, including: infrastructure development that focuses development in built environments; affordable housing development through density



**Let It Snow.** The City of Chelsea houses the region's Road Salt supplies, bearing the brunt of its environmental impacts.

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### Context for Justice

“Sometimes it is not that toxics are dumped on people of color. It is the people of color who are dumped on the toxics.”

*Daniel Faber*

*Northeastern University*

“We have to understand the historical context of environmental burdens, and address these disparities when we look at land use planning.”

*Lydia Lowe*

*Chinese Progressive Association*

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strategies that protect open space; and prevention of activities that encourage sprawl. Additionally there is limited coordination across communities in the areas of development and investment.

Advocates see numerous opportunities to achieve environmental justice in development and connect related issues of land use, conservation, environmental protection, affordable housing, and transportation. Among them are reallocation of the Big Dig surplus land back to Chinatown's development priorities; reinvesting in existing school sites, where possible, to conserve open space; and creating more multifamily development in suburban communities.

## Regional Transportation Inequities

Communities of color and low-income communities are offered inadequate public transit in the Boston region. A report by the Conservation Law Foundation found that a two- to three-mile transit trip between neighborhoods in Roxbury and downtown Boston can take an hour—the same time it takes to travel by commuter rail from downtown Boston to cities and suburbs forty to fifty miles away.<sup>67</sup> As residents move further from the metropolitan center, and job growth continues in the suburbs, public transportation is severely challenged to serve the areas of new growth and to connect them to older neighborhoods.

Efforts to alleviate transit disparities depend on equitable planning and distribution of government funds for public transit. Although the 1980s saw significant rapid transit investment,<sup>68</sup> much of it served wealthier, predominately white communities, sometimes purposely avoiding low-income communities of color. Original plans for the Red Line to run north through Arlington and Lexington and end at Route 128 were changed because of community concerns that rapid transit would bring “unacceptable changes” to their suburban community.<sup>69</sup> In the end, the Red Line extended only to Alewife in Arlington, with intermediate stops in Cambridge and Somerville.<sup>70</sup> In Roxbury in 1987, the old elevated Orange Line, which served a predominately minority neighborhood, was moved to service the Southwest Corridor, a wealthier, predominately white community, leaving local residents with an inferior bus service. In the last five years, the Massachusetts Bay Transportation Authority (MBTA) invested four times as much in commuter rail services than in the bus system even though there are four times as many bus riders.<sup>71</sup> Further, agency decisions have favored roads over public transit and commuter rail. Massachusetts consistently spends three to four times as much of its federal transportation dollars on highways as on public transit.<sup>72</sup>

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### Transportation is Fundamental

“For CDCs, transportation has the potential to be a cross-cutting issue, promoting regional equitable development and linking to affordable housing.”

*Joseph Kriesberg*

*Massachusetts Association of Community Development Corporations*

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Advocates see opportunities developing to introduce policies that reprioritize the funding patterns of transportation statewide because of increasing resident dissatisfaction with the commute experience. In addition, the lack of coordination of agencies for long-term transportation planning and the ascension of the smart growth discussion in Massachusetts provides fertile ground for revisiting how decisions and allocations are made at the state and regional levels.

## Residential Segregation and Employment Opportunities

Given the Boston region’s history of segregated settlement patterns, people of color remain spatially concentrated.<sup>73</sup> Minimal access to public transit to reach new jobs in the outer suburbs, or to reach jobs in central Boston from far-away communities, has left many low-income and minority residents with three bad choices: spend more of their earnings than they can afford to pay for a car; endure extremely long, multiple-transfer public transit trips; or limit their job opportunities. With reduced job access, unemployment has

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### Is This Transit?

“I remember one of the guys...we opened up at 8 in the morning and he had to leave home at 6 in the morning to get [to Waltham] on three or four different buses.”

*Waltham Manufacturer*

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increased in the older, former industrial cities.<sup>74</sup> North Waltham has 77 employers that currently employ 3,000 entry level workers, but a commuter traveling from a central-city neighborhood with a high concentration of welfare recipients must travel on three buses and walk for more than a mile to get to those jobs.<sup>75</sup> Many businesses locate away from high-unemployment areas because of concerns about the employee recruitment base of concentrated minority neighborhoods.<sup>76</sup> In addition, businesses locate in the suburbs to attract managers through good housing, quality schools, and the potential for less traffic congestion.<sup>77</sup> When businesses do locate near satellite cities with a high concentration of working class immigrants such as Lawrence and Lowell, interest in available workforce overrules other location concerns.<sup>78</sup>

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### Quality is Job One

“I have a simple suggestion on how to improve regional equity: stop creating bad jobs.”

*Jason Pramas*

*Campaign on Contingent Work*

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Advocates see opportunities to broaden the discussion about who has access to desirable jobs. The complex interplay of transportation access, business location decisions, education, and skills development of the workforce involves a cross-section of regional actors who can build a comprehensive workforce development strategy—one that targets all segments of the population to benefit from jobs that provide sustainable wages, benefits, and meaningful career paths.

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### Transportation Justice On the Move

A key catalyst for transportation equity was triggered by the 1987 move by MBTA of the elevated Orange Line west from its original route through Dudley Square. Instead of the promised “equal or better service,” the Orange Line was replaced with the #49 line, a highly polluting diesel bus. The Washington Street Corridor Coalition pushed federal officials to mandate that the Boston Metropolitan Planning Organization, including the MBTA, comply with civil rights and environmental justice regulations. Officials substituted the Silver Line, an alternative fuel bus service, at an estimated first phase capital cost of \$54 million.<sup>79</sup> While cost estimates for the originally pledged light rail ranged from \$160 to \$373 million, it did not come close to the anticipated \$1 billion price tag associated with the tunnel that will be required to complete the route currently planned for the Silver Line.

While the Silver Line service was an improvement over the diesel buses, transportation justice advocates questioned the outcome in terms of cost, desired service, environmental impact,<sup>80</sup> traffic flow, travel times, and rider demand patterns. They believed that the light rail offered superior service alternatives to the 25 percent of Boston’s population living in the area.<sup>81</sup> The Silver Line dispute is now subject of an administrative complaint filed with the Federal Transit Administration.



## Economic Development

As gentrification escalates and residential segregation deepens, concerns about what comprises “balanced” or “equitable” development become increasingly important. Low-income communities struggle with how to attract new business, while others are concerned about how much growth should take place. Urban core cities faced with commercial and industrial flight may agree to developments that do not meet immediate community needs, such as commercial strip malls or entertainment complexes. Neighborhoods that do not attract private sector investment face a struggle to revitalize land and properties. In addition, these developments absorb vital public resources in the form of subsidies, yet may never materialize significant community benefits.

According to the Massachusetts Department of Revenue, corporations claimed at least \$350 million in tax breaks for economic development

from the Commonwealth in FY2002, and the state provided \$1.5 billion in subsidies.<sup>82</sup> One economic incentive program awarded to Main Street Textiles in Fall River granted a 20-year tax deal that allocated more than a half million dollars a year in state tax breaks matched by a similar reduction in city taxes. After three years, a City audit identified that the corporation had not only failed to hire for any of the 83 promised new jobs, but had actually cut the existing workforce. Community development corporations cite the need for more of the economic development investments to match other government subsidies to redevelop brownfields in these core communities. Currently, funds are not sufficient to create needed businesses once areas are cleaned up, and liability challenges are prohibitive. Most find that the cost to mitigate abandoned and contaminated land is simply not feasible.

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## TeleCom City: Regional Cooperation for Economic Development

In 1996, the state legislature created the Mystic Valley Development Corporation to oversee the ambitious redevelopment of 200 acres of former industrial property spanning Malden, Medford, and Everett into a center for the state’s telecommunication industry. TeleCom City features an innovative tax-sharing arrangement and one-stop permitting that erases municipal boundaries in the project area. Despite the economic downturn, the project represents promising efforts to create “double bottom line” outcomes with targeted workforce and economic development opportunities.

The three traditionally rival cities demonstrated unprecedented cooperation by combining resources to collaboratively pursue redevelopment solutions. When complete, TeleCom City will be a regional research and development park consisting of 1.8 million square feet of office and manufacturing space, a riverfront park, and reclaimed greenspace for local residents. A Citizens Advisory Board with community representation meets regularly to provide input to the development plans. Their focus is to generate new jobs, new tax revenues, and improved local schools through partnerships with onsite industries and area universities.

A coalition of community organizations will work to target employment opportunities to residents in the Tri-city area with annual incomes below \$35,000 and barriers to employment.

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### III. Policy Opportunities to Promote Regional Equity

Despite challenges, advocates in the Greater Boston area have produced important policy victories, and identified new directions for action. The next several months will be a critical time to advance a regional equity agenda. The state faces a budget deficit of nearly \$3 billion over the next 18 months, dramatic cuts in spending, and a conservative national legislative climate. Nevertheless, equity advocates see important political opportunities emerging:

- **A new state administration** has kept political pundits guessing but offers the potential for progress on issues of smart growth and regional livability. New Governor Mitt Romney has demonstrated flexibility and an eye for management acumen in his cabinet-level appointments. Though it is early in the legislative season, there is hope that a focused progressive message around issues of equity could influence important policy decisions made during the next two years.
- **The establishment of a state cabinet-level position** that coordinates issues of environment, housing, and transportation has advocates hopeful that there can be specific policy gains around key equity issues. As Chief of Commonwealth Development, Doug Foy will have the opportunity to work for improved public policy.
- **The Metropolitan Area Planning Commission has embarked on long-range planning** for the region by connecting diverse stakeholders and the interdependent interests of urban and suburban communities. The *Regional Visioning Project* is a goal-setting dialogue focused on needs, priorities, and the creation of a long-term growth strategy for the 101-jurisdiction MAPC region for the 10-year planning horizon. MAPC could engage state and federal agencies in serious

assessment of their role in advancing an equitable growth strategy for the region. MAPC can build on the capacity of key community based organizations by lending its strong data analysis capacity. The development of the actual MAPC plan will commence in September 2003.

- **Consensus is building among key equity advocates** across broad institutional and issue-area leadership. The development of this document, for example, involved the active participation of more than 20 key nonprofit organizations committed to social equity, and reflects the considerations of more than 150 academic, government, and civic organizations in the Greater Boston region.

### Recommendations for Policy Action

The group of organizations leading this equity-focused research and convenings identified a number of key criteria for prioritizing policy, but five emerged as essential:

- Does the policy broaden and deepen regional equity impact?
- Does the policy reinforce suburban/urban equity and cooperation?
- Does the policy address cross-cutting issues (e.g., interrelated impacts of housing and transit)?
- Does the policy have potential to mobilize broad and diverse constituents?
- Are there political opportunities to implement the policy in private, public, or legislative arenas?

The Greater Boston Action Committee, facilitated by PolicyLink, identified four priority areas for action by local and regional advocates in 2003-4. Promotion of the following policies will help integrate key regional concerns of affordable housing, employment, the environment, public investment, and transportation.

POLICY	GOAL	PLACE FOR ACTION	ACTIONS NEEDED
<i>Affordable Housing</i>			
<b>Comprehensive Permit Law Chapter 40B</b>	Distribute affordable housing across all jurisdictions in region. Deconcentrate poverty. Provide workforce housing for diverse workforce.	State legislature	Incentives for infrastructure. Safeguarding environmental protections. Withholding other state investments if not in compliance.
		Local zoning boards	Rezoning to accommodate multifamily housing.
<b>New Revenue Streams for Permanently Affordable Housing</b>	Realize long-term returns on housing subsidies. Increase affordable housing stock.	State legislature	Inclusionary zoning for all metropolitan jurisdictions. Dedicate state resources to “zero loss” of expiring use of federally subsidized units.
		Local jurisdictions	Increase housing allocations under Community Preservation Act. Expedite tax foreclosure processes. Fast track permits for permanently affordable units.
<b>Rent Stabilization</b>	Provide housing stability in gentrifying markets.	State	Get home rule for reinstatement of rent controls. Tax credits for landlords who preserve lower than market rates.
		Local	Pass rent stabilization and just cause eviction ordinances.
<b>Incentives for Affordable Housing</b>	Tie smart growth to affordable housing. Develop workforce housing.	State	Compensate communities for smart growth housing (\$1250 bonus for 2bdroom units; \$2500 for 2bdroom, smart growth). Prioritize infrastructure financing to jurisdictions meeting 40B goals. Tax Credits to Employers for firsttime homebuyers assistance.
<b>Expand Community Preservation</b>	Provide state match to property tax levy for housing, historic preservation, open space.	Local jurisdictions	Pass in more jurisdictions for greater geographical reach.
		State	Allow other financing matches besides property tax (e.g., Real Estate Transfer Tax). Provide technical assistance to jurisdictions lacking CDC infrastructure. Link CPA allocations to performance on 40B.
<i>Transportation Equity</i>			
<b>Improve Transportation Service, Access, Equity</b>	Enhance ridability, access to jobs, air quality.	Metropolitan Boston Transit Authority	Driver courtesy. Increase bus shelters. Increase transit access and connectivity.
<b>Leverage Alternative Long Range Transportation Plan</b>	Provide additional resources for communities of color.	Metropolitan Planning Organization	Washington St light rail replacement. 100 new clean buses.
<b>Resolve Equity Aspects of Urban Ring</b>	Integrate transit service. Job access.	Metropolitan Planning Organization	Win people focused transit services.



POLICY	GOAL	PLACE FOR ACTION	ACTIONS NEEDED
<i>Environmental Justice</i>			
<b>Environmental Justice Law</b>	Require environmental justice impacts to be consideration of grant allocation and open space provision.	State legislature	Measure and remediation of cumulative impacts of development. Consider toxic impacts on low-income immigrant communities.
<b>Act for Healthy Massachusetts</b>	Reduce toxics at source pollutant level.	State legislature Department of Environmental Protection	Implement Action Plan for each priority toxic chemical, replace with safer alternative.
<b>Livable Communities Act</b>	Focus long term local to regional planning.	State legislature	Environmental bond bill. Focusing development to built infrastructure. Affordable housing. Sprawl prevention.
<i>Equitable Development Investment</i>			
<b>Direct Investment through Equity Criteria</b>	Focus public investment on affordable housing, transit access, jobs, services.	State bond financing State grants State infrastructure investment Local redevelopment	Require community benefits analysis of major public investment. Attach equity criteria for living wages, local hiring, nonprofit developers, minority contracting, affordable housing community planning for services and businesses.

## Affordable Housing

**Strengthen and Refine Comprehensive Permit Law Chapter 40B.** Enacted in 1969, 40B addresses the shortage of affordable housing statewide by reducing barriers created by local zoning and approval processes. Its goal is to encourage the production of affordable housing in all Commonwealth jurisdictions, with an established threshold for subsidized housing in each jurisdiction of 10 percent. If the jurisdiction does not meet this threshold, 40B enables local Zoning Boards of Appeals (ZBAs) to approve affordable housing developments under flexible rules (outside of local zoning rules) if at least 25 percent of the proposed development's units have long-term affordability provisions. Chapter 40B accounts for 82 percent of all affordable housing development in the suburbs during the past five years. Many of the recently developed units are providing affordable housing in the Route 128 and I-495 communities where there has been significant job growth.

While productive, the law has not created the perfect equity tool. Inner-ring and urban core communities continue to account for a disproportionate share of the region's affordable housing. Although steady progress has been made, only 12 jurisdictions have achieved the 10 percent threshold during the 34 years since enactment of the law. These jurisdictions have produced one-third of the region's housing supply, but account for 60 percent of the total assisted inventory. Some jurisdictions' lawmakers protest that developers abuse the system by threatening to invoke 40B's ability to override local zoning in order to site larger housing developments. Though it is difficult to substantiate these claims, the law's provisions allowing developers to override zoning laws has created a climate of resistance in many suburban jurisdictions.

Opposition to 40B has resulted in multiple attempts to weaken the legislation. Last year, the Legislature passed a compromise bill, supported by housing advocates, but ultimately vetoed by

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### Strengthen and Refine Comprehensive Permit Law Chapter 40B.

#### Promote Permanent Affordability.

#### Restore Rent Stabilization.

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Governor Jane Swift. This year, more than 70 bills have been filed to amend 40B, causing Governor Romney to form a diverse task force charged with developing a legislative compromise.

To utilize 40B for regional equity, advocates will have to address jurisdictions' legitimate concerns about the measure (potential developer abuse, service and infrastructure costs, and the creation of negative environmental impacts). The state must create financing incentives to stimulate residential construction and cover new infrastructure costs, including possible bonuses in local aid allocations. At the same time, there must be enforcement mechanisms for lack of compliance, such as withholding other state allocations to jurisdictions that do not comply.

Chapter 40B is the single most effective existing legislation for producing housing equity in the region. It affects all jurisdictions, and is central to longer-term zoning reform that can bolster equitable development throughout the region. The loss of 40B would be a significant setback for the entire state, given its need to develop workforce housing and develop a better jobs-housing balance. The preservation of 40B is a foundation for subsequent equity legislation.

**Promote Permanent Affordability.** Housing advocates have identified a spectrum of strategies to increase affordable housing and to ensure its long-term affordability. New revenue streams to bolster production include: 1) increased use of commercial linkage fees that tie economic development to housing; 2) greater focus on affordable housing when allocating Community Preservation Act funds; 3) new housing produced through inclusionary zoning; 4) expedited tax foreclosure processes to reclaim land and housing

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### Permanent Affordability Under Siege

The statewide Affordable Housing Trust Fund has suffered significant losses of “dedicated” revenue this year. The Fund, created in 2000, was authorized as a \$100 million pool (\$20 million per year for 5 fiscal years 2001-2005). On February 23, 2003, the Legislature took the \$7.5 million remaining of the FY2003 allocation, thereby eliminating all state operating funding for the program for the current fiscal year. The Romney Administration has filed legislation to move the FY04 funding of \$20 million for the Housing Trust Fund from the operating budget to the capital budget.

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for affordable uses; 5) a zero loss policy on the expiring use of subsidized units; and 6) where relevant, replication of Boston’s *Leading the Way Campaign*, that contributed to production through the conversion of available city property for affordable housing use.

**Restore Rent Stabilization Mechanisms.** Tenant advocates who watched rental housing prices skyrocket following the statewide repeal of the measure in 1994 have galvanized efforts to reinstate price stabilization. The most focused efforts have taken place in Boston and Cambridge, two of the three jurisdictions that had local rent stabilization in place. Boston tenant groups are conducting outreach and education to landlords of smaller properties about rent stabilization while developing support on the City Council to petition to restore the policy. Cambridge advocates are proposing innovations in the exemptions that would allow landlords to receive market rate rents on some portion of their units.<sup>83</sup> Massachusetts could pursue a proposal being explored in New York state to offer landlords tax credits to cover a percentage of the difference between rent payments and market rate. Housing advocates across the region agree that the increasing costs of rental housing in the region require new regulatory controls on rents and eviction practices in order to prevent further displacement.

### Complementary Affordable Housing Strategies

**Further Incentives to the Development of Affordable Housing.** Citizens’ Housing and Planning Association has proposed legislation, *An Act Compensating Communities for Increasing Affordable Housing for Families and Following Smart Growth Principles*, sponsored by Senator Susan C. Tucker and Representative Peter J. Larkin. Passage would provide a \$1,250 bonus for each new-production affordable housing unit containing two or more bedrooms. Double credit would be available for affordable units that met certain smart growth criteria. Other legislative incentives would support Employer Assisted Housing, such as providing tax credits for down payment assistance for first-time homebuyers.

Prioritizing state infrastructure, transportation, and economic development investment for jurisdictions that meet or exceed their 40B goals is one low-cost incentive to promote additional affordable housing. California law requires housing elements every five years to identify adequate sites for housing, including rental housing, factory-built housing and mobile homes, and to make adequate provision for the existing and projected needs of all economic segments of the community. The efficacy of housing elements rests in incentives and enforcement mechanisms to support those goals. A bill pending in the California legislature would prioritize infrastructure investment for any jurisdiction in the Sacramento region that met an annual ten percent affordable housing production goal. Similar legislation in Massachusetts could make progress toward Governor Romney’s goal of doubling housing production from current levels during the next five years. What percentage affordable units will result, and the cost in state and federal subsidy involved in achieving that goal will be crucial equity issues.

**Broaden the Implementation of the Community Preservation Act (CPA).** This statewide enabling legislation allows cities and towns to add a surcharge, up to 3 percent, on local property taxes matched by the state to acquire and protect open space, preserve historic resources, and create and maintain affordable housing. To date, most that have passed the bill have been high-income or rural communities, with more than half the allocations going to open space and 36 percent to affordable housing.

To further regional equity, CPA will need to reach a greater geographic balance, and see a greater investment in affordable housing. CPA investments in affordable housing simultaneously achieve environmental protection by reducing the sprawl that consumes open space. Passage of CPA in urban core and inner ring communities will require more public education and business support. The Environmental League of Massachusetts, among others, has argued for alternative funding options—such as a real estate transfer tax surcharge—to make qualifying for the

state matching funds more viable for lower-income jurisdictions. Other incentives could include: prioritizing state infrastructure investments or economic development subsidies for jurisdictions that invest more of their CPA funds into affordable housing production; providing funds for technical assistance to develop affordable housing; and even linking CPA allocations to performance on Measure 40B.<sup>84</sup>

**Encourage University Participation in Housing Development.** Measuring the exact impact of the region's multitude of public and private universities on housing pressures is a contested science, but none dispute that it is significant. Strategies to mitigate that impact include setting (and meeting) ambitious production targets,<sup>85</sup> linking large scale institutional expansion to affordable housing creation in University Master Plans, and evaluating the performance of institutions on student housing when considering their Payments In Lieu Of Taxes and zoning variances.

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## Inclusionary Zoning

Inclusionary zoning is not a new issue in Massachusetts. A 1999 survey by the Massachusetts Housing Partnership Fund found that 118 cities and towns in Massachusetts had some form of inclusionary zoning or other zoning provisions explicitly promoting affordable housing. However, the study found that these local ordinances have created just a few hundred new affordable housing units each year.<sup>86</sup>

Housing advocates point to Boston, Cambridge, Somerville, Lexington, and Newton as communities that have adopted strong and effective inclusionary zoning policies. Many communities have weaker ordinances or bylaws which have not led to much of an increase in affordable housing. According to Clark Ziegler, Executive Director of Massachusetts Housing Partnership Fund: “The greatest potential may lie with true inclusionary zoning, which requires that a small percentage (typically 10 percent) in every market rate housing development be kept affordable to moderate-income families.”<sup>87</sup>

Proposed zoning reform legislation filed for the 2003 legislative session would explicitly enable towns to adopt inclusionary zoning for all “as of right” subdivisions in the Commonwealth. A similar provision passed the Senate last year as part of the omnibus housing bill, but was dropped in conference committee.

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## Transportation Equity

The scale of investment and breadth of impact that transportation decisions have on regional development make it a critical component of any strategy for regional equity. The most consistent observation by those interviewed was that the share of transportation dollars going to worthwhile transit projects must be increased.<sup>88</sup> Advocates, public agencies, and others involved in transportation planning have identified some of the important precursors to a comprehensive transportation policy platform.

**Improve Public Transportation Service, Access, and Equity.** Transportation advocates have played a lead role in shaping the Boston metropolitan equity analysis. Residents of several low-income communities have been organizing for adequate public transportation. Much of this work is culminating in The On Move Coalition's current campaign to reform systemic poor service to consumers.

The On the Move Coalition advances a platform to establish high level, comprehensive service to public transit consumers across the region. The Coalition identifies the daily service challenges facing commuters with the deeper fundamental issues in transportation planning and resource allocation. The platform calls for driver courtesy, bus shelter frequency, adequate station stops, transit access, and connectivity. The Coalition focuses on residents who rely solely on public transit, and works with the Washington Street Corridor Coalition to increase public transit efficiency, reduce environmental impacts, and generate cost savings.

### **Sharpen the Equity Focus of the Metropolitan Planning Organization Allocations.**

Incorporating advocates' recommendations to the 2002-2025 Plan can most directly enhance the

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### **Improve Transportation Service and Equity.**

#### **Sharpen Equity Focus of MPO Allocations.**

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regional equity impact of transportation investment. Transportation equity advocates recently served as part of a federally mandated planning process to review the MPO's Regional Transportation Plan for 2000-2025. The plan recommends highway and mass transit projects, provides the Environmental Protection Agency data to determine the plans' compliance with Clean Air Act requirements, and identifies projects that will receive federal funds. While one key priority of advocates—one hundred additional clean-operating buses—was secured (at a cost of \$40 million), their recommended light rail replacement down Washington Street was not included in the final MPO Regional Transit Plan. The environmental justice organization Alternatives for Community and Environment (ACE), used the same data as the MPO to analyze transportation allocations, and drafted an *Alternative Analysis to the MPO Plan* inequities. MPO's state report<sup>89</sup> refuted the findings of inequities within the transportation system. ACE countered their findings in an alternative addendum, claiming the MPO failed to grasp injustices in three crucial areas: intermodal disparities, transit dependency, and cumulative impacts.<sup>90</sup>

### **Complementary Transportation Strategies**

**Apply Equity Considerations in Transportation Planning.** In the wake of the controversial Big Dig cost overruns, advocates are adamant that any subsequent investment in Massachusetts highway, road, and transit systems must place a greater emphasis on social and economic equity. This is detailed in the discussion of Equity Criteria for Public Investment that follows.

**Resolve The Urban Ring.** The Urban Ring is a proposal to develop a “rim” to connect the “spokes” of Boston’s radial transit system. Designed to connect Boston, Brookline, Cambridge, Somerville, Everett, and Chelsea, proponents say it will free up congestion in the suburbs, reduce travel times, and improve access to employment centers outside of downtown (especially Longwood Medical Center area and Cambridge). It features three phases of transit integration culminating in a system that could support 290,000 daily riders.<sup>91</sup> Current debate centers on whether the project will provide integrated transit service, or just more sophisticated circumferential bus connections. Some environmental justice and transportation equity advocates see this project as more institution-serving than people-serving, especially for those who are transit dependent. Other transportation advocates see the Ring as a critical transit opportunity and support it. The ability of transportation advocates to develop a consensus strategy around the Urban Ring will greatly advance the efforts of respective groups throughout the region.

## Environmental Justice

**Convert the Environmental Justice Policy into Law.** Signed by former Executive Office of Environmental Affairs director Bob Durand in October 2002, the Environmental Justice Policy makes environmental justice an integral consideration in the implementation of all state programs, including allocation of grant resources, implementation of regulations and policies, and the provision of active and passive open space. The policy establishes environmental justice neighborhoods as U.S. Census block groups that have either: 1) median annual household incomes at or below 65 percent of the Massachusetts median; or 2) at least 25 percent population that is minority, foreign born, or lacking English language proficiency.

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### Convert the Environmental Justice Policy into Law.

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#### Enact Act for a Healthy Massachusetts.

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In these communities, the policy instructs agencies to increase public participation, minimize environmental risk, encourage investments, and infuse state resources. As a policy, it is active only so long as the Executive Office maintains it; as a law it will be substantially harder to reverse. With a change of administration, the future of the policy is in question. This instability has led to the push for a law that would maintain the policy, and improve it in two regards sought by advocates. Those refinements include: allowing communities that do not show up in census analysis as qualified applicants to petition for consideration as a target community; and calling for the analysis of the cumulative impact associated with new development.

The policy was developed through the efforts of a broad advisory committee representing community groups, industry, faith communities, academia, and indigenous peoples. ACE and The Greater Boston Environmental Justice Network coordinated public advocacy and interaction with Secretary Durand to help shape policy design. The Environmental League of Massachusetts has joined to strengthen the development of the Act, recently filed by Senator Jarrett Barrios of Chelsea/Cambridge, Senator Dianne Wilkerson of Boston, and Representative David Sullivan of Fall River. The Environmental Justice Policy embodies the key regional equity principle of integrating environmental, social, and economic priorities in development.

#### Enact The Act for a Healthy Massachusetts.

Led by Alliance for a Healthy Tomorrow, The Act for a Healthy Massachusetts seeks to reduce the environmental burden of the entire region by

reducing source pollutants. It establishes a pragmatic, gradual approach to reducing health impacts from common toxins, and focuses on determining healthy alternatives in manufacturing processes. The Department of Environmental Protection would develop and implement an Action Plan for each priority targeted chemical that includes: 1) a Use and Emissions Analysis; 2) Review of Alternatives; and 3) an Implementation Plan and Timeline for the eventual elimination of the chemical if safer alternatives exist. This legislation promotes regional equity by addressing the root issue and eliminating the competition involved in shifting the burdens of an environmental hazard among jurisdictions.

## Complementary Environmental Justice Strategies

**Advance The Livable Communities Act** filed on December 4, 2002, by Senator Marc Pacheco to encourage planning and implementation coordination across jurisdictions. It calls for each jurisdiction to develop a five-year sustainable development plan, and gives the Regional Planning Commissions authority to review these plans. Each jurisdiction would be eligible for funds to carry out the planning process. Each Regional Planning Commission would also receive funds for developing regional sustainability plans. The Act passed through the State Senate in April 2002 as part of the environmental bond bill, but was not included in the final version of the bill. Another attempt will be made in 2003.

Key objectives of the bill include: environmental protection, focusing development where infrastructure already exists, development of adequate housing supply (particularly for household earning 80% or less of median income), prevention of activities subsidizing sprawl, and cross coordination of jurisdiction to share plans in the areas of development and spending. The Act provides opportunities for

housing and environmental advocates to work together to promote equitable development that strengthens the link between transit, housing, and where jobs are located. Some advocates are proposing tax incentives for urban revitalization with strategic anti-gentrification provisions. Governor Romney has expressed support for focusing development toward existing infrastructure as a smart growth approach.

## Equitable Development Investment

**Redirect Public Investment through Use of Equity Criteria.** The key leverage that public bodies can exert to advance equity goals lies in the criteria they apply to spending. In recent years, advocates have advanced the tools available to ensure that concrete community benefit results from public investment. California Treasurer Phil Angelides prioritizes state treasury investments to the nexus of smart growth and equity criteria. Mixed-use developments with affordable housing near transit garner the highest scores for state funding. The state's Federal Low Income Housing Tax Credit allocations require projects accessible to transit, and favor those with deeper levels of housing affordability. Former Maryland Governor Parris Glendening limited state infrastructure investment to districts within established growth boundaries, targeted school construction investment to existing properties, and limited highway investment that promoted sprawl. The Los Angeles Redevelopment Agency prioritizes developments that provide living wage jobs.

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### **Redirect Public Investment through Equity Criteria.**

### **Enact Act for Fiscal Responsibility in Economic Development.**

### **Employ Equity Criteria in Public Land Distribution.**

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Massachusetts' equity advocates have observed that developers too often receive subsidies for projects that have limited community benefits and produce little or no quality employment opportunities for residents. In essence, these subsidies reward them for creating low wage service jobs with minimal benefits. Clawbacks, which require developers to return a portion of subsidies should they fail to meet certain employment performance objectives, have entered the policy conversation as a key accountability measure. By assessing major investments that can drastically alter land use and land values, government can plan protections for existing residents. Such plans can detail first right to new affordable housing, rental assistance, anti-displacement programs, inclusionary zoning, and one-to-one replacement requirements on affordable housing.

Equity criteria, applied to public spending, can result in developments that deliver:

- new or rehabilitated affordable housing (both rental and ownership);
- first source, living wage job, and minority contracting opportunities;
- community-serving enterprises (e.g., grocery stores, credit unions, etc);
- increased capacity for community development by the inclusion of nonprofits as development partners, as tenants, and as deliverers of services that meet community needs (e.g., childcare, etc);
- transit orientation—with greater access to transit and enhanced transit ridership and frequency;
- design standards that enhance livability;
- job-housing balance in neighborhoods or jurisdictions; and/or
- anti-displacement and residency preference mechanisms for existing residents.

These criteria can be applied to housing and school bond financing, to general fund allocations



The Big Dig began in 1985. Once completed in 2006, it will be the largest public works project in human history. What impact would this development have for regional equity if equity criteria had been considered for local hiring, living wage jobs, related community services, open space, and other livability issues?

in the arenas of infrastructure investment, economic development subsidies, transit grants, transportation disbursements, and to allocation of tax credits.

### **Enact An Act to Promote Fiscal Accountability in Economic Development.**

In the context of state budget deficits and program cuts, it is especially crucial that public tax dollars are spent in the most effective way possible. The Act to Promote Fiscal Accountability, sponsored by Senator Marian Walsh and Representative Christopher Fallon, helps to develop a comprehensive system for reporting on both quantity and quality of jobs created or retained as a result of the estimated \$1.5 billion expended annually in economic development subsidy programs. The Act ensures unified compilation of information and public access to information regarding investments. It requires greater disclosure on the part of applicants for



development assistance regarding employment levels, wages, and benefits. Further, it requires corporations found to be in default of development assistance obligations to refund a portion of the assistance received. Similar policies exist in Connecticut, Maine, Minnesota, Texas, and Ohio.

### Employ Equity Criteria in Public Land

**Distribution.** The strategy and values used in land disposition was consistently questioned by a broad set of equity actors interviewed for this report. A number of examples were cited where a greater focus on equity would have yielded a superior outcome for balanced regional development. Local governments, the MBTA, the Metropolitan Turnpike Authority (MTA), and the Commonwealth each have land holdings that play a critical role in development patterns in the region. Residents in Chinatown have been working with the Asian Community Development Corporation to regain control of Parcel 24, a 1.6- acre stretch of land being freed by the completion of the Big Dig. The land, once home to 300 families, was taken in the early 1960s with minimal compensation<sup>92</sup> to the families and property owners, to construct the Mass Pike Extension to the Central Artery. Returning the land to Chinatown not only can heal a historic wound, but would play a crucial role in stabilizing development in the neighborhood. Preliminary surveys have shown that the community would like to see affordable rental and ownership housing, a library, green space, and other community uses on Parcel 24. The community is conceiving an extensive planning process.

The MTA was facing fierce scrutiny from a number of quarters at the time this report went to press regarding its sale of a 75-acre property located at Allston Landing to Harvard University for \$75 million. The MTA intensified the equity debate by claiming the sale was needed to maintain the Fast Pass lane program on its turnpikes, driving home



**Restore 24.** Chinatown residents claim the highest use of the liberated land parcel would be achieved through community control.

the intersection between land use planning and transportation. The sale alarmed advocates who recognized that the MTA and MBTA possess critical land holdings that are currently free of sufficient equity screening before release. Such a process could be developed through the coordinating function anticipated by the Office of Commonwealth Development.

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### Invest Wisely: Equity Criteria in Upcoming Developments

There are a number of major developments or upcoming events with public investment that advocates have identified that could demonstrate the import of equity criteria in achieving double bottom line outcomes – financial return for investors with meaningful community benefit for residents. They include:

- 2004 Democratic National Convention
- Boston Convention Center
- Gateway to Boston
- Seaport

Working with trade associations, labor unions, and other community based organizations, these developments can contribute to improved regional equity.

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## Building the Capacity to Achieve Regional Equity

A critical challenge to achieving regional equity is the limited organizational capacity of neighborhood-based or jurisdiction-based organizations to be able to simultaneously work with local, regional, and state government entities. Government needs new tools and processes to meet its responsibility for equitable growth and resource sharing across the spectrum from neighborhood to region.

### Regional Plans, Policies, and Decision Making

Given the facility of Massachusetts' residents and their public sector to engage in a civic discourse, the potential for advancing regional equity is strong. To accelerate achieving this objective will take six key steps.

#### **Reorient government to utilize community perspectives and prioritize regional equity.**

Local and regional planning entities need skills and strategies to solicit the commitment and expertise of residents and advocates. Dialogues that promote the identification of common cause between public agencies, residents and their allies, and regional advocates will sharpen the policy process. Eventually, these processes could contribute to greater regulatory enforcement powers for agencies promoting balanced regional development.

The most frequently cited instance of where improved community interaction could benefit regional equitable development was at the MPO. Advocates and community-based organizations have had challenges in effectively engaging the region's transportation planning agency. MAPC, which facilitated an earlier restructuring of the

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#### Vision for the Future

"We have lost ground on equity... but there is significant capacity for us to make progress through aligning all of our state policies and programs through smart growth guidelines."

*Steve Burrington*

*Massachusetts Office of Commonwealth Development*

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MPO, has proposed merging the regional transportation planning staffing within its offices to join the other planning disciplines already there. In addition to reducing overhead and duplicative functions, it would restore interdisciplinary and intermodal planning capacity for the Boston MPO consistent with the rest of the Commonwealth. MAPC also suggests further reforming the Boston MPO to better represent business and community-based organizations.

Another positive opportunity to connect government function to community interest is in the governance of MAPC. The Board consists of 136 members, 21 of whom are appointed by the Governor. Community-based organizations have been encouraged by the director of the MAPC to exert influence on who those government appointees will be to ensure greater equity voice at the planning agency's discussions.

#### **Provide community based organizations, CDCs, and other organizations with the resources to engage in regional equity work.**

Three key strategies include: 1) building the policy assessment capacity of community based organizations; 2) increasing technical assistance to groups promoting and monitoring regional equity; and 3) supporting improved strategy sharing and analysis. Easily accessible data repositories, such as the Boston Indicators Project, are crucial to residents or nonprofit agencies trying to make a case for more equitable development. Training, education, and actual devoted staff time are all important. Alliances should be established with business and development interests who see

regional equity in their best interest—or can be convinced of such. Cumulatively, small business owners can play an important role in anchoring commercial districts and providing stable employment for local residents. This role could be enhanced with tax or other financial incentives targeted to reward good employers.

**Provide specific skills and relevant information to residents of low-income neighborhoods** and their advocates to engage in developing policy. Equity advocates acknowledge the limitation of participating in existing regional planning structures: those structures lack enforcement authority, making participation advisory at best. Yet failure to participate sets the stage to perpetuate potentially inequitable planning and development processes. Despite this, several existing and potential strategies were identified through interviews and research to influence regional planning in the Boston metropolitan area.

**Create a structure to be a voice for social equity** that represents the array of those interests in the Greater Boston area and builds a power base for these activities. This should be tied to an ongoing legislative advocacy plan. In the San Francisco Bay Area, the Social Equity Caucus has become a crucial sounding board for policies with regional import. Facilitated by the Urban Habitat Program, a nonprofit environmental policy organization, participants in the Caucus engage in the difficult discussions that shape an action

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### Regional Nonprofit Housing Agencies

Massachusetts has an extensive housing network that includes a variety of non-profit housing organizations. In addition to Community Development Corporations, the state's nine regional nonprofit housing agencies develop affordable housing, administer more than 16,000 Section 8 vouchers, and run a number of housing services programs, including the Housing Consumer Education Centers. These Centers provide education and counseling assistance to landlords, tenants, and first-time homebuyers across the state.

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framework. Urban Habitat provides technical assistance and builds the capacity of the groups to take part in a range of regional planning processes.

**Incubate dialogues** that promote the identification of common cause among public agencies, residents, and their allies that helps sharpen their policy process. Further dialogue is also needed within advocacy circles to build a more concerted platform.

**Support organizing.** The critical value of organizing as a tool for civic engagement and policy development was repeatedly cited in interviews and in the summits held for the development of this report. Unfortunately, many advocacy organizations are not funded to do the work required for policy impact, such as data gathering and analysis, educating and mobilizing

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### The Boston Indicators Project: A Tool for Equity Advocates

The Boston Indicators Project is a civic initiative coordinated by the Boston Foundation that creates a better understanding of the region's key challenges and opportunities through shared access to high quality objective data. The 2002 Indicators Report, now available online, reports progress about Boston in ten descriptive categories. The report includes downloadable tables, charts, and data. Of particular interest to equity advocates are findings about continuing economic inequality, metro growth and sprawl, and comparisons of housing production across the metro area. The indicators report can be accessed at <http://www.tbf.org/indicators/>.

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constituencies, testifying before committees, and monitoring progress on legislation. Without effective organizing networks, the greater Boston communities' most marginalized populations are underutilized, unprepared for advocacy roles, and unconnected to the leadership that should champion its issues.<sup>93</sup>

**Build cross-issue alliances** such as the Transit Riders Union, Building Blocks Coalition, Alliance for A Healthy Tomorrow, On The Move Coalition, and Greater Boston Environmental Justice Network to combine related community interests into comprehensive campaigns for social and economic equity.

## Developing a Stronger Urban/Suburban Alliance

Most of the priorities identified in this report require engaged constituencies who are allied in their positions regarding each policy. One of the perceived divisions to be bridged is the one between representatives of urban and suburban interests. The research revealed that these groups have more in common than in conflict. Significant policy innovation is possible if additional capacity can be built among the resident groups, neighborhood associations, community development corporations, and nonprofit advocacy organizations committed to these issues. A number of tactics can enhance their ability to perform this function.

**Develop understanding across suburban and urban jurisdictions** regarding the sharing of regional costs and opportunities. Active interest emerged in the Regional Equity Summits to pursue a mutual learning agenda. Components of such an agenda would involve 1) surfacing the stories of what is happening in suburban and urban communities, to dispel inaccurate preconceptions and misinformation that exist in both directions; 2) addressing underlying notions

of race and class that are involved in the suburban/urban discourse; 3) supporting 'voices of goodwill', those existing ambassadors of improved relationships between urban and suburban communities; and 4) identifying the mediating structures where better understanding can set the stage for cooperation and eventual alliance. Those structures include places of worship, the media, and certain nonprofit organizations. The role of coalitions with memberships that cut across suburban and urban communities cannot be sufficiently underscored.

**Build the capacity of suburban communities to take part in activities that promote regional equity**, such as affordable housing development, transportation advocacy, and work to develop a diversified suburban workforce. Several key opportunities exist to do this: 1) Local Initiatives Support Corporation has established a Suburban Housing Initiative intended to advance the development of affordable housing in suburban communities (with a focus within 15 miles of downtown Boston). 2) The Metropolitan Area Planning Council's long range planning process allows for sustained intraregional dialogue on a number of equity issues that gets jurisdiction representatives talking to each other, or more importantly, gets them listening. 3) MAPC also is using the basic common needs of jurisdictions to demonstrate the need for regional cooperation between communities. Facilitated by MAPC, a collection of eight mayors and two city managers from the Boston area has established the Metropolitan Mayors Coalition. This effort has started with practical problem-solving around joint supply purchasing, but MAPC is hopeful that the group can evolve to explore the implications of greater regional planning and information sharing.

**Develop a concerted strategy for state legislative policy that binds urban and suburban constituencies around regional equity.**

Initial research indicates that such a tactical effort would have three major components: 1) Leverage additional resources for suburban capacity to work on policy issues. Groups in the suburbs attempting to work on equity issues are often underfunded and without some of the data analysis and technical capacity available to urban organizations. Further, state and federal resources sometimes are not readily structured for suburban jurisdictions to take advantage. 2) Identify the unifying issues that need to be addressed in urban and suburban communities. Among those most frequently identified are affordable housing, education, and transportation. 3) Formalize the alliance between suburban and urban constituencies with an identifiable campaign that builds solidarity across communities while demonstrating the efficacy of regional equity. The issue of workforce housing throughout the region surfaced during the research is a potential unifying issue.

## Conclusion

Massachusetts must apply a consistent vision for utilizing public resources to achieve regional equity. The community mobilization of allies and new partners that the development of this document represents can play a central role in shaping forthcoming public policy on key regional issues. Through the establishment of the Office of Commonwealth Development, the state has the opportunity to establish a comprehensive policy for equitable investment that could be a national model.

Jurisdictions, residents, and the community organizations that represent them in the Massachusetts area have developed considerable sophistication in thinking through regional equity issues. We must utilize that experience to strategically make this notion a priority in policy decisions going forward.

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## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> Barry Bluestone and Mary Huff Stevenson, *The Boston Renaissance, Race, Space, and Economic Change in an American Metropolis* (Russell Sage Foundation, 2000) p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Charles C. Euchner, *Governing Greater Boston: The Politics and Policy of Place* (The Rappaport Institute for Greater Boston, 2002) p. 51.

<sup>3</sup> Sum et al, *The Road Ahead: Emerging Threats to Workers, Families and the Massachusetts Economy* (Massachusetts Institute for a New Commonwealth, 1998) p. 21.

<sup>4</sup> Jeff McLynch and James R. St. George, *The State of Working Massachusetts 2002: As Good As It Gets?* (Massachusetts Budget and Policy Center, September 2002) p. iv.

<sup>5</sup> Metropolitan Area Planning Council, *A Decade of Change: Growth Trends in the Greater Boston Area-1990-2000* (2001) pp. 4, 37.

<sup>6</sup> Myron Orfield, Thomas Luce, Benjamin Oleson and Joshua Sevin, *Boston Metropatterns: A Regional Agenda for Community and Stability in Greater Boston* (Metropolitan Area Research Corporation and Citizens' Housing and Planning Association, October 2001) p. 1.

<sup>7</sup> Jeff McLynch and James R. St. George, *The State of Working Massachusetts 2002: As Good As It Gets?* (Massachusetts Budget and Policy Center, September 2002) p.16.

<sup>8</sup> Sum et al, *The Road Ahead: Emerging Threats to Workers, Families and the Massachusetts Economy* (Massachusetts Institute for a New Commonwealth, 1998) p.19.

<sup>9</sup> Charles C. Euchner, *Governing Greater Boston: The Politics and Policy of Place* (The Rappaport Institute for Greater Boston, 2002) p. 34.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* p. 35.

<sup>11</sup> Ryan Allen, Barry Bluestone, Bonnie Heudorfer, and Gretchen Weismann, *The Greater Boston Housing Report Card 2002* (Center for Urban and Regional Policy, Northeastern

University, and the Citizens' Housing and Planning Association, October 2002) p. 46.

<sup>12</sup> Ryan Allen, Barry Bluestone, Bonnie Heudorfer, and Gretchen Weismann, *The Greater Boston Housing Report Card 2002* (Center for Urban and Regional Policy, Northeastern University, and the Citizens' Housing and Planning Association, October 2002) p. 6.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>14</sup> see [www.tpl.org](http://www.tpl.org).

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>16</sup> Until his appointment, Foy was Executive Director of the Conservation Law Foundation.

<sup>17</sup> Barry Bluestone and Mary Huff Stevenson, *The Boston Renaissance* (Russell Sage Foundation, 2000) p. 378.

<sup>18</sup> These data were compiled as part of the Regional Equity Monitoring Initiative, a project of PolicyLink in collaboration with the Urban Institute. These results have not previously been published.

<sup>19</sup> For this Census analysis, the region is the Boston Consolidated Metropolitan Statistical Area (CMSA), with a population of 5,805,543 and a larger area than the one used for most of this report. The CMSA stretches from the Rhode Island to New Hampshire borders and includes towns farther west than the MAPC regional boundary. The CMSA has 1220 tracts, of which 250 had at least 15 percent poverty.

<sup>20</sup> Charles C. Euchner, *Governing Greater Boston: The Politics and Policy of Place* (The Rappaport Institute for Greater Boston, 2002) p. 150.

<sup>21</sup> Ryan Allen, Barry Bluestone, Bonnie Heudorfer, and Gretchen Weismann, *The Greater Boston Housing Report Card 2002* (Center for Urban and Regional Policy, Northeastern University, and the Citizens' Housing and Planning Association, October 2002) p. 33.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.* p. 34.

<sup>23</sup> Note: Based on data found in: Ryan Allen, Barry Bluestone, Bonnie Heudorfer, and Gretchen Weismann, *The New Paradigm for Housing in Greater Boston* (Center for Urban and Regional Policy, Northeastern University, October 2002) and on conversation with Bluestone.

<sup>24</sup> The cities were selected to represent a cross-section of types of cities and suburbs in the region based on size, location, wealth, and growth trends, including all six types described in the *Boston Metropatterns* report.

<sup>25</sup> Barry Bluestone, Charles C. Euchner, and Gretchen Weismann, *The New Paradigm for Housing in Greater Boston* (Center for Urban and Regional Policy, Northeastern University, February 2001) p. ii.

<sup>26</sup> Maureen Kennedy and Paul Leonard, "Dealing with Neighborhood Change: A Primer on Gentrification and Policy Choices." Brookings Institution Center on Urban and Metropolitan Policy and PolicyLink, April 2001 Discussion Paper.

<sup>27</sup> Charles C. Euchner, *Governing Greater Boston: The Politics and Policy of Place* (The Rappaport Institute for Greater Boston, 2002) p. 21.

<sup>28</sup> Michael Stone has formulated a sliding scale known as shelter poverty that recognizes lower income families cannot realistically afford 30 percent of their incomes for housing without compromising other needs. It uses a conservative

minimum standard of adequacy for non-housing necessities, scaled for differences in household and type, similar to the federal poverty standard. Michael E. Stone, Elaine Werby. Donna Haig Friedman, *Situation Critical. Report 2000: Meeting of the Housing Needs of the Low-Income Massachusetts Residents* (Center for Social Policy, McCormack Institute, University of Massachusetts Boston, 2000).

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>30</sup> 2000 United States Census, SF3, analysis by PolicyLink, previously unpublished.

<sup>31</sup> Barry Bluestone and Mary Huff Stevenson, *The Boston Renaissance* (Russell Sage Foundation, 2000) p. 27.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.* p. 28.

<sup>33</sup> Daniel R. Faber, Penn Loh, and James Jennings, *Solving Environmental Injustice in Massachusetts: Forging Greater Community Participation in the Planning Process* (MIT Journal of Planning, March 2002) p. 2.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.* p. 6.

<sup>35</sup> 2000 U.S. Census, SF3, analysis by PolicyLink, not previously published. High poverty tracts include all those in the CMSA with 30% or more of the families living below the federal poverty line. Across the country, Greater Boston's proportion of workers in high poverty tracts who use public transit was exceeded only by the proportions in four metropolitan areas: Chicago, Philadelphia, New York, and Washington, D.C.

<sup>36</sup> Charles C. Euchner, *Governing Greater Boston: The Politics and Policy of Place* (The Rappaport Institute for Greater Boston, 2002) p. 116.

<sup>37</sup> This conclusion was extrapolated from several sources, including interviews with Barry Bluestone, Danny Faber, and Penn Loh.

<sup>38</sup> On the Move: Greater Boston Transportation Justice Coalition, *Alternative Addendum to the 2000-2025 Boston Region MPO Transportation Plan Update* (September 2002) p. 9.

<sup>39</sup> Charles C. Euchner, *Governing Greater Boston: The Politics and Policy of Place* (The Rappaport Institute for Greater Boston, 2002) p. 124.

<sup>40</sup> Sum et al, *The Road Ahead: Emerging Threats to Workers, Families and the Massachusetts Economy* (Massachusetts Institute for a New Commonwealth, 1998) p. 20.

<sup>41</sup> Jeff McLynch and James R. St. George, *The State of Working Massachusetts 2002: As Good As It Gets?* (Massachusetts Budget and Policy Center, September 2002) p. 1.

<sup>42</sup> Metropolitan Area Planning Council, *A Decade of Change: Growth Trends in the Greater Boston Area-1990-2000* (2001) pp. 43, 44.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.* p. 40.

<sup>44</sup> Wages at the 80<sup>th</sup> percentile grew 13.3 percent (from \$22.08 to \$25.02/hr) while wages at the 50<sup>th</sup> percentile grew 5.7 percent (from \$13.97 to \$14.77). Jeff McLynch and James R. St. George, *The State of Working Massachusetts 2002: As Good As It Gets?* (Massachusetts Budget and Policy Center, September 2002) p. 2.

<sup>45</sup> U.S. Department of Transportation, Bureau of Transportation Statistics, *Welfare Reform and Access to Jobs in Boston* (January 1998) p. 5.

<sup>46</sup> 2000 U.S. Census, SF3, analysis by PolicyLink, not previously published. The only CMSAs that had higher rates of educational attainments than Boston were Washington, D.C. (31.7%), Denver (31.8%) and, San Francisco (32.4%).

<sup>47</sup> New Skills for a New Economy: Adult Education's Key Role in Sustaining Economic Growth and Expanding Opportunity (Massachusetts Institute for a New Commonwealth, December 2000) p. viii.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.* p. vii.

<sup>49</sup> Massachusetts Institute for a New Economy commenting on the State's Adult Basic Education system.

<sup>50</sup> Ross Rudnick, Dara Menashi, and Frank Steinfield, *The 495 Region: Building an Identity* (MAPC and Massachusetts TECHNOLOGY Collaborative) p. 4.

<sup>51</sup> Several researchers interviewed agreed that this phenomenon was a subject that needed further study with quantifiable data.

<sup>52</sup> Charles C. Euchner, *Governing Greater Boston: The Politics and Policy of Place* (The Rappaport Institute for Greater Boston, 2002) p. 20 & 21.

<sup>53</sup> Myron Orfield, Thomas Luce, Benjamin Oleson, and Joshua Sevin, *Boston Metropatterns: A Regional Agenda for Community and Stability in Greater Boston* (Metropolitan Area Research Corporation and Citizens' Housing and Planning Association, October 2001) p. 1.

<sup>54</sup> Commonwealth of Massachusetts' Executive Office for Administration and Finance, *Bringing Down the Barriers: Changing Housing Supply Dynamics in Massachusetts* (October 2000) p. iii.

<sup>55</sup> Ryan Allen, Barry Bluestone, Bonnie Heudorfer, and Gretchen Weismann, *The Greater Boston Housing Report Card 2002* (Center for Urban and Regional Policy, Northeastern University, and the Citizens' Housing and Planning Association, October 2002) p. 28.

<sup>56</sup> Barry Bluestone, Charles C. Euchner, and Gretchen Weisman, *The New Paradigm for Housing in Greater Boston* (The Center for Urban and Regional Policy, Northeastern University, February 2001) p. 42.

<sup>57</sup> Ryan Allen, Barry Bluestone, Bonnie Heudorfer, and Gretchen Weismann, *The Greater Boston Housing Report Card 2002* (Center for Urban and Regional Policy, Northeastern University, and the Citizens' Housing and Planning Association, October 2002) p. 6. At the time of publication, there was concern amongst advocates about proposals to create regional responsibility for 40B housing goals. It was thought that this might lead to jurisdictions averse to producing affordable housing avoiding responsibility by compensating communities that already bear a significant degree of affordable housing to deepen their commitment.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>59</sup> Charles C. Euchner, *Governing Greater Boston: The Politics and Policy of Place* (The Rappaport Institute for Greater Boston, 2002) p. 145.

<sup>60</sup> Ryan Allen, Barry Bluestone, Bonnie Heudorfer, and Gretchen Weismann, *The Greater Boston Housing Report Card 2002* (Center for Urban and Regional Policy, Northeastern University, and the Citizens' Housing and Planning Association, October 2002) p. 21.

<sup>61</sup> Daniel R. Faber, Penn Loh, and James Jennings, *Solving Environmental Injustice in Massachusetts: Forging Greater*



*Community Participation in the Planning Process (MIT Journal of Planning, March 2002)* p. 7.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.* p. 5.

<sup>63</sup> Charles C. Euchner, *Governing Greater Boston: The Politics and Policy of Place (The Rappaport Institute for Greater Boston, 2002)* p. 74.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.* p. 100.

<sup>65</sup> Commonwealth of Massachusetts' Executive Office of Environmental Affairs, *The State of Our Environment (April, 2000)* p. 26.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.* p. 24.

<sup>67</sup> Conservation Law Foundation, *City Routes, City Rights: Building Livable Neighborhoods and Environmental Justice by Fixing Transportation (June 1998)* p. 20.

<sup>68</sup> Charles C. Euchner, *Governing Greater Boston: The Politics and Policy of Place (The Rappaport Institute for Greater Boston, 2002)* p. 118.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>71</sup> Greater Boston Transportation Justice Coalition, *On the Move: Platform for Just Transportation and Livable Communities* p. 5.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>73</sup> Barry Bluestone and Mary Huff Stevenson, *The Boston Renaissance (Russell Sage Foundation, 2000)* p. 350.

<sup>74</sup> Commonwealth of Massachusetts' Executive Office of Environmental Affairs, *The State of Our Environment (April 2000)* p. 28.

<sup>75</sup> U.S. Department of Transportation, Bureau of Transportation Statistics, *Welfare Reform and Access to Jobs in Boston (January 1998)* p. 8.

<sup>76</sup> Barry Bluestone and Mary Huff Stevenson, *The Boston Renaissance (Russell Sage Foundation 2000)* p. 350.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>79</sup> Washington Street Corridor Coalition.

<sup>80</sup> Although Silver Line buses are 40% cleaner than regular diesel buses, they pollute more than light rail. Service quality and dependability does not match subway and commuter rail service. Average bus on-time performance rate is 61 % while for the subway it is 90%.

<sup>81</sup> MBTA promotional material.

<sup>82</sup> The Massachusetts AFL-CIO position paper on the Act to Promote Fiscal Accountability in Economic Development, January 2003.

<sup>83</sup> The current proposal is that for every 2 units under rent control, 1 could be exempted, and for complexes with 11 units or more the exemption would drop to a market rate unit for every 3 units.

<sup>84</sup> One proposal is that jurisdictions that don't meet the 10% affordable housing required by 40B should be required to develop plans to do so and be prevented from spending more than 10% of CPA funds on open space.

<sup>85</sup> "Zoning for Housing Affordability," Phillip B. Herr & Associates, prepared for the Massachusetts Housing Partnership Fund, Boston, 2000.

<sup>86</sup> Inclusionary Zoning: Lessons Learned in Massachusetts, " National Housing Conference, 2001, page 1.

<sup>87</sup> The Archdiocese of Boston's Plan for Affordable Housing in 2001 set a goal of 7,500 units annually for university housing production.

<sup>88</sup> During the 1990s, the Massachusetts state government has abandoned, delayed, or reconsidered nearly every transit project that has been on the drawing board for the Boston urban core. The 1997 transportation plan for the Boston area identified four major new transportation projects of "regional importance"—all of them urban core transit projects—but said that no funding is available for any of them. Meanwhile, the state set aside \$550 million for the Massachusetts Highway Department to build at least 13 major highway expansion projects on the Boston area's suburban fringe, and \$845.3 million more for the Massachusetts Bay Transportation Authority to build major commuter rail projects in the same area, between 1997 and 2010. [http://www.clf.org/pubs/city\\_routes\\_intro.htm](http://www.clf.org/pubs/city_routes_intro.htm).

<sup>89</sup> *Addendum to the 2002-2025 Boston Regional MPO Transportation Plan Update, Revised Draft: August 21, 2002.*

<sup>90</sup> Alternatives for Community and Environment.

<sup>91</sup> In June 2001 MBTA released an environmental proposal presenting Urban Ring options. Phase 1-enhanced bus service along ring, \$100 million in capital, \$23 million in annual operating cost. Phase 2-introduce Bus Rapid Transit, \$500 million in capital, and \$31 million in annual operating. Phase 3-introduce light rail, or heavy rail transit segments, \$2.3 billion in capital, total annual operating cost \$56 million per year. Ridership estimates range from 40,000 riders per day for Phase I to 290,000 riders per day Phase 3. *Governing Greater Boston*, p 122. <http://www.clf.org/advocacy/urban.htm>.

<sup>92</sup> Most families at the time of the eminent domain were offered \$8,000 for their brownstone. Those who fought the taking in court got \$18,000. There was no third-party appraisal. An independent expert opinion offered from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology Department of Urban Studies and Planning estimates the offer may have been one-third of market value. Interview with Douglass Ling.

<sup>93</sup> PolicyLink with The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, *Voices for Change (PolicyLink 2003)* p. 15.

# Appendices

## Appendix A. 2002 Community Preservation Act Spending

City	Recreation	Open Space	Historic Preservation	Affordable Housing	2002 Total Spending	2003 Total Proposed Spending
Amherst	...	\$20,000	...	\$130,000	\$150,000	\$415,000.00
Aquinnah	...	...	...	\$35,000	\$35,000	...
Bedford	\$85,000	\$150,000	\$2,750,000	\$400,000	\$3,385,000	\$125,000.00
Boxford	...	\$3,000,000	...	...	\$3,000,000	...
Cambridge	...	...	...	\$8,000,000	\$8,000,000	\$8,000,000.00
Braintree	...	...	...	...	\$0	\$769,000.00
Chatham	...	...	...	...	\$0	\$1,158,000.00
Chelmsford	...	...	\$20,000	\$120,000	\$140,000	...
Chelmsford	...	...	...	...	\$0	...
Chilmark	...	...	...	\$156,000	\$156,000	...
Cohasset	\$100,000	\$10,000	\$155,000	...	\$265,000	\$425,000.00
Dartmouth	...	...	...	...	\$0	\$200,000.00
Dracut	...	\$960,000	...	...	\$960,000	...
Duxbury	\$125,000	\$1,427,000	\$85,648	\$373,300	\$2,210,948	...
Hampden	...	\$100,000	\$5,000	...	\$105,000	...
Hingham	...	...	...	...	\$0	\$133,713.00
Holliston	...	...	...	\$2,500	\$2,500	...
Hopkinton	...	\$2,000,000	...	\$100,000	\$2,100,000	...
Marshfield	\$40,000	...	\$212,000	...	\$252,000	...
Medway	\$16,800	...	\$30,000	...	\$46,800	...
Nantucket	...	...	...	\$447,800	\$447,800	\$175,000.00
Newton	...	...	...	...	\$0	\$1,050,000.00
North Andover	...	\$2,400,000	...	...	\$2,400,000	...
Peabody	...	\$111,250	...	...	\$111,250	\$62,000.00
Rowley	...	\$1,000,000	...	...	\$1,000,000	...
Scituate	...	...	...	...	\$0	\$1,101,800.00
Southampton	...	...	...	...	\$0	\$200,000.00
Sudbury	...	...	...	...	\$0	\$801,600.00
Tynsborough	...	...	...	...	\$0	\$395,160.00
Wayland	...	...	...	...	\$0	\$130,000.00
Westford	...	...	\$100,000	\$325,000	\$425,000	...
Weston	...	\$3,500,000	\$245,000	...	\$3,745,000	\$200,000.00
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$366,800</b>	<b>\$14,678,250</b>	<b>\$3,602,648</b>	<b>\$10,289,600</b>	<b>\$28,937,298</b>	<b>\$15,341,273.00</b>
<b>Percent</b>	<b>1.27%</b>	<b>50.72%</b>	<b>12.45%</b>	<b>35.56%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>-</b>

Source: Trust for Public Land

## Appendix B. REMI Analysis for Boston and Selected CMSAs

CMSA	Total Population	% Nonhispanic				% Foreign Born	% Workers taking public transit	% CC empl res working in suburbs	% CC empl res working outside region
		White	Black	Hispanic or Latino	Black				
<b>BOSTON</b>									
Population in High Poverty Tracts	248,557	41.89	17.20	26.84	25.60	24.94	19.72	14.30	
Population in Region	5,805,543	82.51	4.70	6.14	12.41	9.05	22.78	19.08	
<b>Ratio (High Poverty Tracts/Region)</b>		<b>0.51</b>	<b>3.66</b>	<b>4.37</b>	<b>2.06</b>	<b>2.76</b>	<b>0.87</b>	<b>0.75</b>	
<b>DALLAS</b>									
Population in High Poverty Tracts	230,088	13.90	43.91	38.24	25.74	8.40	21.47	6.76	
Population in Region	5,221,801	59.31	13.51	21.44	15.03	1.81	22.04	10.55	
<b>Ratio (High Poverty Tracts/Region)</b>		<b>0.23</b>	<b>3.25</b>	<b>1.78</b>	<b>1.71</b>	<b>4.64</b>	<b>0.97</b>	<b>0.64</b>	
<b>DETROIT</b>									
Population in High Poverty Tracts	549,125	18.97	68.94	5.87	7.91	10.79	38.66	4.17	
Population in Region	5,455,409	71.54	20.82	2.86	7.04	1.82	41.36	5.11	
<b>Ratio (High Poverty Tracts/Region)</b>		<b>0.27</b>	<b>3.31</b>	<b>2.06</b>	<b>1.12</b>	<b>5.93</b>	<b>0.93</b>	<b>0.82</b>	
<b>HOUSTON</b>									
Population in High Poverty Tracts	388,088	8.28	40.65	47.51	29.64	11.35	13.25	2.46	
Population in Region	4,667,398	47.90	16.63	28.91	19.19	3.28	16.43	3.14	
<b>Ratio (High Poverty Tracts/Region)</b>		<b>0.17</b>	<b>2.44</b>	<b>1.64</b>	<b>1.54</b>	<b>3.46</b>	<b>0.81</b>	<b>0.78</b>	
<b>MIAMI</b>									
Population in High Poverty Tracts	401,862	8.08	50.27	37.18	38.33	13.35	42.30	7.81	
Population in Region	3,876,380	36.29	19.25	40.33	40.20	3.90	40.88	8.05	
<b>Ratio (High Poverty Tracts/Region)</b>		<b>0.22</b>	<b>2.61</b>	<b>0.92</b>	<b>0.95</b>	<b>3.42</b>	<b>1.03</b>	<b>0.97</b>	
<b>PHILADELPHIA</b>									
Population in High Poverty Tracts	623,355	18.33	55.85	19.11	7.93	30.89	23.52	3.12	
Population in Region	6,185,126	70.43	19.04	5.59	7.02	8.74	23.49	4.34	
<b>Ratio (High Poverty Tracts/Region)</b>		<b>0.26</b>	<b>2.93</b>	<b>3.42</b>	<b>1.13</b>	<b>3.54</b>	<b>1.00</b>	<b>0.72</b>	
<b>SAN FRANCISCO</b>									
Population in High Poverty Tracts	127,030	19.82	32.39	21.88	30.08	23.11	18.49	18.95	
Population in Region	7,036,002	50.44	6.95	19.67	27.04	9.48	18.41	16.45	
<b>Ratio (High Poverty Tracts/Region)</b>		<b>0.39</b>	<b>4.66</b>	<b>1.11</b>	<b>1.11</b>	<b>2.44</b>	<b>1.00</b>	<b>1.15</b>	
<b>WASHINGTON DC</b>									
Population in High Poverty Tracts	328,732	17.60	75.22	3.11	5.01	30.87	26.08	3.14	
Population in Region	7,591,848	60.17	25.69	6.37	12.92	9.43	28.93	4.08	
<b>Ratio (High Poverty Tracts/Region)</b>		<b>0.29</b>	<b>2.93</b>	<b>0.49</b>	<b>0.39</b>	<b>3.27</b>	<b>0.90</b>	<b>0.77</b>	

Data: US Census 2000, Summary File 3, PolicyLink Analysis



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**PolicyLink National Office:**

101 Broadway  
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1350 Broadway, Suite 1901  
New York, NY 10018  
Tel: 212/629-9570 Fax: 212/629-7328

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