



Cannabis Control Commission Public Meeting

In Person and Remote via Teams



Meeting Book - Cannabis Control Commission Public Meeting

Table of Contents

Call to Order & Commissioners' Comments/Updates

10152025 Meeting Agenda.docx

Staff Recommendations on Renewals

F-ME-RENXS-OCTOBER 15 2025.v2.docx

F-MTC-RENXS-OCTOBER 15 2025.v2.docx

Staff Recommendation on Provisional Licenses

F-PLXS.-MASS CANNSIT, LLC (MBN281886)-v.2.docx

F-PLXS-EQUALITREE, LLC (MPN282363)v.2.docx

Commission Discussion & Votes

2025 Annual Report (Final).pdf

20210310_DI_Study_Report.pdf

20251014- Memorandum on Previous Discussions on DIA Study.pdf

Report-on-Identifying-Disproportionately-Impacted-Areas-by-Cannabis-and-Drug-Prohibition.pdf

Next Meeting Date & Adjournment

20251015 PPT.pptx

October 10, 2025

In accordance with Sections 18-25 of Chapter 30A of the Massachusetts General Laws and Chapter 2 of the Acts of 2025, notice is hereby given of a meeting of the Cannabis Control Commission. The meeting will take place as noted below.

CANNABIS CONTROL COMMISSION

October 15, 2025
1:30 PM

In-Person and Remote via [Microsoft Teams Live](#)*

PUBLIC MEETING AGENDA

- I. Call to Order
- II. Commissioners' Comments & Updates
- III. Staff Recommendations on License Renewals
 - 1. 140 Industrial Road, LLC (#MCR140854)
 - 2. 4bros Inc (#MRR207344)
 - 3. ACK Natural, LLC (#MRR207272)
 - 4. Alternative Compassion Services, Inc. (#MRR207317)
 - 5. Alternative Therapies Group II, Inc. (#MRR207316)
 - 6. Apotho Therapeutics Plainville, LLC (#MRR206963)
 - 7. Blue Collar Botany Corp (#MCR140841)
 - 8. Buudda Brothers LLC (#MRR207300)
 - 9. Dreamfields Massachusetts One, Inc. (#MPR244358)
 - 10. Dris Corporation (#MDR272572)
 - 11. Emerald Grove, Inc. (#MRR207292)
 - 12. Euphorium LLC (#MRR207037)
 - 13. Evergreen Strategies, LLC (#MRR207232)
 - 14. FitzCanna, Inc (#MPR244344)
 - 15. FitzCanna, Inc (#MXR126680)
 - 16. Four Daughters Compassionate Care, Inc. (#MCR140958)
 - 17. Gibby's Garden LLC (#MBR169341)
 - 18. Green Meadows Farm, LLC (#MRR206828)
 - 19. GreenStar Herbals, Inc. (#MRR207242)
 - 20. GTE Franklin LLC (#MRR207319)



21. Infused Element, LLC (#MPR244269)
22. KCCS, LLC (#MRR207326)
23. Leaf Relief, Inc. (#MRR207342)
24. Lowell Cannabis Company (#MRR207347)
25. M2B Home Delivery, Inc. (#MDR272595)
26. Mainely Productions LLC (#MPR244115)
27. Mainely Productions LLC (#MCR140965)
28. Motah 420 LLC (#MDR272596)
29. New Green LLC (#MRR207343)
30. Royal Sun Farm LLC (#MCR140742)
31. Royal Sun Farm LLC (#MCR140964)
32. Silver Therapeutics of Palmer, Inc. (#MRR207312)
33. Simply Lifted, INC (#MBR169351)
34. Stafford Green, Inc. (#MCR140953)
35. Stone's Throw Cannabis LLC (#MRR207363)
36. SUGARLOAF MAYNARD, LLC (#MRR207338)
37. SunnyDayz Inc. (#MRR207371)
38. TDMA LLC (#MRR207056)
39. Teddy's Veggie Farm LLC (#MCR140691)
40. Temescal Wellness of Massachusetts, LLC (#MRR207362)
41. Temescal Wellness of Massachusetts, LLC (#MRR207356)
42. Temescal Wellness of Massachusetts, LLC (#MPR244359)
43. The Green Lady Dispensary, Inc. (#MCR140858)
44. The Healing Center LLC (#MRR207321)
45. The Holistic Concepts, Inc (#MRR207320)
46. ToroVerde (Massachusetts) II, Inc. (#MRR207308)
47. ToroVerde (Massachusetts), Inc. (#MRR207301)
48. Tower Three, LLC (#MPR244349)
49. Top Shelf Cannaseurs LLC (#MPR244351)
50. Berkshire Roots, Inc. (#RMD505)

IV. Staff Recommendations on Provisional Licenses

1. Mass Cannsit, LLC (#MBN281886), Marijuana Microbusiness
2. Equalitree, LLC (#MPN282363), Marijuana Product Manufacturer

V. Commission Discussion and Votes

1. Eighth Annual Activities Report (*Vote*)
2. General Matters Legal Billing
3. Red Tape Removal Discussion and Committee Formation (*Vote*)
 - i. Responsible Vendor Training Cadence



4. Intervention Protocol Discussion (*Vote*)

5. Disproportionately Impacted Areas Map for Social Equity: Adoption of UMDI Report (March 2021) (*Vote*)

VI. Executive Session

Closed executive session under G. L. c. 30A, § 21(a)(3) to discuss strategy with respect to collective bargaining or litigation because the open meeting may have a detrimental effect on the bargaining or litigating position of the public body.

VII. New Business Not Anticipated at the Time of Posting

VIII. Next Meeting Date

IX. Adjournment

*Closed captioning available

If you need reasonable accommodations in order to participate in the meeting, contact the ADA Coordinator Debra Hilton-Creek in advance of the meeting. While the Commission will do its best to accommodate you, certain accommodations may not be available if requested immediately before the meeting.







MARIJUANA ESTABLISHMENT RENEWALS

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

COMMISSION MEETING: OCTOBER 15, 2025

RENEWAL OVERVIEW

1. Name, license number, renewal application number and host community for each Marijuana Establishment presented for renewal:





7	Blue Collar Botany Corp	MC281751	MCR140841	Fitchburg	CO
8	Buudda Brothers LLC	MR282225	MRR207300	Holyoke	CO
9	Dreamfields Massachusetts One, Inc.	MP282054	MPR244358	Tyngsborough	CO
10	Dris Corporation	MD1321	MDR272572	Natick	CO
11	Emerald Grove, Inc.	MR282808	MRR207292	Eastham	CO
12	Euphorium LLC	MR284560	MRR207037	Holyoke	CO
13	Evergreen Strategies, LLC	MR281834	MRR207232	Worcester	CO
14	FitzCanna, Inc	MP282212	MPR244344	Clinton	PL
15	FitzCanna, Inc	MX281413	MXR126680	Clinton	PL
16	Four Daughters Compassionate Care, Inc.	MC282243	MCR140958	Sharon	CO
17	Gibby's Garden LLC	MB281347	MBR169341	Uxbridge	CO
18	Green Meadows Farm, LLC	MR282316	MRR206828	Southbridge	CO
19	GreenStar Herbals, Inc.	MR282207	MRR207242	Maynard	CO
20	GTE Franklin LLC	MR282766	MRR207319	Franklin	CO
21	Infused Element, LLC	MP282201	MPR244269	Holyoke	EXP
22	KCCS, LLC	MR283970	MRR207326	Northampton	CO
23	Leaf Relief, Inc.	MR283784	MRR207342	Brockton	CO
24	Lowell Cannabis Company	MR283351	MRR207347	Lowell	CO
25	M2B Home Delivery, Inc.	MD1326	MDR272595	Greenfield	EXP
26	Mainely Productions LLC	MP281751	MPR244115	Uxbridge	EXP
27	Mainely Productions LLC	MC281899	MCR140965	Uxbridge	CO
28	Motah 420 LLC	MD1327	MDR272596	Adams	PL
29	New Green LLC	MR282969	MRR207343	Egremont	CO
30	Royal Sun Farm LLC	MC282001	MCR140742	Hubbardston	CO
31	Royal Sun Farm LLC	MC281430	MCR140964	Royalston	PL
32	Silver Therapeutics of Palmer, Inc.	MR284328	MRR207312	Palmer	CO
33	Simply Lifted, INC	MB282399	MBR169351	Middleborough	EXP
34	Stafford Green, Inc.	MC281964	MCR140953	Cheshire	CO
35	Stone's Throw Cannabis LLC	MR284843	MRR207363	Boston	CO
36	SUGARLOAF MAYNARD, LLC	MR284213	MRR207338	Maynard	PL
37	SunnyDayz Inc.	MR284636	MRR207371	Deerfield	PL
38	TDMA LLC	MR282376	MRR207056	Worcester	CO
39	Teddy's Veggie Farm LLC	MC282350	MCR140691	Worcester	EXP
40	Temescal Wellness of Massachusetts, LLC	MR281309	MRR207362	Hudson	CO
41	Temescal Wellness of Massachusetts, LLC	MR281588	MRR207356	Pittsfield	CO
42	Temescal Wellness of Massachusetts, LLC	MP281402	MPR244359	Worcester	CO



43	The Green Lady Dispensary, Inc.	MC281443	MCR140858	Nantucket	CO
44	The Healing Center LLC	MR283193	MRR207321	Fitchburg	CO
45	The Holistic Concepts, Inc	MR283012	MRR207320	Brockton	CO
46	ToroVerde (Massachusetts) II, Inc.	MR282320	MRR207308	Greenfield	CO
47	ToroVerde (Massachusetts), Inc.	MR282601	MRR207301	Northampton	CO
48	Tower Three, LLC	MP281783	MPR244349	Taunton	PL
49	Top Shelf Cannaseurs LLC	MP281435	MPR244351	Uxbridge	EXP

2. All licensees have submitted renewal applications pursuant to 935 CMR 500.103(4) which include the licensee's disclosure of their progress or success towards their Positive Impact and Diversity Plans.
3. All licensees have submitted documentation of good standing from the Secretary of the Commonwealth, Department of Revenue, and Department of Unemployment Assistance, if applicable.
4. All licensees provided a compliant HCA or HCA Waiver, that was accepted by Commission staff pursuant to 935 CMR 500.180(3).
5. All licensees have paid the appropriate annual license fee.
6. The licensees, when applicable, have been inspected during the current renewal period.
7. Commission staff certify that, to the best of our knowledge, no information has been found that would prevent renewal of the licenses mentioned above pursuant to 935 CMR 500.450.

RENEWAL CONDITIONS

Commission staff has reviewed the application for compliance with applicable laws and regulations and are presenting it for the Commission's review and vote.



MEDICAL MARIJUANA TREATMENT CENTER RENEWALS

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

COMMISSION MEETING: OCTOBER 15, 2025

RENEWAL OVERVIEW

1. Name, license number, host community, for each Medical Marijuana Treatment Center presented for renewal:

	Licensee Name	License Number	Host Community (Cultivation)	Host Community (Dispensing)	License Status
50	Berkshire Roots, Inc.	RMD505	Pittsfield	Pittsfield	CO

2. All licensees have submitted renewal applications pursuant to 935 CMR 501.100(5).
3. All licensees have paid the appropriate annual license fee.
4. All licensees provided a compliant HCA or HCA Waiver, that was accepted by Commission staff pursuant to 935 CMR 501.180(3).
5. The licensees, when applicable, have been inspected during the current renewal period.
6. Commission staff certify that, to the best of our knowledge, no information has been found that would prevent renewal of the licenses mentioned above pursuant to 935 CMR 501.405.

RENEWAL CONDITIONS

Commission staff has reviewed the application for compliance with applicable laws and regulations and are presenting it for the Commission's review and vote.



Mass Cannsit, LLC
MBN281886

APPLICATION OF INTENT REVIEW

1. Name, address, and license type(s) sought of the proposed License Applicant:

License Applicant Business Name:	Mass Cannsit, LLC
Proposed Location:	88 Huntoon Memorial Parkway, Unit B, Leicester, MA 01542

2. Type of final license sought (if cultivation, its tier level and outside/inside operation):

License Type(s) Sought:
Marijuana Microbusiness (Product Manufacturing Only)

3. The license applicant is associated with the following license type(s):

The license applicant is not associated with any other license applications or licenses.

4. List of all required individuals and their roles:

Individual	Role
Alex Furlong	Person Having Direct/Indirect Control / Capital Contributor

5. List of all required entities and their roles:

No other entity appears to have ownership or control over this license applicant business.

6. License Applicant's Status:

Expedited Applicant (License Type)

7. The license applicant and host community executed a Host Community Agreement ("HCA") on January 21, 2025. The license applicant submitted or resubmitted their application on or after March 1, 2024 and provided a compliant HCA that was certified by Commission staff pursuant to 935 CMR 500.180(3) and/or comparable medical regulations.



8. The Commission sent a municipal notice with a copy of the application to the host community on July 31, 2025. The Commission did not receive a response within 60 days pursuant to 935 CMR 500.102(1)(d).
9. The license applicant proposed the following goals for its Positive Impact Plan:

#	Goal
1	The license applicant proposes to hire 33% of individuals from the following Commission identified Areas of Disproportionate Impact: Monson, Randolph, and census tracts of Boston and 50% [Economic Empowerment Priority Applicants, Social Equity Participants, MA Residents with Past Drug Convictions, and/or MA Residents with Parents or Spouses with Past Drug Convictions.

BACKGROUND CHECK REVIEW

10. There were no disclosures of any past civil or criminal actions, occupational license issues, or marijuana-related business interests in other jurisdictions.
11. There were no concerns arising from background checks on the individuals or entities associated with the application.

MANAGEMENT AND OPERATIONS PROFILE REVIEW

12. The license applicant submitted all required summaries of plans, policies, and procedures for the operation of the proposed establishment. The summaries were determined to be substantially compliant with the Commission's regulations.
13. The license applicant proposed the following goals for its Diversity Plan:

#	Goal
1	The license applicant proposes to hire the following: 7% Women, 7% People of color, particularly Black, African American, Hispanic, Latinx, and Indigenous peoples, 7% Veterans, 7% Persons with Disabilities, and 7% LGBTQ+ People.
2	The license applicant proposes to contract with 33% diverse businesses for the purchase of wholesale marijuana product and the provision of other services required for the operation and maintenance of the Company's marijuana establishment be majority-owned or managed by women, people of color (particularly Black, African American, Hispanic, Latinx, and Indigenous people), veterans, persons with disabilities, and individuals who identify as LGBTQ+.

PROVISIONAL LICENSE CONDITIONS



Commission staff has reviewed the application for compliance with applicable laws and regulations and are presenting it for the Commission's review and vote.

1. Provisional licensure is subject to the payment of the appropriate license fee within 90 days of an affirmative vote of the Commission pursuant to 935 CMR 500.103(1)(e) and 935 CMR 501.103(1)(d)
2. Provisional licensure does not allow the license holder to cultivate, manufacture, or possess marijuana and/or marijuana infused products (MIPs) prior to being approved for a final license.



Equalitree, LLC
MPN282363

APPLICATION OF INTENT REVIEW

1. Name, address, and license type(s) sought of the proposed License Applicant:

License Applicant Business Name:	Equalitree, LLC
Proposed Location:	12 Baltic Lane, Fitchburg, MA 01420

2. Type of final license sought (if cultivation, its tier level and outside/inside operation):

License Type(s) Sought:
Marijuana Product Manufacturer

3. The license applicant is associated with the following license type(s):

The license applicant is not associated with any other license applications or licenses.

4. List of all required individuals and their roles:

Individual	Role
Flavia Hungaro	Person Having Direct/Indirect Control / Capital Contributor

5. List of all required entities and their roles:

No other entity appears to have ownership or control over this license applicant business.

6. License Applicant's Status:

Expedited Applicant (Social Equity Program Participant/Woman-Owned Business
Flavia Hungaro / 100% Ownership / SE304245)

7. The license applicant and host community executed a Host Community Agreement ("HCA") on March 18, 2025. The license applicant submitted or resubmitted their application on or after March 1, 2024 and provided a compliant HCA that was certified by Commission staff pursuant to 935 CMR 500.180(3) and/or comparable medical regulations.



8. The Commission sent a municipal notice with a copy of the application to the host community on August 29, 2025. The Commission did not receive a response within 30 days pursuant to 935 CMR 500.102(1)(d)(2).
9. The license applicant proposed the following goals for its Positive Impact Plan:

#	Goal
1	The license applicant proposes to hire 25% of individuals from the following Commission identified Areas of Disproportionate Impact: Fitchburg, MA Residents with Past Drug Convictions, and/or MA Residents with Parents or Spouses with Past Drug Convictions].
2	The license applicant proposed to provide industry specific mentoring, professional and technical services for any of the Impact Groups by providing a minimum of one (1) training session (10-20 people per class), annually.

BACKGROUND CHECK REVIEW

10. There were no disclosures of any past civil or criminal actions, occupational license issues, or marijuana-related business interests in other jurisdictions.
11. There were no concerns arising from background checks on the individuals or entities associated with the application.

MANAGEMENT AND OPERATIONS PROFILE REVIEW

12. The license applicant submitted all required summaries of plans, policies, and procedures for the operation of the proposed establishment. The summaries were determined to be substantially compliant with the Commission's regulations.
13. The license applicant proposed the following goals for its Diversity Plan:

#	Goal
1	The license applicant proposes to hire the following: 60% Women, 50% People of color, particularly Black, African American, Hispanic, Latinx, and Indigenous peoples, 30% Veterans, 10% Persons with Disabilities, and 10% LGBTQ+ People.
2	The license applicant proposed to hire at least 25% among people of color, women, veterans, persons with disabilities and LGBTQ+ individuals to be in management and executive positions and provide essential tools and training to ensure their success in these positions.

PROVISIONAL LICENSE CONDITIONS

Commission staff has reviewed the application for compliance with applicable laws and regulations and are presenting it for the Commission's review and vote.



1. Provisional licensure is subject to the payment of the appropriate license fee within 90 days of an affirmative vote of the Commission pursuant to 935 CMR 500.103(1)(e) and 935 CMR 501.103(1)(d)
2. Provisional licensure does not allow the license holder to cultivate, manufacture, or possess marijuana and/or marijuana infused products (MIPs) prior to being approved for a final license.





Annual Report

FY2025



TABLE OF CONTENTS

MISSION STATEMENT	1
COMMISSIONERS AND EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR	2
FY25 BY THE NUMBERS	3
INTRODUCTION	5
IMPLEMENTATION OF ADULT- AND MEDICAL-USE MARIJUANA PROGRAMS	7
Purpose	7
Executing the Commission's Mission	7
Revenue	8
Finance	9
Personnel	10
Ongoing Regulatory Work	11
Agents	13
Medical Use of Marijuana Program	15
Licensing	16
Enforcement	19
Equity Programming and Community Outreach	22
Constituent Services	26
Communications	28
Government Affairs and Policy	31
Legal	33
Research	35
CONCLUSION	38



MISSION STATEMENT

The mission of the Cannabis Control Commission is to honor the will of the voters of Massachusetts by safely, equitably and effectively implementing and administering the laws enabling access to medical and adult-use marijuana in the Commonwealth.

The Commission will foster the creation of a safely regulated industry that will create entrepreneurial and employment opportunities and incremental tax revenues in and to communities across the state and which will be a best practice model for other states. The industry will be characterized by participation by small and larger participants and with full and robust participation by minorities, women and veterans. We will develop policies and procedures to encourage and enable full participation in the marijuana industry by people from communities that have previously been disproportionately harmed by marijuana prohibition and enforcement and positively impact those communities.

COMMISSIONERS AND EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR



Bruce Stebbins (Acting Chair)
September 2020 – Current
Joint Appointment – Governor, Attorney General, Treasurer Regulated Industry



Nurys Camargo
January 2021 – May 2025
Joint Appointment – Governor, Attorney General, Treasurer Social Justice



Ava Callender Concepcion
January 2021 – Current
Appointed by the Attorney General Public Safety



Kimberly Roy
July 2021 – Current
Appointed by the Governor Public Health



Travis Ahern
March 2025 – Current
Executive Director

FY25 BY THE NUMBERS



\$265M

Sales and Excise Tax



\$20M

Non-Tax Revenue



46

Public Meetings



814

Compliant Host
Community Agreements



1,404

On-Site
Inspections



30,000

Constituent
Phone Calls

The Industry to Date



\$8B

Gross Cannabis
Sales



93

Operational Medical
Treatment Centers



82,407

Certified
Active Patients



14,524

Unique Registered
Agents



1,101

Social Equity Program
Participants



77

Social Equity Program
Training Courses



INTRODUCTION

Within the rapidly shifting landscape of the Commonwealth's licensed cannabis industry, the Cannabis Control Commission (Commission) remains committed to providing responsible oversight, comprehensive regulation, and a policy framework that prioritizes public health, safety, equity, and sustainability. This past fiscal year was pivotal to the agency's development, with the finalization of the Commission's first formal governance charter and significant changes to the agency's structure. The Commission also approved policies to advance equity and support delivery businesses, improve lab testing standards, and simplify licensing processes, all while increasing accountability and transparency. On June 30, the Commonwealth's adult-use market [surpassed \\$8 billion in total gross sales](#) which is a testament to the continued maturation of the legal cannabis marketplace in Massachusetts.

During this period, Executive Director Travis Ahern was hired following a nationwide search process and started his work as the agency's administrative head in March. The Executive Director Search Subcommittee, composed of then-Acting Executive Director/Chief People Officer Debra Hilton-Creek, Acting Chair Bruce Stebbins, Commissioner Ava Callender Concepcion, and cross-functional staff, led the recruitment and onboarding of the agency's new Executive Director. Ahern, who has an extensive background in municipal finance and public administration, brings a depth of experience in government operations and budget management. Upon joining the agency, Executive Director Ahern has worked closely with Commissioners and staff to establish clear goals to continue the Commission's momentum on policy reform and implementation, strengthen internal operations, and bring closure to several longstanding projects, many of which are outlined in this report.

In May, Commissioner Nurys Camargo stepped down from her role as the agency's social justice appointee. At the time of this publication, the agency's business continues to be conducted with three sitting Commissioners out of the five identified in statute, all of whom were appointed in 2021: Commissioner Concepcion, who serves in the Commission's public safety seat; Commissioner Kimberly Roy, who serves in the Commission's public health seat; and Acting Chair Stebbins, who serves in the Commission's regulated industry seat and was appointed for a second, five-year term starting Sept. 1, 2025 by the [Governor, Treasurer, and Attorney General](#). The Commissioners, each appointed in accordance with G.L. c. 10, § 76, are charged with setting policy, voting on licensing decisions, and overseeing the agency's strategic direction.

Following two years of work on internal governance, the Commission finalized and adopted its [first charter](#). The document reflects a collective effort by Commissioners and staff to formalize agency decision-making processes, define responsibilities, and promote durable and standardized operations. This milestone comes as the result of long-term mediation, public deliberations, and consensus-building.

This year's annual report reflects both the progress, challenges, and achievements of the past fiscal year as well as the work still ahead to strengthen Massachusetts' cannabis industry. The Commission has continued to advance public health and safety, promote social equity, and support business vitality, all while refining policy, enhancing oversight, expanding public education, and facilitating

market access. Yet the Commission also recognizes that progress is still needed to meet the evolving needs of patients, caregivers, adult consumers, businesses, and communities. For multiple years, the Commission has operated under flat or reduced budget appropriations, limiting its ability to address priorities and invest in necessary IT updates at the pace and scale the industry requires. The Commission remains focused on supporting a fair, welcoming, and well-regulated cannabis market; however, with sufficient funding, the Commission could move beyond maintenance to deliver the critical updates and innovations necessary to meet the needs of stakeholders across the Commonwealth.



IMPLEMENTATION OF ADULT- AND MEDICAL-USE MARIJUANA PROGRAMS

Purpose

This report provides information on the implementation of the adult-use marijuana program, as well as the Medical Use of Marijuana Program. It covers activities during the 2025 fiscal year, with data current as of June 30, 2025, unless otherwise noted. This annual report fulfills the Commission's statutory obligation under G.L. c. 94G, § 4(h) and St. 2017, c. 55, § 31, providing the Legislature with a transparent account of the agency's operations, regulatory development, and public guidance initiatives.

Executing the Commission's Mission

Established in 2017, the Commission is responsible for implementing and administering Massachusetts' adult-use and medical cannabis laws pursuant to G.L. c. 94G, § 4, Chapter 369 of the Acts of 2012, and related statutes. The Commission's mission is to honor the will of Massachusetts voters by ensuring safe, equitable, and effective access to cannabis, regulating cultivation, manufacturing, testing, distribution, and sales while prioritizing public health, equity, product safety, and community safeguards. The agency is tasked with implementing and administering laws that govern the cultivation, manufacture, testing, distribution, and sale of cannabis in Massachusetts. These responsibilities include developing and enforcing regulations that prioritize public health, promote equity in the marketplace, ensure product safety and integrity, and safeguard communities.

Since publishing its first regulations in 2018, the Commission has amended its rules almost annually to reflect statutory changes, expand opportunities for licensees, and improve patient access. Notable actions include the 2018 assumption of oversight over the Medical Use of Marijuana Program from the Department of Public Health (DPH), the 2021 regulatory overhaul merging colocated operations rules into existing frameworks, the 2023 implementation of Chapter 180 of the Acts of 2022, and the 2024 regulatory amendments easing delivery restrictions and increasing access for patients. The Commission is currently revising its regulations again to incorporate new Social Consumption Establishment license types, changes to Transporter licenses, and updates to agent registration.

In addition to regulations, the Commission issues guidance documents to assist consumers, patients, licensees, applicants, and municipalities with understanding and complying with regulatory requirements. To date, the agency has issued 21 guidance documents and three protocols. These resources are available on the Commission's website at <https://masscannabiscontrol.com/public-documents/guidance-documents/>.

Revenue

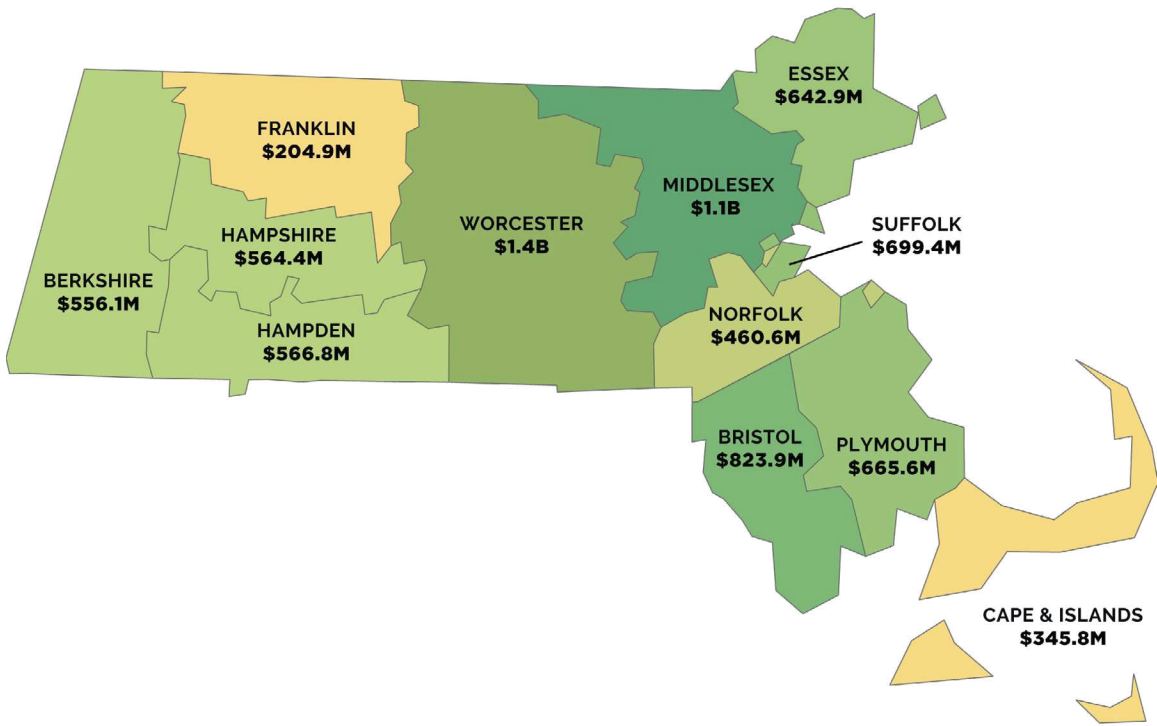
The Commission is proud to have continued to operate on a cost-neutral basis. In fact, as this report shows, the Commission's activities have enabled annual increases in Commonwealth tax receipts. Revenue from application, licensing, fines, and other fees, along with adult-use marijuana sales and excise tax revenue, is deposited into the Marijuana Regulation Fund. In FY2025, the Commission collected \$20 million in non-tax revenue. The Massachusetts Department of Revenue reported a total of \$265 million in marijuana sales tax revenue and marijuana excise tax revenue collected as of May. Monthly gross sales continue to increase with record-breaking numbers in the early months of 2025.

This past fiscal year also witnessed remarkable adult-use cannabis sales achievements with May establishing a new record for a single month at \$142.3 million in gross sales. On June 30, adult-use cannabis revenue surpassed [\\$8 billion in gross sales](#) since the first two adult-use retail stores on the East Coast opened for business on November 20, 2018. The ongoing trajectory is expected to continue into the new fiscal year, even with the expansion of cannabis legalization in surrounding New England states.

These increases are expected to continue due to the highly anticipated Social Consumption Establishment license types becoming available, the change in regulation to allow delivery businesses and lab transportation to only require one agent per vehicle, and the increasing number of Marijuana Establishments obtaining licensure.

Gross Sales for Marijuana Establishments and Medical Marijuana Treatment Centers

(As of January 2025)

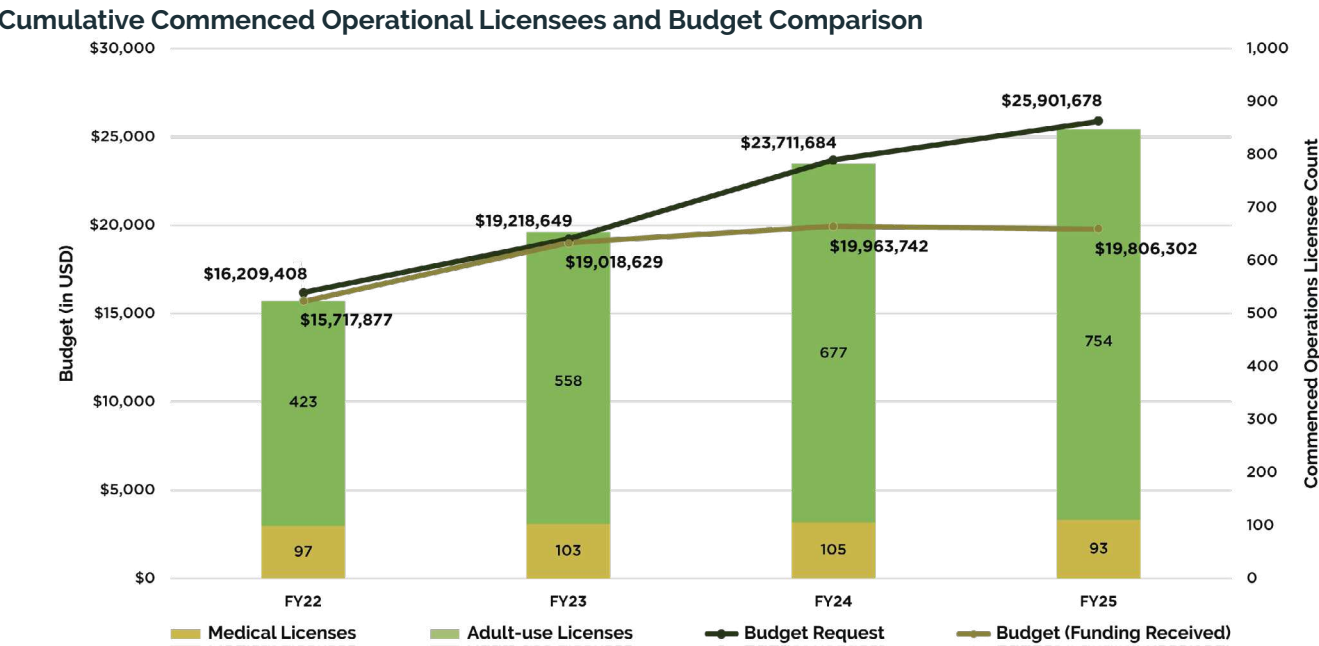


Finance

Despite generating substantial revenue for the Commonwealth, the Commission's appropriations have remained flat or been reduced, constraining its ability to reinvest in programs and infrastructure that sustain the industry's growth. Commission operations are funded through the Marijuana Regulation Fund, which is subject to appropriation and supports public health and safety needs, substance use disorder prevention, programming for restorative justice, jail diversion, workforce development, and the Cannabis Social Equity Trust Fund that is administered by the Executive Office of Economic Development (EOED), among other uses.

In FY2025, the Legislature appropriated \$20 million in total for the Commission: \$16.5 million for the Commission's Operations and \$3.5 million for the Medical Use of Marijuana Program. The Commission fully expensed both appropriations, continuing to grow, hire additional staff, and implement legislative mandates as the industry matured, all while generating surplus revenue for the Commonwealth.

For FY2026, the Legislature appropriated a total of \$19.7 million for the Commission: \$16.2 million for the Commission's Operations and \$3.5 million for the Medical Use of Marijuana Program. The amount appropriated was a reduction from the prior year, and less than the Commission's FY2026 request, which totaled \$30 million. The FY2026 funding request reflected essential needs, including the establishment of a Standards Laboratory to increase cannabis product testing and analytics, launch of a public awareness campaign for forthcoming social consumption, expanded training for Social Equity Program participants, and reinstating \$2.85 million in deferred costs from FY2025 and FY2024. These investments are critical to meet statutory deadlines, implement major revisions to regulations, and provide a much-needed investment in an IT infrastructure that no longer meets the needs of the Commission or the cannabis industry in 2026. While the Commission is taking cost savings measures in FY2026, these appropriations leave no margin for continuing existing programs, or to absorb the growing operational demands, making a supplemental budget request likely to meet current and ongoing public safety requirements and new statutory requirements.



Personnel

The Commission's Human Resources Department is responsible for creating and implementing policies, processes, and programs to support the Commission's mission, strategic vision, and efforts to create a great place to work. The Commission has a strong commitment to attracting, rewarding, developing, and retaining an inclusive, diverse, and talented workforce. At the time of this report, the Commission has filed 136 positions and has implemented a hiring freeze as the result of FY2026 budget shortfalls. Of the Commission's current employee population, 53% are female and 24% are persons of color. The agency's management team is 67% female and 39% persons of color. The agency has 2% of employees who chose not to specify their gender, and 20% did not specify their ethnicity.

This year, the Commission demonstrated its continued investment in professional development and internal mobility and advancement through 16 staff promotions across departments. Three key leadership roles were filled: Executive Director, Chief of Investigations and Enforcement, and General Counsel, in addition to several other key roles in departments across the Commission. The Commission's ability to recruit, retain, and expand its workforce is directly tied to the funding it receives. Staffing capacity has been further challenged by turnover during the past fiscal year, which has placed additional strain on existing personnel to meet operational and statutory demands. Without sufficient and consistent appropriations, the Commission's ability to maintain a stable, experienced workforce and deliver on its legislative mandates will be significantly constrained.

The Human Resources Department continued to support employee engagement and inclusion within a remote work environment through a range of initiatives to include the Commission's Diversity, Equity, Inclusion, Justice, and Belonging (DEIJB) initiatives. During this period, employee resource groups, DEIJB committees, monthly communications, resource sharing, and professional development opportunities were implemented and held.



Ongoing Regulatory Work

In FY2025, the Commission continued its practice of utilizing specialized working groups to evaluate and respond to emerging needs across the regulated cannabis industry. Subject-matter experts from multiple departments convene to conduct in-depth research, review and implement statutory changes, develop recommendations for regulatory revisions, and coordinate cross-agency initiatives. By leveraging diverse expertise, the Commission's working groups ensure that complex issues are identified and addressed in a comprehensive and timely manner. Several key areas of focus in FY2025 included the review of new legislation, the refinement of regulatory frameworks, and the advancement of projects requiring collaboration across the agency's operational, policy, and compliance divisions.

Social Consumption

The Social Consumption Regulatory Working Group continues its work through 2025. In December 2024, the Commission unveiled a proposed regulatory framework that establishes three new Social Consumption Establishment licenses and opened an informal public comment period to gather initial feedback. Commissioners then met in public session throughout Spring 2025 to further discuss the draft regulations and make additional changes. On July 29, Commissioners voted to approve draft regulations relating to Social Consumption Establishments, marking the beginning of the Secretary of the Commonwealth's formal promulgation process, including the required public comment period which will culminate in September. Following receipt and review of public comments, Commissioners will work with staff to finalize the regulations. Implementation of these new license types will depend on available funding and resources available to support the development of IT infrastructure for license applications, a public education campaign, continued roundtables with municipal leaders, operational updates, guidance documents, and inspections.



Delivery Exclusivity

In March, the Commission extended the existing delivery exclusivity period for an additional 12 months to April 2026 while committing to conduct further study to assess whether the goals of the exclusivity period have been met. Consistent with its statutory mandate and the Commission's mission to redress the historically unequal enforcement of cannabis laws against disadvantaged groups, these license types have been limited to equity participants for the first three years of their availability.

A Delivery Exclusivity Working Group was formed to prepare materials and a report on the exclusivity period's success. These efforts are led by the Legal Department and the Equity Programming and Community Outreach Department, in conjunction with other agency departments and the Donohue Institute at the University of Massachusetts. Following issuance of the working group's report, Commissioners will vote to decide whether an additional extension is required for "full participation" in Massachusetts' legal industry is to be achieved by stakeholders from communities that have been disproportionately harmed by previous marijuana prohibition. Delivery licenses may open up to general license applicants as soon as April 2026 if Commissioners decide the goal of full participation has been accomplished.

Access to Medical Cannabis

The Access to Medical Use Cannabis Working Group was established in May to conduct a comprehensive review of the Medical Use of Marijuana Program regulations under 935 CMR 501.000, with the goal of expanding patient access to Medical Marijuana Treatment Centers (MTCs) and medical-use cannabis. The Commission originally adopted a "lift and shift" regulatory model when inheriting the program from DPH in 2018, largely maintaining existing rules to preserve patient access and ensure operational continuity. However, feedback from stakeholders—including the 2024 Listening Session on the Islands, and most recently at the February Medical Program Listening Session—identified key areas for modernization. These include addressing the vertical integration requirement which obligates MTCs to cultivate, manufacture, and dispense cannabis to patients, thereby creating barriers to medical market entry and other potential operational updates such as transitioning from physical registration cards to electronic options to reduce costs. The Working Group may also explore on-site consumption in alignment with pending Social Consumption Establishment regulations.

The Working Group is developing proposed regulatory amendments that ensure the program's long-term viability while maintaining patient access and compliance with statutory mandates. Its work includes evaluating and revising provisions related to vertical integration, streamlining administrative processes, and identifying opportunities for efficiency that benefit patients, caregivers, Certifying Healthcare Providers, MTCs, and the Commission. The proposed changes will be reviewed by a designated Consultation Team including members within the Commission and on the Cannabis Advisory Board before final recommendations will be provided to the full Commission at a future public meeting. Bringing these regulation changes to fruition and implementing them effectively will be contingent upon available resources and funding.

Implementation of Chapter 180 of the Acts of 2022

On October 27, 2023, the Commission promulgated historic new adult and medical use of marijuana regulations in accordance with Chapter 180 of the Acts of 2022, *An Act Relative to Equity in the Cannabis Industry*. These reforms were reviewed by three individual working groups who provided recommendations on regulation changes, guidance and process development as well as identifying existing Commission materials that would need revisions and identified new forms or templates needing creation. Implementing the changes contained within these regulations has required significant cross-departmental work in addition to regular responsibilities.

As of June 25, staff have completed 244 of 283 identified deliverables and 1,420 of 1,481 checklist items, with remaining work largely depends on third-party vendors and IT infrastructure. Each deliverable undergoes extensive review to ensure new processes, guidance, and documents function effectively.

A major milestone was the publication of the [Model HCA](#), [Model HCA Waiver](#), [Host Community Agreement guidance](#) and [Municipal Guidance](#) documents to assist licensees and host communities with becoming compliant with the new regulations and law. Since March 1, 2024, the Commission has received 1,022 HCAs as part of the license application and renewal process including executed Model HCAs and HCA Waivers. In FY2025, the Commission reviewed 814 compliant HCAs including 263 compliant Model HCAs and 132 HCA Waivers. The Commission’s oversight of HCAs includes approving and certifying HCAs, voiding noncompliant provisions, and sanctioning or publicly identifying noncompliant municipalities.

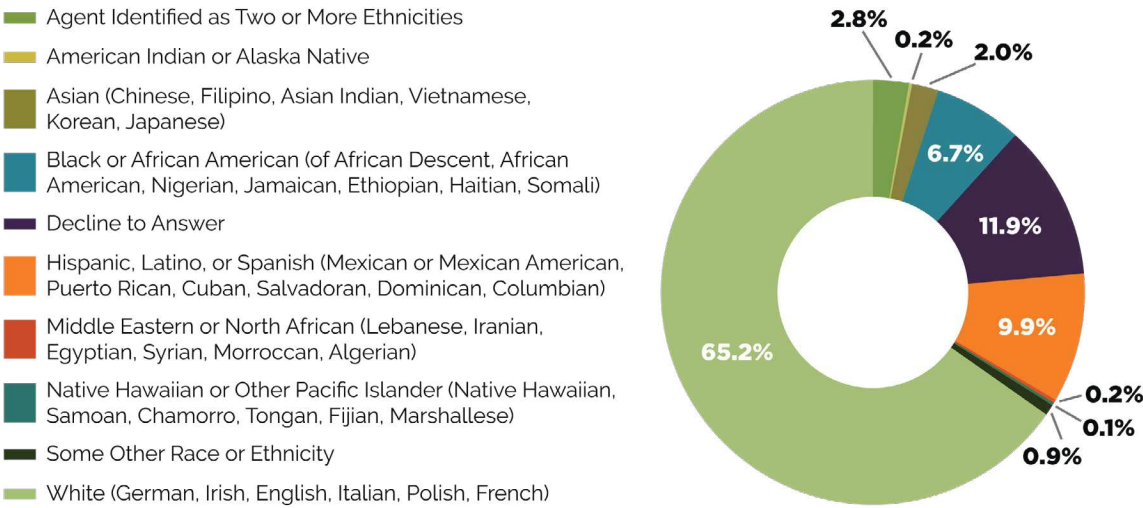
To further promote equity under the new law, the Commission published a Model Municipal Equity By-Law or Ordinance Template and related guidance to help host communities establish licensing policies that meaningfully include communities disproportionately harmed by prior marijuana prohibition and enforcement. The Commission is working in close partnership with its third-party vendors whose progress will be critical to finalizing all outstanding deliverables within this fiscal year.

Agents

As of July 2025, the Commission received 11,317 new applications for Marijuana Establishment (ME) agent registrations, creating a total of 21,280 agent cards and 14,524 unique individuals. Of the active agent cards, 36% (7,728) of the individuals identified as female, 62% (13,160) identified as male, 0.74% (157) identified by a different gender and 1% (235) declined to answer. The Commission has also received 2,077 new applications for Medical Marijuana Treatment Center (MTC) agent registrations, creating a total of 5,469 active agent cards for 1,885 individual agents. The active agent cards are comprised of 59% (3,400) individuals who identify as male, 37% (2,035) who identify as female and less than 0.62% (34) identify as “Other”.

The Commission is also considering amending the agent badging process as the industry has voiced concerns with the multiple badges required for an agent to work under colocated establishments. A proposed change is included in the social consumption regulations, but rollout and technical changes are subject to Commission resources, bandwidth, and available funding.

Race/Ethnicity of Active Agents FY25



Responsible Vendor Training (RVT)

Commission regulations 935 CMR 500.105(2)(b) and 935 CMR 501.105(2)(b) outline the RVT requirement for all current ME and MTC agents. The Licensing Department manages the RVT Program, including the application process, communication with applicants and current vendors, and any regulatory updates regarding RVT. To date, the Commission has approved 35 applicants, out of which eight applicants are Certified RVT Vendors of the Basic and Delivery Core Curriculum.

In 2023, the Commission unveiled new training curricula for cannabis business employees. These RVT curricula are designed to cater to both MTCs and adult-use MEs. The mandatory Basic Core Curriculum, already in place, covers essential topics such as product knowledge, responsible serving procedures, risk mitigation strategies, and public safety. An optional Advanced Core Curriculum is now available, enabling Agents to build on the knowledge, skills, and practices covered in the Basic Curriculum and specialize in areas such as cultivation, product manufacturing, social equity, and more. In addition to the Basic Core Curriculum, the Delivery Core Curriculum is required for all agents working under a delivery license type to ensure compliance with regulations and provides training on how to safely conduct deliveries, cash handling policies, strategies for de-escalating potentially dangerous situations, collecting and communicating information to assist in investigations, and more.

Additional courses will also be developed for social consumption establishment agents to ensure they are trained to monitor signs of over intoxication, follow safety protocols, and similar training to the TIPS program that bartenders receive in the Commonwealth. Creating the guidelines and requirements for these RVT courses will be subject to Commission resources and funding when the regulations are promulgated.

The Commission published [RVT Guidance](#) and [FAQ documents](#) to guide applicants through the RVT certification process as well as an updated [RVT Checklist](#) in the public documents section of the Commission's website.

Medical Use of Marijuana Program

The Commission has administered the Medical Use of Marijuana Program since the program transferred from DPH on December 24, 2018. As of June 30, the Medical Use of Marijuana Program has 82,407 Certified Patients, 6,240 Active Caregivers, and 473 Certifying Healthcare Providers (Certifying Physicians, Nurse Practitioners, and Physician Assistants). The Constituent Services team assists patients and caregivers with registration and renewal applications, troubleshooting technical issues, understanding allotments and where to access medication, and sharing other information regarding the Medical Use of Marijuana Program. The team also provides increased support to some of the Commonwealth's most marginalized constituents to ensure that their specific needs are met, including but not limited to, veterans, court-involved individuals, and senior citizens.

The Commission is committed to improving access to medical marijuana for patients and caregivers. In FY2025, the Commission moved to increase patient access to medical marijuana by revising regulations to allow patients to request a telehealth consultation with a Certifying Healthcare Provider for their initial certification on a permanent basis, following the COVID State of Emergency in Massachusetts. The Commission also revised its rules to allow for Certifying Healthcare Providers who are nurse practitioners with independent practices the authority to certify qualifying patients without a supervising physician. This change allows nurse practitioners registered with the Medical Use of Marijuana Program to have the same prescribing authority afforded by the Board of Registration in Nursing (BORN).

In February the Commission hosted a Medical Use of Marijuana Program listening session to gather feedback from patients, caregivers, providers, licensees, and all other interested constituents to hear and understand priorities for future regulatory amendments. In response to feedback received during the listening session, the Commission voted to include, among the Executive Director's goals for 2025, a comprehensive evaluation of the Medical Use of Marijuana Program. The objective is to develop recommendations that will promote the program's long-term viability and success. This work remains ongoing.

The Commission remains committed to ongoing outreach and information-sharing to support awareness and understanding of the Medical Use of Marijuana Program statewide. To meet constituents where they are, the Constituent Service team began offering in-person registration events to support extended patient and caregiver support for those in need at the agency's headquarters in Worcester. The Constituent Services team also partnered with DPH to develop a [guidance document for medical professionals](#) highlighting the benefits of the Medical Use of Marijuana Program.



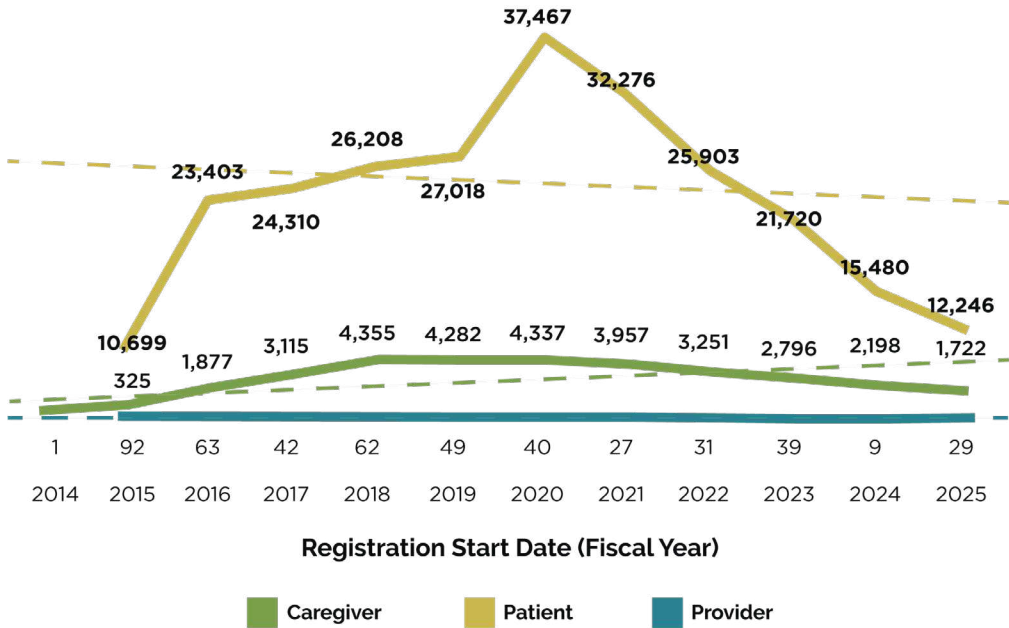
Table 1. Patient and Caregivers Applications

FY2025 Application Numbers	
Patient Registrations	12,250
Patient Renewals	70,157
Caregiver Registrations	1,722
Caregiver Renewals	4,518
Paper Applications Processed	193
Total	88,840

Medical Provisional and Final Licenses

As of July 1, Massachusetts' medical-use cannabis industry is comprised of the following: 93 vertically integrated MTC licensees that have commenced full operations to serve patients and caregivers, as well as two provisional licensees.

New Registrations Patients, Providers, and Caregivers by Fiscal Year (July 1 - June 30)



Licensing

The Commission's Licensing team oversees a broad range of regulatory processes critical to the operation and oversight of the Commonwealth's adult- and medical-use cannabis industries. From license application intake to final approval, the team ensures that all licensing activities align with the Commission's regulations and statutory mandates.

A core responsibility of the Licensing team is the review and processing of applications for new and renewal licenses, including those related to changes of ownership, name, location, and operational extensions. These applications include reviewing HCAs, ownership documents, lease or purchase agreements, standard operating procedures and more to ensure applicants are compliant with state law and regulations.

The Licensing team also manages the registration and renewal of ME and MTC Agent identification cards, RVT program certifications and renewals, supporting workforce compliance, public safety and training across both sectors of the industry.

In addition to application and compliance functions, the Licensing team provides direct support to applicants and licensees by responding to a high volume of inquiries received through the Commission's dedicated licensing inbox. The team also reviews and certifies Community Impact Fee requests submitted by municipalities—though no such requests were received during this reporting period.

Priority Applicants

Between April 17, 2018 and May 22, 2018, the Commission offered an application process for MTC priority and economic empowerment priority certification in accordance with state law. Under statute, MTC priority is an MTC previously approved by DPH when it administered the Medical Use of Marijuana Program and had at least obtained an MTC provisional license as of April 1, 2018. Economic empowerment priority required applicants to demonstrate three of [six possible criteria](#). In total, the Commission received 322 submitted applications and ultimately granted priority certification to 81 MTC applicants and 122 Economic Empowerment Priority Applicants (EEAs). As of July, the Commission has issued 34 commence operations approvals to EEAs.

Exclusive Licenses

The Commission's delivery license types, including Delivery Courier, Delivery Operator, and Microbusiness with Delivery Endorsements, are exclusively available to approved Social Equity Program (SEP) participants and EEAs. The initial exclusivity period began on April 1, 2022, when the first Marijuana Delivery Operator received their notice to commence operations in the Commonwealth and spanned 36 months. As of June 30, 2025, 231 businesses have been pre-certified as either a Delivery Courier, Delivery Operator, or Microbusiness with Delivery Endorsement. In March, the Commission extended the delivery exclusivity period for an additional 12 months to April 2026 while the [Delivery Exclusivity Working Group](#) conducts a further study to assess whether the goals of the exclusivity period have been met. The Commission will reconvene in Fy2026 to discuss whether to promulgate new regulations that would further extend the delivery exclusivity period.

The anticipated Social Consumption Establishment License types will also be exclusive to businesses with majority ownership comprised of approved SEP participants or EEAs, Microbusinesses, and Craft Marijuana Cooperatives for a set period of time. The goal of these exclusivity periods is to promote full participation in the regulated marijuana industry by people from communities that have previously been disproportionately harmed by marijuana prohibition and enforcement of the law, by farmers, and

by businesses of all sizes. The roll out of these three new license classes under the Social Consumption license type is subject to appropriate resources and funding available to the Commission in order to create RVT guidance, licensee and municipality guidance materials, ability to complete inspections during consumption operation hours, and technical upgrades needed in the licensing system.

Provisional and Final Licensees

As of July, the Commission had received 1,889 license applications for adult-use MEs. At the time of this report, Commission staff are reviewing 26 adult-use license applications. The following is a summary breakdown of the 1,889 ME and MTC license applications fully submitted to the Commission as of July 2025:

- 260 MTC Priority Applicants;
- 144 EEAs;
- 740 Expedited Applicants;
 - These applicants consist of minority-, women-, and veteran-owned businesses as certified by the Supplier Diversity Office as well as Independent Testing Laboratories, Outdoor Cultivators, Marijuana Microbusinesses, and Craft Marijuana Cooperatives. SEP Participant Applicants also receive expedited review
- 394 SEP Applicants (as approved through the Commission's [Social Equity Program](#)); and
- 745 General Applicants which do not meet any of the aforementioned criteria.

As of July, 754 licensees have received notices from the Commission that authorize them to commence business operations in the Commonwealth, another 43 entities currently possess final licenses, and 474 have been approved for provisional licenses. Each year, the licensing team has authorized more businesses to commence operations and approved more final licenses than the previous year. So far this calendar year, more businesses have come online to commence operations than have closed.

Adult-Use Applicants by License Stage FY2025

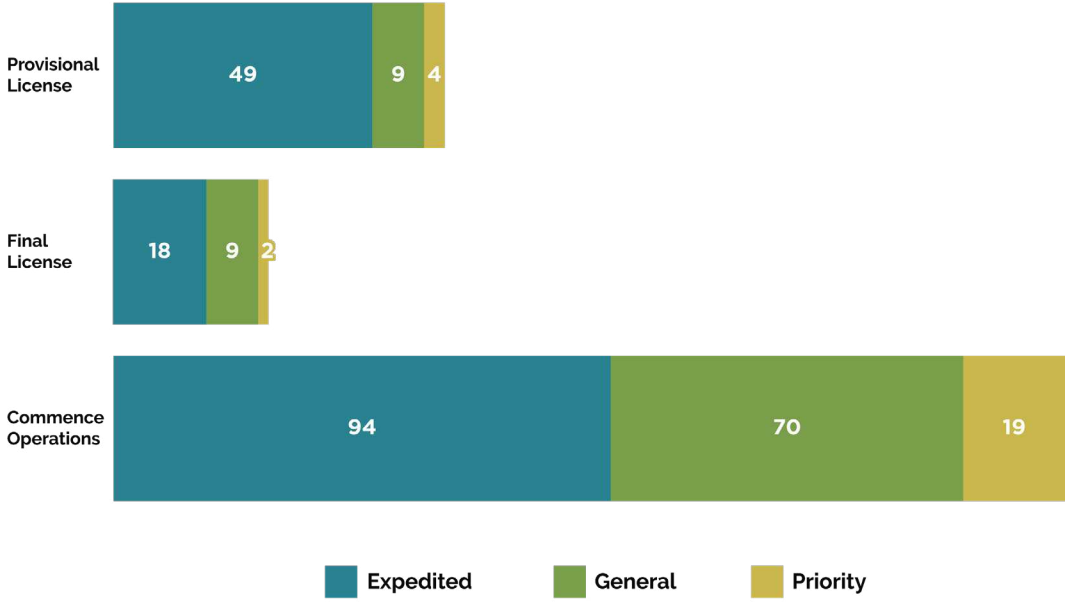


Table 2. Social Equity (SEP), Economic Empowerment (EE), Disadvantaged Business Enterprise (DBE)
Final Licenses FY2025

	SEP	EE	DBE	Total
Cultivation			8	8
Product Manufacturing	1	1	4	6
Retail	3	4	8	15
Delivery Operator	4	1		5
Delivery Courier	3			3
Delivery Courier Pre-Certification		2		2
Total:	11	8	20	39

Surrenders and Closures

Since 2018, of the 754 adult-use ME licenses the Commission has authorized to commence operations, 71 licenses, or 9.4%, have been either surrendered or not renewed by the Licensee. Those 71 do not necessarily represent total business closures. In some cases, licensees may hold multiple licenses, per Chapter 94G Section 16, but may choose to give up one or more while keeping the others active.

Adult-use Marijuana Retailers, which are the most sought-after license type, have seen even fewer closures. Since November 2018, the Commission has authorized 410 retail dispensaries to commence operations and open their doors to adult-use cannabis consumers in Massachusetts. Twenty-two retail licenses, or 5.4%, have either been surrendered or not renewed, leaving 388 active Marijuana Retailers in the Commonwealth.

Of the 112 MTCs the Commission has authorized to commence operations, 17 licenses or 15% have either closed down or expired. Of these 17 Licensees, 15 currently hold an adult-use retail license.

Changes of Ownership

Between July 2024 and July 2025, Enforcement staff has made approximately 45 recommendations for Change of Ownership applications before the Commission. Changes of Ownership applications reflect those businesses that are adding entities with control and/or ownership over the license, or applications to add new individuals with ownership interest over 10%.

Enforcement

The Commission is proud of the fair and comprehensive investigatory process it has developed and employed since the agency’s inception in 2017 to ensure licensees comply with state law and regulations. Massachusetts’ regulations are some of the strongest in the nation, and the agency stands by its policies and procedures that continue to build a safe, effective, and equitable industry.

Enforcement Referrals

Since July 2024, Investigations and Enforcement staff have made approximately 32 referrals to Enforcement Counsel to perform additional due diligence and review findings for possible administrative action pursuant to G.L. c. 30A, as well as 24 requests for counsel and advice. During this period, Investigations staff has completed approximately 1,404 total inspections, including unannounced inspections, license closure inspections, change of location inspections, structural change completion inspections, post-provisional license inspections, post-final license inspections, vehicle and vessel inspections, and audits. From these inspections, Investigations staff has issued approximately 917 notices of deficiencies to licensees. Investigations staff have also processed approximately 88 architectural review and structural change applications, and approximately 12 alternative security provisions.

Enforcement Actions

Since July 2024, the Commission, through its Enforcement Counsel staff, has initiated two enforcement actions in response to regulatory noncompliance. In both instances, the Commission summarily suspended establishment licenses to protect the public’s health, safety, or welfare. The subject of these actions include transferring ownership of a Marijuana Retailer license and failing to accurately report compliance testing results.

Additionally, over the past year, the Commission has resolved two enforcement actions via Final Order and Stipulated Agreements negotiated by Enforcement staff through Informal Dispute Resolution (IDR) conferences. In each instance, Enforcement staff secured affirmative relief in furtherance of the public interest and to ensure future regulatory compliance. These actions, combined, resulted in fine payments totaling \$165,000 which are deposited into the Marijuana Regulation Fund. All fines collected during this fiscal year were the result of a negotiation between the parties during IDR. In addition to these actions, the Commission has issued multiple notices to licensees to ensure continued compliance with previously ratified Final Orders and Stipulated Agreements.

Enforcement Counsel staff have also received 18 referrals to conduct suitability reviews. Since July 2024, these reviews have resulted in two informal proceedings before the Commission’s Suitability Review Committee. During that same time period, Enforcement Counsel staff also processed 36 requests to waive Commission regulations pursuant to 935 CMR 500.850 and 501.850.

Testing

During FY2025, the Commission’s Testing team continued its oversight of 11 Independent Testing Laboratories (ITLs) and two laboratory facilities in the Island Counties. The team, led by the Interim Director of Testing and the Laboratory Testing Manager, plays a critical role in protecting public health by ensuring that ITLs meet regulatory safety standards before and while testing cannabis products.

The Testing team provides analytical and technical expertise to support internal departments including Enforcement, Research, and Data. Their responsibilities include conducting unannounced inspections of ITLs, reviewing Standard Operating Procedures (SOPs), and resolving discrepancies within Metrc, the

Commonwealth’s seed-to-sale system of record. These inspections help ensure laboratory compliance with 935 CMR 500.160 and 501.160, including requirements for cannabinoid content, microbiological contaminants, heavy metals, residual solvents, and pesticide screening.

Throughout the fiscal year, the Testing team issued multiple laboratory bulletins to clarify testing protocols and address emerging concerns such as cannabinoid inflation, sampling methodology, and result reporting transparency. Notably, the Testing team worked in coordination with the Enforcement Department to investigate potential overstatements of THC potency, a growing concern among regulators nationwide.

During FY2025, the Testing team collaborated with the Enforcement Department on the drafting of two Administrative Orders regarding compliance testing submissions to one ITL and Certificate of Analysis (COA) upload requirements. Additionally, the Testing team continues to conduct an assessment of the Commission’s testing regulations and protocol for potential updates and revisions to evaluate and strengthen standardized testing and reporting practices.



Investigations and Enforcement (I&E) Task Force

In December 2024, the Commission, through its Investigations and Enforcement department, established a temporary task force comprised of members from the Testing, Investigations, Enforcement Counsel, and Project Management teams to support investigative efforts relative to ITL compliance. The task force is charged with reviewing and addressing complaints related to testing and safety of Marijuana and Marijuana Products marketed to Patients and Consumers, among other things.

Through the task force’s efforts this year, the Commission has worked to address constituent complaints by conducting retesting of Marijuana Products, which resulted in two public health and safety advisories alerting the public to potentially contaminated marijuana flower and pre-rolls. Additionally, investigative efforts of the task force directly led to the suspension of an ITL’s license.

The ability to continue the efforts of this task force is directly tied to the Commission’s available funding. While the task force achieved significant results this fiscal year, including multiple public health and safety advisories and the suspension of an ITL license, these accomplishments required substantial

cross departmental staffing, overtime commitments, and resource reallocation from other critical functions. Members of the task force perform this work in addition to their regular responsibilities, further straining available bandwidth and resources across the agency. The investigative and retesting work involved in responding to constituent complaints is resource intensive, requiring specialized expertise from multiple Commission teams as well as coordination with licensed testing laboratories. Without sufficient appropriations, the Commission may be unable to maintain this heightened level of investigative activity, slowing response times to complaints, reducing the scope of product safety testing, and limiting the agency’s ability to take swift enforcement actions. Additional funding would allow the Commission to continue proactive investigations, strengthen product safety oversight, and ensure consistent enforcement that protects both patients and consumers in the Commonwealth.

Equity Programming and Community Outreach

The Commission continues to advance its commitment to equity and community engagement by strengthening the nation’s first statewide SEP and expanding outreach through the EPCO department. These efforts reflect the Commission’s statutory mandate to promote equitable participation in the regulated cannabis industry and to ensure communities disproportionately impacted by marijuana prohibition are provided meaningful opportunities for economic advancement. Through expanded staffing, strategic planning, curriculum redevelopment, targeted outreach, and new platforms such as the EquityWorks Career Hub, the Commission works to reduce barriers to entry, foster professional growth, and build sustainable pathways into the legal cannabis marketplace. Collectively, these initiatives demonstrate the Commission’s dedication to building an inclusive, accessible, and forward-looking industry that prioritizes reparative practices and community impact including those from Disproportionately Impacted Areas (DIAs), the medical community, municipalities and government officials, academia, and other priority constituents.

Social Equity Program (SEP)

The SEP is designed to build a pathway into the legal cannabis industry for individuals disproportionately impacted by previous marijuana prohibition. The SEP focuses on those most impacted by the War on Drugs, marijuana prohibition, disproportionate arrest, and incarceration, and provides training, technical assistance, and mentorship for entry into the regulated marketplace across four areas: entrepreneurship, entry- and managerial-level workforce and professional development, and ancillary business support. Its overall mission is to decrease the disparities in life outcomes for impacted individuals and improve the quality of life for those from DIAs. Commission staff have initiated a three-year strategic planning process to ensure the SEP continues to effectively meet its intended goals.

Approved SEP Participants and EEAs are eligible for expedited application review within the Commission’s licensing queue when they submit a licensing application, receive certain fee waivers, and have exclusive access to Commission pre-certification and delivery and social consumption license types. The agency previously expanded SEP criteria and increased participation in the program to any individual listed as an owner on the original certification of an EEA who satisfies certain criteria.

SEP Program goals are to:

- Reduce barriers to entry in the regulated marijuana industry, regardless of desired specialty within the industry;
- Provide professional and technical services as well as mentoring for individuals and businesses facing systemic barriers; and
- Promote sustainable, socially and economically reparative practices in the regulated marijuana industry in Massachusetts.

To qualify for the program, an applicant must meet one of the following criteria:

- Residency in a DIA for at least five of the past 10 years and income not exceeding 400% of the Area Median Income in the applicant's respective town/city;
- A past drug conviction, continuance without a finding, or an equivalent conviction in other jurisdictions, and residency in Massachusetts for at least the preceding 12 months;
- Married to, or the child of, a person with a drug conviction, a continuance without a finding, or an equivalent conviction in other jurisdictions, and residency in Massachusetts for at least the preceding 12 months;
- Any individual listed as an owner on the original certification of an EEA who satisfies one or more the following criteria:
 - Lived for five of the preceding 10 years in a DIA, as determined by the Commission;
 - Experience in one or more previous positions where the primary population served were disproportionately impacted, or where primary responsibilities included economic education, resource provision or empowerment to disproportionately impacted individuals or communities;
 - Black, African American, Hispanic, or Latino descent; or
 - Other significant articulable demonstration of past experience in or business practices that promote economic empowerment in DIAs.

Since its inception, the Commission has accepted 1,101 participants into the free technical assistance and training program. Cohort III has been the largest class to date with 446 participants. To date, approximately 72% of all program participants self-identify as Black, African American, Hispanic, or Latino descent.

Utilizing feedback from SEP participants, EPCO collaborated with contracted technical assistance and training vendors to redevelop and deliver 77 updated courses. This comprehensive, strategic redevelopment ensures the SEP curriculum continuously evolves, remains industry-responsive, and effectively addresses emerging industry trends and participant needs.

With the current SEP application period open August 1 through September 30, EPCO has increased outreach efforts statewide. These efforts include proactive informational campaigns, detailed SEP application support webinars, and accessible guidance on eligibility criteria, application processes, and available participant resources. EPCO's continued outreach ensures equitable access, robust participation, and sustained benefit for communities disproportionately impacted by cannabis prohibition.

Advanced Courses

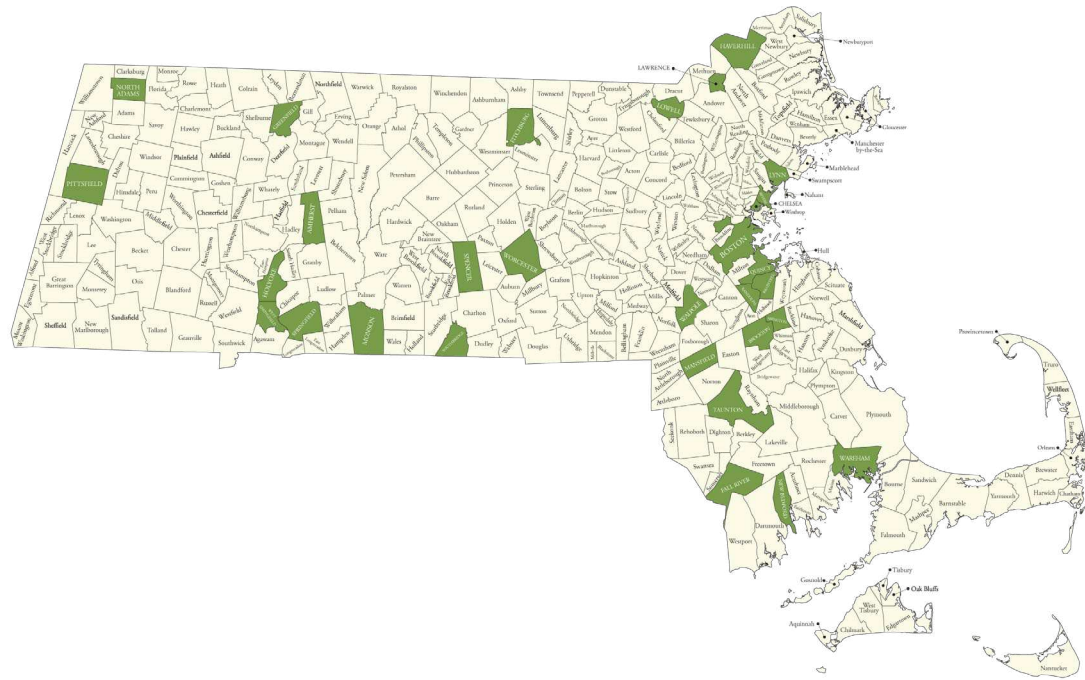
As the Commission continues to refine and expand its programming, ongoing feedback from participants highlighted the need for a more advanced and industry-responsive curriculum. In response, the Commission has collaborated closely with contracted technical assistance and training vendors to strategically redevelop and deliver 77 updated courses, ensuring the curriculum continuously evolves to align with the growing needs of the cannabis industry. This redevelopment is part of the Commission's ongoing commitment to equipping SEP participants with comprehensive and relevant resources to successfully enter and thrive within Massachusetts' cannabis industry.

The development and delivery of future social consumption courses within the SEP will require significant investment in time, expertise, and funding. These courses must be designed from the ground up, including curriculum development, creation of instructional materials, and recruitment of qualified instructors with subject matter expertise. Once created, the courses will be delivered in formats accessible to diverse participants, potentially requiring both in person and virtual offerings. The successful launch and ongoing availability of these courses are dependent on the Commission securing sufficient funding to support their design, implementation, and continuous improvement, ensuring that participants are fully prepared to enter and succeed in the emerging social consumption market.



Disproportionately Impacted Areas (DIAs)

Consistent with the statutory and regulatory mandate, please find below the Commission's map of DIAs, defined as a geographic area identified by the Commission for the purposes identified in M.G.L. c. 94G, § 4(a½)(iv), and which has had historically high rates of arrest, conviction, and incarceration related to marijuana crimes (see 935 CMR 500.002 and 501.002).



30 Areas of Disproportionate Impact

Abington	Fall River	Lowell	Pittsfield	Springfield
Amherst	Fitchburg	Lynn	Quincy	Taunton
Boston	Greenfield	Mansfield	Randolph	Walpole
Braintree	Haverhill	Monson	Revere	Wareham
Brockton	Holyoke	New Bedford	Southbridge	West Springfield
Chelsea	Lawrence	North Adams	Spencer	Worcester

Engagement and Events

The Commission remains deeply committed to fostering robust and ongoing community engagement. Throughout this year, EPCO has significantly expanded outreach, actively promoting the Commission's equity programming, advancing critical initiatives, and strengthening community partnerships statewide. Over FY2025, EPCO held seven in-person events across the Commonwealth to increase accessibility for individuals seeking information on SEP, EOED's Cannabis Social Equity Trust Fund (CSETF), available licenses, municipal equity requirements and other resources. Due to budget constraints, these in-person events were limited and some prospective events were transitioned to a virtual format.

In October 2024, EPCO, in collaboration with EOED, conducted targeted outreach in Roxbury, providing essential application resources to potential applicants of the CSETF. The application period for the CSETF concluded on October 17, 2024. The Commission assisted with the awarding of grants to businesses by verifying equity status of the businesses selected as well as their license status to ensure they met the qualifying criteria set by the CSETF.

Additionally, EPCO participated in a panel discussion on February 11 at Johns Hopkins University that focused on equity in the cannabis industry. The event highlighted Massachusetts' leadership and shared best practices nationwide.

Overall, EPCO's outreach in FY2025 underscored the critical role that community engagement plays in advancing equity and expanding opportunities within the cannabis industry. The department's achievements this year, from targeted outreach to thought leadership, reflect the Commission's dedication to ensuring equitable participation statewide. However, maintaining this momentum, particularly through external events, specialized trainings, and new equity initiatives, will require additional funding to meet demand and fully realize the Commission's mission for an inclusive, accessible, and well-supported marketplace.

EquityWorks Career Hub

The EPCO team continues intensive work toward the successful development of the [EquityWorks Career Hub](#) platform, powered by Premier Virtual. EquityWorks is specifically designed to support professional growth in the regulated cannabis industry, including inclusive hiring practices and robust networking. The platform prioritizes communities disproportionately impacted by cannabis prohibition, fostering inclusive economic participation through tailored resources and networking opportunities. EquityWorks Career Hub was launched to licensees on April 14, equity programming participants on May 12, and to the general public on June 19.

EPCO successfully hosted a series of in-person training sessions on the EquityWorks platform on May 21, June 11, and June 25. These targeted outreach events focused on increasing awareness, driving platform registrations among SEP participants and job seekers, and strengthening engagement with licensed cannabis businesses and integrated business solution services. For a limited time prior to the public launch of the platform, the Commission targeted equity participants exclusively, which is vital for building community trust, encouraging early platform adoption, and guaranteeing access to digital resources among the equity participants and the public.

To spread awareness of this initiative, the Commission developed an integrated, multi-platform marketing campaign consisting of a [new webpage](#) added to the Equity Programming section of the Commission's website, an educational rack card, and a [video tour](#) as well as an email drip campaign, social media posts, and multimedia support to promote EquityWorks Career Hub and various training sessions held across the state for licensees, ancillary business owners, and job seekers of all levels.

Looking ahead, the Commission remains committed to strategically planning and organizing dynamic, robust community outreach events. These ongoing efforts are essential to supporting current and prospective equity participants, providing necessary resources, and continuously strengthening pathways into the legal cannabis industry, as business owners, skilled professionals, and integrated business solution providers.

Constituent Services

The Constituent Services Department serves as the forward-facing voice of the Commission to all residents of the Commonwealth; offering a multidimensional approach to support the general constituency of the Commission, as well as Medical Use of Marijuana Program participants. The Constituent Services

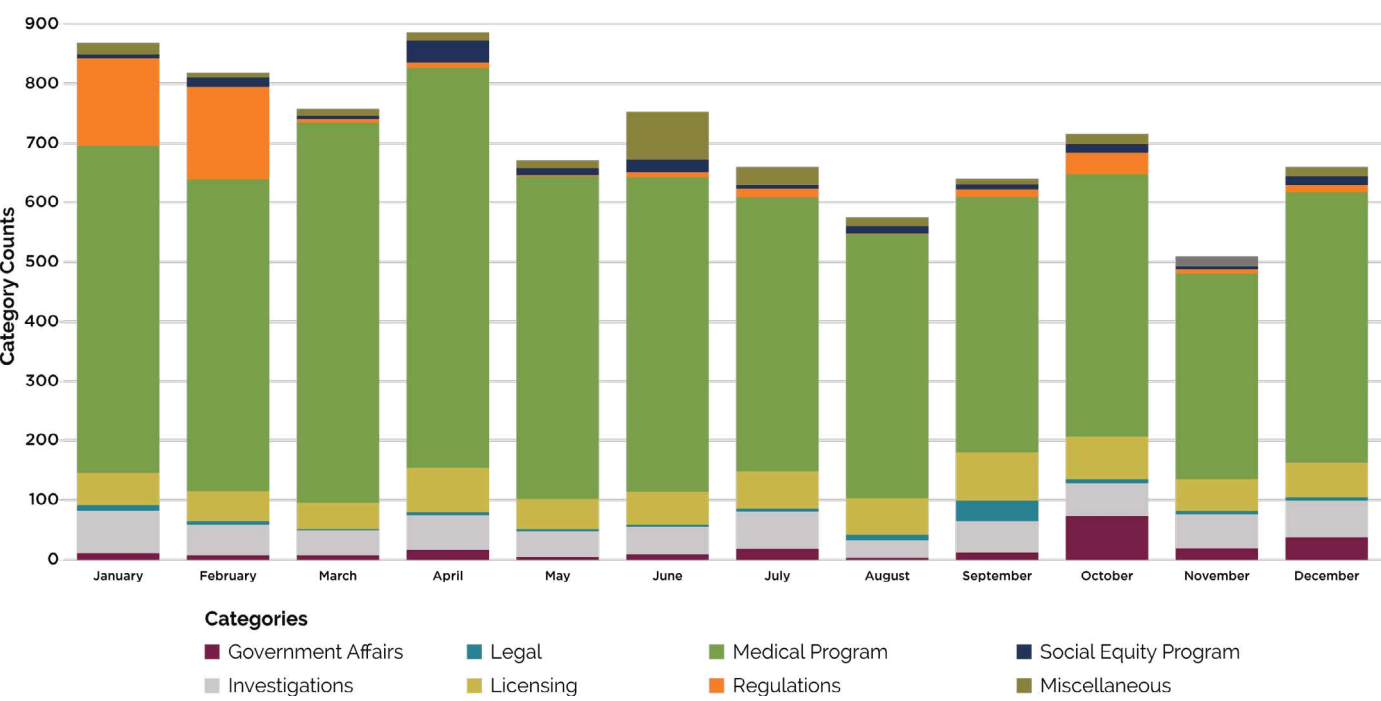
Department responds to inquiries from constituents and provides resources and information regarding the Commission's rules and regulations, sharing the work of each unit of the agency. The team also provides programmatic support for Registered Qualifying Patients and Personal Caregivers enrolled in the Medical Use of Marijuana Program.

The Commission ensures timely responses to all inquiries from the public. Constituents may contact the agency through the [MassCannabisControl.com "Contact" page](#), email, phone, or by writing the agency with their opinions, questions, comments, and concerns. In FY2025, the Commission received and responded to more than 30,000 phone calls and approximately 8,000 emails to its general email box. The Constituent Services team liaises with other departments to resolve constituent cases, including but not limited to questions about licenses and applications, compliance, ownership, suitability, and other matters related to operating businesses.

Table 3. Constituent Services and Operator Phone Lines from FY2025

FY2025	Calls Offered	Calls Handled	Average Handle Time	Average Time in Queue
Operator Inbound	6,542	7,096	03:45min	01:48min
Operator Outbound	589	589	00:19 sec	N/A
Patient Services Inbound	24,842	30,059	11:18min	03:19min
Patient Services Outbound	5,709	5,709	08:38min	N/A

Commission Mailbox Numbers FY2025



Communications

The Commission is in constant contact with members of the public through various media and platforms. Beyond the agency's monthly public meeting, which consistently features Commissioners' availability to the media after adjournment, Commissioners attend and present at public events throughout the Commonwealth, the Northeast, and nationwide. Commission principals have made or participated in numerous press opportunities, presentations, speeches, panel discussions, roundtables, and other forums before stakeholder groups such as community organizations, senior citizen groups, municipal officials, financial institutions, industry, peer regulators, and law enforcement. The agency takes its responsibility seriously to address questions raised by members of the press efficiently and transparently, and to proactively promote agency updates that will impact constituent groups through media announcements and opinion pieces, web updates, email communications, social media, and more.

Several examples from the past fiscal year and more recently include communications around regulatory reforms aimed at [increasing efficiencies for cannabis deliveries and the transport of marijuana products for testing, small business expansion, and patient access](#); the [approval of the final license for the Commonwealth's first Marijuana Research Facility](#); the rollout of the [framework for social consumption licenses](#); sales milestones such as [\\$8 billion in gross adult-use sales](#) and an [annual adult-use sales record with \\$1.64 billion generated in 2024](#); the [extension of the exclusivity period for delivery licenses](#) to be only available to equity participants; the [launch of the EquityWorks Career Hub](#); and the [launch of live programming for SEP participants](#).

Website

From July 1, 2024, through June 30, 2025, the Commission's website received more than 2,500,000 page views and over 635,000 unique visits. The website continues to provide a high level of transparency and self-service for the public by regularly maintaining various tables and tools such as the [Municipal Zoning Tracker](#), [RVT directory](#), and [Find a Retailer map](#). The Commission also maintains a robust archive of public documents, including enforcement actions, agency announcements, press releases, and both provisional and final Executive Summaries and License Applications, all easily accessible to the public. In FY2025, the Commission introduced several new website enhancements and user-focused resources designed to improve transparency, accessibility, and ease of navigation. The Commission launched new, curated resource webpages for the general public for better access to information related to [Chapter 180 implementation](#), [Hearings](#), the [EquityWorks Career Hub](#), and the Commission's [social media channels](#).

Google Programmable Search

The Commission launched Google Programmable Search on its web server, providing a combined, comprehensive search experience across both the Commission's main website (MassCannabisControl.com) and its public awareness More About Marijuana campaign website ([MoreAboutMJ.org](#)). With new advanced filtering options, users may now segment search results by content type (webpage, calendar event, document, or dataset) as well as posted date, relevance, and website domain.

Automated Licensing Tracker

The [Licensing Tracker](#) on the Commission’s website is now fully automated with data pulled directly from the Massachusetts Cannabis Industry Portal (MassCIP) and the Medical Use of Marijuana Program Online System (MMJOS), providing weekly updates of all Licensees who have been approved to commence operations. Additional advanced filtering options provide the ability to filter licensees by medical and adult-use, location, license type, and expedited or priority status as well as the ability to search and download the data in various file types. A one-click “Related Documents” search query, powered by the new Google Programmable Search solution, is also provided for each Licensee which displays all documents associated with a specific license number available on the Commission website such as Public Meeting agendas, Executive Summaries, License Applications, Changes of Ownership, and any enforcement actions.

Virtual Engagement

The Commission sent, on average, 10 email campaigns to subscribers per month with an open rate of 43%. The Commission’s social media presence includes [Instagram](#) (@CannabisControlCommission, 4,270 followers), [LinkedIn](#) (@CannabisControlCommission, 11,500) [Twitter, now called X](#), (@MA_Cannabis, 8,770 followers) and [Facebook](#) (@MassCCC, 3,200 followers). The Commission also hosts a [YouTube](#) channel that provides access to past public meetings, educational content, and tutorials. Through these various channels, the Commission continues to communicate with the public regarding the work of the agency and its regulation of the developing industry.

Public Awareness and Education Campaigns

Educating the public about safe, informed, and responsible cannabis use is a core responsibility of the Commission and an essential part of protecting public health and safety in the Commonwealth. Yet the future of these campaigns is limited, as the public education line item in the Commission’s budget has not been funded since FY2020. Without dedicated funding, the Commission has relied on organic promotion through owned and earned media strategies to sustain outreach, constraining the scale and reach of its efforts. While these initiatives have produced meaningful impact, continued and expanded campaigns, particularly those needed to support new license types such as social consumption, will require significant investment to ensure educational and accessible information is able to reach as many patients, consumers, and the general public as possible.

More About Marijuana

The Commission utilized organic promotion in FY2025 to highlight new and evergreen content for its state-mandated public awareness campaign, More About Marijuana ([MoreAboutMJ.org](#)). Although More About Marijuana was not funded for FY2025, Communications utilized its annual 4/20 campaign—a cannabis enthusiast holiday and the industry’s highest sales day of the year—as an opportunity to create and promote new digital content to better educate the public about labeling, cannabinoids, product types, and responsible use.

The latest resources include a new “[Understanding Labels](#)” animated video that delivers product labeling information from the previous year’s 4/20 campaign “Understanding Labels” flyer in a multimedia adaptation that is more popular and consumable online, and an “Understanding Cannabinoids” flyer that serves as an introduction to the most widely known and studied cannabinoids found listed on product labels by percentage.

The Commission also created and launched a new social media series based on its 2024 4/20 public awareness campaign “Marijuana Products” flyer to educate the public on the broad range of products available in Massachusetts as well as safe consumption and responsible use both in and out of home, and in consideration of ongoing policy discussions regarding social consumption business models, license types, and consumables.

Medical Use of Marijuana Program

In anticipation of the 10-year anniversary of the Medical Use of Marijuana Program sales in June, the Commission developed a series of rack cards providing an introduction to the program and its benefits to patients, how to register as a new patient and renew program registration annually, and the benefits of having a personal caregiver. These rack cards are available to licensees, Certifying Healthcare Providers, community organizations, and the general public to order free of charge via the [Massachusetts Health Promotion Clearinghouse](#) along with a large suite of public education materials in both print and digital download formats.



Government Affairs and Policy

Throughout FY2025, the Commission continued to serve as a trusted resource for policymakers at the local, state, and federal level, maintaining robust collaboration with the Massachusetts Legislature and Executive Branch to advance the Commonwealth's cannabis policy goals. Per the Commission's legislative outreach policy, the Commission does not weigh in on specific bills but rather, may advocate for general policies to support an industry that protects public safety, health, and welfare, and that promotes an equitable and fair marketplace. The Commission may also, by majority vote, approve policy statements to aid the Legislature on topics that fall under the agency's purview.

During the 194th legislative session, Commissioners and staff were actively engaged with members of the Legislature and the Joint Committee on Cannabis Policy to answer questions, provide data, and share background information on current regulatory practices. These ongoing discussions have ensured that legislators remain well-informed as they consider bills that may impact the cannabis industry and the Commission's work. Most often, legislative offices are in contact with the Commission on behalf of their constituents.

The Commission has regularly engaged with municipal officials, local boards of health, and police departments to provide data, expertise, and updates on regulatory developments including social consumption. The Commission also participated as a vendor at the Massachusetts Municipal Association (MMA) Annual Meeting and Trade Show in January. There, staff met directly with municipal leaders from across the Commonwealth, providing guidance and resources on key topics such as municipal equity requirements, community impact fees, and HCAs. These conversations helped local officials as they implement Chapter 180 mandates and helped align local practices with state policy.



Massachusetts is widely regarded as a national leader in marijuana policy, as evidenced by the volume of our publications and the frequent consultation requests from other states and federal agencies. The Commission voted in July 2024 to submit a [public comment](#) to the United States Department of Justice regarding the Drug Enforcement Administration's proposed rule to reschedule marijuana to Schedule III. The comment highlighted the Commonwealth's experience regulating cannabis safely while advancing public health and social justice. The Commission applauded the Administration's acceptance of cannabis as holding medicinal benefits to some patients, and shared questions and areas for our partners in federal government to consider. Following the public comment period, a hearing was scheduled and later postponed for the Department of Justice to hear further insights into rescheduling and called upon a member of the Commission's Cannabis Advisory Board to testify as well as another member to serve as an expert.

The Commission's Government Affairs and Policy team maintains strong relationships with regulatory counterparts in other states, meeting regularly through the Cannabis Regulators Association (CANNRA) to discuss topics such as hemp, public health, interstate coordination activities, compliance and enforcement, banking, public education, social equity, medical cannabis, and federal policy. These engagements have allowed the team to draw on the experiences of peer agencies nationwide, learning from other states' approaches and incorporating those insights into policy development in Massachusetts. By benchmarking against national best practices, the Commission continues to refine its regulations, improve market outcomes, and ensure that the Commonwealth remains a leader in safe, equitable, and effective cannabis governance.

Building on the success of prior years, the Commission hosted its third annual [State of Cannabis in Massachusetts](#) event at the State House in April, bringing together legislators and their staff for a comprehensive update on the agency's programs, market data, and policy initiatives. Commissioners and staff presented topics including social equity, HCA oversight, and market trends, and distributed updated informational materials summarizing the agency's work. This event also served as an opportunity for Legislators to meet the Commission's new Executive Director and hear directly from him about goals for the Commission's future.



Legal

The Legal Department advises the Commission and its staff on the interpretation and implementation of its governing laws and on applicable areas of state and federal law. In addition, Legal coordinates, as needed, on responding to external inquiries from members of the public and from federal and state agencies and officials, including agency counsel. Staff also supports professional groups and academic institutions focused on the developing area of cannabis law. In addition to the General Counsel, the Legal Department consists of a Deputy General Counsel, several Associate General Counsels, two Paralegals and one Legal Assistant.

Litigation

The Legal Department works closely with the Office of the Attorney General on litigation and other matters implicating the interpretation and implementation of the Commission's laws and regulations as well as pertinent areas of the law. To that end, the Commission's General Counsel has obtained designation as a Special Assistant Attorney General (SAAG) to represent the Commission in certain court matters. Pursuant to the SAAG designation, the General Counsel has filed pleadings in several pending Superior Court matters. As of the date of this report, the Commission is not a named defendant in any pending court litigation matters. Legal staff also monitor and alert Commissioners and staff to important decisions made by federal and state courts on relevant aspects of the law.

Open Meeting Law Compliance

The Commission conducts its public meetings in compliance with the Open Meeting Law, G. L. c. 30A, §§ 18-25, which includes posting notice and materials at least 48 hours in advance of its meetings. The Commission's public meetings are held in virtual and/or hybrid formats and, over the past few years, have been consistent with the Governor's executive orders related to the Open Meeting Law and the Legislature's enactment of Chapter 2 of the Acts of 2025. During FY2025, there were three complaints filed against the Commission relating to the Open Meeting Law. In two of those complaints, the Attorney General's Office ruled against the Commission, but found no evidence of an intentional violation in either case and did not impose a fine. As of the date of this report, the third complaint is still pending.

In addition to live streaming its public meetings, the Commission posts recordings of its public meetings on its YouTube channel and its minutes on its website. On a tri-annual basis, the Commission reviews its executive session minutes for release to the public. Relatedly, Legal staff also advises on compliance with Robert's Rules of Order, previously adopted by the Commission, and on questions relating to the conduct of its public meetings.

Ethics Compliance

As required by G. L. c. 10, § 76 (k), the Commission has developed its own Enhanced Code of Ethics. The Legal Department supports Commissioners and staff in ensuring compliance with state ethics laws and its enhanced code of ethics. As part of its onboarding process, Legal staff ensures that new employees satisfy applicable ethics requirements.

Public Record Compliance

During CY 2024, the Commission's Records Access Officer received and responded to approximately 216 requests for public records. When necessary, the Commission has withheld exempt records under G. L. c. 4, § 7 (26), in order to safeguard records considered to be confidential under its statutes and regulations and the Public Records Law. In January 2025, the Commission filed its annual report with the Secretary of the Commonwealth's Public Records Division. As needed, it consults with the division to ensure compliance. As of July 30, 2025, the Commission is not a party to any pending appeals concerning its response to public record requests.

The Commission's operating principles include a focus on conducting all processes openly and transparently. To that end, staff regularly post the following:

- Applications granted provisional and final licensure, which can be found on the [Licensing Application Decisions](#) section of the Public Documents page on the Commission's Website; and
- Executive summaries, public meeting minutes, and other materials presented during Commission public meetings, which can be found on the [Public Documents](#) page of the Commission's website.

The Legal Department also consults on the maintenance of the [Open Data Platform](#).

Audits

Through this past fiscal year, the State Auditor's Office chose to audit the Commission during the following timeframes:

- July 1, 2022-June 30, 2024, to examine the calculation, collecting, and accounting for fees and fines collected in the Marijuana Regulation Fund (MRF);
- July 1, 2019-December 31, 2024, to examine agency employee settlement agreements.

Additionally, the Auditor reviewed processes and procedures relative to host community agreements (HCAs), which are the required contracts between licensees and the cities and towns in which they operate, as well as related community impact fees (CIFs).

Commission staff met with the Auditor's team for nearly a year and spent hundreds of hours reviewing procedures with the investigators, then provided formal responses to initial findings before the State Auditor's final report was published in August.

In July 2024, the agency had self-identified that a number of administrative extensions had been requested by and granted to Massachusetts licensees without requiring payment of the applicable prorated fees. Once the failure to collect fees was discovered, the Commission began billing for uncollected fees that were identified. To date, the agency has collected more than two-thirds of identified fees and continues to pursue collection of the remaining balance through the State Comptroller Billing and Receivable System.

The Commission also updated its licensing software in July 2024 to accept pro-rated extension applications and fees. Fees are now paid prior to the Commission's granting of an extension, eliminating the need to bill licensees.

It is critically important to note that neither the Auditor nor the Office of the Inspector General, which completed [a similar review](#) in March, identified any evidence of fraud by Commission employees in their reports. The Commission's [April 17 response to the Inspector General](#) is available. The Commission welcomes ongoing collaboration with the Auditor's team and looks forward to providing updates over FY2026 as needed. More information is available within the agency's online [Frequently Asked Questions page](#) at MassCannabisControl.com.

Research

The Commission's Research Department currently consists of a Chief of Research, two Project Coordinators, and two Research Analysts. Despite continued limited staffing and funding, the Commission plans to develop the Center for Cannabis Research and Policy (CCRP) to advance collaboration for cannabis policy research.

Section 17(a) of G.L. c.94G and St. 2017, c.55 requires the Commission to develop a research agenda to better understand the social and economic trends of cannabis in the Commonwealth. The law identifies at least seven categories of study and authorizes an expansion of that scope with the aim of informing future decisions that would aid in the closure of the unregulated marketplace and monitoring the public health impacts of cannabis and cannabis legalization.

Since the Commission completed all one-time research items pursuant to St. 2017, c. 55 in 2022, it is focused on providing updates to metrics pursuant to Section 17(a) of G.L. c.94G. The Research Department publishes two standardized reports in alternating years: 1) Industry Report and the 2) International Cannabis Policy Study (ICPS) Report.

In February, the Research Department published the Commission's 13th comprehensive research report pursuant to G.L. c.94G § 17(a)(iii), G.L. c.94G § 17(a)(iv), and G.L. c.94G § 17(a)(v). This interdepartmental study provides a comprehensive assessment on the cannabis industry, including ownership and employment, diversity, equity and inclusion, among other topics of policy interest, such as testing, a recent public health concern nationwide. Additionally, the Department is currently drafting the next report, using data from the ICPS, for completion in 2026.

The Research Department continues to work internally, as well as collaborate with various state agencies, academic researchers, and other stakeholders to employ primary and secondary data collection methods to examine a spectrum of items. As cannabis policy research gains interest nationwide, the Commission set both long- and short-term goals to ensure its research is high-quality, impactful, comprehensive, and collaborative. Thus, in addition to the Industry Research Report, during FY2025, the Department has also published one peer-reviewed scientific article and gave nine presentations at national scientific conferences, academic institutions, and state government conferences to advance the study of effects on cannabis laws.

The Research Department served as Guest Editors for the first Specialty Update on Cannabis for the scientific journal *Clinical Therapeutics* in July of 2023. Due to the success of the first Specialty Update, members of the Research Department were requested to serve again as Guest Editors for a second full

issue of the scientific journal *Clinical Therapeutics*, focused on the intersection of cannabis research and policy, this time with a focus on medical programs and therapeutics, to be published in January 2026. In this Special Issue, the work of the Commission and colleagues will again highlight Massachusetts' cannabis research and policy to an international audience. Since this issue is Open-Access, all articles are available to anyone interested and continue Massachusetts' trajectory as a leader in applied cannabis research and evidence-based policy.

The Commission sponsored, moderated, and served as a panelist on two Symposiums, including a Plenary at the annual CANNRA External Stakeholder meeting in June: 1) *What is "medical cannabis" in the current market and how can we regulate for patient safety?* (Symposium, served as Moderator); and 2) *What do data and research tell us about the impacts of legalization?* (Plenary, served as Panelist). These two presentations included the leaders in cannabis research and policy across the U.S., including Dr. Susan Weiss at the Division of Extramural Research at the National Institute on Drug Abuse (NIDA); Dr. Ryan Vandrey, Professor at Johns Hopkins University Behavioral Pharmacology Research Unit and Principal Investigator on the NIDA Research Registry for the Study of Medicinal Cannabis Use and Health Study; Steph Sherer, Board President and Executive Director of Americans for Safe Access; Dr. David Hammond, Professor at University of Waterloo and Principal Investigator on the International Cannabis Policy Study (ICPS); Dr. Igor Grant, Distinguished Professor of the Department of Psychiatry at the University of California, San Diego School of Medicine and the University of California Center for Medicinal Cannabis Research (CMCR), Heather Krug, Regulatory Programs Branch Chief for the State Public Health Laboratory of the Colorado Department of Public Health and Environment, and Dr. Julie K. Johnson, Chief of Research at the Massachusetts Cannabis Control Commission.

The Research Department also coordinated a Symposium presented at the 2025 Annual Research Society on Marijuana (RSMj) conference entitled, *Ensuring Cannabis Policies aren't Half Baked: Pairing Policy with Science* and featuring CANNRA colleagues, including: Dr. Kaitlin Kosinski, Research Scientist at the New York State Office of Cannabis Management; Dr. Lirit Franks, Research Associate at the University of Utah School of Medicine, and Dr. Julie K. Johnson, Chief of Research at the Commission. This Symposium highlighted the intersection of cannabis research and regulation, as well as the unique Massachusetts experience of a cannabis regulatory governance body including an internal Research Department and the applied cannabis research pursuant to Section 17(a) of G.L. c.94G and St. 2017, c.55.

The Research Department continues to serve on external committees to expand national collaborative efforts. The Chief of Research serves as co-chair on the CANNRA Medical Cannabis Subcommittee working with other state regulators from across the country and is the Associate Editor for policy research for the scientific [journal, Cannabis](#). Research staff are also members and actively participate in the RSMj, Council of State and Territorial Epidemiologists (CSTE) Cannabis Subcommittee, and CANNRA Subcommittees, including hemp, public health and education, and federal policy.

Additionally, it has been a successful year for external grant collaborations to advance G.L. c.94G goals and Commission priorities. The Research Department has successfully contributed to three national grants, including: 1) *Impact of cannabis legalization and commercialization on substance use and mental health outcomes in psychosis*; 2) *Enhancing Opportunities for Addiction Research in the Merrimack Valley*; and 3) *State Cannabis Surveillance Environmental Scan*. Additionally, the Commission was scored high for a fourth grant entitled, *The Impact of Cannabis Legalization on Cannabis and Nicotine Vaping/Smoking*

among Youth with Mental Illness and anticipate this National Institutes of Health funded grant to be awarded to the Commission in FY2026. The Commission is working to secure an appropriation to receive monies from collaborative grants secured for critical cannabis research in Massachusetts and beyond.

Table 4. Commission Research Products from July 1, 2024 - June 30, 2025

Colby, A., Humiston, G, Johnson, JK. (2025, February). Review and Assessment of the Massachusetts Adult and Medical Use Cannabis Industries . Worcester, MA: Massachusetts Cannabis Control Commission.
Johnson JK. Gruber S., Pacula RL., Weiss S. Cannabis Regulators Association (CANNRA) External Stakeholder Meeting, 2024. <i>Research Spotlight: New Findings on the Health Effects of Cannabis and Cannabinoids and Policy Implications</i> . Moderator.
Johnson JK, Colby A, Humiston G, Pensky H. <i>Using Publicly Available Cannabis Industry Surveillance Data to Monitor Social Equity Trends</i> . Research Society on Marijuana (RSMj) July 2024. Symposium Presentation.
Humiston G, Colby A, Edwards V, Johnson JK. <i>Guiding Applied Public Health Researchers through Cannabis Industry Testing Standards and Data</i> . Council of State and Territorial Epidemiologists (CSTE) June 2025. Oral Presentation.
Johnson JK., Fisher E., Grant I, Sherer S, Vaillencort D. Panel, <i>What is “medical cannabis” in the current market and how can we regulate for patient safety?</i> Cannabis Regulators Association (CANNRA) External Stakeholder Meeting, 2025.Moderator.
Schauer G., Hammond D., Vandrey R., Weiss S., Krug, H., Johnson JK. <i>What do data and research tell us about the impacts of legalization</i> . Cannabis Regulators Association (CANNRA) External Stakeholder Meeting, 2025. Plenary Panel-Panelist.
Invited Lecturer, Wake Forest University. Course, Research Methods, Professor Jeffrey Moyer [Lecturers: Chief of Research, Julie K. Johnson, and Research Analyst, Graelyn Humiston]
University of Massachusetts, Lowell. <i>Public Health Job Opportunities in State Government</i> . Professor Ann-Marie Matteucci. February 10, 2025. Invited Panelists: Julie Johnson, Cannabis Control Commission, Nicole D. Karlsson, New Hampshire Department of Health and Human Services, Amy Benison, Massachusetts Department of Public Health, and Andrew Robinson, Massachusetts Department of Public Health
Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health, Course, <i>Public Health Perspectives on U.S. Drug Policy</i> . Professors Sabriya Linton and Fernanda Alonso Aranda. February 11, 2025. Invited Panelists: Julie K. Johnson and Silea Williams, Cannabis Control Commission, Kristen Davis-Franklin, Deputy Cannabis Regulation Oversight Officer, Illinois Department of Financial and Professional Regulation, Audrey Johnson, Executive Director, Maryland Office of Social Equity
Julie K. Johnson, <i>Research at the Massachusetts Cannabis Control Commission</i> . California Government Cannabis Research Workshop. March 24, 2025. Oral Presentation.

Table 5. Commission collaborative grants received from July 1, 2024 - June 30, 2025

Andy Hyatt, Harvard Medical School and Cambridge Health Alliance [Funded]	Title: Impact of cannabis legalization and commercialization on substance use and mental health outcomes in psychosis. Funding Agency: National Institutes of Health/ NIDA Role: Cannabis and Drug Policy Advisor
Dan Berlowitz, University of Massachusetts, Lowell [Funded]	Title: Enhancing Opportunities for Addiction Research in the Merrimack Valley Funding Agency: National Institutes of Health/ NIDA Role: Fellowship Site Mentor, Cannabis Control Commission
Gillian Schauer, Cannabis Regulators Association [Funded]	Title: CSTE State Cannabis Surveillance Environmental Scan Funding Agency: Council of State and Territorial Epidemiologists (CSTE) and Center for Disease Control (CDC) Role: Collaborator with CANNRA

CONCLUSION

This eighth annual report identifies the Commission's ongoing operations for FY2025 and documents the continued growth of the regulated medical- and adult-use cannabis industry in Massachusetts. Over the past year, the Commission has anticipated needs, created significant efficiencies, and continued to meet statutory requirements, while also promoting new opportunities for the cannabis marketplace. From expanding opportunities for delivery and small business, to supporting outdoor cultivation, enhancing testing, implementing legislative mandates, and creating three new license types, the Commission has advanced thoughtful reforms to strengthen the industry.

Across all departments, Commission staff have increased transparency and accessibility, launched new tools, expanded data dashboards, and maintained strong oversight to protect public health and ensure licensee accountability. The Testing team issued critical guidance to strengthen laboratory compliance and protect public health, while the Enforcement Division conducted complex investigations and field inspections to ensure licensee accountability. The Government Affairs and Policy team coordinated robust engagement with municipal leaders, law enforcement, legislators, and regulatory peers across the country, contributing subject-matter expertise to inform both state and national cannabis policy.

Looking ahead, energized by Acting Chair Stebbins' reappointment and the arrival of Executive Director Ahern, the Commission is eager to continue building on the progress achieved thus far in implementing

evidence-based policy and upholding the public’s trust. However, to meet the expectations of the Legislature, Massachusetts residents, and the industry, the agency requires sufficient funding to implement necessary regulatory updates, upgrade outdated IT infrastructure, and expand public education. The Commission’s work in FY2025 and plans for FY2026 reflect an ongoing effort to ensure Massachusetts remains a safe, equitable, and effective cannabis industry for all stakeholders. With more than \$8 billion in total sales to date, Massachusetts’ market serves as an economic driver and a national leader in responsible regulation, innovation, and prioritizing disproportionately harmed communities.



Identifying Disproportionately Impacted Areas by Drug Prohibition in Massachusetts

March 2021

Massachusetts Cannabis Control Commission

Steven J. Hoffman, Chairman
Jennifer Flanagan, Commissioner
Nurys Z. Camargo, Commissioner
Bruce Stebbins, Commissioner
Ava C. Concepcion, Commissioner

Shawn Collins, Executive Director

Principal Investigators

Jennifer M. Whitehill, PhD, University of Massachusetts Amherst
Mark Melnik, PhD, University of Massachusetts Donahue Institute

Project Team

April Pattavina, PhD, University of Massachusetts Lowell
Renee M. Johnson, PhD, MPH, Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health
Rebecca Loveland, MA, University of Massachusetts Donahue Institute
Carrie Bernstein, MPPA, University of Massachusetts Donahue Institute
Faith English, MPH, University of Massachusetts Amherst
Abigail Raisz, BA, University of Massachusetts Donahue Institute
Michael McNally, BA, University of Massachusetts Donahue Institute
Samantha M. Doonan, BA, Research Analyst, Massachusetts Cannabis Control Commission
Julie K. Johnson, PhD, Director of Research, Massachusetts Cannabis Control Commission

Acknowledgments

External Collaborators

University of Massachusetts Amherst
Jasmine Inim, BA

University of Massachusetts Donahue Institute
Andrew Hall, MPA, MA

Cannabis Control Commission

Commission Leadership
Alisa Stack, Chief Operating Officer

Research Department
Olivia Laramie, Research Project Coordinator

Government Affairs
Matthew Giancola, Director of Governmental Affairs and Policy

Suggested bibliographic reference format:

Whitehill JM., Melnik M., Pattavina A., Johnson RM., Loveland R., Bernstein C., English F., Raisz A., McNally, M., Doonan SM., & Johnson JK. (2021, February). *Identifying Massachusetts Communities Disproportionately Impacted by Drug Prohibition*. Worcester, MA: Massachusetts Cannabis Control Commission.

Table of Contents

I.	Executive Summary	4
	Table I-1. Municipalities in Tiers 1 and 2 (Top 20 Percent) of Disproportionate Impact Score	7
	Figure I-1. Disproportionate Impact Tiers for Census Tract in Massachusetts' Five Largest Cities	8
II.	Introduction.....	9
	Purpose.....	9
	History of Drug Enforcement	9
	Massachusetts Policy	10
III.	Methods.....	11
	Overview	11
	Data Sources and Time Frame	12
	Municipalities and Census Tracts	13
	Variables	13
	Data Exclusions	14
	Special Considerations.....	14
	Scoring.....	15
IV.	Results.....	16
	Figure IV-1. Massachusetts Municipalities by Disproportionate Impact Tier.....	16
	Table IV-1. Municipalities in Tiers 1 and 2 (Top 20 percent) of Disproportionate Impact Score, Ranking with Scores	17
	Census Tract Rankings	18
	Figure IV-2. Boston Census Tracts (within Neighborhoods) by Disproportionate Impact Tier.....	19
	Figure IV-3. Cambridge Census Tracts by Disproportionate Impact Tier.....	20
	Figure IV-4. Lowell Census Tracts by Disproportionate Impact Tier	21
	Figure IV-5. Springfield Census Tracts by Disproportionate Impact Tier	22
	Figure IV-6. Worcester Census Tracts by Disproportionate Impact Tier	23
	Table IV-2. Census Tracts in Tier 1 and 2 (Top 20 percent) of Disproportionate Impact Score.....	24
V.	Conclusion	26
	Limitations	26
	Directions for Future Research	27
	Policy Considerations	27
VI.	References.....	29
VII.	Appendices.....	30
	Appendix I. Detailed Study Design and Methods.....	30
	Table VII-1. Time spans and Corresponding Population Data Source(s).....	30
	Appendix II. Data.....	32
	Figure VII-1. Number of Municipalities Reporting to NIBRS, 1990-2017	32
	Table VII-2. Municipalities Excluded from Analysis.....	33
	Table VII-3. Census Tracts Excluded from Analysis	35
	Table VII-4. Point Locations Excluded from Analysis.....	36
	Table VII-5. Characteristics of Adults Arrested for Drug-Related Offenses in Massachusetts, 2000- 2017.....	37
	Table VII-6. Municipalities in Tiers 1 and 2 (Top 20%) of Disproportionate Impact Score, by County	38
	Table VII-7. Disproportionate Impact Scores and score components in Massachusetts by Municipality, 2000-2017.....	39



I. Executive Summary

Introduction

The Massachusetts Cannabis Control Commission (hereafter referred to as “the Commission”) is legislatively required to develop “procedures and policies to promote and encourage full participation in the regulated cannabis industry by people from communities that have previously been disproportionately harmed by cannabis prohibition and enforcement and to positively impact those communities” (G. L. c. 94G, § 4 (a ½) (iv)). Accordingly, the purpose of this project was to: (1) develop a method to empirically assess the extent to which Massachusetts communities have been impacted historically by cannabis prohibition and the “War on Drugs;”^a (2) apply the method to generate a “disproportionate impact score” (“DI” score) that reflects those impacts for different areas of Massachusetts; and (3) provide a ranking of areas in Massachusetts according to the disproportionate impact score [See *Section III. Methods*].

Approach

Overview. To quantify the impact of cannabis prohibition and the “War on Drugs^a,” it was necessary to first conceptualize how this could be measured using available data. Prior research demonstrates that enforcement of drug prohibition has resulted in disproportionately high numbers of arrests and incarceration for Black and Latino^b individuals.¹ These disparities persist despite cannabis decriminalization in Massachusetts in 2008, medical legalization in 2012, and adult-use legalization in 2016.² There are strong correlations between poverty and involvement in drug selling and/or drug use; and after incarceration, many individuals face steep challenges to gaining legal employment, which can set up cycles of poverty that last generations.³ The disproportionate impact (DI) score, therefore, included four primary factors at a geographic-level: Drug arrests, including: (1) average annual number of drug arrests; and (2) average annual rate of drug arrests per 100,000 population; (3) percent of people living in poverty (“economic deprivation”); and (4) the percent of residents who report Black and/or Latino race/ethnicity (“racial and ethnic composition”). These factors were examined for 295 municipalities across Massachusetts, as well as for 305 census tracts in the state’s five largest cities (Boston, Cambridge, Lowell, Springfield, and Worcester).

Data Sources. Arrest data for all incidents involving a drug crime were obtained from the National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS) and the Boston Police Department (BPD) from January 1, 2000 through December 31, 2017 [See *Section II. Introduction—Massachusetts*

^aThe “War on Drugs” refers to punitive criminal sanctions for drug offenses and use of a harsh criminal justice approach in managing societal problems with drugs in the United States [See *Section II. Introduction. History of Drug Enforcement* for additional discussion and references].

^bRace and ethnicity data analyzed in this report come from the U.S. Census Bureau. The Census asks individuals if they are “Hispanic or Latino.” Hispanic or Latino individuals may be of any race. The term Latino is used in this report to refer to people who identify as Hispanic or Latino/a/x. The term Black is used to refer to individuals who identify as either “Black or African American” on the census and who do not identify as Hispanic or Latino.

Policy for additional information on NIBRS vs. the previously used Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) data]. Arrests were assigned to the census tract in which they occurred. The year 2000 was selected as the starting point for this analysis as this was the first year that most Massachusetts municipalities reported to NIBRS [See Figure VI-1]. The ending year was selected so that the study assessed the time before Massachusetts implemented legal sales of cannabis for adult use. Municipalities (n=56) that did not have drug arrest data available in NIBRS or from BPD could not be included in the analysis [See: *Section III. Methods. Data Sources and Time Frame* for more detail].

Score Development. Four key indicators were used in an equation^c that assigned a disproportionate impact (DI) score to each area. Municipalities and/or census tracts were scored separately. These indicators were calculated at the area level and included: (1) average annual number of drug arrests; (2) average annual rate of drug arrests per 100,000 population; (3) percent of people living in poverty; and (4) the percent of residents who report Black and/or Latino race/ethnicity.

To account for the fact that some areas have consistently high levels of arrests, poverty, and Black and/or Latino residents over time while other areas have experienced more changes in these indicators, the study period was divided into four time spans.^d The scoring equation was applied to generate a DI^e score and a ranking for each place in each time span. The average of the four rankings^e was calculated to create a final DI score. The final DI scores range from zero to 99.52, with higher scores representing higher impacts. This final DI score was again ranked to identify the most disproportionately impacted areas in Massachusetts according to the score. Municipalities with a high concentration of college students (n=5) or of seasonal housing (n=7) were excluded from the final ranking because the population and arrest data for such areas is unlikely to represent year-round residents. [See *Table VI-2*]. The five largest cities were excluded from the municipality rankings because they are analyzed separately at the census tract level.

Results

There were 279 municipalities included in the municipal-level ranking. Table I-1 below splits the areas with the highest DI scores into two tiers. Tier 1 includes the 28 cities and towns in the top 10 percent of DI scores (range: 78.7 to 99.5). The three highest scoring communities were Holyoke, New Bedford, and Brockton. Tier 2 includes the next 28 municipalities which fell into the top 11-20 percent of DI scores (range: 69.6-78.6). Tier 2 includes places such as Weymouth, Dennis, and Methuen. Each tier after that contains approximately 56 areas that represent 20

^cThe DI scores in this analysis were calculated using rankings for the following measures and in the following equation: $(0.5) * \text{Average Annual Number of Drug Arrests} + \text{Average Annual Rate of Drug Arrests per 100,000 population} + (0.5) * \text{Percent of people living in poverty} + (0.5) * \text{Percent of Black and/or Latino residents}$.

^dThe time spans used for the analysis were: 2000-2004, 2005-2009, 2010-2014, and 2015-2017.

^eDI scores and ranking for each time period were based on the number of municipalities or census tracts reporting arrest data, which varied over time, from n=246 in 2000-2004 to n=295 in 2015-2017. These ranking were converted to percentages before being averaged across the time spans in which an area reported drug arrests.

percent of ranked municipalities. Tier 6 can be thought of as those communities least negatively impacted by drug enforcement and the bottom 20 percent of DI scores (range: 6.2-30.1).

The median traits in 2015-2017 for a municipality in Tier 1 (the top 10 percent) include: 88 average (mean) annual arrests, 308 average annual arrests per 100,000 population, 15 percent living below the federal poverty line, and 23 percent Black and/or Latino residents. The median municipality in Tier 2 (with a score in the 11th to 20th percentile) had: 50 average annual arrests, 226 average annual arrests per 100,000 population, eight percent living below the federal poverty line, and six percent Black and/or Latino residents. By comparison, municipalities in the bottom tier had two average annual arrests, 32 average annual arrests per 100,000 population, four percent living below the federal poverty line, and two percent Black and/or Latino residents.

The DI score tiers for 305 census tracts within the five largest cities are presented in Figure I-1. Boston, Springfield, and Worcester had census tracts that fall within the Tier 1 on the DI score.

Conclusion

This analysis identifies Massachusetts municipalities and specific census tracts within the five largest cities that have experienced high levels of drug arrests, compounded by poverty and racial segregation, and thus disproportionately experienced negative impacts from drug prohibition and enforcement. The areas in the top tiers on both the municipality and census tract rankings are the most disproportionately impacted areas. Because the DI score for each area is calculated using rankings that are relative to other areas in Massachusetts, places further down on the list may have been impacted, but to a lesser degree.

It is notable, if not surprising, that a majority of municipalities on the current list of Disproportionately Impacted Areas^f maintained by the Commission⁴ fall into Tiers 1 and 2 based on the DI score created in this analysis. Further, many municipalities in Tier 1 are legislatively recognized on the state level as “Gateway Cities.” Gateway Cities are mid-sized urban centers that serve as regional economic anchors and face a variety of social and economic challenges.⁵

Given the nature of the DI scores (*i.e., communities with higher scores are “more impacted” than communities with lower scores*), it may be appropriate for the Commission to consider using different strategies to attempt to address and ameliorate the impacts of drug enforcement on areas in different tiers (or other groupings of areas) on this list. Such an approach would reflect the reality that in Tier 1, residents are more likely to have experienced negative impacts from drug enforcement; whereas in lower tiers, it is most likely to be a subset of people who have such experiences. Eligibility for priority license status and other benefits could be based on a combination of requirements such as residence in a Tier 2 Disproportionately Impacted Area (DIA) and membership in an additional priority group (*e.g., personal or family history of drug arrest or incarceration; Black race and/or Latino ethnicity*).

^f The Commission has previously referred to areas disproportionately impacted by drug prohibition as “Areas of Disproportionate Impact” or “ADIs.” Since the abbreviation ADI is also used in several fields to refer to a measure of economic deprivation called the Area Deprivation Index (ADI), this report utilizes the term Disproportionately Impacted Areas and the abbreviation DIA. See Section II: Introduction, *Massachusetts Policy* for more detail.

It should be noted that disproportionate impacts of drug enforcement occur alongside and interact with other economic and social problems (*e.g., slow job growth and poor-quality schools*). With that, thoughtful and strategic utilization of the DI score for policymaking can help improve social equity within the cannabis industry, and hopefully, in communities that have long-faced social and economic challenges in the Commonwealth.

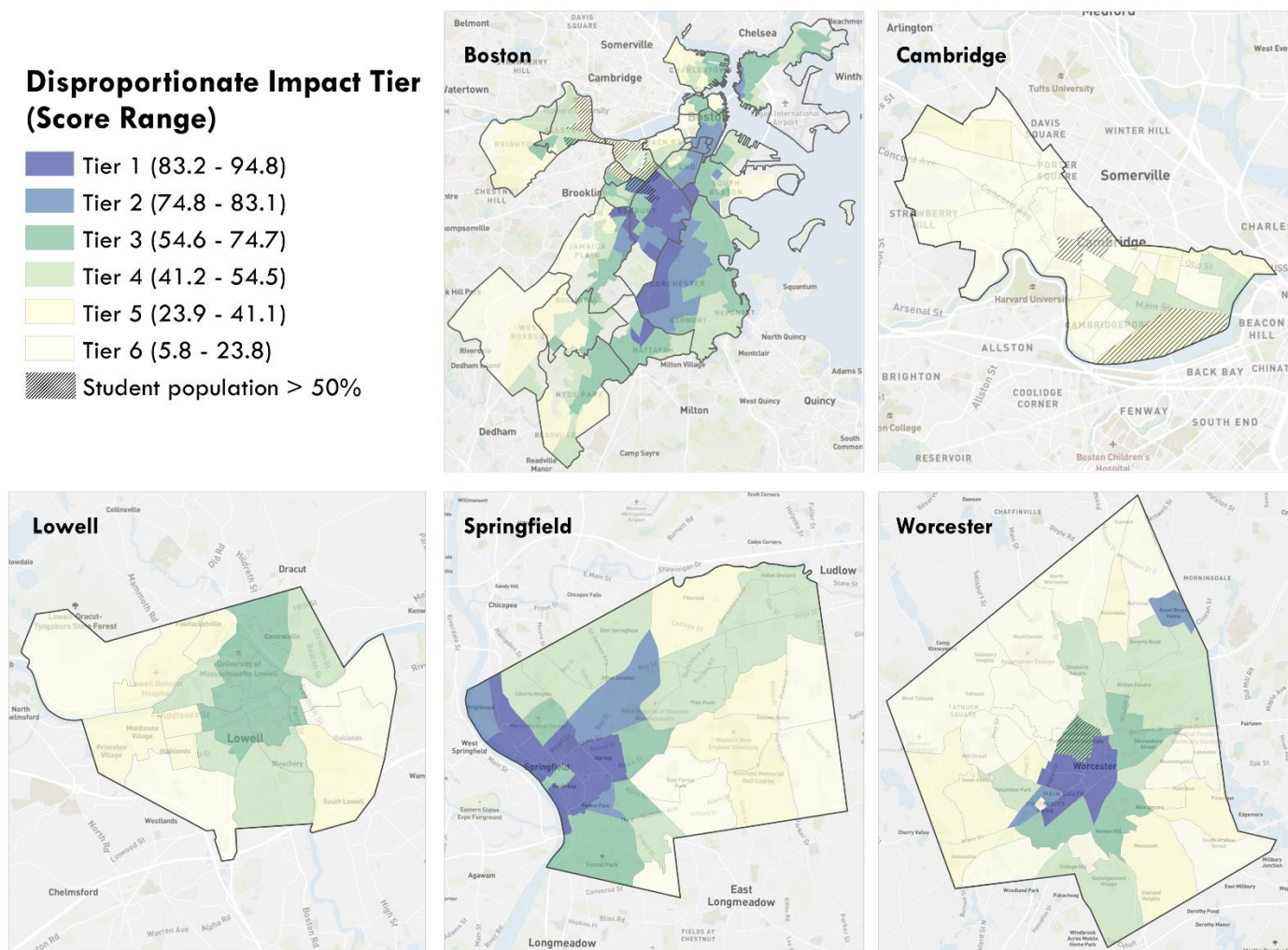
Table I-1. Municipalities in Tiers 1 and 2 (Top 20 Percent) of Disproportionate Impact Score

Tier 1		Tier 2	
Rank	Municipality	Rank	Municipality
1	Holyoke*	29	Weymouth
2	New Bedford*	30	Dennis
3	Brockton*	31	Methuen
4	Lynn*	32	Spencer*
5	Fall River*	33	Stoughton
6	Salem	34	Peabody
7	Chelsea*	35	Wareham*
8	Fitchburg*	36	Yarmouth
9	Southbridge*	37	Palmer
10	Haverhill*	38	Somerville
11	Pittsfield*	39	Plymouth
12	West Springfield*	40	Braintree*
13	Greenfield*	41	Middleborough
14	Taunton*	42	Mashpee
15	Revere*	43	Medford
16	Barnstable	44	Salisbury
17	Everett	45	Woburn
18	Webster	46	Beverly
19	Northampton	47	Marlborough
20	Chicopee	48	Westfield
21	Quincy*	49	Oak Bluffs
22	Gardner	50	Norwood
23	Leominster	51	Montague
24	Randolph*	52	Sturbridge
25	Malden	53	Andover
26	Attleboro	54	Raynham
27	North Adams*	55	Agawam
28	Falmouth	56	Truro

Note: See Table VI-7 for full list of rankings and scores. Disproportionate impact scores ranged from 78.67-99.52 in Tier 1 (top 10%) and 69.56-78.66 (top 11% to 20%) in Tier 2. Tiers were created for 279 cities and towns, after excluding the five largest cities and 9 other municipalities with high student enrollment or seasonality [See Table VI-2 for exclusions].

Municipalities with an asterisk (*) denote those that were included on the Commission's 2017 list of Disproportionately Impacted Areas (DIAs).⁴

Figure I-1. Disproportionate Impact Tiers for Census Tract in Massachusetts' Five Largest Cities



Note: Further detail on census tracts (and alignment with neighborhoods for Boston only) can be found in *Table IV-2* and *Figures IV-2* through *IV-6*.

See *Appendix II. Data. Table VI-7* for DI scores and components for all Massachusetts Municipalities, 2000-2017.

II. Introduction

Purpose

The Commission is legislatively required to develop “procedures and policies to promote and encourage full participation in the regulated cannabis industry by people from communities that have previously been disproportionately harmed by cannabis prohibition and enforcement and to positively impact those communities” (G. L. c. 94G, § 4 (a ½) (iv)). Accordingly, the purpose of this project was to: (1) Develop a method to empirically assess the extent to which Massachusetts communities have been impacted historically by cannabis prohibition and the “War on Drugs;”^a (2) apply the method to generate a “disproportionate impact score” (“DI” score) that reflects those different impacts for different areas of Massachusetts; and (3) provide a ranking of areas in Massachusetts according to the disproportionate impact (DI) score. [See *Section III. Methods*].

History of Drug Enforcement

In the 1960s, there was growing public recognition that alcohol and drug use had become a substantial problem in the United States (U.S.). As part of the 91st U.S. Congress’ Title II of the Comprehensive Drug Abuse Prevention and Control Act of 1970, Congress passed the Controlled Substances Act and President Nixon signed it into law. This statute ushered in a new approach to regulating substances and setting a framework for drug offenses. It created five drug schedules with the designations designed to be made after scientific review of the abuse liability and potential for medical use.^{6, 7} While Schedule 5 drugs have low addictive potential and established medical uses, Schedule 1 drugs are those considered to have no accepted medical uses and high potential for dependency. Cannabis was designated as a Schedule 1 drug placing it “among the most dangerous drugs, with no medical use and high potential for abuse.” Although this Federal Schedule 1 designation was controversial at the time and continues to be contested, it remains in place.^{8,9}

In June of 1971, Nixon officially declared a “War on Drugs.” This campaign aimed to stop illegal drug use and distribution, but had adverse effects on communities of color (“disproportionate impact”). The campaign increased funding for drug-control agencies and created a mandatory prison sentencing for drug crimes. This prison reform led to a disproportionate incarceration rate of people of color for drugs crimes. Many believe this was the intended effect of the “War on Drugs.”

In the 1980s, President Reagan leaned into the Nixon era drug policies and took on a “Law and Order” approach to the nation’s perceived drug problem. The Anti-Drug Abuse Acts of 1986 and 1988 established punitive criminal sanctions for drug charges including new mandatory minimum sentences for offenses related to most drugs, including cannabis. During the Reagan Administration, drug users were targeted by law enforcement via drug possession charges. Drug



control practices targeted Black men in low-income, urban areas leading to a dramatic increase (“disproportionate impact”) in the proportion of Black people under correctional control. While some “War on Drugs” and “Law and Order” policies have been discontinued, they have affected many systems and social structures in the U.S., leaving a legacy of impacts that persist through the present day.¹

Massachusetts Policy

Massachusetts instituted cannabis decriminalization in January 2009. Although the number of arrests for cannabis possession dropped precipitously in subsequent years, racial disparities in cannabis possession arrests persisted.² The Massachusetts legislature legalized cannabis for medical use in 2012 and dispensaries first opened in 2015. Further, Massachusetts legalized cannabis for adult use in late 2016 and the regulated retail market became operational in Fall 2018. Despite these policy changes, data shows that law enforcement patrol urban minority neighborhoods more aggressively than suburban areas, where fewer people of color reside.¹⁰ People of color, and Black males in particular, experience disproportionate law enforcement contact, arrests, and incarcerations related to drug offenses.¹¹

As part of its mandate to address the harms from cannabis prohibition, the Commission provides certain benefits to geographic communities (“areas”) designated as disproportionately impacted (DIAs). For example, under current regulations, individuals who have resided for five of the past 10 years within a DIA are eligible for certain benefits, such as participation in the skill-based Social Equity Program from the Commission. Additionally, Positive Impact Plans developed by cannabis businesses can seek to invest resources in areas on the DIA list.

A prior study for the Commission led by Dr. Gettman analyzed arrest rates in relation to population size, percent of families below the poverty line, and employment rates, and used these indicators to establish a ranking for 160 municipalities in Massachusetts and census tracts in Boston, Worcester, Springfield, and Lowell using Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) data.⁴ This study informed the Commission’s original DIA list. The current study sought to expand the analysis of DIAs to include most of the 351 cities and towns in Massachusetts, and a census tract analysis for all of the cities with over 100,000 residents in the state, and to use additional drug arrest and sociodemographic data. The present study further extends the previous analysis through its use of a more comprehensive law enforcement dataset (*i.e.*, *National Incident-Based Reporting System [NIBRS]* vs. *Uniform Crime Reporting*) and creates a new, empirical approach to identifying communities most impacted by drug enforcement.



III. Methods

Overview

Drawing on prior research, the study team developed a method to quantify the impact of the “War on Drugs” on geographic areas in Massachusetts using arrest, socioeconomic, and demographic data. Critical to this analysis was identifying data that was available at a fine-enough geographic scale to allow analysis at the municipal (*i.e.*, *city or town*) level and at the census tract level for the largest cities.

The methodological approach was based on well-established data attesting that arrest and incarceration have negative impacts on individual health, social, and financial well-being, as well as adverse effects for families and communities.³ Additionally, enforcement of drug prohibition has resulted in disproportionately high numbers of arrest and incarceration for Black and Latino individuals.¹ These disparities persist despite the Commonwealth’s changing cannabis policies, including cannabis decriminalization, followed by medicinal and adult-use legalization.² Because of this situation, it was important to account for the fact that Black and Latino persons experience race-based disparities in drug-related stops, searches, and arrests in the methodology. Further, regardless of race, there are strong correlations between poverty and involvement in drug selling and/or drug use, and after incarceration, many individuals face steep challenges to gain legal employment which can establish cycles of poverty that last generations.³ Taking these factors into account, the disproportionate impact (DI) score was based on a four-pronged approach that measured: (1) average annual number of drug arrests; (2) average annual rate of drug arrests per 100,000 population; (3) percent of people living in poverty; and (4) the percent of residents who report Black and/or Latino race/ethnicity. These three abovementioned factors were examined for 295 municipalities across Massachusetts as well as for the 305 census tracts in the state’s five largest cities (Boston, Cambridge, Lowell, Springfield, and Worcester).

The locations with the highest DI scores are the most disproportionately impacted by drug policy enforcement. These represent areas where the average annual number of drug arrests and rate of drug arrests per 100,000 persons are the highest, and the impact of these arrests likely compounded by high levels of poverty and larger proportions of Black and Latino residents. Conversely, the lowest scoring areas were places with low levels of arrests, low poverty, and a smaller proportion of Black and Latino residents. These can be thought of as areas that have experienced fewer negative impacts from drug enforcement.[§]

[§]It is important to reinforce that the DI scores in this study are relative to other areas in Massachusetts. A low DI score does not indicate that the area or the people residing in that area have experienced no impact from drug enforcement and the other measures that went into the DI score measure.



Data Sources and Time Frame

Drug arrest data from the NIBRS¹² were obtained from the Massachusetts Executive Office of Public Safety and Security (EOPSS). Starting in the 1980s, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) began implementing the NIBRS program in law enforcement agencies across the U.S. This program requires participating law enforcement agencies to collect incident-level data on offenses reported to the police. In Massachusetts, law enforcement agencies serving municipalities submit these data points to a state repository and the state repository submits the data to the FBI. It is a voluntary reporting program and adoption among law enforcement agencies has been slow.

The overall study period was 2000-2017. By the end of 2000, over half of Massachusetts municipalities (n=183) reported to NIBRS, making 2000 an adequate starting point for the study. The ending year of 2017 was selected to have a “baseline” DI score before Massachusetts implemented legal sales of cannabis for adult use. As of 2017, there were 55 Massachusetts towns that did not contribute to NIBRS¹² and thus could not be included in this analysis [See *Table VI-2*]. In general, these are small municipalities with a population size under 8,000 residents, but there is one notable exception: the city of Lawrence (pop. 80,028). Lawrence is a large Gateway City⁵ with significant economic challenges (11 percent unemployed and 24 percent under the poverty line in 2017), with over 80 percent of the population of Latino ethnicity. One municipality had zero recorded drug arrests during the study period and was also not included. The city of Boston did not report to NIBRS during the study period, thus, data for Boston were procured separately from the Boston Police Department (BPD).

To identify areas that consistently had high DI scores according to our measure, acknowledge variation in arrests, demographic, and socioeconomic patterns over time, and reduce the influence of outliers, the 18-year period was broken into smaller time spans. Three five-year spans (2000-2004, 2005-2009, and 2010-2014) were used and the last time span covered three years (2015-2017).

For demographic and socioeconomic data, the current research leveraged the U.S. Census Bureau’s Decennial Census and American Community Survey (ACS), specifically the 2000 Census, and two ACS five-year databases. The ACS is an annual, sample-based survey of American households. The five-year version of the ACS pools together responses from five years of these surveys to create estimates. The five-year version of the ACS is preferable to the one-year version for this study because the pooled sample size allows for data to be released for all cities and towns in the Commonwealth. One-year ACS data are only released for cities and towns with populations of 65,000 or more, which would have severely limited the number of communities that could be analyzed for this study. Appendix Table VI-1 shows the study time spans for arrest data and the year(s) of the corresponding Census and/or ACS data used for analysis.



Municipalities and Census Tracts

All municipalities in Massachusetts with available drug arrest data were included in our analysis. Municipalities were defined according to the U.S. Census Bureau's city/town areas (CTA) designations. Larger cities can often be very complex, with wide variability in racial and socioeconomic composition and in law enforcement activity from neighborhood-to-neighborhood. This analysis, therefore, assessed trends at a census tract level for the five cities in the state with over 100,000 residents (Boston, Cambridge, Lowell, Springfield, and Worcester). Thus, the geographic areas in our analysis include both municipalities and census tracts within the five largest municipalities. Law enforcement agency data and population data was linked to the geographic area, either at the municipality or census tract level.

Variables

- *Number of drug-related arrests:* Average (mean) annual counts of drug-related arrests were computed using NIRBS and BPD data. This included all incidents when a drug offense was involved. This was calculated for each distinct geographic unit (*i.e., city/town or census tract*) based on the number of months that the area reported to NIBRS in each analytical period and then multiplied to represent an annual count. For example, if a town began reporting to NIBRS in January of 2001, the total number of arrests for that area in the period 2000 to 2004 would be divided by 48 months rather than 60 months (*i.e., five years*) and multiplied by 12. This approach allowed comparability across areas that started reporting to NIBRS at different times.
- *Rate of drug-related arrests per 100,000 residents:* The average annual count of drug arrests within an area was divided by the number of adult residents in that area to create a rate per 100,000 population.
- *Percent of Black^h and/or Latinoⁱ residents:* The U.S. Census and ACS data provide estimates of the population demographic composition with the following racial categories: Black or African American, white, American Indian or Alaska Native (AI/AN), Asian, Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander. Ethnicity categories are Hispanic or Latino or non-Hispanic or Latino. The study assessed the proportion of residents in each area that fall into these categories and calculated the share of adults over age 18 who are Black and/or Latino.
- *Poverty status:* Poverty was measured by the percent of persons below the federal poverty level within a geographic unit (*e.g., city/town, census tract, etc.*).

^hThe term Black is used to report non-Hispanic or Latino persons who identify as either “Black or African American.”

ⁱThe term Latino is used in this report to refer to people who identify as Hispanic or Latino/a/x. Ethnicity data analyzed in this report comes from the U.S. Census Bureau which asks individuals if they are “Hispanic or Latino.” Hispanic or Latino individuals may be of any race.

Data Exclusions

This analysis sought to draw conclusions about the people who reside in a certain place being disproportionately impacted by drug policy enforcement. The arrest data obtained from NIBRS and BPD contained addresses for arrests and, due to privacy reasons, did not contain information about the residential address for arrested individuals. It is therefore necessary to assume that the arrest data reflects arrests of residents of a particular area, rather than people moving through that area. To improve the validity of this assumption, arrests (n=5,042) that occurred at certain locations that were unlikely to represent residents were excluded [See *Table VI-4*]. Arrests that met one of the following geographic criteria were excluded:

- 1) Arrest occurred in a census tract that does not reflect a residential area: parks (*e.g., Boston Common*), water (*e.g., Boston Harbor*), other tracts with fewer than 1,000 residents (*e.g., Suffolk Downs and Irving Oil industrial area*);
- 2) Arrest occurred at a geographic point (*i.e., addresses*) within the five largest cities that likely does not reflect a residential location. Specifically, arrests recorded at: the address of police headquarters (HQ) or substations, major transit hubs (*e.g., at the exact address of South Station*), five specific “suspected drug use/trafficking hubs” without residents (*e.g., Xfinity Center in Mansfield, South Shore Plaza Mall in Braintree*) that accounted for more than 20% of a municipality’s total arrest count;
- 3) Arrests from the five largest cities for which the address could not be mapped to a unique point (*e.g., due to a street name that does not exist*); and
- 4) Arrests that from the five largest cities for which the address, when mapped, was outside of the agency’s jurisdiction (*e.g., an arrest made by the Springfield Police Department in Chicopee*).

Special Considerations

Places with high numbers of undergraduate and graduate students

In communities with large student populations, typically college and university towns, the poverty rate can be inflated, thus, not be an accurate measure of economic deprivation in an area. For example, between 2015 and 2017, the town of Amherst had the highest poverty rate in Massachusetts at 33 percent. Comparatively, the poverty rates of cities such as Springfield and Holyoke were just below 30 percent in that same period. While the poverty rate is similar between these communities, the economic realities of these places are quite different. To account for this, the study examined the percentage of residents for each geographic area that were enrolled in college (undergraduate or graduate), with the aim of separating permanent resident poverty from student-driven poverty. Similarly, places with a high concentration of students may also be subject to higher levels of non-resident arrests. A place was defined as having a high number of students if enrolled students made up 20 percent of the population in a municipality or 50 percent of the population of a census tract, based on data for the latest time span. Areas that fit the criteria (five municipalities and 15 census tracts) were identified and omitted from the final rankings [See *Table VI-2* for list of excluded municipalities and *Table VI-3* for a list of excluded census tracts].



Seasonal housing

Areas with high concentrations of seasonal housing and high levels of seasonal arrests were also identified and removed from the final rankings (n=7) [See *Table VI-2*]. This was done to account for communities that may have seasonal spikes in non-resident arrests. Places with high levels of seasonal housing were defined as those with 25 percent or more of the housing stock as seasonal (based on the percentage of vacant housing units used for seasonal, recreational, or occasional use) and where 40 percent or more of arrests were in one specific season (winter; spring; summer or fall) across the study period. As an example, two towns excluded from rankings via this method were Nantucket and Provincetown.

Scoring

The four variables listed above were calculated for all areas with arrest data within a specific time span, treating municipalities and census tracts separately. Next, the areas were ranked according to each measure, separately, with higher values reflecting more impacted areas. The rankings were then combined using the following equation in order to generate a DI score for each time period:

$$(0.5) * \text{average annual number of drug arrests} + \text{average annual rate of drug arrests per 100,000 population} + (0.5) * \text{percent of people living in poverty} + (0.5) * \text{percent of residents who are Black and/or Latino}.$$

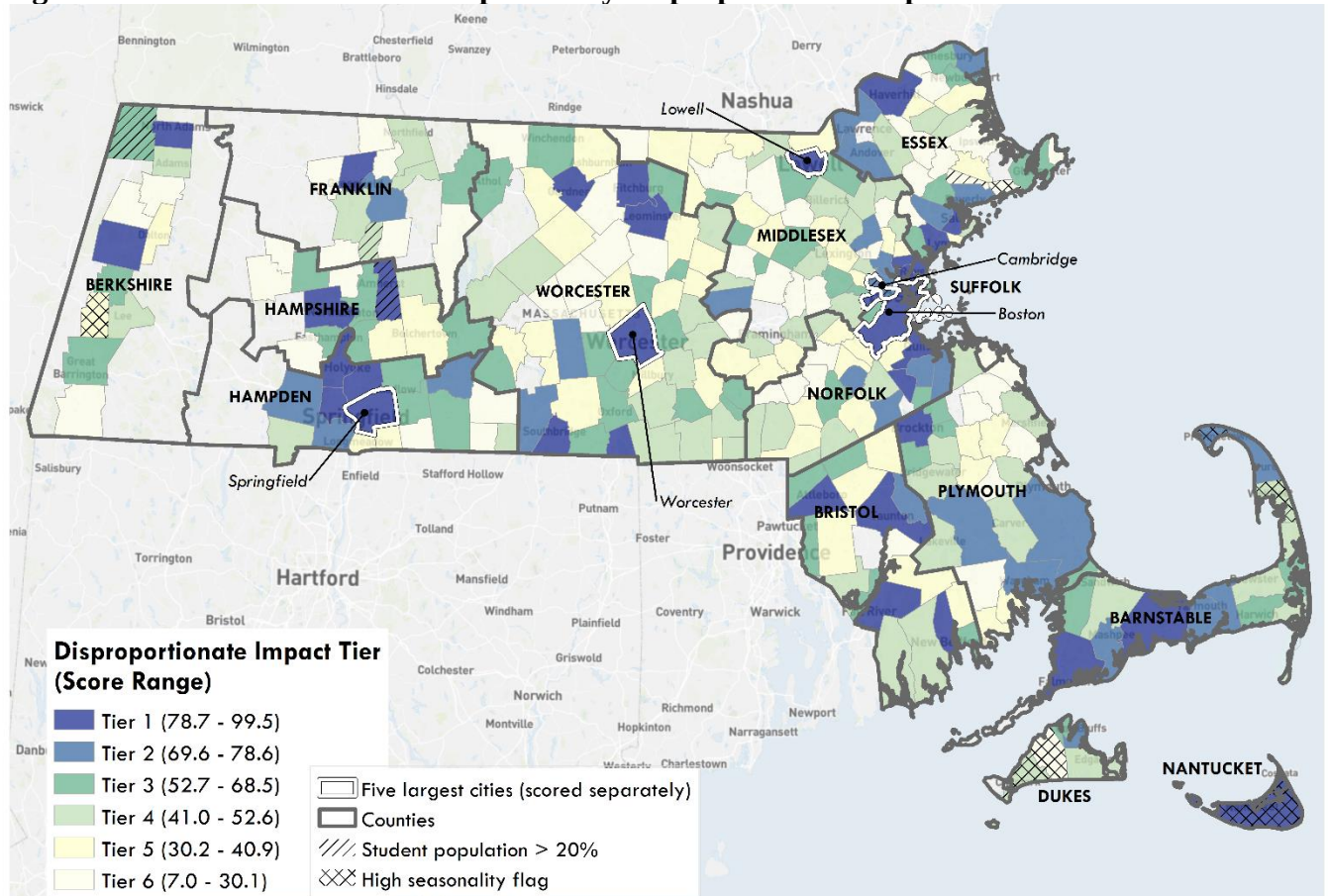
The DI scores for each time span were converted to a percentile and averaged together across the time spans with arrest data to compile the final score.

IV. Results

Municipality Rankings

This analysis shows that there are communities that have been heavily impacted by drug policing all around the Commonwealth [See *Figure IV-1*]. Table IV-1 shows a list of the municipalities that fell within the top 20 percent of highest scores on the disproportionate impact score measure. Tier 1 represents the 28 communities in the top 10 percent and Tier 2 represents the areas that comprised the upper 11 to 20 percent. Excluding the five largest cities in Massachusetts, the municipalities that ranked the highest on the DI score were Holyoke, New Bedford, and Brockton. The cities of Boston, Cambridge, Lowell, Springfield, and Worcester all have DI scores that would fall within the upper 20 percent, but they have been removed from this list since they were analyzed separately at the census tract level.

Figure IV-1. Massachusetts Municipalities by Disproportionate Impact Tier



Note: See *Appendix II. Data. Table VI-7* for DI scores and components for all Massachusetts Municipalities, 2000-2017 and *Appendix II. Data. Table VI-8* for DI scores and components for all Census Tracts of large Massachusetts cities, 2000-2017.

Table IV-1. Municipalities in Tiers 1 and 2 (Top 20 percent) of Disproportionate Impact Score, Ranking with Scores

DI Rank	Municipality	County	DI Score	DI Score Tier	On prior DIA list?
1	Holyoke*	Hampden	99.52	Tier 1	Yes
N/A	Springfield*	Hampden	98.62	Not ranked	Yes
N/A	Boston	Suffolk	98.39	Not ranked	Yes
2	New Bedford*	Bristol	98.02	Tier 1	Yes
N/A	Worcester*	Worcester	97.87	Not ranked	Yes
3	Brockton*	Plymouth	96.55	Tier 1	Yes
4	Lynn*	Essex	95.53	Tier 1	No
5	Fall River*	Bristol	94.78	Tier 1	Yes
6	Salem*	Essex	93.23	Tier 1	No
7	Chelsea*	Suffolk	92.76	Tier 1	Yes
N/A	Lowell*	Middlesex	92.66	Not ranked	No
8	Fitchburg*	Worcester	92.33	Tier 1	Yes
N/A	Amherst	Hampshire	90.82	Not ranked	Yes
9	Southbridge	Worcester	90.13	Tier 1	Yes
10	Haverhill*	Essex	88.80	Tier 1	Yes
11	Pittsfield*	Berkshire	88.58	Tier 1	Yes
12	West Springfield	Hampden	88.56	Tier 1	Yes
13	Greenfield	Franklin	88.42	Tier 1	Yes
14	Taunton*	Bristol	87.62	Tier 1	Yes
15	Revere*	Suffolk	87.30	Tier 1	Yes
16	Barnstable*	Barnstable	87.01	Tier 1	No
17	Everett*	Middlesex	86.66	Tier 1	No
18	Webster	Worcester	85.66	Tier 1	No
19	Northampton	Hampshire	85.00	Tier 1	No
20	Chicopee*	Hampden	84.22	Tier 1	No
21	Quincy*	Norfolk	83.36	Tier 1	Yes
22	Gardner	Worcester	83.14	Tier 1	No
23	Leominster*	Worcester	82.70	Tier 1	No
N/A	Nantucket	Nantucket	81.69	Not ranked	No
24	Randolph	Norfolk	81.03	Tier 1	Yes
25	Malden*	Middlesex	80.42	Tier 1	No
26	Attleboro*	Bristol	80.33	Tier 1	No
27	North Adams	Berkshire	79.71	Tier 1	Yes
28	Falmouth	Barnstable	78.67	Tier 1	No
29	Weymouth	Norfolk	78.64	Tier 2	No
30	Dennis	Barnstable	78.24	Tier 2	No
31	Methuen*	Essex	78.01	Tier 2	No
32	Spencer	Worcester	77.53	Tier 2	Yes
33	Stoughton	Norfolk	77.14	Tier 2	No
34	Peabody*	Essex	77.07	Tier 2	No
35	Wareham	Plymouth	77.04	Tier 2	No
N/A	Provincetown	Barnstable	76.25	Not ranked	No
36	Yarmouth	Barnstable	76.16	Tier 2	No
37	Palmer	Hampden	75.91	Tier 2	No
38	Somerville	Middlesex	74.19	Tier 2	No
39	Plymouth	Plymouth	74.10	Tier 2	No
40	Braintree	Norfolk	73.78	Tier 2	Yes
41	Middleborough	Plymouth	73.61	Tier 2	No
42	Mashpee	Barnstable	73.55	Tier 2	No



DI Rank	Municipality	County	DI Score	DI Score Tier	On prior DIA list?
43	Medford	Middlesex	73.26	Tier 2	No
44	Salisbury	Essex	73.06	Tier 2	No
45	Woburn	Middlesex	72.61	Tier 2	No
46	Beverly	Essex	72.37	Tier 2	No
47	Marlborough	Middlesex	71.85	Tier 2	No
48	Westfield*	Hampden	71.63	Tier 2	No
49	Oak Bluffs	Dukes	71.60	Tier 2	No
50	Norwood	Norfolk	71.44	Tier 2	No
51	Montague	Franklin	71.43	Tier 2	No
<i>N/A</i>	<i>Cambridge</i>	<i>Middlesex</i>	<i>70.99</i>	<i>Not ranked</i>	<i>No</i>
52	Sturbridge	Worcester	70.88	Tier 2	No
53	Andover	Essex	70.76	Tier 2	No
54	Raynham	Bristol	70.15	Tier 2	No
55	Agawam	Hampden	69.81	Tier 2	No
56	Truro	Barnstable	69.57	Tier 2	No

Note: DI=Disproportionate impact. *Indicates Massachusetts legislature-defined Gateway City. Ten places with significant seasonal housing/arrests or 20% or more residents in undergraduate or graduate degree programs have been grayed out and italicized, as have the state's five largest cities. Tiers were created with these places excluded, and therefore reflect percentiles of 279 total cities and towns.

See *Appendix II. Data. Table VI-7* for DI scores and components for all Massachusetts Municipalities, 2000-2017 and *Appendix II. Data. Table VI-8* for DI scores and components for all Census Tracts of large Massachusetts cities, 2000-20017.

The median traits in 2015-2017 for a municipality in Tier 1 (the top 10 percent) include: 88 average (mean) annual arrests, 308 average annual arrests per 100,000 population, 15 percent living below the federal poverty line, and 23 percent Black and/or Latino residents. The median municipality in Tier 2 (with a score in the 11th to 20th percentile) had: 50 average annual arrests, 226 average annual arrests per 100,000 population, eight percent living below the federal poverty line, and six percent Black and/or Latino residents. By comparison, municipalities in the bottom Tier had two average annual arrests, 32 average annual arrests per 100,000 population, four percent living below the federal poverty line, and two percent Black and/or Latino residents.

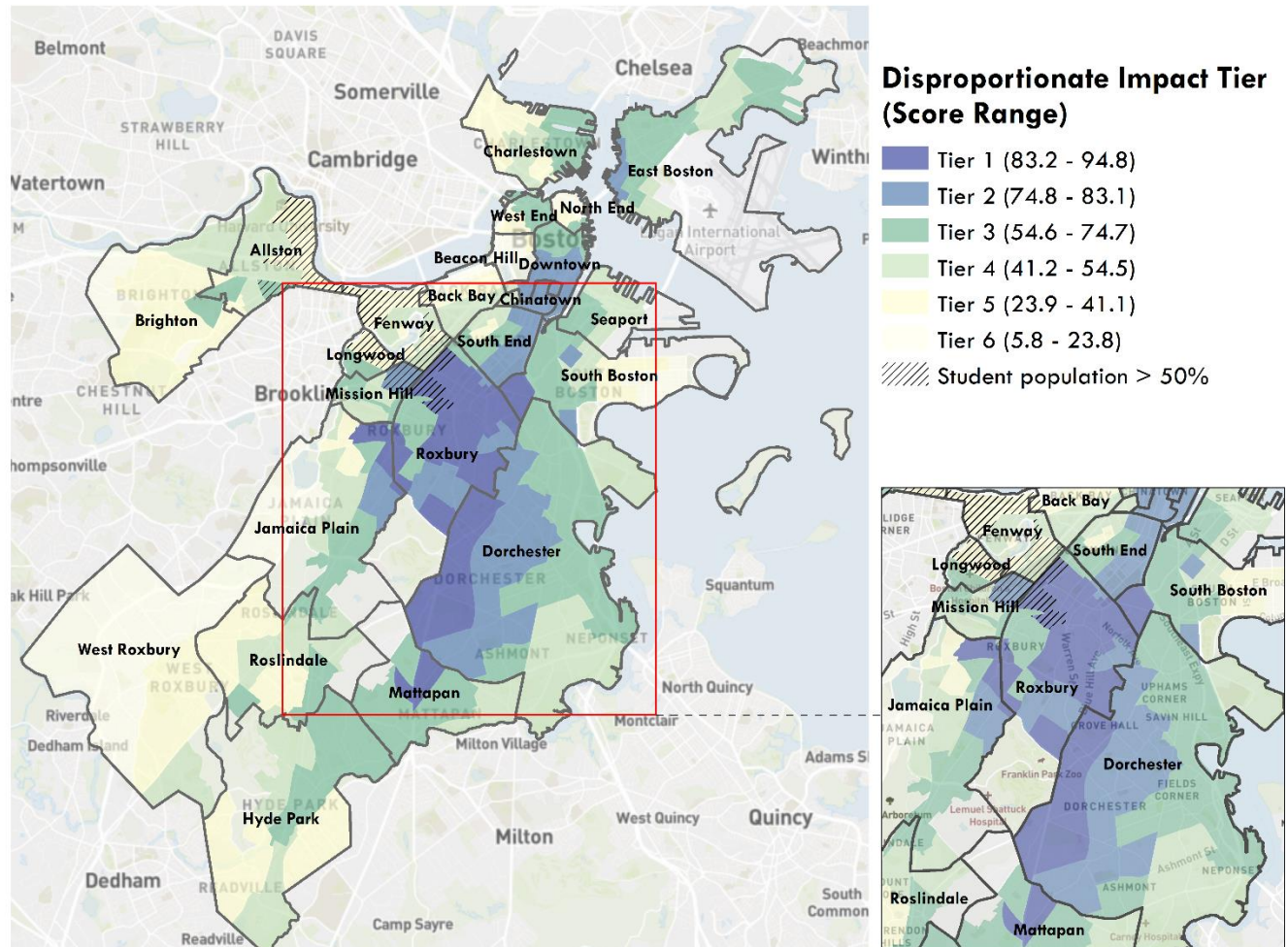
Census Tract Rankings

Six tiers that reflect the top 10 percent (Tier 1), top 11 to 20 percent (Tier 2), and 20 percent subsequent groupings were constructed based on the DI score distribution of all 305 census tracts across the state's five largest cities. The areas flagged for having high student enrollment were excluded from the final ranking, resulting in 297 total ranked census tracts.

All of Tier 1 and Tier 2 census tracts in the largest cities in Massachusetts are in Boston, Springfield, and Worcester. In Boston, the tracts with the highest DI scores include the neighborhoods of Roxbury and Dorchester. In Springfield, tracts with the highest DI scores were largely in and around the Metro Center, as well as the South End, Memorial Square, Old Hill, and Six Corners. In Worcester, high scoring tracts were also in and around Downtown, including: Lincoln and Federal Square, Piedmont, Green Island, as well as Great Brook Valley on the East Side. Both Lowell and Cambridge had areas with elevated DI scores, but overall,

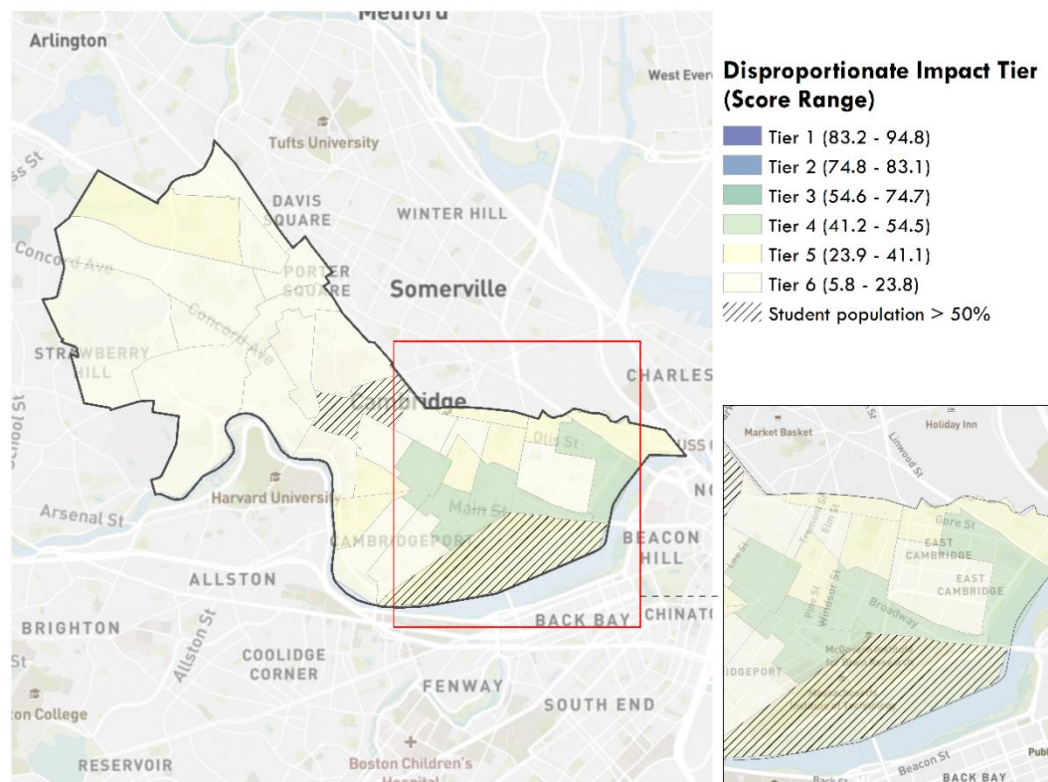


Figure IV-2. Boston Census Tracts (within Neighborhoods) by Disproportionate Impact Tier



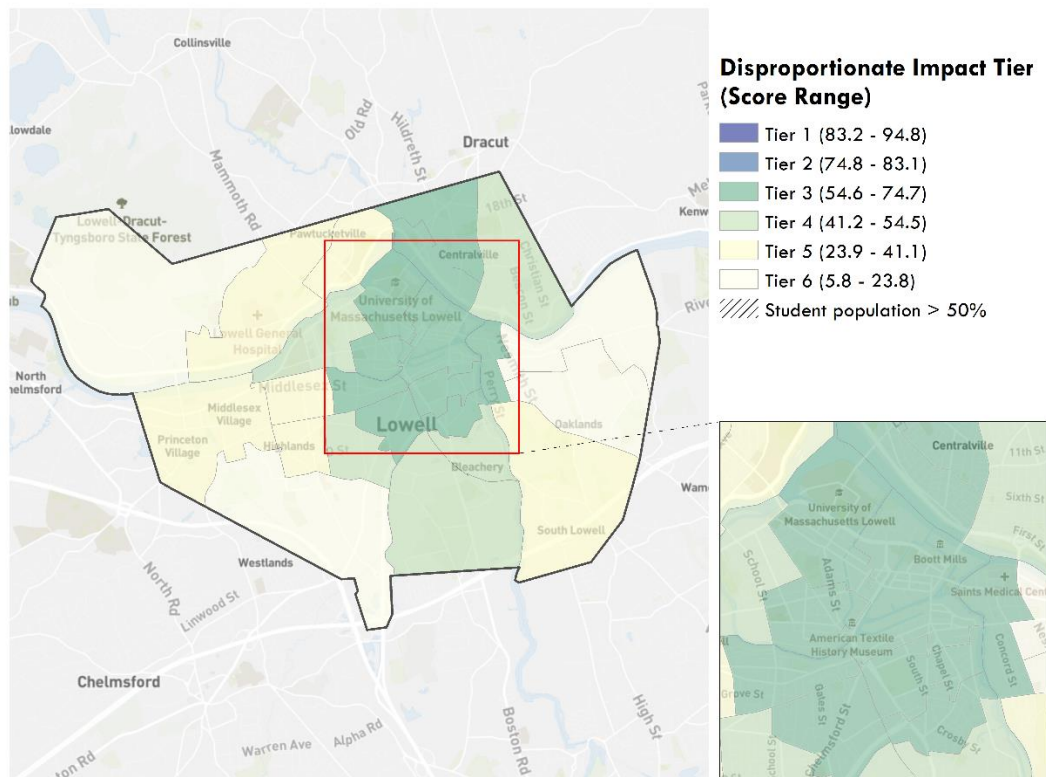
Note: See *Appendix II. Data. Table VI-7* for DI scores and components for all Massachusetts Municipalities, 2000-2017 and *Appendix II. Data. Table VI-8* for DI scores and components for all Census Tracts of large Massachusetts cities, 2000-20017.

Figure IV-3. Cambridge Census Tracts by Disproportionate Impact Tier



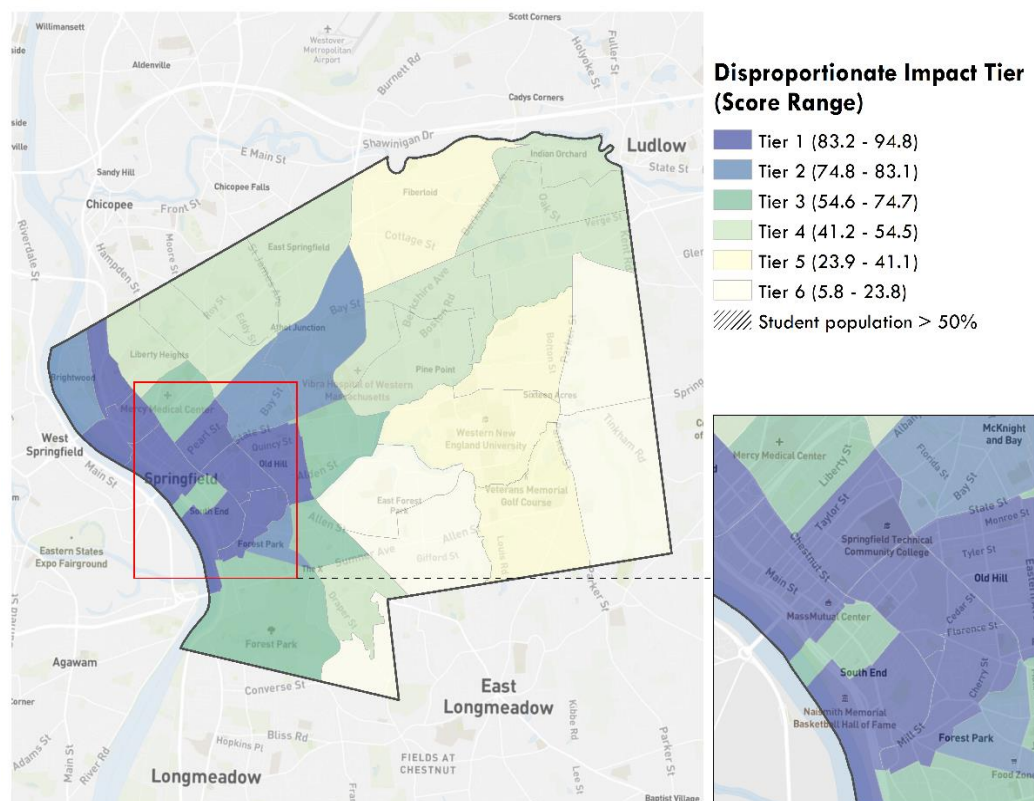
Note: See *Appendix II. Data. Table VI-7* for DI scores and components for all Massachusetts Municipalities, 2000-2017 and *Appendix II. Data. Table VI-8* for DI scores and components for all Census Tracts of large Massachusetts cities, 2000-2017.

Figure IV-4. Lowell Census Tracts by Disproportionate Impact Tier



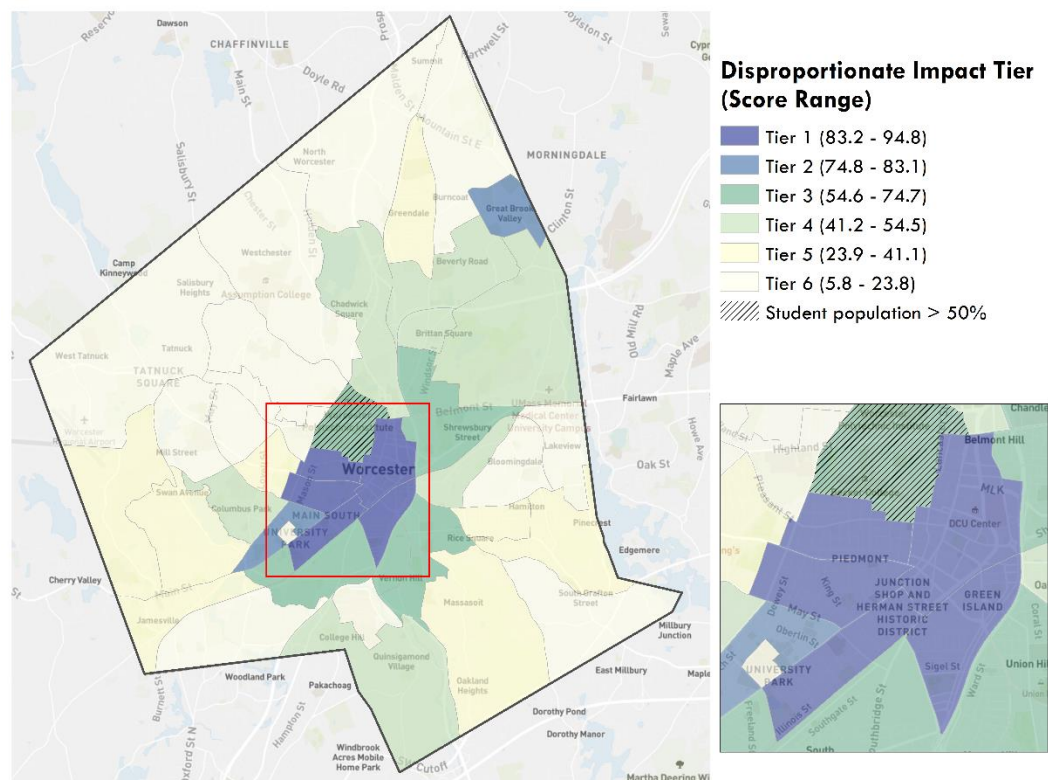
Note: See *Appendix II. Data. Table VI-7* for DI scores and components for all Massachusetts Municipalities, 2000-2017 and *Appendix II. Data. Table VI-8* for DI scores and components for all Census Tracts of large Massachusetts cities, 2000-2017.

Figure IV-5. Springfield Census Tracts by Disproportionate Impact Tier



Note: See *Appendix II. Data. Table VI-7* for DI scores and components for all Massachusetts Municipalities, 2000-2017 and *Appendix II. Data. Table VI-8* for DI scores and components for all Census Tracts of large Massachusetts cities, 2000-20017.

Figure IV-6. Worcester Census Tracts by Disproportionate Impact Tier



Note: See *Appendix II. Data. Table VI-7* for DI scores and components for all Massachusetts Municipalities, 2000-2017 and *Appendix II. Data. Table VI-8* for DI scores and components for all Census Tracts of large Massachusetts cities, 2000-20017.

Table IV-2. Census Tracts in Tier 1 and 2 (Top 20 percent) of Disproportionate Impact Score

Rank	Tract Name	Municipality	Neighborhood (Boston only)	County	DI Score	DI Score Tier	On prior DIA list?
1	Census Tract 8020	Springfield		Hampden	94.81	Tier 1	Yes
2	Census Tract 804.01	Boston	Roxbury	Suffolk	94.15	Tier 1	Yes
3	Census Tract 8012	Springfield		Hampden	93.05	Tier 1	No
4	Census Tract 8006	Springfield		Hampden	92.53	Tier 1	Yes
5	Census Tract 805	Boston	Roxbury	Suffolk	92.38	Tier 1	Yes
6	Census Tract 7314	Worcester		Worcester	91.80	Tier 1	Yes
7	Census Tract 902	Boston	Dorchester	Suffolk	91.09	Tier 1	Yes
8	Census Tract 801	Boston	Roxbury & South Boston	Suffolk	90.99	Tier 1	No
9	Census Tract 7313	Worcester		Worcester	90.63	Tier 1	Yes
10	Census Tract 924	Boston	Dorchester	Suffolk	90.18	Tier 1	Yes
11	Census Tract 813	Boston	Roxbury & Jamaica Plain	Suffolk	89.91	Tier 1	No
12	Census Tract 803	Boston	Roxbury	Suffolk	89.80	Tier 1	Yes
13	Census Tract 7317	Worcester		Worcester	89.60	Tier 1	Yes
14	Census Tract 812	Boston	Jamaica Plain	Suffolk	89.50	Tier 1	No
15	Census Tract 903	Boston	Dorchester	Suffolk	88.90	Tier 1	Yes
16	Census Tract 8011.01	Springfield		Hampden	88.62	Tier 1	Yes
17	Census Tract 8018	Springfield		Hampden	87.99	Tier 1	Yes
18	Census Tract 817	Boston	Roxbury	Suffolk	87.71	Tier 1	Yes
19	Census Tract 1001	Boston	Dorchester	Suffolk	87.63	Tier 1	Yes
20	Census Tract 818	Boston	Roxbury	Suffolk	87.34	Tier 1	Yes
21	Census Tract 8019.01	Springfield		Hampden	87.30	Tier 1	No
22	Census Tract 901	Boston	Dorchester	Suffolk	87.24	Tier 1	Yes
23	Census Tract 7315	Worcester		Worcester	86.50	Tier 1	Yes
N/A	<i>Census Tract 806.01</i>	<i>Boston</i>	<i>Roxbury</i>	<i>Suffolk</i>	<i>86.49</i>	<i>Not ranked</i>	<i>Yes</i>
24	Census Tract 821	Boston	Roxbury	Suffolk	84.99	Tier 1	Yes
25	Census Tract 8019.02	Springfield		Hampden	84.88	Tier 1	Yes
26	Census Tract 904	Boston	Roxbury	Suffolk	84.61	Tier 1	Yes
27	Census Tract 8008	Springfield		Hampden	84.37	Tier 1	Yes
28	Census Tract 7325	Worcester		Worcester	83.82	Tier 1	No
29	Census Tract 1011.02	Boston	Mattapan	Suffolk	83.68	Tier 1	Yes
30	Census Tract 611.01	Boston	South Boston	Suffolk	82.81	Tier 2	Yes
31	Census Tract 920	Boston	Dorchester	Suffolk	82.78	Tier 2	Yes
32	Census Tract 913	Boston	Dorchester	Suffolk	82.37	Tier 2	No
33	Census Tract 923	Boston	Dorchester	Suffolk	82.14	Tier 2	Yes
34	Census Tract 503	Boston	East Boston	Suffolk	82.07	Tier 2	No
35	Census Tract 1002	Boston	Dorchester	Suffolk	81.81	Tier 2	Yes
36	Census Tract 711.01	Boston	Roxbury & South End	Suffolk	80.86	Tier 2	No
37	Census Tract 607	Boston	South Boston	Suffolk	80.50	Tier 2	Yes
38	Census Tract 712.01	Boston	South End	Suffolk	80.47	Tier 2	Yes
39	Census Tract 820	Boston	Roxbury	Suffolk	80.45	Tier 2	Yes



Rank	Tract Name	Municipality	Neighborhood (Boston only)	County	DI Score	DI Score Tier	On prior DIA list?
40	Census Tract 914	Boston	Dorchester	Suffolk	79.71	Tier 2	Yes
41	Census Tract 1005	Boston	Dorchester	Suffolk	79.67	Tier 2	No
42	Census Tract 916	Boston	Dorchester	Suffolk	79.65	Tier 2	No
43	Census Tract 819	Boston	Roxbury	Suffolk	79.58	Tier 2	Yes
44	Census Tract 8007	Springfield		Hampden	78.75	Tier 2	Yes
45	Census Tract 906	Boston	Roxbury	Suffolk	78.34	Tier 2	Yes
46	Census Tract 701.01	Boston	Downtown & Chinatown	Suffolk	77.84	Tier 2	No
47	Census Tract 8013	Springfield		Hampden	77.77	Tier 2	No
48	Census Tract 919	Boston	Dorchester	Suffolk	77.60	Tier 2	Yes
49	Census Tract 1203.01	Boston	Jamaica Plain	Suffolk	77.09	Tier 2	No
50	Census Tract 918	Boston	Dorchester	Suffolk	76.90	Tier 2	Yes
51	Census Tract 915	Boston	Dorchester	Suffolk	76.54	Tier 2	No
52	Census Tract 7320.01	Worcester		Worcester	76.39	Tier 2	No
53	Census Tract 917	Boston	Dorchester	Suffolk	76.39	Tier 2	Yes
N/A	<i>Census Tract 808.01</i>	<i>Boston</i>	<i>Mission Hill</i>	<i>Suffolk</i>	<i>76.32</i>	<i>Not ranked</i>	<i>Yes</i>
54	Census Tract 8022	Springfield		Hampden	76.23	Tier 2	Yes
55	Census Tract 8014.01	Springfield		Hampden	76.14	Tier 2	Yes
56	Census Tract 7312.03	Worcester		Worcester	76.00	Tier 2	Yes
57	Census Tract 704.02	Boston	South End	Suffolk	75.97	Tier 2	No
58	Census Tract 702	Boston	Downtown & Chinatown	Suffolk	75.16	Tier 2	Yes
59	Census Tract 1003	Boston	Dorchester	Suffolk	74.81	Tier 2	No

Note: 15 tracts grayed out and italicized had rates of high student enrollment (more than 50% of residents enrolled in undergraduate or graduate degree programs). Tiers were created with these places included. Boston neighborhoods are based on neighborhood definitions from the Boston Planning and Development Authority (BPDA).

See *Appendix II. Data. Table VI-7* for DI scores and components for all Massachusetts Municipalities, 2000-2017 and *Appendix II. Data. Table VI-8* for DI scores and components for all Census Tracts of large Massachusetts cities, 2000-20017.



V. Conclusion

This study used 18 years of drug arrest data as well as area-level socioeconomic and demographic data to generate a successive method for assessing the historical impact of cannabis prohibition and the “War on Drugs” to rank Massachusetts municipalities and census tracts according to this disproportionate impact (DI) score. This score identifies the DIAs in Massachusetts. The methodology extends prior efforts to rank Massachusetts areas by incorporating incident-level drug arrest data for most Massachusetts municipalities, and directly including race and ethnicity information in the scoring model.

It is notable that a majority of towns on the current list of DIAs⁴ maintained by the Commission fall in Tiers 1 and 2 based on the DI score created in this analysis. Further, many in Tier 1, in particular, are state legislatively recognized “Gateway Cities.” Gateway Cities are midsized urban centers that serve as regional economic anchors around the state and face a variety of significant social and economic challenges.⁵

Limitations

There are several limitations to this study summarized below. Additional detail can be found in the Appendix. First, the arrest data utilized in this study contained information on the address of an arrest and the law enforcement agency making the arrest (*i.e.*, *Boston Police Department*, *Amherst Police Department*). This study used the addresses of where the arrest took place to assign arrests to a geographic area; information on the residential address of the people who were arrested was not available. Thus, if individuals passing through or visiting an area were arrested in large numbers, it would inflate the count of arrests and the rate of arrests assigned to that area and would be utilized in the DI score. This was addressed by excluding certain locations (*e.g.*, *the Xfinity Center in Mansfield*), but that approach cannot fully account for non-residents being arrested in an area. Relatedly, some communities with elevated scores (*e.g.*, *Peabody*, *Marlborough*, and *Waltham*) are on major transit routes which could have resulted in a higher-than-expected number of arrests. There may be other towns with seasonal fluctuations in population (*e.g.*, *Falmouth and Truro*) that could have influenced how the town ranked with regard to arrests and poverty, but that did not meet the conservative criteria established for seasonality-based exclusions in this study [See *Section III. Methods, Other Considerations*].

Arrest data about juveniles under age 18 were not provided by the BPD. To maintain comparability across the state, juveniles were excluded from the NIBRS-based analyses as well (n=18,522). The impacts, however, of juvenile arrests are particularly difficult for varying areas, making this an important limitation of the DI score and a natural place for further assessment and inclusion in the future.

The federal poverty line does not capture regional variations in the cost of living. As a result, the relative economic deprivation for households is likely higher in high-cost areas, such as Greater Boston, than more low-cost areas.

Not all municipalities reported data to NIBRS during our study period. Boston is one such example, but data were obtained directly from BPD to address this limitation. The next largest example is Lawrence, a city of more than 80,000 people which only started reporting to NIBRS in 2020. Because of this gap in the data, Lawrence could not be included in the rankings of municipalities. Based on the demographics and economics of Lawrence, though, it is highly likely the city would rank high on the DI score if all data were available, indicating another natural place for further assessment and inclusion in the future.

Directions for Future Research

Juvenile populations

The impact of arrest and involvement with the criminal justice system during adolescence may result in different negative outcomes related to future employment, income, and family formation.¹³ The Commission should consider follow-up research to examine impacts of the “War on Drugs” on juveniles. Such an analysis would likely need to incorporate data that captures arrests as well as other markers of juveniles’ interactions with law enforcement and the criminal justice system.

Incarcerated populations

This study focused on drug-related arrests and was unable to consider impacts of other criminal justice system contact such as drug-related incarcerations and other forms of correctional control. Because incarceration has such negative impacts on individuals and areas, future research on this cohort should include measures of incarceration and related consequences (*i.e.*, *parole*, *probation*) in addition to drug arrests.

Policy Considerations

This study highlights the top tiers of municipalities and census tracts on a measure of the impact of drug policy enforcement, with the top tiers of areas on the DI score indicating the most negatively impacted. The study can be used by the Commission to inform equitable policy and to help rectify and ameliorate the harms done by drug policy enforcement, particularly among low-income populations and communities of color.

This study involved careful construction of a quantitative measure for assessing disproportionate impact of drug enforcement across the Commonwealth. Throughout the report, special attention is paid to communities and census tracts that rank in the top two tiers on the DI score because they have been the most negatively impacted according to the measure. There is a full list of 295 municipalities and 305 census tracts ranked by DI score in the Appendix [See *Table VI-6*]; the precise cutoff point for an updated DIA list is a decision for the Commission.

Based on the relative nature of the calculated DI score (*i.e.*, *areas with higher scores are “more impacted” than areas with lower scores*), it may be appropriate for the Commission to consider a graduated scheme that uses different strategies to attempt to address the impacts of drug policy

enforcement on areas in different tiers (or other groupings of areas). Such an approach would reflect the reality that in Tier 1 of the DI score, most residents may have experienced negative impacts from drug policy enforcement. In contrast, lower tiers are likely to be a subset of people who have such experiences. Eligibility for priority license status and other benefits could be based on a combination of requirements such as residence in a Tier 2 DIA and membership in an additional priority group (*e.g., personal or family history of drug arrest or incarceration; Black race and/or Latino ethnicity*).

It should be noted that disproportionate impact of drug policy enforcement occurs alongside and interacts with other economic and social problems (*e.g., slow job growth, low quality schools, etc.*). Thoughtful and strategic utilization of the DI score for policymaking can help improve social equity within the cannabis industry and in areas that have long faced social and economic challenges in the Commonwealth.

VI. References

1. Provine DM. Race and Inequality in the War on Drugs. *Annual Review of Law and Social Science*. 2011;41.
2. American Civil Liberties Union. *A Tale of Two Countries: Racially Targeted Arrests in the Era of Marijuana Reform*. 2020.
3. Pettit B, Gutierrez C. Mass Incarceration and Racial Inequality. *American Journal of Economics and Sociology*. 2018;77(3-4):1153-1182.
4. Gettman JB. *The Impact of Drug and Marijuana Arrests on Local Communities in Massachusetts*: Massachusetts Cannabis Control Commission; 2017.
5. Massachusetts Institute for a New Commonwealth. About the Gateway Cities. Available at: <https://massinc.org/our-work/policy-center/gateway-cities/about-the-gateway-cities/>. Accessed January 28, 2021.
6. Courtwright DT. The Controlled Substances Act: how a “big tent” reform became a punitive drug law. *Drug and Alcohol Dependence*. 2004;76(1):9-15.
7. United States Drug Enforcement Administration. Drug Scheduling. Available at: <https://www.dea.gov/drug-scheduling>. Accessed February 9, 2021.
8. Spillane J, McAllister WB. Keeping the lid on: a century of drug regulation and control. *Drug and Alcohol Dependence*. 2003;70(3) Supplement:S5-S12.
9. Spillane JF. Debating the Controlled Substances Act. *Drug and Alcohol Dependence*. 2004;76(1):17-29.
10. Gaston S. Enforcing Race: A Neighborhood-Level Explanation of Black–White Differences in Drug Arrests. *Crime & Delinquency*. 2019;65(4):499-526.
11. Petersilia J. *When prisoners come home: Parole and prisoner reentry*: Oxford University Press; 2003.
12. National Archive of Criminal Justice Data. National Incident-Based Reporting System, 2016: Extract Files: Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research [distributor]; 2018.
13. Barnert ES, Abrams LS, Dudovitz R, et al. What Is the Relationship Between Incarceration of Children and Adult Health Outcomes? *Academic Pediatrics*. 2019(3).
14. *U.S. Census Bureau Geocoder* [computer program]. Suitland, MD: U.S. Census Bureau; 2018.
15. *Geocodio* [computer program]. Arlington, VA; Geocodio; 2020.
16. *Batchgeo* [computer program]. Vancouver, WA: Batchgeo; 2020.
17. *ArcGIS ArcMap* [computer program]. Version 10.7.1. Redlands, CA: ESRI; 2019.



VII. Appendices

Appendix I. Detailed Study Design and Methods

Additional methodological details to supplement information in previous sections are provided here. As described previously, data were analyzed for four time spans within the 18-year study period. For each time span, the source of population data is described in Table VI-1.

Table VII-1. Time spans and Corresponding Population Data Source(s)

Arrests between years	Population data source(s)
2000-2004	2000 Decennial Census
2005-2009	2000 Decennial Census
2010-2014	2010-2014 ACS 5-year set 2010 Decennial Census (for non-Latino racial shares only)
2015-2017	2013-2017 ACS 5-year set 2010 Decennial Census (for non-Latino racial shares only)

Geocoding

For the municipal-level analysis, the NIBRS data included information on where the arrest occurred used to assign each arrest to an area. To conduct geography-based analysis at the census tract level for the five largest cities in Massachusetts (Boston, Cambridge, Lowell, Springfield, and Worcester), each arrest from these areas were assigned to a specific census tract.

Data obtained from NIBRS and BPD include address-level information for the place an arrest occurred, which enabled the analyses to be geocoded (*i.e.*, *assign a latitude and longitude to each arrest*) and aggregate arrests at the census tract level. To do this, unique identifiers were created for each arrest in the five largest cities associated with a drug offense incident. If the same individual was involved in and arrested for more than one incident, it was counted as multiple arrests.

The geocoding process was completed using three geocoding services: the address batch geocoder from the U.S. Census Bureau,¹⁴ and two private batch geocoding services – Geocodio¹⁵ and Batchgeo.¹⁶ Zip codes were lacking in most arrest records obtained for this study, but that information is required for the Census geocoder. Therefore, Geocodio and Batchgeo were used to geocode records without zip codes, intersections, and non-matches from the Census geocoder. Addresses not readable by geocoders, such as highways and place names, were geocoded by hand using ArcGIS software.¹⁷

There were 60,722 unique arrests in the NIBRS data for five largest cities (before exclusions) and 99.9 percent were successfully assigned a geocode. Fifty-six percent of those were geocoded by Geocodio or Batchgeo, with an average accuracy score of 98 percent. Ultimately, only 60 arrests were unable to be geocoded, all from the Springfield Police Department, due to



incomplete or missing street addresses. For BPD records, there were only 26 records out of 71,094 unable to be geocoded.

After geocoding, arrests were mapped to the appropriate census tract. Counts of arrests within each of the study time spans (2000-2004, 2005-2009, 2010-2014, 2015-2017) were then created at a tract and municipal level. Arrest data was then merged with population socioeconomic and demographic data for the key indicators in the same time spans and geographic areas.

Limitations

In addition to limitations mentioned above, there are a few additional considerations.

Poverty:

Some populations are excluded from data on poverty, including:

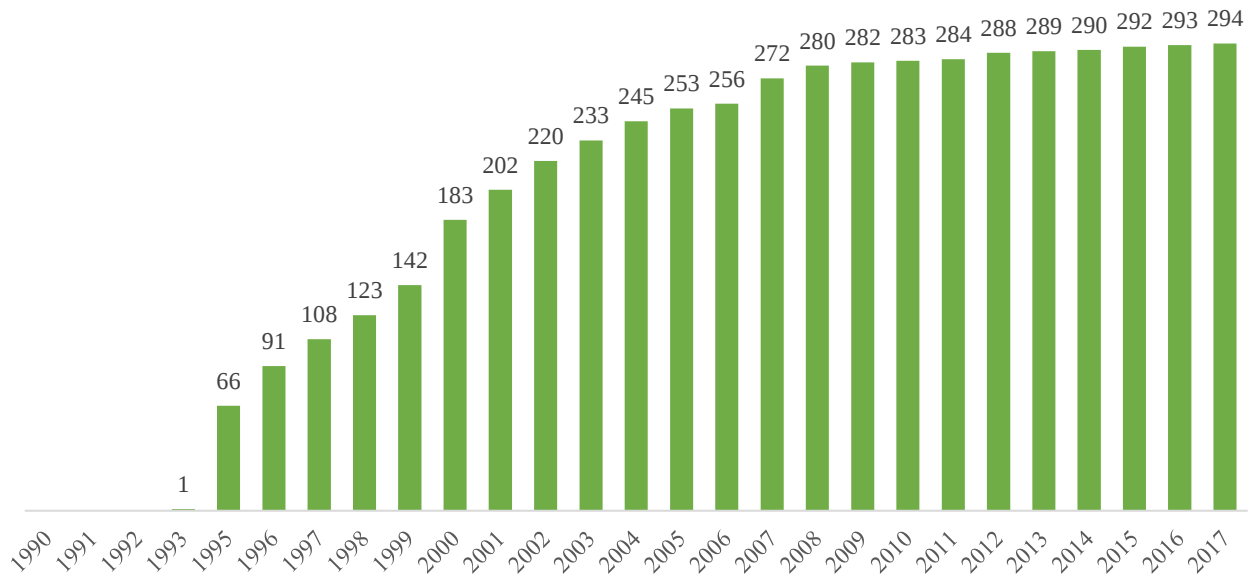
- Institutional group quarters (such as prisons or nursing homes);
- College dormitories (off-campus housing is still included, which can lead to high rates in college towns like Amherst or Williamstown);
- Military barracks; and
- Individuals without conventional housing (and who are not in shelters).

Latino ethnicity

This analysis included an indicator of the percent of adults that were Black and/or Latino in each geographic area. This crosstabulation of age by non-Latino race for the final two time spans do not exist in ACS 5-year data, so weights from the 2010 Decennial Census were applied to racial data from the ACS. For example, in Boston from 2015-2017, the white adult population from the ACS was 314,152. In 2010, the share of white adults who were non-Latino in Boston was 89 percent, resulting in an estimate of 280,781 white non-Latino adults from 2015-2017.

Appendix II. Data

Figure VII-1. Number of Municipalities Reporting to NIBRS, 1990-2017



Note: Boston did not begin reporting to NIBRS until 2019. Data obtained directly from the Boston Police Department was therefore used instead for the entire study period.

Table VII-2. Municipalities Excluded from Analysis

Municipality	County	2017 Population	Share Black/Latino	Reason for exclusion
Alford	Berkshire	411	4%	Did not report to NIBRS
Amherst	Hampshire	39,880	12%	High student enrollment
Aquinnah	Dukes	640	0%	Reports to NIBRS but had no drug arrests during the study period
Ashfield	Franklin	1,598	2%	Did not report to NIBRS
Avon	Norfolk	4,468	17%	Did not report to NIBRS
Becket	Berkshire	1,852	6%	Did not report to NIBRS
Blandford	Hampden	1,259	0%	Did not report to NIBRS
Brookfield	Worcester	3,406	1%	Did not report to NIBRS
Buckland	Franklin	1,927	0%	Did not report to NIBRS
Charlemont	Franklin	1,110	2%	Did not report to NIBRS
Chester	Hampden	1,529	3%	Did not report to NIBRS
Chilmark	Dukes	1,117	5%	Seasonal location
Clarksburg	Berkshire	1,722	1%	Did not report to NIBRS
Colrain	Franklin	1,631	1%	Did not report to NIBRS
Conway	Franklin	1,800	2%	Did not report to NIBRS
Cummington	Hampshire	860	7%	Did not report to NIBRS
Dighton	Bristol	7,438	4%	Did not report to NIBRS
Egremont	Berkshire	1,255	8%	Did not report to NIBRS
Essex	Essex	3,687	1%	Did not report to NIBRS
Florida	Berkshire	816	2%	Did not report to NIBRS
Gosnold	Dukes	34	0%	Did not report to NIBRS
Granville	Hampden	1,660	2%	Did not report to NIBRS
Hancock	Berkshire	639	2%	Did not report to NIBRS
Hawley	Franklin	425	6%	Did not report to NIBRS
Heath	Franklin	770	2%	Did not report to NIBRS
Hinsdale	Berkshire	1,970	0%	Did not report to NIBRS
Huntington	Hampshire	1,977	3%	Did not report to NIBRS
Lawrence	Essex	79,497	82%	Did not report to NIBRS
Leyden	Franklin	676	0%	Did not report to NIBRS
Manchester-by-the-Sea	Essex	5,327	2%	Seasonal location
Middlefield	Hampshire	464	0%	Did not report to NIBRS
Monroe	Franklin	86	0%	Did not report to NIBRS
Monterey	Berkshire	729	1%	Did not report to NIBRS
Montgomery	Hampden	802	2%	Did not report to NIBRS
Mount Washington	Berkshire	140	0%	Did not report to NIBRS
Nantucket	Nantucket	10,912	17%	Seasonal location
New Ashford	Berkshire	334	7%	Did not report to NIBRS
New Braintree	Worcester	1,247	2%	Did not report to NIBRS
New Marlborough	Berkshire	1,370	4%	Did not report to NIBRS
Otis	Berkshire	1,577	1%	Did not report to NIBRS
Peru	Berkshire	811	2%	Did not report to NIBRS
Petersham	Worcester	1,218	2%	Did not report to NIBRS
Phillipston	Worcester	1,640	2%	Did not report to NIBRS
Plainfield	Hampshire	668	4%	Did not report to NIBRS



Municipality	County	2017 Population	Share Black/Latino	Reason for exclusion
Provincetown	Barnstable	2,952	7%	Seasonal location
Richmond	Berkshire	1,521	1%	Did not report to NIBRS
Rockland	Plymouth	17,849	5%	Did not report to NIBRS
Rowe	Franklin	400	2%	Did not report to NIBRS
Russell	Hampden	1,330	3%	Did not report to NIBRS
Sandisfield	Berkshire	859	2%	Did not report to NIBRS
Savoy	Berkshire	764	7%	Did not report to NIBRS
Shutesbury	Franklin	1,752	6%	Did not report to NIBRS
Stockbridge	Berkshire	1,980	5%	Seasonal location
Sunderland	Franklin	3,662	10%	High student enrollment
Tolland	Hampden	666	1%	Did not report to NIBRS
Tyringham	Berkshire	439	4%	Did not report to NIBRS
Warwick	Franklin	750	2%	Did not report to NIBRS
Washington	Berkshire	499	1%	Did not report to NIBRS
Wellfleet	Barnstable	3,171	3%	Seasonal location
Wendell	Franklin	864	3%	Did not report to NIBRS
Wenham	Essex	5,179	7%	High student enrollment
West Stockbridge	Berkshire	1,095	8%	Did not report to NIBRS
West Tisbury	Dukes	2,417	2%	Seasonal location
Westhampton	Hampshire	1,819	1%	Did not report to NIBRS
Williamstown	Berkshire	7,623	12%	High student enrollment
Windsor	Berkshire	909	1%	Did not report to NIBRS
Worthington	Hampshire	1,253	1%	Did not report to NIBRS
Note: “High student enrollment” indicates undergraduate or graduate student enrollment rates of 20% of the area’s population or higher. “Seasonal location” indicates that more than 40% of arrests occurred in a single season and 25% or more of total housing units in an area are vacant for seasonal use (<i>i.e., vacation homes</i>). For student enrollment percentage see Table VI-6.				

Table VII-3. Census Tracts Excluded from Analysis

Tract	City	2017 Population	Share Black/Latino	Reason for exclusion
Census Tract 9801.01	Boston	322	32%	<1,000 residents. Natural areas/parks (Harbor Islands)
Census Tract 9803	Boston	365	53%	<1,000 residents. Natural areas/parks (Franklin Park)
Census Tract 9807	Boston	8	0%	<1,000 residents. Natural areas/parks (Stony Brook Reservation)
Census Tract 9810	Boston	0	0%	<1,000 residents. Natural areas/parks (Arnold Arboretum)
Census Tract 9811	Boston	409	72%	<1,000 residents. Natural areas/parks (Forest Hills Cemetery, Mount Hope Cemetery, Calvary Cemetery)
Census Tract 9812.01	Boston	0	0%	<1,000 residents. Natural areas/parks (Harbor Islands)
Census Tract 9812.02	Boston	224	16%	<1,000 residents. Natural areas/parks (Massport)
Census Tract 9813	Boston	426	35%	<1,000 residents. Major commercial/industrial areas (Boston Logan Airport)
Census Tract 9815.01	Boston	0	0%	<1,000 residents. Natural areas/parks (Charles River)
Census Tract 9815.02	Boston	12	100%	<1,000 residents. Major commercial/industrial area (Suffolk Downs & Irving Oil)
Census Tract 9816	Boston	0	0%	<1,000 residents. Natural areas/parks (Belle Island Reservation)
Census Tract 9817	Boston	0	0%	<1,000 residents. Natural areas/parks (Boston Common)
Census Tract 9818	Boston	22	0%	<1,000 residents. Natural areas/parks (Jamaica Pond & Emerald Necklace)
Census Tract 5.02	Boston	5,641	13%	High student enrollment
Census Tract 7.03	Boston	6,592	17%	High student enrollment
Census Tract 8.03	Boston	3,714	16%	High student enrollment
Census Tract 101.03	Boston	3,354	11%	High student enrollment
Census Tract 102.04	Boston	5,134	14%	High student enrollment
Census Tract 103	Boston	4,859	14%	High student enrollment
Census Tract 104.04	Boston	5,389	16%	High student enrollment
Census Tract 104.05	Boston	6,257	19%	High student enrollment
Census Tract 806.01	Boston	4,493	58%	High student enrollment
Census Tract 808.01	Boston	1,926	17%	High student enrollment
Census Tract 3531.02	Cambridge	5,881	12%	High student enrollment
Census Tract 3537	Cambridge	1,513	18%	High student enrollment
Census Tract 7312.02	Worcester	4,493	58%	High student enrollment
Census Tract 7316	Worcester	6,081	20%	High student enrollment
Note: “High student enrollment” indicates undergraduate or graduate student enrollment rates of 50% or higher within a census tract.				

Table VII-4. Point Locations Excluded from Analysis

Municipality	County	2017 City Population	Share Black/Latino	Reason for exclusion
Andover	Essex	35,375	6%	Andover La Quinta 93N (suspected drug trafficking hub: in top 25 statewide and >10% of city total)
Andover	Essex	35,375	6%	Andover Mobil 93N (suspected drug trafficking hub: in top 25 statewide and >10% of city total)
Boston	Suffolk	669,158	42%	Police District building A-1, A-15 Downtown & Charlestown
Boston	Suffolk	669,158	42%	Police District building C-6 South Boston
Boston	Suffolk	669,158	42%	Police District building A-7 East Boston
Boston	Suffolk	669,158	42%	Police District building B-3 Mattapan/North Dorchester
Boston	Suffolk	669,158	42%	Police District building C-11 Dorchester
Boston	Suffolk	669,158	42%	Police District building D-4 South End
Boston	Suffolk	669,158	42%	Police District building B-2 Roxbury
Boston	Suffolk	669,158	42%	Boston Police Headquarters
Boston	Suffolk	669,158	42%	Police District building E-13 Jamaica Plain
Boston	Suffolk	669,158	42%	Police District building E-18 Hyde Park
Boston	Suffolk	669,158	42%	Police District building E-5 West Roxbury
Boston	Suffolk	669,158	42%	Police District building D-14 Brighton
Braintree	Norfolk	37,082	5%	South Shore Plaza Mall (suspected drug trafficking hub: in top 25 statewide and >10% of city total)
Cambridge	Middlesex	110,893	19%	Cambridge Police Headquarters
Lowell	Middlesex	110,964	27%	Lowell Police Headquarters
Lowell	Middlesex	110,964	27%	Lowell Regional Transit Authority (transit hub)
Mansfield	Bristol	23,678	5%	Xfinity Center (suspected drug trafficking hub: in top 25 statewide and >10% of city total)
Springfield	Hampden	154,613	63%	Springfield Police Headquarters
Springfield	Hampden	154,613	63%	Springfield Bus Terminal (transit hub)
Worcester	Worcester	184,743	33%	Worcester Police Headquarters
Worcester	Worcester	184,743	33%	Worcester City Motel (suspected drug trafficking hub: in top 25 statewide and >10% of city total)
Note: “Suspected drug trafficking hub” indicates point locations (based on geocoded latitudes and longitudes) that appeared in top 25 statewide arrest locations and comprised >15% of city’s total arrests.				

Table VII-5. Characteristics of Adults Arrested for Drug-Related Offenses in Massachusetts, 2000-2017

	2000-2004		2005-2009		2010-2014		2015-2017		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Drug Offense Type Based on Highest Charge										
Class D, Possession	14,532	26.9	18,687	25.7	3,992	6.5	1,484	3.9	38,695	17.1
Class D, Distribution	3,358	6.2	5,201	7.1	5,080	8.2	1,704	4.5	15,343	6.8
Class D, Other	1,476	2.7	1,928	2.6	1,008	1.6	312	0.8	4,724	2.1
Not Class D, Possession	17,017	31.5	24,929	34.2	29,344	47.6	21,733	57.0	93,023	41.1
Not Class D, Distribution	12,831	23.8	16,777	23.0	16,911	27.4	9,512	25.0	56,031	24.7
Not Class D, Other	4,734	8.8	5,294	7.3	5,281	8.6	3,366	8.8	18,675	8.2
Race (Regardless of Ethnicity)										
White	34,408	63.8	48,104	66.1	45,399	73.7	28,889	75.8	156,800	69.2
Black	17,815	33.0	22,391	30.8	14,599	23.7	8,140	21.4	62,945	27.8
American Indian/Alaska Native	8	0.0	12	0.0	3	0.0	4	0.0	27	0.0
Asian	481	0.9	684	0.9	597	1.0	361	0.9	2,123	0.9
Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Unknown	1,236	2.3	1,625	2.2	1,018	1.7	717	1.9	4,596	2.0
Ethnicity (Regardless of Race)										
Hispanic/Latino	12,887	23.9	15,210	20.9	13,037	21.2	8,864	23.3	49,998	22.1
Non-Hispanic/Latino	34,642	64.2	50,589	69.5	44,499	72.2	26,694	70.0	156,424	69.1
Unknown	6,419	11.9	7,017	9.6	4,080	6.6	2,553	6.7	20,069	8.9
Age										
18-29	30,339	56.2	43,016	59.1	33,111	53.7	17,451	45.8	123,917	54.7
30-39	13,598	25.2	15,405	21.2	15,507	25.2	11,785	30.9	56,295	24.9
40-49	7,868	14.6	10,621	14.6	8,744	14.2	5,530	14.5	32,763	14.5
50-59	1,843	3.4	3,268	4.5	3,655	5.9	2,813	7.4	11,579	5.1
60+	300	0.6	506	0.7	599	1.0	532	1.4	1,937	0.9
Dataset										
Boston Police Department (BPD)	23,350	43.3	24,301	33.4	15,908	25.8	7,535	19.8	71,094	31.4
National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS)	30,598	56.7	48,515	66.6	45,708	74.2	30,576	80.2	155,397	68.6
Note: Class D offenses include marijuana and hashish. Possession denotes charges where the highest charge was possession. Distribution denotes charges where the highest charge was distribution. Ethnicity is reported in these sources as “Hispanic or non-Hispanic.” Race and ethnicity were reported in NIBRS as combined concepts (<i>e.g., Black Hispanic</i>) whereas they were provided as separate variables in the BPD data set. Categorizing race and ethnicity required aggregating separate categories across both data sets; it was not possible to determine how many individuals from the NIBRS data set had an unknown ethnicity. Therefore, the totals are slightly lower than the subtotals for the year bin. The table above corrects for this by defining the “Unknown” category as the difference between the sum of Hispanic and Non-Hispanic and the total for the year bin.										



Table VII-6. Municipalities in Tiers 1 and 2 (Top 20%) of Disproportionate Impact Score, by County

Rank	Municipality	DI Score	Tier (Score Range)	On prior DIA list?
Barnstable County				
16	Barnstable	87.01	Tier 1 (78.7 - 99.5)	No
28	Falmouth	78.67	Tier 1 (78.7 - 99.5)	No
30	Dennis	78.24	Tier 2 (69.6 - 78.6)	No
N/A	Provincetown	76.25	Not ranked	No
36	Yarmouth	76.16	Tier 2 (69.6 - 78.6)	No
42	Mashpee	73.55	Tier 2 (69.6 - 78.6)	No
56	Truro	69.57	Tier 2 (69.6 - 78.6)	No
57	Bourne	69.04	Tier 3 (52.7 - 69.5)	No
Berkshire County				
11	Pittsfield	88.58	Tier 1 (78.7 - 99.5)	Yes
27	North Adams	79.71	Tier 1 (78.7 - 99.5)	Yes
Bristol County				
2	New Bedford	98.02	Tier 1 (78.7 - 99.5)	Yes
5	Fall River	94.78	Tier 1 (78.7 - 99.5)	Yes
14	Taunton	87.62	Tier 1 (78.7 - 99.5)	Yes
26	Attleboro	80.33	Tier 1 (78.7 - 99.5)	No
Dukes County				
49	Oak Bluffs	71.60	Tier 2 (69.6 - 78.6)	No
Essex County				
4	Lynn	95.53	Tier 1 (78.7 - 99.5)	Yes
6	Salem	93.23	Tier 1 (78.7 - 99.5)	No
10	Haverhill	88.80	Tier 1 (78.7 - 99.5)	Yes
31	Methuen	78.01	Tier 2 (69.6 - 78.6)	No
34	Peabody	77.07	Tier 2 (69.6 - 78.6)	No
44	Salisbury	73.06	Tier 2 (69.6 - 78.6)	No
46	Beverly	72.37	Tier 2 (69.6 - 78.6)	No
53	Andover	70.76	Tier 2 (69.6 - 78.6)	No
Franklin County				
13	Greenfield	88.42	Tier 1 (78.7 - 99.5)	Yes
51	Montague	71.43	Tier 2 (69.6 - 78.6)	No
Hampden County				
1	Holyoke	99.52	Tier 1 (78.7 - 99.5)	Yes
N/A	Springfield	98.62	Not ranked	Yes
12	West Springfield	88.56	Tier 1 (78.7 - 99.5)	Yes
20	Chicopee	84.22	Tier 1 (78.7 - 99.5)	No
37	Palmer	75.91	Tier 2 (69.6 - 78.6)	No
48	Westfield	71.63	Tier 2 (69.6 - 78.6)	No
55	Agawam	69.81	Tier 2 (69.6 - 78.6)	No
Hampshire County				
N/A	Amherst	90.82	Not ranked	Yes
19	Northampton	85.00	Tier 1 (78.7 - 99.5)	No
Middlesex County				
N/A	Lowell	92.66	Not ranked	No
17	Everett	86.66	Tier 1 (78.7 - 99.5)	No
25	Malden	80.42	Tier 1 (78.7 - 99.5)	No
38	Somerville	74.19	Tier 2 (69.6 - 78.6)	No
43	Medford	73.26	Tier 2 (69.6 - 78.6)	No
45	Woburn	72.61	Tier 2 (69.6 - 78.6)	No



Rank	Municipality	DI Score	Tier (Score Range)	On prior DIA list?
47	Marlborough	71.85	Tier 2 (69.6 - 78.6)	No
<i>N/A</i>	<i>Cambridge</i>	<i>70.99</i>	<i>Not ranked</i>	<i>No</i>
59	Waltham	68.81	Tier 3 (52.7 - 69.5)	No
Nantucket County				
<i>N/A</i>	<i>Nantucket</i>	<i>81.69</i>	<i>Not ranked</i>	<i>No</i>
Norfolk County				
21	Quincy	83.36	Tier 1 (78.7 - 99.5)	Yes
24	Randolph	81.03	Tier 1 (78.7 - 99.5)	Yes
29	Weymouth	78.64	Tier 2 (69.6 - 78.6)	No
33	Stoughton	77.14	Tier 2 (69.6 - 78.6)	No
40	Braintree	73.78	Tier 2 (69.6 - 78.6)	Yes
50	Norwood	71.44	Tier 2 (69.6 - 78.6)	No
Plymouth County				
3	Brockton	96.55	Tier 1 (78.7 - 99.5)	Yes
35	Wareham	77.04	Tier 2 (69.6 - 78.6)	Yes
39	Plymouth	74.10	Tier 2 (69.6 - 78.6)	No
41	Middleborough	73.61	Tier 2 (69.6 - 78.6)	No
Suffolk County				
<i>N/A</i>	<i>Boston</i>	<i>98.39</i>	<i>Not ranked</i>	<i>Yes</i>
7	Chelsea	92.76	Tier 1 (78.7 - 99.5)	Yes
15	Revere	87.30	Tier 1 (78.7 - 99.5)	Yes
Worcester County				
<i>N/A</i>	<i>Worcester</i>	<i>97.87</i>	<i>Not ranked</i>	<i>Yes</i>
8	Fitchburg	92.33	Tier 1 (78.7 - 99.5)	Yes
9	Southbridge	90.13	Tier 1 (78.7 - 99.5)	Yes
18	Webster	85.66	Tier 1 (78.7 - 99.5)	No
22	Gardner	83.14	Tier 1 (78.7 - 99.5)	No
23	Leominster	82.70	Tier 1 (78.7 - 99.5)	No
32	Spencer	77.53	Tier 2 (69.6 - 78.6)	Yes
52	Sturbridge	70.88	Tier 2 (69.6 - 78.6)	No
58	Clinton	68.83	Tier 3 (52.7 - 69.5)	No
Note: Cities and towns with high student enrollment (>20%) or high rates of seasonal housing/arrests have been grayed out and italicized. The states five largest cities are also grey as they have been ranked separately by tract (see Table IV-2 for a ranking by tract). See Appendix II. Data. Table VI-7 for DI scores and components for all Massachusetts Municipalities, 2000-2017 and Appendix II. Data. Table VI-8 for DI scores and components for all Census Tracts of large Massachusetts cities, 2000-20017.				



Table VII-7. Disproportionate Impact Scores and score components in Massachusetts by Municipality, 2000-2017

Rank	Municipality	County	DI score	Student enroll (%)	2000-2004								2005-2009							
					Avg arrests / year	Rank	Avg arrests/ 100k	Rank	Poverty Rate (%)	Rank	Black/Latino (%)	Rank	Avg arrests /year	Rank	Avg arrests/ 100k	Rank	Poverty Rate (%)	Rank	Black/Latino (%)	Rank
1	Holyoke	Hampden	99.52	6.0	486	242	1,731	246	26.4	246	43.3	244	385	279	1,371	284	26.4	284	43.3	282
N/A	Springfield†	Hampden	98.62	9.0	584	244	540	241	23.1	244	46.7	245	587	281	543	274	23.1	282	46.7	283
N/A	Boston†	Suffolk	98.39	16.0	4,546	246	962	244	19.5	241	38.6	243	4,749	284	1,005	283	19.5	279	38.6	281
2	New Bedford	Bristol	98.02	5.0	493	243	700	243	20.2	242	13.8	235	611	282	867	281	20.2	280	13.8	268
N/A	Worcester†	Worcester	97.87	14.0	885	245	671	242	17.9	239	20.9	240	956	283	725	279	17.9	277	20.9	277
3	Brockton	Plymouth	96.55	7.0	327	241	481	239	14.5	233	26.2	242	341	278	501	273	14.5	269	26.2	279
4	Lynn	Essex	95.53	7.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	228	276	351	254	-	274	-	280
5	Fall River	Bristol	94.78	6.0	314	240	450	237	17.1	238	5.4	206	472	280	677	278	17.1	276	5.4	236
6	Salem	Essex	93.23	10.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
7	Chelsea	Suffolk	92.76	4.0	67	219	261	200	23.3	245	53.2	246	75	252	293	240	23.3	283	53.2	284
N/A	Lowell†	Middlesex	92.66	12.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	175	274	227	218	-	275	-	273
8	Fitchburg	Worcester	92.33	9.0	128	234	440	236	15.0	235	17.5	238	104	265	359	256	15.0	271	17.5	274
N/A	Amherst‡	Hampshire	90.82	60.0	142	239	466	238	20.2	243	10.6	228	189	275	623	275	20.2	281	10.6	261
9	Southbridge	Worcester	90.13	5.0	39	202	302	216	15.4	236	20.3	239	38	228	294	241	15.4	272	20.3	276
10	Haverhill	Essex	88.80	6.0	66	218	151	168	9.1	212	10.2	225	141	271	322	245	9.1	243	10.2	258
11	Pittsfield	Berkshire	88.58	5.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	145	273	411	266	-	259	-	235
12	West Springfield	Hampden	88.56	8.0	77	225	362	229	11.9	228	7.3	215	83	258	389	263	11.9	261	7.3	248
13	Greenfield	Franklin	88.42	8.0	43	203	300	215	14.0	231	4.3	197	60	245	423	267	14.0	267	4.3	226
14	Taunton	Bristol	87.62	5.0	110	232	262	201	10.0	220	6.2	210	144	272	343	253	10.0	252	6.2	243
15	Revere	Suffolk	87.30	7.0	140	237	374	231	14.6	234	11.9	229	140	269	374	257	14.6	270	11.9	262
16	Barnstable	Barnstable	87.01	5.0	90	227	241	196	8.8	208	4.3	196	140	270	376	259	8.8	238	4.3	225
17	Everett	Middlesex	86.66	7.0	51	214	171	174	11.8	227	15.3	236	96	263	323	246	11.8	260	15.3	271
18	Webster	Worcester	85.66	5.0	38	200	298	214	11.0	223	4.6	202	31	220	243	225	11.0	255	4.6	231
19	Northampton	Hampshire	85.00	15.0	50	213	208	187	9.8	217	6.8	212	75	253	312	243	9.8	249	6.8	245
20	Chicopee	Hampden	84.22	7.0	131	235	310	221	12.3	229	10.3	226	99	264	235	223	12.3	263	10.3	259
21	Quincy	Norfolk	83.36	9.0	138	236	190	184	7.3	195	4.1	188	236	277	325	247	7.3	220	4.1	216
22	Gardner	Worcester	83.14	5.0	34	198	212	191	9.6	216	5.8	209	41	234	260	228	9.6	248	5.8	241
23	Leominster	Worcester	82.70	6.0	95	229	309	220	9.5	215	13.7	234	50	240	163	174	9.5	247	13.7	267
N/A	Nantucket*	Nantucket	81.69	6.0	30	193	390	232	7.5	199	10.4	227	21	197	276	236	7.5	225	10.4	260
24	Randolph	Norfolk	81.03	9.0	58	217	242	197	4.1	108	24.2	241	63	246	264	229	4.1	120	24.2	278



					2000-2004								2005-2009							
Rank	Municipality	County	DI score	Student enroll (%)	Avg arrests / year	Rank	Avg arrests/ 100k	Rank	Poverty Rate (%)	Rank	Black/ Latino (%)	Rank	Avg arrests /year	Rank	Avg arrests/ 100k	Rank	Poverty Rate (%)	Rank	Black/ Latino (%)	Rank
25	Malden	Middlesex	80.42	11.0	141	238	312	222	9.2	213	12.6	231	66	247	147	166	9.2	244	12.6	264
26	Attleboro	Bristol	80.33	5.0	44	207	140	159	6.2	176	5.7	208	73	251	232	221	6.2	198	5.7	240
27	North Adams	Berkshire	79.71	13.0	21	180	182	178	18.2	240	3.4	178	25	207	218	211	18.2	278	3.4	205
28	Falmouth	Barnstable	78.67	3.0	55	216	211	190	6.9	188	3.0	170	85	261	328	249	6.9	211	3.0	195
29	Weymouth	Norfolk	78.64	6.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	89	262	212	206	-	189	-	185
30	Dennis	Barnstable	78.24	5.0	27	190	202	186	7.0	191	3.5	180	27	210	200	200	7.0	214	3.5	207
31	Methuen	Essex	78.01	8.0	11	141	34	43	7.4	196	9.9	223	56	244	171	183	7.4	221	9.9	256
32	Spencer	Worcester	77.53	4.0	91	228	1,027	245	8.6	206	1.8	113	72	250	821	280	8.6	235	1.8	133
33	Stoughton	Norfolk	77.14	6.0	29	192	140	156	4.6	130	7.3	214	50	239	237	224	4.6	146	7.3	247
34	Peabody	Essex	77.07	6.0	99	230	265	204	5.3	150	4.1	189	78	255	210	203	5.3	167	4.1	218
35	Wareham	Plymouth	77.04	4.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
N/A	Provincetown *	Barnstable	76.25	3.0	8	115	237	195	16.3	237	9.7	221	11	143	342	252	16.3	273	9.7	254
36	Yarmouth	Barnstable	76.16	5.0	43	204	209	189	7.5	198	2.6	161	45	237	221	214	7.5	224	2.6	184
37	Palmer	Hampden	75.91	7.0	18	172	195	185	7.9	203	1.8	115	20	191	214	208	7.9	230	1.8	135
38	Somerville	Middlesex	74.19	15.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	76	254	115	138	-	264	-	270
39	Plymouth	Plymouth	74.10	5.0	100	231	260	198	5.4	152	3.3	175	126	268	328	250	5.4	169	3.3	202
40	Braintree	Norfolk	73.78	5.0	69	221	262	203	3.8	92	2.2	141	121	267	461	271	3.8	104	2.2	162
41	Middleborough	Plymouth	73.61	5.0	44	209	305	219	5.5	157	2.0	129	56	243	387	262	5.5	175	2.0	150
42	Mashpee	Barnstable	73.55	5.0	18	171	183	179	5.5	155	4.3	195	43	235	441	269	5.5	173	4.3	224
43	Medford	Middlesex	73.26	13.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
44	Salisbury	Essex	73.06	7.0	21	181	348	228	6.8	184	1.4	80	19	189	311	242	6.8	207	1.4	95
45	Woburn	Middlesex	72.61	5.0	67	220	227	192	6.1	175	4.7	203	38	229	130	155	6.1	197	4.7	232
46	Beverly	Essex	72.37	12.0	85	226	272	207	5.7	166	2.7	163	84	259	269	232	5.7	187	2.7	187
47	Marlborough	Middlesex	71.85	6.0	117	233	419	235	6.8	186	7.4	216	38	227	135	157	6.8	209	7.4	249
48	Westfield	Hampden	71.63	13.0	37	199	122	144	11.3	226	5.6	207	31	221	100	121	11.3	258	5.6	239
49	Oak Bluffs	Dukes	71.60	1.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	117	269	233	-	233	-	238
50	Norwood	Norfolk	71.44	7.0	23	186	102	132	4.4	119	3.8	187	39	232	171	184	4.4	135	3.8	214
51	Montague	Franklin	71.43	4.0	15	155	232	193	13.1	230	2.9	168	13	156	196	198	13.1	266	2.9	193
N/A	Cambridge† ‡	Middlesex	70.99	27.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	83	257	94	112	-	265	-	275
52	Sturbridge	Worcester	70.88	3.0	15	156	260	199	6.1	172	1.5	93	27	211	455	270	6.1	194	1.5	109

					2000-2004								2005-2009							
Rank	Municipality	County	DI score	Student enroll (%)	Avg arrests / year	Rank	Avg arrests/ 100k	Rank	Poverty Rate (%)	Rank	Black/ Latino (%)	Rank	Avg arrests /year	Rank	Avg arrests/ 100k	Rank	Poverty Rate (%)	Rank	Black/ Latino (%)	Rank
53	Andover	Essex	70.76	8.0	77	224	347	226	3.9	98	2.5	153	85	260	381	261	3.9	110	2.5	176
54	Raynham	Bristol	70.15	5.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	23	200	259	227	-	126	-	132
55	Agawam	Hampden	69.81	6.0	32	195	148	165	5.6	164	2.6	160	40	233	182	192	5.6	183	2.6	183
56	Truro	Barnstable	69.57	1.0	9	128	522	240	11.2	225	3.0	171	3	63	174	185	11.2	257	3.0	196
57	Bourne	Barnstable	69.04	7.0	13	148	87	122	7.1	192	2.7	162	17	184	119	141	7.1	215	2.7	186
58	Clinton	Worcester	68.83	8.0	31	194	304	217	7.1	194	12.9	232	28	213	271	234	7.1	217	12.9	265
59	Waltham	Middlesex	68.81	18.0	44	206	87	120	7.0	190	12.3	230	34	224	67	81	7.0	213	12.3	263
60	West Bridgewater	Plymouth	68.72	6.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	34	225	669	276	-	92	-	146
61	Dudley	Worcester	68.64	15.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	35	226	461	272	-	181	-	166
62	Maynard	Middlesex	68.49	6.0	13	150	165	173	5.6	162	3.5	182	14	168	178	187	5.6	180	3.5	209
63	Milford	Worcester	68.06	5.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	22	198	108	133	-	218	-	237
64	Ware	Hampshire	67.84	6.0	8	121	109	138	11.2	224	2.3	143	9	127	123	145	11.2	256	2.3	164
65	Framingham	Middlesex	67.51	8.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	8	0	8	-	231	-	269
66	Monson	Hampden	67.29	5.0	17	168	278	209	5.6	161	1.6	98	23	205	374	258	5.6	179	1.6	114
67^	Auburn	Worcester	67.28	7.0	51	215	418	234	3.3	65	1.5	92	44	236	355	255	3.3	74	1.5	108
67^	Leicester	Worcester	67.28	10.0	15	152	188	182	4.3	116	2.9	166	52	241	676	277	4.3	132	2.9	191
68	Abington	Plymouth	65.98	6.0	45	210	412	233	3.6	81	1.4	74	108	266	994	282	3.6	91	1.4	88
69	Hadley	Hampshire	65.82	7.0	5	90	124	146	6.9	187	2.4	146	17	182	433	268	6.9	210	2.4	168
70	Athol	Worcester	65.80	4.0	6	106	71	98	9.4	214	2.4	151	13	155	152	170	9.4	246	2.4	173
71	Great Barrington	Berkshire	65.71	11.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	134	164	176	-	219	-	217
72	Wilbraham	Hampden	65.55	5.0	29	191	296	212	5.1	146	2.4	147	15	177	156	171	5.1	163	2.4	169
73	Ludlow	Hampden	65.53	5.0	11	135	66	91	6.4	180	8.5	218	16	180	97	115	6.4	202	8.5	251
74	Fairhaven	Bristol	65.24	6.0	19	176	149	166	9.0	210	1.4	72	29	216	229	219	9.0	241	1.4	85
75	Easthampton	Hampshire	64.69	10.0	19	175	149	167	8.9	209	2.5	154	26	209	209	202	8.9	239	2.5	177
76	Winchendon	Worcester	64.58	6.0	10	132	155	171	10.0	219	2.6	159	13	158	197	199	10.0	251	2.6	182
77	Tewksbury	Middlesex	62.98	6.0	33	197	154	169	3.8	91	1.8	118	28	212	129	154	3.8	103	1.8	138
78	Watertown	Middlesex	62.70	8.0	21	183	75	105	6.3	178	4.2	193	25	208	88	104	6.3	200	4.2	222
79	Holbrook	Norfolk	62.58	9.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
80	Amesbury	Essex	62.05	4.0	38	201	316	224	5.9	171	1.4	78	22	199	179	189	5.9	193	1.4	93
81	Hull	Plymouth	61.38	4.0	11	143	132	152	8.3	204	1.4	71	19	188	216	210	8.3	232	1.4	84



					2000-2004								2005-2009							
Rank	Municipality	County	DI score	Student enroll (%)	Avg arrests / year	Rank	Avg arrests/ 100k	Rank	Poverty Rate (%)	Rank	Black/ Latino (%)	Rank	Avg arrests /year	Rank	Avg arrests/ 100k	Rank	Poverty Rate (%)	Rank	Black/ Latino (%)	Rank
82	Danvers	Essex	60.49	6.0	46	212	236	194	2.9	51	1.1	34	80	256	411	265	2.9	58	1.1	40
83	Lunenburg	Worcester	59.99	6.0	2	51	32	38	4.1	110	1.7	110	15	175	218	212	4.1	122	1.7	127
84	Walpole	Norfolk	59.26	5.0	22	184	129	149	2.2	19	3.5	181	54	242	319	244	2.2	21	3.5	208
85	Concord	Middlesex	58.82	3.0	44	208	346	225	3.9	100	4.9	204	23	204	184	193	3.9	112	4.9	233
86	Northbridge	Worcester	58.75	4.0	15	154	155	170	5.3	148	2.1	135	12	150	126	151	5.3	165	2.1	156
87	Whitman	Plymouth	58.66	5.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	17	183	167	181	-	78	-	91
88	Newburyport	Essex	58.51	4.0	11	136	81	112	5.2	147	1.2	58	29	218	216	209	5.2	164	1.2	67
89	North Attleborough	Bristol	58.23	6.0	69	222	348	227	3.8	96	2.1	136	66	248	334	251	3.8	108	2.1	157
90	Orleans	Barnstable	57.34	1.0	6	105	107	134	6.5	182	1.3	62	21	196	380	260	6.5	204	1.3	75
91	Brookline	Norfolk	57.15	13.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	32	222	67	82	-	245	-	242
92	Lenox	Berkshire	56.87	6.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	111	167	179	-	240	-	200
93	Somerset	Bristol	56.38	5.0	26	188	176	176	4.0	104	0.6	3	39	230	266	231	4.0	116	0.6	4
94	Saugus	Essex	55.77	5.0	26	189	126	147	4.2	114	1.3	66	29	217	141	160	4.2	129	1.3	79
95	Oxford	Worcester	55.68	9.0	12	145	124	145	7.8	200	2.6	158	10	136	97	117	7.8	227	2.6	181
96	Seekonk	Bristol	55.51	5.0	21	182	209	188	2.4	25	1.2	49	23	202	227	217	2.4	30	1.2	57
97	Hopedale	Worcester	55.13	3.0	3	68	73	102	4.0	106	1.7	106	9	130	211	205	4.0	118	1.7	123
98	West Boylston	Worcester	54.95	4.0	8	117	129	150	3.2	63	9.1	219	23	203	398	264	3.2	72	9.1	252
99	Winthrop	Suffolk	54.49	7.0	12	144	79	109	5.5	159	4.2	192	13	159	90	108	5.5	177	4.2	221
100	Mansfield	Bristol	54.32	7.0	17	163	108	135	4.5	126	3.5	183	14	164	92	110	4.5	142	3.5	210
101	Shrewsbury	Worcester	54.21	6.0	43	205	183	180	4.8	137	2.9	167	30	219	128	152	4.8	153	2.9	192
102	Boxborough	Middlesex	53.86	8.0	9	130	276	208	2.8	45	1.4	85	10	139	290	239	2.8	52	1.4	100
103	Gloucester	Essex	53.82	4.0	10	131	44	62	8.8	207	1.9	122	10	137	41	47	8.8	237	1.9	142
104	Chelmsford	Middlesex	53.77	6.0	76	223	298	213	2.8	44	1.9	126	49	238	192	197	2.8	51	1.9	147
105	Orange	Franklin	53.76	5.0	2	56	44	61	7.8	201	2.6	157	9	129	163	175	7.8	228	2.6	180
106	Tisbury	Dukes	53.67	1.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	57	84	99	-	262	-	215
107	South Hadley	Hampshire	53.37	19.0	6	104	42	57	5.9	169	3.3	176	12	151	87	103	5.9	191	3.3	203
N/A	Williamstown ‡	Berkshire	53.32	35.0	3	62	40	53	5.5	158	5.2	205	7	108	93	111	5.5	176	5.2	234
108	Warren	Worcester	53.13	4.0	4	82	114	142	6.1	173	1.2	42	4	72	103	126	6.1	195	1.2	49
109	Ayer	Middlesex	52.95	10.0	3	69	58	80	10.8	222	10.1	224	6	96	101	123	10.8	254	10.1	257
110	Harwich	Barnstable	52.72	4.0	3	57	25	30	5.5	160	1.6	96	23	201	223	216	5.5	178	1.6	112

					2000-2004								2005-2009							
Rank	Municipality	County	DI score	Student enroll (%)	Avg arrests / year	Rank	Avg arrests/ 100k	Rank	Poverty Rate (%)	Rank	Black/ Latino (%)	Rank	Avg arrests /year	Rank	Avg arrests/ 100k	Rank	Poverty Rate (%)	Rank	Black/ Latino (%)	Rank
111	Williamsburg	Hampshire	52.68	3.0	3	60	140	157	5.5	156	0.8	7	2	50	105	129	5.5	174	0.8	9
112	Edgartown	Dukes	52.50	3.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	52	68	83	-	130	-	188
113	Hudson	Middlesex	51.95	6.0	20	179	145	163	4.5	127	3.7	185	20	190	144	164	4.5	143	3.7	212
114	Sutton	Worcester	51.77	4.0	11	139	189	183	4.4	121	0.9	16	16	181	282	237	4.4	137	0.9	20
115	Pelham	Hampshire	51.43	4.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
116	Ashland	Middlesex	51.35	5.0	15	158	140	160	2.0	15	4.5	199	18	186	168	182	2.0	17	4.5	228
117	Bellingham	Norfolk	51.31	6.0	15	157	136	154	2.5	29	2.0	132	12	152	107	132	2.5	35	2.0	153
118	Douglas	Worcester	51.04	4.0	3	64	60	83	4.6	133	1.2	53	14	163	282	238	4.6	149	1.2	62
119	Chatham	Barnstable	50.99	4.0	18	169	305	218	4.8	139	2.8	164	6	100	104	128	4.8	156	2.8	189
120	Canton	Norfolk	50.91	5.0	11	142	72	99	3.4	71	4.1	191	14	160	86	102	3.4	81	4.1	220
121	Dartmouth	Bristol	50.78	18.0	16	160	66	92	4.5	129	2.4	148	15	176	63	74	4.5	145	2.4	170
122	Bridgewater	Plymouth	50.62	20.0	8	118	40	54	3.5	78	6.5	211	14	170	74	88	3.5	88	6.5	244
123	Natick	Middlesex	50.58	6.0	25	187	101	131	2.8	40	3.4	179	39	231	157	172	2.8	47	3.4	206
124	East Bridgewater	Plymouth	50.26	6.0	5	95	56	77	4.1	111	1.6	102	21	194	220	213	4.1	124	1.6	119
125	Sandwich	Barnstable	50.11	7.0	16	159	108	136	3.1	56	1.1	35	18	185	123	147	3.1	64	1.1	41
N/A	Sunderland†	Franklin	50.08	24.0	1	26	32	39	14.0	232	4.5	200	7	112	233	222	14.0	268	4.5	229
126	Franklin	Norfolk	49.09	8.0	22	185	106	133	2.8	46	2.0	130	67	249	326	248	2.8	53	2.0	151
127	Wakefield	Middlesex	48.76	5.0	12	146	64	89	3.1	59	1.2	40	29	214	149	168	3.1	67	1.2	47
128	Swansea	Bristol	48.38	4.0	17	167	136	155	4.9	141	0.9	14	29	215	231	220	4.9	158	0.9	18
129	Erving	Franklin	48.23	4.0	1	24	71	97	6.7	183	0.8	9	1	31	88	105	6.7	206	0.8	13
130	Billerica	Middlesex	48.03	6.0	11	137	38	51	3.8	89	2.4	152	24	206	82	95	3.8	101	2.4	174
131	North Andover	Essex	48.02	9.0	17	166	82	115	2.9	48	2.6	156	15	173	73	87	2.9	55	2.6	179
132	Northborough	Worcester	47.82	6.0	18	173	184	181	2.8	41	1.9	121	9	132	95	113	2.8	48	1.9	141
133	Georgetown	Essex	47.10	4.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9	131	175	186	-	128	-	6
134	Uxbridge	Worcester	47.09	6.0	9	126	111	140	4.7	135	1.0	26	5	90	66	77	4.7	151	1.0	31
135	Wellesley	Norfolk	46.86	18.0	19	177	96	126	3.8	95	3.7	186	12	149	59	69	3.8	107	3.7	213
136	Adams	Berkshire	46.81	3.0	5	87	67	94	10.3	221	1.1	30	7	107	97	116	10.3	253	1.1	36
137	Burlington	Middlesex	46.78	6.0	11	138	63	87	1.9	13	2.5	155	20	192	114	137	1.9	13	2.5	178
138	Plainville	Norfolk	46.61	5.0	1	27	17	25	4.0	107	1.6	101	15	174	266	230	4.0	119	1.6	117
139	Deerfield	Franklin	46.16	6.0	1	35	33	40	4.5	128	2.0	131	4	73	98	118	4.5	144	2.0	152

					2000-2004								2005-2009							
Rank	Municipality	County	DI score	Student enroll (%)	Avg arrests / year	Rank	Avg arrests/ 100k	Rank	Poverty Rate (%)	Rank	Black/ Latino (%)	Rank	Avg arrests /year	Rank	Avg arrests/ 100k	Rank	Poverty Rate (%)	Rank	Black/ Latino (%)	Rank
140	Lee	Berkshire	46.00	6.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	97	124	148	-	205	-	197
141	Mendon	Worcester	45.93	4.0	3	65	82	114	4.0	105	1.2	41	5	94	145	165	4.0	117	1.2	48
142	Newton	Middlesex	45.87	12.0	33	196	50	71	4.3	117	4.3	194	20	193	31	37	4.3	133	4.3	223
143	Wilmington	Middlesex	45.54	6.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	33	223	210	204	-	15	-	72
144	Brewster	Barnstable	45.39	3.0	4	80	50	72	3.7	88	1.8	114	13	154	158	173	3.7	100	1.8	134
145	Westport	Bristol	45.37	6.0	16	161	147	164	4.9	140	0.8	8	14	161	124	149	4.9	157	0.8	11
146	Lakeville	Plymouth	45.21	6.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9	125	121	142	-	60	-	59
147	Hardwick	Worcester	45.20	4.0	1	30	64	90	7.5	197	1.4	76	0	14	11	20	7.5	223	1.4	90
148	Carver	Plymouth	45.10	5.0	6	107	76	107	5.0	143	2.0	128	5	88	62	70	5.0	160	2.0	149
149	North Reading	Middlesex	44.93	5.0	18	170	176	175	1.5	5	1.1	28	14	167	142	162	1.5	5	1.1	33
N/A	Chilmark*	Dukes	44.86	5.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	33	150	169	-	226	-	34
150	Eastham	Barnstable	44.79	2.0	4	86	98	129	7.0	189	2.3	144	1	38	31	38	7.0	212	2.3	165
151	Marshfield	Plymouth	44.39	6.0	8	123	48	67	5.4	153	1.2	38	15	172	83	96	5.4	171	1.2	45
152	Northfield	Franklin	44.25	6.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
153	Kingston	Plymouth	44.10	6.0	2	49	26	32	5.8	167	1.6	104	14	166	166	177	5.8	188	1.6	121
154	Grafton	Worcester	44.07	6.0	4	84	38	50	5.6	165	3.0	169	10	141	90	109	5.6	184	3.0	194
155	Rowley	Essex	43.62	4.0	3	67	81	113	4.1	112	1.0	25	7	113	182	191	4.1	125	1.0	29
156	Southwick	Hampden	43.57	5.0	5	98	83	116	6.1	174	2.1	133	7	106	102	125	6.1	196	2.1	154
157	Westborough	Worcester	43.45	4.0	5	91	37	48	4.7	134	4.5	201	10	135	75	90	4.7	150	4.5	230
158	Hingham	Plymouth	43.25	4.0	45	211	313	223	3.5	75	1.1	32	14	165	99	119	3.5	85	1.1	38
N/A	Wellfleet*	Barnstable	43.14	4.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	40	66	78	-	222	-	118
159	Arlington	Middlesex	42.86	5.0	17	165	48	69	4.1	109	3.4	177	14	169	42	50	4.1	121	3.4	204
160	Blackstone	Worcester	42.34	5.0	3	63	47	66	3.7	87	1.3	67	9	128	141	161	3.7	99	1.3	80
161	Harvard	Worcester	42.10	4.0	6	110	142	161	2.0	16	9.8	222	2	46	41	48	2.0	18	9.8	255
162	Marblehead	Essex	42.00	4.0	20	178	128	148	4.3	115	1.2	55	18	187	119	140	4.3	131	1.2	64
163	Barre	Worcester	41.73	6.0	1	33	33	41	3.4	74	1.2	47	5	93	148	167	3.4	84	1.2	55
164	Holland	Hampden	41.56	4.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
165	Foxborough	Norfolk	41.54	4.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	25	5	12	-	71	-	129
166	Lincoln	Middlesex	41.42	7.0	5	88	84	118	0.8	1	7.5	217	11	142	190	195	0.8	1	7.5	250
167	Tyngsborough	Middlesex	41.04	6.0	6	109	80	111	4.7	136	1.5	95	3	69	44	54	4.7	152	1.5	111
168	Marion	Plymouth	40.86	3.0	3	61	73	100	4.6	132	2.1	134	5	95	141	159	4.6	148	2.1	155



					2000-2004								2005-2009							
Rank	Municipality	County	DI score	Student enroll (%)	Avg arrests / year	Rank	Avg arrests/ 100k	Rank	Poverty Rate (%)	Rank	Black/Latino (%)	Rank	Avg arrests /year	Rank	Avg arrests/ 100k	Rank	Poverty Rate (%)	Rank	Black/Latino (%)	Rank
169	Sherborn	Middlesex	40.85	2.0	8	114	262	202	2.3	23	1.5	90	5	92	189	194	2.3	26	1.5	106
170	Belchertown	Hampshire	40.83	8.0	8	119	84	117	5.9	170	2.1	138	8	120	85	100	5.9	192	2.1	159
171	Pembroke	Plymouth	40.68	6.0	5	99	45	63	4.8	138	1.0	20	11	144	89	106	4.8	155	1.0	24
172	Easton	Bristol	40.22	12.0	7	111	40	55	2.0	14	3.1	172	12	148	69	84	2.0	16	3.1	198
173	Granby	Hampshire	39.99	5.0	3	58	57	79	2.2	20	1.4	82	8	116	166	178	2.2	22	1.4	97
174	Charlton	Worcester	39.83	7.0	9	129	114	141	5.6	163	1.1	33	8	122	104	127	5.6	182	1.1	39
175	Acushnet	Bristol	39.68	8.0	7	112	87	121	3.8	93	1.0	24	13	157	167	180	3.8	105	1.0	28
176	Acton	Middlesex	39.24	5.0	19	174	130	151	2.9	49	2.3	145	14	171	100	122	2.9	56	2.3	167
177	Swampscott	Essex	39.04	6.0	4	85	38	52	3.7	82	1.9	124	8	123	75	91	3.7	93	1.9	144
178	Melrose	Middlesex	38.98	8.0	14	151	68	95	3.3	69	1.9	123	16	178	76	92	3.3	79	1.9	143
N/A	Stockbridge*	Berkshire	38.94	3.0	0	3	0	4	8.5	205	4.1	190	0	13	10	19	8.5	234	4.1	219
179	Holliston	Middlesex	38.80	5.0	13	149	135	153	3.4	72	2.1	137	10	140	101	124	3.4	82	2.1	158
180	Hubbardston	Worcester	38.62	7.0	8	116	282	210	3.7	83	1.2	51	5	86	178	188	3.7	94	1.2	60
181	East Longmeadow	Hampden	38.61	7.0	2	55	23	29	3.4	73	1.6	100	5	87	47	56	3.4	83	1.6	116
182	Dedham	Norfolk	38.47	7.0	8	125	46	65	4.6	131	3.7	184	10	138	53	63	4.6	147	3.7	211
183	Dracut	Middlesex	38.45	7.0	11	133	50	73	3.7	85	2.2	142	11	145	52	62	3.7	96	2.2	163
184	Millbury	Worcester	38.45	7.0	7	113	73	101	6.3	177	1.5	87	6	103	63	73	6.3	199	1.5	102
185	Shirley	Middlesex	38.35	3.0	2	43	36	47	3.3	64	13.4	233	2	44	32	42	3.3	73	13.4	266
186	East Brookfield	Worcester	37.96	6.0	4	83	269	205	3.9	101	1.2	50	2	51	128	153	3.9	113	1.2	58
187	Freetown	Bristol	37.93	5.0	4	74	56	78	5.0	142	1.4	81	5	89	81	94	5.0	159	1.4	96
188	Millville	Worcester	37.71	4.0	2	47	98	128	5.8	168	1.3	68	2	49	96	114	5.8	190	1.3	81
189	Ashburnham	Worcester	37.53	9.0	2	44	46	64	6.4	181	1.7	112	5	85	122	143	6.4	203	1.7	130
190	Littleton	Middlesex	37.41	6.0	11	134	181	177	3.6	80	1.2	39	12	153	201	201	3.6	90	1.2	46
191	Pepperell	Middlesex	37.36	6.0	11	140	145	162	3.7	84	1.4	75	9	124	111	136	3.7	95	1.4	89
192	Boylston	Worcester	36.65	5.0	8	122	270	206	2.8	39	1.2	46	7	115	244	226	2.8	46	1.2	54
193	Dalton	Berkshire	36.44	6.0	3	72	66	93	2.7	38	1.4	84	6	101	117	139	2.7	45	1.4	99
194	West Brookfield	Worcester	36.35	7.0	2	42	55	75	6.8	185	1.2	48	4	74	123	144	6.8	208	1.2	56
195	Lancaster	Worcester	36.21	6.0	1	17	10	14	4.1	113	16.4	237	0	19	7	13	4.1	127	16.4	272
196	Belmont	Middlesex	36.11	6.0	5	94	27	33	4.4	124	2.8	165	4	79	22	28	4.4	140	2.8	190
197	Hanson	Plymouth	35.91	7.0	5	100	79	110	3.8	94	1.7	107	6	99	85	101	3.8	106	1.7	124



					2000-2004								2005-2009							
Rank	Municipality	County	DI score	Student enroll (%)	Avg arrests / year	Rank	Avg arrests/ 100k	Rank	Poverty Rate (%)	Rank	Black/ Latino (%)	Rank	Avg arrests /year	Rank	Avg arrests/ 100k	Rank	Poverty Rate (%)	Rank	Black/ Latino (%)	Rank
198	Hamilton	Essex	35.42	9.0	3	71	55	76	5.3	151	1.4	79	7	109	109	134	5.3	168	1.4	94
199	Hopkinton	Middlesex	35.25	5.0	4	77	43	60	1.7	7	1.9	125	16	179	181	190	1.7	7	1.9	145
200	Upton	Worcester	34.67	5.0	6	102	140	158	3.5	77	1.0	23	4	71	90	107	3.5	87	1.0	27
201	Groveland	Essex	34.65	6.0	4	75	85	119	4.5	125	0.8	6	12	147	273	235	4.5	141	0.8	8
202	Wrentham	Norfolk	34.54	7.0	3	66	42	58	3.9	99	1.3	65	3	67	42	51	3.9	111	1.3	78
203	Westwood	Norfolk	33.41	4.0	9	127	88	123	2.5	31	1.3	60	7	110	65	75	2.5	37	1.3	70
204	Berlin	Worcester	32.92	6.0	5	96	291	211	3.9	97	0.6	2	4	76	213	207	3.9	109	0.6	3
205	Lexington	Middlesex	32.91	6.0	17	164	74	103	3.4	70	2.4	150	11	146	51	60	3.4	80	2.4	172
206	Norton	Bristol	32.77	15.0	15	153	111	139	4.0	103	2.2	140	5	84	36	43	4.0	115	2.2	161
207	North Brookfield	Worcester	32.61	8.0	4	79	117	143	5.5	154	1.3	63	3	60	76	93	5.5	172	1.3	76
208	Holden	Worcester	32.60	6.0	4	81	35	45	3.1	61	1.3	61	7	114	65	76	3.1	69	1.3	74
209	Stoneham	Middlesex	32.36	6.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	37	8	15	-	123	-	175
210	Milton	Norfolk	32.26	11.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
211	Longmeadow	Hampden	32.24	7.0	8	120	70	96	2.1	17	1.7	109	8	121	70	85	2.1	19	1.7	126
212	Norfolk	Norfolk	31.92	4.0	1	36	16	21	1.1	2	9.4	220	3	65	42	52	1.1	2	9.4	253
213	Bolton	Worcester	31.86	5.0	2	46	62	86	1.8	10	0.9	13	4	78	139	158	1.8	10	0.9	17
214	Sharon	Norfolk	31.76	5.0	6	103	48	68	3.0	55	4.4	198	3	70	28	33	3.0	63	4.4	227
215	Bedford	Middlesex	31.50	5.0	1	34	12	18	2.5	26	3.2	174	6	105	67	79	2.5	32	3.2	201
216	Templeton	Worcester	31.40	5.0	1	23	16	22	9.1	211	1.7	108	2	42	32	41	9.1	242	1.7	125
217	Needham	Norfolk	31.06	5.0	13	147	59	81	2.5	30	1.8	116	8	119	37	46	2.5	36	1.8	136
218	Rehoboth	Bristol	30.98	8.0	5	89	63	88	3.1	57	0.8	11	9	133	125	150	3.1	65	0.8	15
219	Dunstable	Middlesex	30.76	7.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
220	Newbury	Essex	30.76	9.0	2	54	49	70	3.1	62	1.2	52	2	45	37	44	3.1	70	1.2	61
221	Mattapoisett	Plymouth	30.52	7.0	5	92	101	130	3.6	79	1.2	43	3	66	67	80	3.6	89	1.2	50
222	Townsend	Middlesex	30.43	5.0	2	53	38	49	5.1	144	1.7	111	4	77	63	72	5.1	161	1.7	128
223	Halifax	Plymouth	30.20	5.0	2	41	29	36	3.3	68	0.8	10	6	104	111	135	3.3	77	0.8	14
224	Ipswich	Essex	30.01	6.0	1	37	12	19	7.1	193	1.3	64	1	28	8	16	7.1	216	1.3	77
225	Groton	Middlesex	29.72	5.0	6	108	96	127	4.0	102	1.5	86	0	15	3	11	4.0	114	1.5	101
226	Stow	Middlesex	29.71	5.0	1	32	28	34	2.7	36	1.5	94	6	102	142	163	2.7	43	1.5	110
227	Nahant	Essex	29.61	4.0	2	45	61	84	2.6	33	1.2	59	2	55	74	89	2.6	40	1.2	69

					2000-2004								2005-2009							
Rank	Municipality	County	DI score	Student enroll (%)	Avg arrests / year	Rank	Avg arrests/ 100k	Rank	Poverty Rate (%)	Rank	Black/ Latino (%)	Rank	Avg arrests /year	Rank	Avg arrests/ 100k	Rank	Poverty Rate (%)	Rank	Black/ Latino (%)	Rank
228	West Newbury	Essex	29.55	5.0	2	50	76	106	3.8	90	0.8	5	2	43	55	66	3.8	102	0.8	7
229	Sterling	Worcester	29.22	5.0	5	93	93	124	2.9	50	1.2	54	4	81	84	98	2.9	57	1.2	63
230	Sudbury	Middlesex	29.09	4.0	4	78	35	46	2.8	43	2.0	127	14	162	123	146	2.8	50	2.0	148
231	Princeton	Worcester	28.88	6.0	1	21	25	31	4.4	123	1.5	91	1	21	25	30	4.4	139	1.5	107
232	Scituate	Plymouth	28.38	4.0	3	59	20	28	2.6	32	1.2	57	8	118	59	68	2.6	39	1.2	66
233	Whately	Franklin	28.36	8.0	1	38	108	137	3.0	53	1.5	88	2	41	130	156	3.0	61	1.5	103
234	Weston	Middlesex	28.27	9.0	0	8	2	8	2.9	47	3.1	173	3	61	31	39	2.9	54	3.1	199
235	Topsfield	Essex	28.13	5.0	16	162	372	230	1.7	9	1.2	44	3	64	73	86	1.7	9	1.2	51
236	Berkley	Bristol	27.92	5.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	68	83	97	-	38	-	104
237	Merrimac	Essex	27.84	6.0	2	52	54	74	2.7	37	1.1	36	5	83	106	130	2.7	44	1.1	43
238	Plympton	Plymouth	27.60	7.0	0	5	0	3	2.1	18	1.4	73	4	75	191	196	2.1	20	1.4	86
239	Wayland	Middlesex	27.57	4.0	3	70	34	42	2.5	27	1.8	117	6	98	62	71	2.5	33	1.8	137
240	Middleton	Essex	27.50	5.0	1	29	17	24	3.7	86	7.3	213	1	23	10	18	3.7	97	7.3	246
N/A	Manchester-by-the-Sea*	Essex	27.45	5.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	29	20	26	-	154	-	12
241	Rutland	Worcester	26.43	5.0	0	2	0	6	3.3	67	2.2	139	1	39	32	40	3.3	76	2.2	160
242	Shelburne	Franklin	26.33	6.0	0	16	29	37	9.9	218	1.1	29	0	6	0	10	9.9	250	1.1	35
243	Cohasset	Norfolk	26.26	4.0	8	124	160	172	2.8	42	0.9	12	5	91	99	120	2.8	49	0.9	16
244	Reading	Middlesex	26.09	6.0	3	73	19	26	2.6	35	1.2	37	9	126	51	61	2.6	42	1.2	44
245	Gill	Franklin	25.86	5.0	1	25	77	108	4.4	122	1.0	18	1	24	58	67	4.4	138	1.0	22
246	Westford	Middlesex	25.49	6.0	1	19	4	9	1.7	8	1.3	70	3	62	20	25	1.7	8	1.3	83
247	Hanover	Plymouth	25.16	5.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	21	195	223	215	-	27	-	42
248	Leverett	Franklin	25.06	5.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	9	0	2	-	170	-	131
249	Oakham	Worcester	24.70	8.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	16	17	23	-	14	-	87
250	Winchester	Middlesex	23.89	4.0	5	101	35	44	2.6	34	1.6	99	4	82	28	34	2.6	41	1.6	115
251	Bernardston	Franklin	23.87	4.0	1	28	60	82	4.4	118	0.5	1	0	1	0	5	4.4	134	0.5	2
252	Southampton	Hampshire	23.67	3.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	80	106	131	-	29	-	30
253	Rockport	Essex	22.56	2.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	58	41	49	-	98	-	73
N/A	West Tisbury*	Dukes	22.48	4.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	27	42	53	-	31	-	68
254	Royalston	Worcester	22.46	3.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	17	45	55	-	236	-	10
255	Westminster	Worcester	22.19	7.0	1	18	12	17	3.1	60	1.4	83	2	56	47	58	3.1	68	1.4	98

					2000-2004								2005-2009							
Rank	Municipality	County	DI score	Student enroll (%)	Avg arrests / year	Rank	Avg arrests/ 100k	Rank	Poverty Rate (%)	Rank	Black/Latino (%)	Rank	Avg arrests /year	Rank	Avg arrests/ 100k	Rank	Poverty Rate (%)	Rank	Black/Latino (%)	Rank
256	Paxton	Worcester	22.01	16.0	0	1	0	2	1.8	11	1.9	120	0	20	12	21	1.8	11	1.9	140
257	Rochester	Plymouth	21.93	6.0	1	40	42	59	3.1	58	1.0	21	2	47	54	65	3.1	66	1.0	25
258	Sheffield	Berkshire	21.59	4.0	0	7	8	11	5.3	149	2.4	149	0	10	0	3	5.3	166	2.4	171
259	Ashby	Middlesex	21.08	5.0	0	15	20	27	5.1	145	1.0	17	1	22	29	36	5.1	162	1.0	21
260	New Salem	Franklin	20.77	2.0	0	10	28	35	6.3	179	1.7	105	0	5	0	7	6.3	201	1.7	122
261	Hatfield	Hampshire	20.60	3.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
262	Hampden	Hampden	20.37	6.0	4	76	94	125	2.2	21	0.7	4	2	48	47	57	2.2	23	0.7	5
263	Brimfield	Hampden	20.27	5.0	0	11	8	12	4.4	120	1.6	103	1	36	49	59	4.4	136	1.6	120
264	Dover	Norfolk	18.34	5.0	0	4	0	1	3.0	54	1.5	89	1	30	21	27	3.0	62	1.5	105
265	Millis	Norfolk	18.29	5.0	1	20	10	15	2.9	52	1.6	97	0	18	7	14	2.9	59	1.6	113
266	Southborough	Worcester	17.84	4.0	0	14	7	10	1.6	6	1.8	119	0	2	0	4	1.6	6	1.8	139
267	Chesterfield	Hampshire	16.91	5.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	7	0	6	-	185	-	1
268	Goshen	Hampshire	16.85	6.0	0	12	41	56	7.9	202	1.1	31	0	12	28	32	7.9	229	1.1	37
269	Lanesborough	Berkshire	16.57	6.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	35	53	64	-	186	-	52
270	Medway	Norfolk	16.44	8.0	1	39	17	23	2.3	22	1.4	77	0	3	0	9	2.3	24	1.4	92
271	Norwell	Plymouth	16.18	4.0	5	97	75	104	1.9	12	0.9	15	3	59	37	45	1.9	12	0.9	19
272	Medfield	Norfolk	15.88	5.0	1	31	15	20	1.4	4	1.3	69	2	53	25	29	1.4	4	1.3	82
273	Duxbury	Plymouth	15.51	6.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	34	10	17	-	25	-	71
274	Carlisle	Middlesex	15.27	6.0	2	48	61	85	2.4	24	1.2	56	1	26	18	24	2.4	28	1.2	65
275	Lynnfield	Essex	14.79	5.0	0	9	2	7	2.5	28	1.1	27	2	54	25	31	2.5	34	1.1	32
N/A	<i>Wenham‡</i>	<i>Essex</i>	<i>14.49</i>	<i>34.0</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>13</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>13</i>	<i>3.3</i>	<i>66</i>	<i>1.0</i>	<i>22</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>32</i>	<i>29</i>	<i>35</i>	<i>3.3</i>	<i>75</i>	<i>1.0</i>	<i>26</i>
276	Wales	Hampden	14.17	4.0	0	6	0	5	3.5	76	1.0	19	0	11	15	22	3.5	86	1.0	23
277	Cheshire	Berkshire	10.10	4.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
278	Boxford	Essex	6.18	5.0	1	22	11	16	1.4	3	1.2	45	0	4	0	1	1.4	3	1.2	53

Note: Ten places with significant seasonal housing/arrests (*) or 20% or more residents in undergraduate or graduate degree programs (§) have been grayed out and italicized, as have the state's 5 largest cities (†). Auburn and Leicester were tied in the score ranking (^), "-" indicates town did not have data in that time period.

					2010-2014								2015-2017							
Rank	Municipality	County	DIA	Student enroll (%)	Avg arrests / year	Rank	Avg arrests/ 100k	Rank	Poverty Rate (%)	Rank	Black/Latino (%)	Rank	Avg arrests /year	Rank	Avg arrests/ 100k	Rank	Poverty Rate (%)	Rank	Black/Latino (%)	Rank
1	Holyoke	Hampden	99.52	6.0	569	290	1,880	292	30.1	291	51.0	290	565	292	1,828	294	28.6	293	54.0	293
N/A	Springfield†	Hampden	98.62	9.0	490	288	434	283	30.1	290	60.7	291	893	294	777	291	28.7	294	62.7	294
N/A	Boston†	Suffolk	98.39	16.0	3,119	292	585	290	21.9	285	41.1	286	2,421	295	432	275	20.5	289	42.1	288
2	New Bedford	Bristol	98.02	5.0	506	289	690	291	24.0	289	24.2	279	464	291	627	287	23.1	292	25.4	280
N/A	Worcester†	Worcester	97.87	14.0	741	291	520	288	22.0	286	31.6	283	710	293	478	279	21.8	290	32.7	285
3	Brockton	Plymouth	96.55	7.0	314	286	452	285	17.9	277	47.3	288	292	287	414	272	16.8	282	49.9	291
4	Lynn	Essex	95.53	7.0	239	284	350	273	20.9	283	45.5	287	334	290	476	278	18.2	285	50.5	292
5	Fall River	Bristol	94.78	6.0	324	287	462	286	23.3	288	12.0	253	310	289	436	276	20.2	288	14.8	260
6	Salem	Essex	93.23	10.0	166	281	479	287	14.4	260	20.9	275	110	280	310	256	15.3	278	22.4	276
7	Chelsea	Suffolk	92.76	4.0	106	275	390	279	22.6	287	68.1	292	89	274	307	255	19.5	287	71.7	295
N/A	Lowell†	Middlesex	92.66	12.0	286	285	340	271	19.1	281	24.9	280	307	288	358	265	22.4	291	27.0	282
8	Fitchburg	Worcester	92.33	9.0	62	261	198	230	19.8	282	27.4	281	98	279	312	258	17.9	284	29.9	284
N/A	Amherst‡	Hampshire	90.82	60.0	119	276	335	270	33.8	292	11.9	252	47	243	129	178	33.2	295	11.7	248
9	Southbridge	Worcester	90.13	5.0	28	226	216	238	18.1	278	34.6	284	70	265	531	283	18.5	286	35.8	287
10	Haverhill	Essex	88.80	6.0	166	280	348	272	12.2	246	19.4	270	241	286	498	280	12.6	262	23.4	278
11	Pittsfield	Berkshire	88.58	5.0	90	273	254	251	16.4	271	10.8	245	87	273	248	239	15.1	276	10.4	239
12	West Springfield	Hampden	88.56	8.0	61	259	274	255	11.0	233	12.6	259	58	253	256	244	12.1	258	14.2	259
13	Greenfield	Franklin	88.42	8.0	51	250	359	276	14.9	264	7.5	222	72	266	503	281	13.2	265	9.3	229
14	Taunton	Bristol	87.62	5.0	130	277	294	257	13.1	253	11.9	250	97	277	217	231	13.8	269	13.4	256
15	Revere	Suffolk	87.30	7.0	61	257	141	198	15.5	268	30.4	282	60	257	138	185	13.0	263	35.5	286
16	Barnstable	Barnstable	87.01	5.0	202	282	547	289	13.0	252	6.9	214	142	282	388	271	9.1	220	8.6	224
17	Everett	Middlesex	86.66	7.0	66	266	200	231	13.8	257	36.8	285	66	260	192	223	13.9	270	42.2	289
18	Webster	Worcester	85.66	5.0	41	244	301	260	15.1	267	12.4	258	45	242	336	263	12.0	257	15.8	263
19	Northampton	Hampshire	85.00	15.0	56	254	236	245	14.6	262	10.3	239	60	256	254	241	15.0	275	11.1	245
20	Chicopee	Hampden	84.22	7.0	61	258	139	197	12.9	250	19.5	271	52	251	116	172	14.4	273	23.6	279
21	Quincy	Norfolk	83.36	9.0	207	283	267	254	10.0	223	8.5	230	202	284	254	242	10.5	239	8.2	217
22	Gardner	Worcester	83.14	5.0	32	232	197	229	17.6	276	10.0	238	45	241	278	251	16.7	281	10.0	235
23	Leominster	Worcester	82.70	6.0	52	251	159	211	11.7	241	19.9	273	51	249	160	201	13.4	267	22.7	277
N/A	Nantucket*	Nantucket	81.69	6.0	13	178	155	210	9.2	213	15.4	266	25	213	291	253	11.2	248	16.6	267
24	Randolph	Norfolk	81.03	9.0	55	253	211	236	11.4	239	48.1	289	49	244	180	217	11.3	251	46.3	290
25	Malden	Middlesex	80.42	11.0	63	263	130	187	16.8	272	24.0	278	43	238	87	134	15.9	279	25.7	281



					2010-2014								2015-2017							
Rank	Municipality	County	DIA	Student enroll (%)	Avg arrests / year	Rank	Avg arrests/ 100k	Rank	Poverty Rate (%)	Rank	Black/Latino (%)	Rank	Avg arrests /year	Rank	Avg arrests/ 100k	Rank	Poverty Rate (%)	Rank	Black/Latino (%)	Rank
26	Attleboro	Bristol	80.33	5.0	87	271	259	253	9.2	214	10.3	241	93	276	272	249	9.2	222	10.0	234
27	North Adams	Berkshire	79.71	13.0	22	211	193	226	18.9	280	5.3	177	61	258	547	284	17.8	283	5.3	163
28	Falmouth	Barnstable	78.67	3.0	55	252	212	237	8.3	196	5.9	192	98	278	369	268	6.4	173	5.5	175
29	Weymouth	Norfolk	78.64	6.0	156	279	358	275	6.6	163	5.9	190	149	283	331	260	6.6	179	8.1	215
30	Dennis	Barnstable	78.24	5.0	40	243	327	266	15.5	269	5.3	176	41	236	335	262	10.9	243	6.4	191
31	Methuen	Essex	78.01	8.0	143	278	388	278	9.1	211	23.3	276	224	285	581	286	9.4	224	29.6	283
32	Spencer	Worcester	77.53	4.0	28	225	300	259	11.4	237	5.5	181	14	179	140	186	12.2	259	4.1	124
33	Stoughton	Norfolk	77.14	6.0	45	248	202	233	7.1	173	13.6	262	69	263	300	254	8.3	211	18.5	270
34	Peabody	Essex	77.07	6.0	65	264	155	207	7.7	186	9.7	236	76	270	175	214	9.8	231	12.0	249
35	Wareham	Plymouth	77.04	4.0	60	256	329	268	9.8	222	3.6	128	43	237	234	234	11.7	255	5.2	159
N/A	Provincetown *	Barnstable	76.25	3.0	7	131	240	248	13.5	256	8.1	226	5	106	195	225	10.7	241	7.2	207
36	Yarmouth	Barnstable	76.16	5.0	62	260	306	263	8.3	195	4.0	147	75	269	375	270	6.9	187	3.7	115
37	Palmer	Hampden	75.91	7.0	37	241	387	277	10.3	226	3.0	100	83	272	828	293	14.1	271	5.5	176
38	Somerville	Middlesex	74.19	15.0	69	268	103	162	15.5	270	16.0	267	58	254	82	129	12.4	261	16.0	264
39	Plymouth	Plymouth	74.10	5.0	89	272	195	227	6.8	171	4.3	152	77	271	163	202	6.4	174	4.5	136
40	Braintree	Norfolk	73.78	5.0	91	274	322	264	5.3	127	7.4	219	73	268	255	243	5.0	119	5.4	172
41	Middleborough	Plymouth	73.61	5.0	43	246	234	244	8.1	190	3.7	135	39	235	203	227	7.9	199	4.3	132
42	Mashpee	Barnstable	73.55	5.0	29	229	254	252	8.1	191	4.3	155	26	215	217	232	6.1	164	4.5	137
43	Medford	Middlesex	73.26	13.0	57	255	117	173	10.5	228	13.3	261	51	248	104	160	10.3	235	13.8	257
44	Salisbury	Essex	73.06	7.0	30	230	425	281	8.3	197	1.6	41	59	255	783	292	9.7	229	3.6	109
45	Woburn	Middlesex	72.61	5.0	36	240	115	172	6.8	170	8.9	232	66	261	208	228	6.0	160	9.2	228
46	Beverly	Essex	72.37	12.0	62	262	189	223	8.6	205	5.2	172	32	230	92	142	8.3	207	5.0	151
47	Marlborough	Middlesex	71.85	6.0	35	239	113	170	7.4	183	14.6	265	20	204	63	99	6.5	176	15.6	261
48	Westfield	Hampden	71.63	13.0	35	237	106	164	10.9	231	10.5	243	49	245	146	192	8.5	215	9.9	232
49	Oak Bluffs	Dukes	71.60	1.0	11	163	303	261	11.4	236	2.6	88	9	146	270	248	12.2	260	5.0	152
50	Norwood	Norfolk	71.44	7.0	67	267	295	258	8.2	193	8.8	231	38	234	163	204	8.3	208	12.4	253
51	Montague	Franklin	71.43	4.0	9	150	141	199	17.6	275	5.4	178	11	161	164	205	15.2	277	5.7	179
N/A	Cambridge† ‡	Middlesex	70.99	27.0	66	265	70	114	15.0	265	18.0	269	72	267	74	118	13.5	268	18.8	272
52	Sturbridge	Worcester	70.88	3.0	30	231	440	284	6.7	167	3.6	126	52	250	734	290	4.0	65	3.4	107
53	Andover	Essex	70.76	8.0	38	242	151	205	4.4	84	6.0	195	64	259	244	237	4.4	93	6.2	187



					2010-2014								2015-2017							
Rank	Municipality	County	DIA	Student enroll (%)	Avg arrests / year	Rank	Avg arrests/ 100k	Rank	Poverty Rate (%)	Rank	Black/Latino (%)	Rank	Avg arrests /year	Rank	Avg arrests/ 100k	Rank	Poverty Rate (%)	Rank	Black/Latino (%)	Rank
54	Raynham	Bristol	70.15	5.0	20	205	193	225	7.2	177	6.8	213	30	228	284	252	6.4	172	6.7	197
55	Agawam	Hampden	69.81	6.0	43	247	189	222	9.3	216	6.7	211	23	209	100	151	9.4	223	8.1	216
56	Truro	Barnstable	69.57	1.0	7	133	423	280	13.1	254	1.6	42	8	128	579	285	11.2	247	1.8	36
57	Bourne	Barnstable	69.04	7.0	29	228	178	219	11.6	240	5.7	183	67	262	417	273	6.9	185	6.0	185
58	Clinton	Worcester	68.83	8.0	12	174	109	166	8.8	206	11.9	251	4	85	33	53	6.0	157	17.7	268
59	Waltham	Middlesex	68.81	18.0	47	249	89	148	10.4	227	19.8	272	56	252	103	158	9.8	230	19.9	273
60	West Bridgewater	Plymouth	68.72	6.0	18	198	332	269	4.1	66	9.9	237	17	195	311	257	3.6	44	6.0	184
61	Dudley	Worcester	68.64	15.0	15	182	164	213	9.1	212	3.8	139	14	184	157	198	7.8	197	4.3	131
62	Maynard	Middlesex	68.49	6.0	19	202	237	247	9.4	217	6.4	203	12	164	140	187	8.1	202	6.9	199
63	Milford	Worcester	68.06	5.0	26	221	122	181	10.9	232	11.3	247	23	208	103	159	7.9	200	14.1	258
64	Ware	Hampshire	67.84	6.0	16	187	201	232	14.9	263	2.3	71	27	221	347	264	14.3	272	7.0	201
65	Framingham	Middlesex	67.51	8.0	74	270	134	192	11.3	235	20.8	274	119	281	209	229	11.5	254	21.8	275
66	Monson	Hampden	67.29	5.0	16	192	236	246	8.2	192	2.0	57	26	214	362	266	5.6	141	2.6	74
67^	Auburn	Worcester	67.28	7.0	33	235	250	250	4.4	87	5.8	186	32	231	237	235	4.6	102	5.6	177
67^	Leicester	Worcester	67.28	10.0	32	234	351	274	5.1	119	6.4	205	9	145	95	146	5.6	143	5.1	154
68	Abington	Plymouth	65.98	6.0	26	220	209	234	2.9	29	3.1	103	69	264	528	282	3.6	42	5.0	150
69	Hadley	Hampshire	65.82	7.0	6	122	135	194	7.5	185	7.3	218	8	137	187	220	5.4	134	12.4	254
70	Athol	Worcester	65.80	4.0	12	175	132	190	17.4	274	7.5	220	16	190	170	210	14.7	274	6.3	189
71	Great Barrington	Berkshire	65.71	11.0	7	137	124	183	8.5	203	14.2	264	10	151	179	215	5.2	127	15.6	262
72	Wilbraham	Hampden	65.55	5.0	21	208	186	221	4.8	106	4.6	167	28	224	243	236	4.0	66	7.0	200
73	Ludlow	Hampden	65.53	5.0	26	219	148	204	5.9	148	6.9	215	45	240	260	246	5.8	153	9.1	227
74	Fairhaven	Bristol	65.24	6.0	28	224	210	235	10.8	230	1.2	25	23	210	180	216	9.1	221	2.3	62
75	Easthampton	Hampshire	64.69	10.0	11	158	78	132	8.3	198	5.2	171	12	168	88	137	10.7	240	8.4	221
76	Winchendon	Worcester	64.58	6.0	10	152	122	179	12.1	244	3.7	137	9	138	105	162	11.2	246	5.1	153
77	Tewksbury	Middlesex	62.98	6.0	72	269	303	262	4.0	64	3.6	124	91	275	371	269	5.4	133	3.1	96
78	Watertown	Middlesex	62.70	8.0	24	215	88	145	7.3	182	11.6	249	27	220	93	143	8.4	214	11.4	247
79	Holbrook	Norfolk	62.58	9.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	150	105	161	6.7	182	18.2	269
80	Amesbury	Essex	62.05	4.0	19	203	145	202	4.3	78	2.5	83	29	227	214	230	4.9	117	3.5	108
81	Hull	Plymouth	61.38	4.0	17	194	195	228	5.9	146	3.8	140	15	189	169	209	4.9	116	4.1	127
82	Danvers	Essex	60.49	6.0	33	236	155	208	4.9	113	3.9	145	28	223	126	175	6.3	171	5.4	166

					2010-2014								2015-2017							
Rank	Municipality	County	DIA	Student enroll (%)	Avg arrests / year	Rank	Avg arrests/ 100k	Rank	Poverty Rate (%)	Rank	Black/Latino (%)	Rank	Avg arrests /year	Rank	Avg arrests/ 100k	Rank	Poverty Rate (%)	Rank	Black/Latino (%)	Rank
83	Lunenburg	Worcester	59.99	6.0	19	199	225	242	9.8	221	6.0	198	22	205	256	245	8.3	212	8.5	222
84	Walpole	Norfolk	59.26	5.0	25	217	135	193	3.4	46	4.6	165	31	229	165	206	2.8	27	6.5	192
85	Concord	Middlesex	58.82	3.0	7	129	45	76	5.0	115	7.6	223	9	139	58	91	6.3	169	9.7	230
86	Northbridge	Worcester	58.75	4.0	16	188	130	186	6.0	149	2.8	97	14	183	114	169	8.4	213	5.9	183
87	Whitman	Plymouth	58.66	5.0	32	233	281	256	6.1	153	2.7	92	17	194	148	193	6.9	186	2.9	88
88	Newburyport	Essex	58.51	4.0	27	222	191	224	7.4	184	3.4	117	22	207	156	197	7.0	189	3.3	103
89	North Attleborough	Bristol	58.23	6.0	10	154	47	81	4.2	73	3.7	134	14	181	62	96	7.3	195	6.7	196
90	Orleans	Barnstable	57.34	1.0	8	142	153	206	4.8	104	2.4	76	7	126	145	190	7.2	193	5.4	169
91	Brookline	Norfolk	57.15	13.0	42	245	86	144	11.8	242	8.1	225	5	98	10	18	11.4	252	8.9	226
92	Lenox	Berkshire	56.87	6.0	4	90	98	157	13.3	255	3.6	131	8	132	195	224	3.8	54	4.6	140
93	Somerset	Bristol	56.38	5.0	19	200	127	185	7.9	188	1.5	38	37	232	245	238	6.7	184	0.9	11
94	Saugus	Essex	55.77	5.0	28	227	126	184	6.0	151	5.9	191	14	180	59	92	8.1	203	7.5	208
95	Oxford	Worcester	55.68	9.0	5	110	51	89	5.0	114	5.1	170	12	169	114	170	10.9	244	6.6	195
96	Seekonk	Bristol	55.51	5.0	15	184	133	191	5.1	120	2.6	89	50	246	420	274	5.5	138	2.2	51
97	Hopedale	Worcester	55.13	3.0	19	201	432	282	2.4	14	5.8	187	12	173	273	250	4.2	78	4.4	134
98	West Boylston	Worcester	54.95	4.0	4	94	66	110	5.4	132	10.7	244	2	53	29	43	8.3	206	16.6	266
99	Winthrop	Suffolk	54.49	7.0	12	171	80	135	8.5	204	9.5	235	5	103	34	54	8.2	205	12.2	252
100	Mansfield	Bristol	54.32	7.0	22	210	130	188	4.1	67	5.4	179	18	199	103	157	2.7	24	5.5	173
101	Shrewsbury	Worcester	54.21	6.0	11	167	41	70	5.0	116	6.1	199	12	166	43	71	4.6	99	8.3	219
102	Boxborough	Middlesex	53.86	8.0	9	148	233	243	4.4	83	0.9	18	8	134	190	221	5.3	131	3.8	119
103	Gloucester	Essex	53.82	4.0	20	206	84	140	9.7	220	3.5	123	51	247	203	226	8.5	216	3.0	89
104	Chelmsford	Middlesex	53.77	6.0	24	216	90	149	3.5	48	3.2	108	24	211	85	131	3.6	43	4.5	135
105	Orange	Franklin	53.76	5.0	6	124	99	159	12.5	248	2.3	73	10	155	167	207	10.3	234	1.8	34
106	Tisbury	Dukes	53.67	1.0	2	65	73	121	18.2	279	2.3	69	6	108	168	208	6.9	188	10.7	241
107	South Hadley	Hampshire	53.37	19.0	10	153	65	109	9.2	215	8.4	229	12	167	78	123	10.4	237	8.3	220
N/A	Williamstown ‡	Berkshire	53.32	35.0	5	105	74	123	6.7	169	6.5	206	9	141	134	181	11.5	253	12.2	251
108	Warren	Worcester	53.13	4.0	5	103	123	182	15.0	266	0.8	17	27	222	665	289	11.3	249	1.9	41
109	Ayer	Middlesex	52.95	10.0	3	75	52	91	12.8	249	8.3	228	2	57	36	61	13.4	266	10.9	242
110	Harwich	Barnstable	52.72	4.0	12	169	112	169	7.3	178	3.8	138	15	188	148	194	6.7	183	3.7	114
111	Williamsburg	Hampshire	52.68	3.0	5	104	222	241	10.2	224	4.5	161	9	147	454	277	10.8	242	1.7	30

					2010-2014								2015-2017							
Rank	Municipality	County	DIA	Student enroll (%)	Avg arrests / year	Rank	Avg arrests/ 100k	Rank	Poverty Rate (%)	Rank	Black/Latino (%)	Rank	Avg arrests /year	Rank	Avg arrests/ 100k	Rank	Poverty Rate (%)	Rank	Black/Latino (%)	Rank
112	Edgartown	Dukes	52.50	3.0	12	172	328	267	5.7	142	1.9	55	9	148	254	240	5.1	125	3.3	101
113	Hudson	Middlesex	51.95	6.0	9	146	56	95	6.4	158	4.6	164	4	82	23	31	5.9	156	8.0	214
114	Sutton	Worcester	51.77	4.0	12	170	170	214	3.7	53	0.6	13	16	191	229	233	2.1	13	3.3	100
115	Pelham	Hampshire	51.43	4.0	1	39	122	180	5.7	141	12.2	257	2	47	191	222	4.0	64	5.2	157
116	Ashland	Middlesex	51.35	5.0	11	162	83	138	4.0	65	6.0	193	11	163	84	130	3.2	36	7.9	212
117	Bellingham	Norfolk	51.31	6.0	18	197	135	195	3.0	31	2.1	65	44	239	333	261	4.2	75	4.0	123
118	Douglas	Worcester	51.04	4.0	11	165	177	217	4.2	74	4.2	151	9	143	138	184	4.1	73	8.0	213
119	Chatham	Barnstable	50.99	4.0	3	73	57	98	8.9	207	7.3	217	1	29	19	27	9.5	228	5.8	180
120	Canton	Norfolk	50.91	5.0	16	191	95	153	6.2	155	10.3	240	8	135	47	78	6.0	161	10.3	238
121	Dartmouth	Bristol	50.78	18.0	23	213	79	134	6.5	162	5.0	169	18	198	62	97	8.2	204	5.4	171
122	Bridgewater	Plymouth	50.62	20.0	7	130	31	45	7.3	180	10.9	246	24	212	106	164	9.5	226	11.4	246
123	Natick	Middlesex	50.58	6.0	20	207	78	131	4.0	62	4.7	168	17	196	64	101	3.6	41	5.6	178
124	East Bridgewater	Plymouth	50.26	6.0	16	190	147	203	3.3	43	1.9	56	11	159	103	156	6.6	181	5.2	161
125	Sandwich	Barnstable	50.11	7.0	27	223	171	216	5.6	138	2.2	68	27	218	163	203	5.7	147	2.8	83
N/A	Sunderland†	Franklin	50.08	24.0	0	14	6	13	21.5	284	6.0	197	1	36	43	70	16.4	280	10.1	236
126	Franklin	Norfolk	49.09	8.0	17	196	73	120	3.8	55	3.9	143	13	174	52	83	4.3	85	3.1	93
127	Wakefield	Middlesex	48.76	5.0	35	238	171	215	4.6	96	3.1	102	26	217	121	174	4.4	91	5.0	149
128	Swansea	Bristol	48.38	4.0	12	173	92	151	5.2	125	1.5	37	12	165	91	140	5.5	137	0.8	8
129	Erving	Franklin	48.23	4.0	2	45	114	171	8.5	201	5.5	180	26	216	1,834	295	8.9	219	2.6	75
130	Billerica	Middlesex	48.03	6.0	26	218	78	133	5.6	139	4.5	160	28	225	81	127	4.3	82	7.5	209
131	North Andover	Essex	48.02	9.0	7	132	31	44	4.6	95	6.7	210	37	233	160	200	5.1	124	8.6	223
132	Northborough	Worcester	47.82	6.0	12	176	112	167	2.9	25	5.2	173	13	175	110	167	3.7	49	4.8	144
133	Georgetown	Essex	47.10	4.0	15	185	245	249	2.6	16	1.5	35	9	144	138	183	3.4	38	4.4	133
134	Uxbridge	Worcester	47.09	6.0	11	166	105	163	5.4	135	1.8	50	19	203	181	219	8.3	209	3.9	122
135	Wellesley	Norfolk	46.86	18.0	15	183	69	112	3.5	47	6.9	216	10	154	47	77	4.4	88	7.6	210
136	Adams	Berkshire	46.81	3.0	8	141	122	178	11.4	238	1.6	40	7	118	100	152	11.1	245	1.7	29
137	Burlington	Middlesex	46.78	6.0	24	214	120	175	4.7	100	5.7	184	13	177	63	100	4.0	63	7.2	205
138	Plainville	Norfolk	46.61	5.0	11	161	160	212	5.3	129	0.6	10	12	170	174	213	6.2	167	0.9	10
139	Deerfield	Franklin	46.16	6.0	3	78	84	139	6.2	154	3.1	104	11	158	266	247	8.3	210	5.3	164
140	Lee	Berkshire	46.00	6.0	4	84	74	122	9.5	218	3.2	106	3	67	57	89	8.0	201	3.4	105

					2010-2014								2015-2017							
Rank	Municipality	County	DIA	Student enroll (%)	Avg arrests / year	Rank	Avg arrests/ 100k	Rank	Poverty Rate (%)	Rank	Black/Latino (%)	Rank	Avg arrests /year	Rank	Avg arrests/ 100k	Rank	Poverty Rate (%)	Rank	Black/Latino (%)	Rank
141	Mendon	Worcester	45.93	4.0	9	149	216	239	1.9	6	5.7	185	17	193	367	267	0.5	1	1.3	17
142	Newton	Middlesex	45.87	12.0	22	212	33	51	5.6	140	8.9	233	19	201	27	40	4.3	81	8.6	225
143	Wilmington	Middlesex	45.54	6.0	17	195	100	160	2.2	10	2.5	85	18	197	98	149	2.9	30	4.1	128
144	Brewster	Barnstable	45.39	3.0	10	155	118	174	7.0	172	2.1	59	9	149	113	168	4.8	113	2.4	65
145	Westport	Bristol	45.37	6.0	17	193	131	189	3.4	45	0.4	5	15	186	118	173	4.5	96	0.7	6
146	Lakeville	Plymouth	45.21	6.0	7	134	81	137	4.5	92	2.7	96	28	226	320	259	3.2	35	2.6	71
147	Hardwick	Worcester	45.20	4.0	1	34	41	68	14.5	261	4.6	163	15	187	645	288	12.0	256	2.9	87
148	Carver	Plymouth	45.10	5.0	12	177	136	196	5.4	134	2.5	80	8	136	91	139	4.6	97	3.0	91
149	North Reading	Middlesex	44.93	5.0	13	179	109	165	4.5	90	2.5	84	22	206	180	218	3.4	37	2.5	69
N/A	Chilmark*	Dukes	44.86	5.0	1	41	184	220	13.9	258	0.7	15	0	17	36	60	13.1	264	5.4	167
150	Eastham	Barnstable	44.79	2.0	4	89	85	142	5.1	121	2.1	62	6	109	128	177	6.6	180	3.7	116
151	Marshfield	Plymouth	44.39	6.0	22	209	112	168	5.4	133	1.1	24	27	219	135	182	6.2	166	1.5	21
152	Northfield	Franklin	44.25	6.0	5	108	218	240	3.9	59	2.5	82	3	78	142	188	4.0	59	2.3	56
153	Kingston	Plymouth	44.10	6.0	15	181	145	200	4.3	80	4.1	150	4	92	39	64	6.6	178	2.3	63
154	Grafton	Worcester	44.07	6.0	6	114	41	71	7.2	176	6.1	200	4	94	31	47	5.7	150	10.2	237
155	Rowley	Essex	43.62	4.0	5	100	102	161	9.0	208	1.7	45	8	131	171	211	5.5	136	1.1	13
156	Southwick	Hampden	43.57	5.0	4	96	57	99	2.9	28	0.6	8	11	162	145	191	7.2	194	0.3	2
157	Westborough	Worcester	43.45	4.0	8	144	60	103	4.4	89	9.5	234	5	100	34	55	5.1	122	7.1	204
158	Hingham	Plymouth	43.25	4.0	9	147	52	90	3.9	61	1.4	31	16	192	96	147	5.7	148	1.8	32
N/A	Wellfleet*	Barnstable	43.14	4.0	2	59	81	136	14.0	259	1.4	32	3	76	106	165	11.3	250	2.5	68
159	Arlington	Middlesex	42.86	5.0	15	186	44	72	4.4	88	5.6	182	12	171	35	58	5.2	126	6.2	186
160	Blackstone	Worcester	42.34	5.0	5	111	77	128	5.1	122	6.0	196	10	156	143	189	4.0	61	4.6	139
161	Harvard	Worcester	42.10	4.0	2	52	40	63	9.0	210	13.3	260	3	63	52	82	5.2	128	10.4	240
162	Marblehead	Essex	42.00	4.0	11	159	70	115	4.9	110	3.2	110	4	87	24	34	4.6	101	4.8	147
163	Barre	Worcester	41.73	6.0	13	180	326	265	4.2	72	1.5	34	6	114	149	196	5.7	149	3.6	112
164	Holland	Hampden	41.56	4.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	65	134	180	4.1	71	3.7	117
165	Foxborough	Norfolk	41.54	4.0	16	189	120	176	4.2	76	3.7	132	14	182	102	154	4.9	115	8.2	218
166	Lincoln	Middlesex	41.42	7.0	2	49	37	56	3.9	60	10.3	242	3	66	56	86	2.7	25	12.1	250
167	Tyngsborough	Middlesex	41.04	6.0	6	118	63	106	7.1	174	3.3	116	7	124	76	119	7.1	191	3.6	111
168	Marion	Plymouth	40.86	3.0	3	79	88	146	4.6	97	2.7	95	2	60	61	94	5.6	140	2.7	78
169	Sherborn	Middlesex	40.85	2.0	4	86	121	177	2.0	8	1.0	20	3	69	99	150	4.2	74	3.3	102



					2010-2014								2015-2017							
Rank	Municipality	County	DIA	Student enroll (%)	Avg arrests / year	Rank	Avg arrests/ 100k	Rank	Poverty Rate (%)	Rank	Black/Latino (%)	Rank	Avg arrests /year	Rank	Avg arrests/ 100k	Rank	Poverty Rate (%)	Rank	Black/Latino (%)	Rank
170	Belchertown	Hampshire	40.83	8.0	4	85	32	48	7.8	187	3.5	122	5	101	43	73	5.8	152	1.7	25
171	Pembroke	Plymouth	40.68	6.0	20	204	145	201	4.1	70	2.8	98	13	178	95	145	4.2	76	2.3	59
172	Easton	Bristol	40.22	12.0	10	157	56	96	3.5	49	8.2	227	13	176	69	112	4.7	109	6.6	194
173	Granby	Hampshire	39.99	5.0	4	95	89	147	5.8	145	5.9	189	4	83	71	114	5.5	135	6.2	188
174	Charlton	Worcester	39.83	7.0	6	121	60	102	4.9	111	1.5	36	7	122	67	109	4.7	106	2.7	79
175	Acushnet	Bristol	39.68	8.0	7	135	86	143	4.1	69	2.7	94	7	125	85	132	4.1	70	2.2	52
176	Acton	Middlesex	39.24	5.0	6	128	39	59	3.0	35	2.7	90	8	133	47	79	3.8	53	4.2	130
177	Swampscott	Essex	39.04	6.0	8	145	78	129	4.7	102	5.3	174	6	113	57	87	6.1	165	4.1	129
178	Melrose	Middlesex	38.98	8.0	11	160	49	85	3.9	57	6.5	207	6	117	28	41	3.9	57	6.8	198
N/A	Stockbridge*	Berkshire	38.94	3.0	0	18	22	34	12.0	243	4.6	166	2	50	116	171	9.4	225	5.4	170
179	Holliston	Middlesex	38.80	5.0	5	112	53	92	4.0	63	3.3	114	4	89	37	62	1.4	5	4.8	145
180	Hubbardston	Worcester	38.62	7.0	3	74	91	150	6.5	160	2.6	87	0	5	0	12	2.4	21	5.2	158
181	East Longmeadow	Hampden	38.61	7.0	6	123	48	84	5.1	123	6.5	208	19	202	148	195	4.5	95	7.2	206
182	Dedham	Norfolk	38.47	7.0	4	87	19	28	4.4	86	11.6	248	2	41	8	16	5.0	120	16.1	265
183	Dracut	Middlesex	38.45	7.0	2	54	9	15	5.0	118	8.0	224	9	140	36	59	7.2	192	9.9	233
184	Millbury	Worcester	38.45	7.0	5	106	45	75	6.1	152	3.8	141	5	99	43	72	6.0	159	2.2	46
185	Shirley	Middlesex	38.35	3.0	1	30	13	21	12.1	245	23.3	277	2	52	32	49	10.3	233	20.0	274
186	East Brookfield	Worcester	37.96	6.0	1	25	33	49	4.9	107	1.8	52	3	68	157	199	4.8	110	2.3	58
187	Freetown	Bristol	37.93	5.0	5	109	75	124	4.8	105	1.0	23	8	127	106	163	5.9	154	2.1	45
188	Millville	Worcester	37.71	4.0	2	64	93	152	9.0	209	4.0	148	1	30	41	67	4.4	89	1.6	24
189	Ashburnham	Worcester	37.53	9.0	3	70	59	101	8.4	200	2.2	66	2	49	44	75	4.8	111	2.6	72
190	Littleton	Middlesex	37.41	6.0	5	113	77	127	3.9	58	1.3	30	3	79	44	74	3.8	55	1.4	20
191	Pepperell	Middlesex	37.36	6.0	3	80	39	58	4.9	112	3.6	130	3	64	29	44	5.6	142	3.8	118
192	Boylston	Worcester	36.65	5.0	1	35	30	42	3.1	36	2.5	78	3	71	86	133	4.1	69	2.9	86
193	Dalton	Berkshire	36.44	6.0	1	29	15	25	17.1	273	4.0	149	4	95	79	125	10.3	236	2.4	64
194	West Brookfield	Worcester	36.35	7.0	3	69	84	141	7.2	175	4.3	156	1	23	22	29	6.5	175	1.9	40
195	Lancaster	Worcester	36.21	6.0	1	22	9	17	12.3	247	12.1	255	4	84	57	90	5.3	130	11.1	244
196	Belmont	Middlesex	36.11	6.0	6	120	30	43	5.8	143	7.5	221	6	112	31	46	5.5	139	6.3	190
197	Hanson	Plymouth	35.91	7.0	5	99	59	100	3.8	56	3.9	144	7	120	78	124	3.4	39	1.8	31
198	Hamilton	Essex	35.42	9.0	1	32	13	22	3.2	42	5.3	175	4	91	69	111	10.2	232	2.1	42

					2010-2014								2015-2017							
Rank	Municipality	County	DIA	Student enroll (%)	Avg arrests / year	Rank	Avg arrests/ 100k	Rank	Poverty Rate (%)	Rank	Black/Latino (%)	Rank	Avg arrests /year	Rank	Avg arrests/ 100k	Rank	Poverty Rate (%)	Rank	Black/Latino (%)	Rank
199	Hopkinton	Middlesex	35.25	5.0	8	139	70	116	2.2	9	2.4	74	8	129	67	106	1.5	6	4.7	141
200	Upton	Worcester	34.67	5.0	2	63	40	66	6.5	161	1.5	39	5	102	87	135	4.8	114	4.1	125
201	Groveland	Essex	34.65	6.0	4	83	69	111	2.7	18	3.2	112	1	35	25	37	2.4	22	4.8	146
202	Wrentham	Norfolk	34.54	7.0	8	143	99	158	5.2	126	1.2	26	7	121	77	122	5.1	121	4.9	148
203	Westwood	Norfolk	33.41	4.0	8	140	75	125	2.8	23	3.1	101	11	160	96	148	1.9	11	2.2	47
204	Berlin	Worcester	32.92	6.0	0	11	9	16	2.7	19	3.3	113	2	61	93	144	2.9	29	1.5	22
205	Lexington	Middlesex	32.91	6.0	11	164	46	78	4.4	82	3.0	99	1	34	5	13	3.6	46	2.8	84
206	Norton	Bristol	32.77	15.0	1	28	5	12	6.0	150	2.4	75	2	38	10	20	5.6	144	5.2	160
207	North Brookfield	Worcester	32.61	8.0	2	51	50	87	6.6	165	2.3	72	0	8	0	10	6.3	170	2.2	48
208	Holden	Worcester	32.60	6.0	10	151	71	117	2.6	15	3.3	115	9	142	64	102	4.7	107	5.5	174
209	Stoneham	Middlesex	32.36	6.0	6	119	33	50	4.5	93	4.3	154	10	157	57	88	4.3	84	5.4	165
210	Milton	Norfolk	32.26	11.0	2	66	12	18	4.4	85	17.9	268	4	93	19	28	4.1	72	18.7	271
211	Longmeadow	Hampden	32.24	7.0	6	116	47	82	5.3	130	4.4	157	3	74	25	35	3.6	45	5.2	162
212	Norfolk	Norfolk	31.92	4.0	2	68	27	37	4.6	94	12.1	256	6	107	62	98	2.8	28	13.2	255
213	Bolton	Worcester	31.86	5.0	6	115	155	209	2.7	20	3.9	142	3	70	81	126	1.4	3	4.1	126
214	Sharon	Norfolk	31.76	5.0	5	107	39	60	2.7	17	6.2	201	4	88	30	45	2.0	12	7.1	202
215	Bedford	Middlesex	31.50	5.0	5	98	45	73	4.2	71	6.0	194	6	111	53	84	2.5	23	7.1	203
216	Templeton	Worcester	31.40	5.0	5	97	72	119	10.6	229	0.4	6	3	62	40	65	4.4	94	1.3	18
217	Needham	Norfolk	31.06	5.0	6	125	29	40	3.2	38	4.5	162	10	153	45	76	3.0	32	4.7	143
218	Rehoboth	Bristol	30.98	8.0	7	136	78	130	3.2	39	0.6	12	6	116	67	108	2.3	17	3.1	95
219	Dunstable	Middlesex	30.76	7.0	4	93	178	218	1.3	2	0.3	3	2	58	92	141	2.1	14	1.1	14
220	Newbury	Essex	30.76	9.0	3	77	63	105	4.9	109	1.0	21	10	152	173	212	4.2	80	3.1	94
221	Mattapoisett	Plymouth	30.52	7.0	3	72	64	107	4.8	103	0.7	14	4	86	72	115	4.6	103	1.7	27
222	Townsend	Middlesex	30.43	5.0	2	56	29	41	4.5	91	1.8	51	5	104	74	117	4.0	68	3.0	90
223	Halifax	Plymouth	30.20	5.0	6	117	98	156	1.9	7	3.7	133	3	73	49	81	4.6	104	5.2	156
224	Ipswich	Essex	30.01	6.0	3	76	31	46	5.8	144	1.7	43	7	123	67	107	7.1	190	3.9	120
225	Groton	Middlesex	29.72	5.0	4	88	46	79	3.7	51	2.7	93	6	110	66	105	4.3	83	1.8	35
226	Stow	Middlesex	29.71	5.0	5	102	96	155	3.0	34	3.4	118	2	42	32	50	4.4	92	2.5	70
227	Nahant	Essex	29.61	4.0	2	50	62	104	5.0	117	6.4	204	2	55	66	104	4.8	112	2.4	66
228	West Newbury	Essex	29.55	5.0	1	40	45	74	8.5	202	3.5	120	3	72	88	138	5.7	145	1.0	12

					2010-2014								2015-2017							
Rank	Municipality	County	DIA	Student enroll (%)	Avg arrests / year	Rank	Avg arrests/ 100k	Rank	Poverty Rate (%)	Rank	Black/Latino (%)	Rank	Avg arrests /year	Rank	Avg arrests/ 100k	Rank	Poverty Rate (%)	Rank	Black/Latino (%)	Rank
229	Sterling	Worcester	29.22	5.0	2	61	37	57	4.7	101	3.4	119	1	24	11	21	6.0	158	5.2	155
230	Sudbury	Middlesex	29.09	4.0	4	91	32	47	1.9	5	2.1	63	6	115	48	80	3.1	34	2.4	67
231	Princeton	Worcester	28.88	6.0	1	26	23	35	6.7	168	6.8	212	2	43	60	93	6.5	177	3.9	121
232	Scituate	Plymouth	28.38	4.0	10	156	75	126	3.0	30	1.9	54	12	172	88	136	4.2	79	1.8	37
233	Whately	Franklin	28.36	8.0	0	16	18	26	3.2	40	2.4	77	0	13	29	42	7.6	196	3.7	113
234	Weston	Middlesex	28.27	9.0	5	101	55	93	2.9	26	6.7	209	2	59	27	39	5.1	123	5.8	181
235	Topsfield	Essex	28.13	5.0	0	17	8	14	5.3	128	0.1	2	4	90	82	128	1.4	4	1.3	16
236	Berkley	Bristol	27.92	5.0	2	57	46	77	5.9	147	3.2	109	3	77	66	103	3.9	58	0.4	3
237	Merrimac	Essex	27.84	6.0	2	55	40	65	4.7	98	2.2	67	4	81	68	110	5.4	132	2.8	82
238	Plympton	Plymouth	27.60	7.0	2	58	95	154	3.8	54	1.8	53	2	39	71	113	4.4	87	2.8	81
239	Wayland	Middlesex	27.57	4.0	6	127	64	108	4.3	79	3.6	125	2	56	23	32	3.0	33	4.5	138
240	Middleton	Essex	27.50	5.0	0	13	3	9	4.7	99	12.0	254	1	28	13	24	3.6	47	11.0	243
N/A	Manchester-by-the-Sea*	Essex	27.45	5.0	2	60	55	94	6.6	164	2.1	64	4	96	102	155	3.7	48	1.6	23
241	Rutland	Worcester	26.43	5.0	3	71	49	86	2.3	12	3.5	121	8	130	128	176	2.3	16	2.2	49
242	Shelburne	Franklin	26.33	6.0	0	9	12	19	8.3	199	0.3	4	2	44	102	153	8.5	217	0.8	7
243	Cohasset	Norfolk	26.26	4.0	2	46	27	38	4.1	68	0.6	9	3	80	54	85	3.8	52	0.9	9
244	Reading	Middlesex	26.09	6.0	7	138	39	61	2.4	13	3.9	146	15	185	76	120	2.9	31	2.7	77
245	Gill	Franklin	25.86	5.0	0	12	15	23	7.3	179	5.8	188	0	2	0	7	5.8	151	4.7	142
246	Westford	Middlesex	25.49	6.0	11	168	70	113	2.7	21	3.2	111	19	200	107	166	2.3	19	2.6	73
247	Hanover	Plymouth	25.16	5.0	2	62	21	33	4.3	81	1.2	27	1	37	13	23	3.9	56	1.1	15
248	Leverett	Franklin	25.06	5.0	0	2	0	5	9.6	219	3.6	127	1	31	61	95	6.0	162	1.9	38
249	Oakham	Worcester	24.70	8.0	1	31	57	97	5.1	124	0.6	11	2	54	132	179	3.8	51	3.2	97
250	Winchester	Middlesex	23.89	4.0	6	126	41	69	3.0	32	2.3	70	7	119	41	69	2.3	18	2.3	61
251	Bernardston	Franklin	23.87	4.0	1	21	34	52	6.2	156	4.5	159	1	25	38	63	9.5	227	2.3	60
252	Southampton	Hampshire	23.67	3.0	2	67	51	88	4.9	108	0.9	19	2	46	34	56	4.6	98	0.1	1
253	Rockport	Essex	22.56	2.0	1	37	20	30	5.4	136	3.7	136	1	21	11	22	6.2	168	2.2	53
N/A	West Tisbury*	Dukes	22.48	4.0	1	24	29	39	8.1	189	2.5	79	2	45	76	121	3.7	50	2.1	43
254	Royalston	Worcester	22.46	3.0	0	8	0	4	13.0	251	1.8	49	0	1	0	11	10.5	238	1.7	26
255	Westminster	Worcester	22.19	7.0	4	92	72	118	2.9	27	2.5	86	2	48	34	57	1.6	7	3.6	110
256	Paxton	Worcester	22.01	16.0	2	48	47	80	3.6	50	13.9	263	0	18	8	17	4.6	105	9.8	231
257	Rochester	Plymouth	21.93	6.0	1	42	35	54	6.7	166	2.5	81	2	40	40	66	4.7	108	2.2	50

					2010-2014								2015-2017							
Rank	Municipality	County	DIA	Student enroll (%)	Avg arrests / year	Rank	Avg arrests/ 100k	Rank	Poverty Rate (%)	Rank	Black/Latino (%)	Rank	Avg arrests /year	Rank	Avg arrests/ 100k	Rank	Poverty Rate (%)	Rank	Black/Latino (%)	Rank
258	Sheffield	Berkshire	21.59	4.0	0	4	0	8	10.2	225	1.0	22	0	6	0	8	8.7	218	0.5	5
259	Ashby	Middlesex	21.08	5.0	1	36	40	64	6.4	159	2.1	61	0	9	0	2	7.9	198	2.8	80
260	New Salem	Franklin	20.77	2.0	0	3	0	1	8.3	194	1.7	47	0	10	0	4	6.1	163	0.4	4
261	Hatfield	Hampshire	20.60	3.0	1	20	18	27	11.1	234	2.1	60	1	27	23	33	4.4	86	2.3	57
262	Hampden	Hampden	20.37	6.0	2	53	48	83	4.2	77	1.4	33	1	26	16	26	4.0	67	3.4	106
263	Brimfield	Hampden	20.27	5.0	1	23	21	31	3.0	33	1.2	28	1	33	33	52	4.2	77	3.2	99
264	Dover	Norfolk	18.34	5.0	2	47	40	67	0.3	1	6.4	202	0	14	8	14	0.8	2	7.8	211
265	Millis	Norfolk	18.29	5.0	0	1	0	3	6.3	157	3.6	129	1	22	10	19	4.4	90	5.4	168
266	Southborough	Worcester	17.84	4.0	0	15	3	10	3.3	44	2.7	91	5	105	73	116	4.6	100	3.0	92
267	Chesterfield	Hampshire	16.91	5.0	0	7	0	6	7.3	181	0.8	16	0	16	32	51	5.9	155	2.1	44
268	Goshen	Hampshire	16.85	6.0	0	5	0	2	2.8	22	1.7	46	0	3	0	6	2.4	20	3.2	98
269	Lanesborough	Berkshire	16.57	6.0	1	33	34	53	1.5	4	0.0	1	0	4	0	5	4.9	118	1.9	39
270	Medway	Norfolk	16.44	8.0	1	38	12	20	3.1	37	4.3	153	0	7	0	9	5.3	129	5.9	182
271	Norwell	Plymouth	16.18	4.0	2	43	21	32	2.3	11	1.3	29	2	51	26	38	3.6	40	2.3	54
272	Medfield	Norfolk	15.88	5.0	3	81	39	62	4.2	75	4.4	158	0	11	0	3	2.2	15	2.8	85
273	Duxbury	Plymouth	15.51	6.0	2	44	15	24	3.2	41	2.0	58	5	97	41	68	4.0	62	1.7	28
274	Carlisle	Middlesex	15.27	6.0	0	6	0	7	5.5	137	1.7	44	1	32	25	36	1.6	8	2.3	55
275	Lynnfield	Essex	14.79	5.0	3	82	36	55	1.4	3	3.2	107	3	75	31	48	1.8	10	3.4	104
N/A	<i>Wenham‡</i>	<i>Essex</i>	<i>14.49</i>	<i>34.0</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>27</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>29</i>	<i>3.7</i>	<i>52</i>	<i>3.2</i>	<i>105</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>1.7</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>6.5</i>	<i>193</i>
276	Wales	Hampden	14.17	4.0	0	19	26	36	5.3	131	0.5	7	0	19	22	30	5.7	146	2.6	76
277	Cheshire	Berkshire	10.10	4.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	20	14	25	4.0	60	1.4	19
278	Boxford	Essex	6.18	5.0	0	10	3	11	2.8	24	1.8	48	0	12	0	1	2.8	26	1.8	33

Note: 10 places with significant seasonal housing/arrests (*) or 20% or more residents in undergraduate or graduate degree programs (‡) have been grayed out and italicized, as have the state's 5 largest cities (†). Auburn and Leicester were tied in the score ranking (^), "-" indicates town did not have data in that time period.

Table VII-8. Disproportionate Impact Scores and Score Components for Census Tracts, Large Massachusetts Cities, 2000-2017

					2000-2004								2005-2009							
Rank	Census Tract Name	City	DIA	Student enroll (%)	Avg arrests / year	Rank	Avg arrests/ 100k	Rank	Poverty Rate (%)	Rank	Black/Latino (%)	Rank	Avg arrests /year	Rank	Avg arrests/ 100k	Rank	Poverty Rate (%)	Rank	Black/Latino (%)	Rank
1	Census Tract 8020	Springfield	94.81	5.0	103	242	5,037	243	49.7	242	74.6	208	76	295	3,692	293	49.7	299	74.6	265
2	Census Tract 804.01	Boston	94.15	6.0	118	244	8,387	247	36.5	214	92.6	225	102	300	7,277	303	36.5	270	92.6	282
3	Census Tract 8012	Springfield	93.05	2.0	51	213	2,693	224	40.6	228	75.4	209	70	291	3,725	294	40.6	284	75.4	266
4	Census Tract 8006	Springfield	92.53	4.0	43	206	2,600	221	63.3	248	94.6	230	49	270	2,989	284	63.3	305	94.6	287
5	Census Tract 805	Boston	92.38	14.0	57	222	3,611	234	39.8	226	95.0	233	61	280	3,850	296	39.8	282	95.0	290
6	Census Tract 7314	Worcester	91.80	7.0	101	241	3,370	233	38.1	220	62.6	193	114	301	3,795	295	38.1	276	62.6	250
7	Census Tract 902	Boston	91.09	2.0	53	217	4,469	242	33.7	204	97.0	245	62	281	5,251	301	33.7	259	97.0	302
8	Census Tract 801	Boston	90.99	6.0	122	245	4,312	240	29.8	190	72.2	202	117	302	4,129	298	29.8	242	72.2	259
9	Census Tract 7313	Worcester	90.63	11.0	99	240	3,963	238	40.5	227	54.9	185	88	298	3,493	292	40.5	283	54.9	241
10	Census Tract 924	Boston	90.18	8.0	115	243	2,882	226	37.8	218	96.9	244	99	299	2,476	276	37.8	274	96.9	301
11	Census Tract 813	Boston	89.91	16.0	62	226	2,123	216	30.5	193	93.4	227	73	294	2,491	277	30.5	245	93.4	284
12	Census Tract 803	Boston	89.80	8.0	77	235	6,957	246	29.8	189	93.7	228	67	288	6,049	302	29.8	241	93.7	285
13	Census Tract 7317	Worcester	89.60	15.0	188	247	8,829	248	28.9	184	45.2	165	169	303	7,945	304	28.9	235	45.2	221
14	Census Tract 812	Boston	89.50	12.0	52	216	2,731	225	42.3	231	87.6	221	54	276	2,868	283	42.3	287	87.6	278
15	Census Tract 903	Boston	88.90	6.0	70	232	3,703	235	35.3	210	96.5	240	48	268	2,542	278	35.3	266	96.5	297
16	Census Tract 8011.01	Springfield	88.62	5.0	41	203	2,649	223	44.2	234	71.4	201	19	198	1,228	237	44.2	290	71.4	258
17	Census Tract 8018	Springfield	87.99	14.0	55	221	1,994	210	39.3	224	91.8	224	36	244	1,301	239	39.3	280	91.8	281
18	Census Tract 817	Boston	87.71	14.0	81	237	3,204	231	26.0	171	96.1	238	65	285	2,573	279	26.0	221	96.1	295
19	Census Tract 1001	Boston	87.63	7.0	68	229	1,966	208	32.3	199	96.0	237	84	297	2,436	275	32.3	252	96.0	294
20	Census Tract 818	Boston	87.34	7.0	76	234	3,783	237	26.8	173	95.7	235	60	278	2,997	286	26.8	224	95.7	292
21	Census Tract 8019.01	Springfield	87.30	9.0	29	174	1,063	170	45.6	235	74.2	207	45	266	1,665	258	45.6	291	74.2	264
22	Census Tract 901	Boston	87.24	8.0	78	236	2,601	222	19.6	142	97.6	247	79	296	2,621	280	19.6	184	97.6	304
23	Census Tract 7315	Worcester	86.50	5.0	64	228	1,863	206	33.7	203	54.1	182	54	274	1,578	255	33.7	258	54.1	238
n/a	Census Tract 806.01 ²	Boston	86.49	64.0	54	219	3,145	230	38.6	222	76.2	210	51	271	2,992	285	38.6	278	76.2	267
24	Census Tract 821	Boston	84.99	7.0	55	220	1,947	207	32.7	200	96.8	242	49	269	1,748	264	32.7	253	96.8	299
25	Census Tract 8019.02	Springfield	84.88	4.0	34	185	1,381	191	45.6	236	74.2	206	18	193	727	200	45.6	292	74.2	263
26	Census Tract 904	Boston	84.61	6.0	60	225	2,892	227	30.3	191	86.6	220	62	282	3,007	287	30.3	243	86.6	277
27	Census Tract 8008	Springfield	84.37	9.0	17	140	1,276	185	51.1	244	83.3	217	13	168	938	218	51.1	301	83.3	274
28	Census Tract 7325	Worcester	83.82	11.0	45	210	3,755	236	35.8	212	22.1	106	38	248	3,143	289	35.8	268	22.1	146
29	Census Tract 1011.02	Boston	83.68	7.0	68	231	2,062	213	21.4	155	97.3	246	72	293	2,159	274	21.4	198	97.3	303

					2000-2004								2005-2009							
Rank	Census Tract Name	City	DIA	Student enroll (%)	Avg arrests / year	Rank	Avg arrests/ 100k	Rank	Poverty Rate (%)	Rank	Black/Latino (%)	Rank	Avg arrests /year	Rank	Avg arrests/ 100k	Rank	Poverty Rate (%)	Rank	Black/Latino (%)	Rank
30	Census Tract 611.01	Boston	82.81	6.0	17	134	1,195	181	46.7	239	42.2	155	25	216	1,807	266	46.7	295	42.2	209
31	Census Tract 920	Boston	82.78	9.0	60	224	1,663	201	19.9	145	79.9	213	71	292	1,981	272	19.9	187	79.9	270
32	Census Tract 913	Boston	82.37	13.0	51	214	3,258	232	25.3	169	63.5	194	43	261	2,769	282	25.3	217	63.5	251
33	Census Tract 923	Boston	82.14	5.0	40	201	1,999	211	19.5	141	95.4	234	67	289	3,385	291	19.5	181	95.4	291
34	Census Tract 503	Boston	82.07	10.0	24	165	1,610	200	46.0	237	60.0	189	25	214	1,678	260	46.0	293	60.0	246
35	Census Tract 1002	Boston	81.81	8.0	43	205	2,468	220	19.1	138	96.4	239	54	275	3,140	288	19.1	178	96.4	296
36	Census Tract 711.01	Boston	80.86	14.0	68	230	2,393	219	27.1	179	39.4	152	44	263	1,562	252	27.1	230	39.4	204
37	Census Tract 607	Boston	80.50	8.0	19	149	2,291	218	46.7	238	45.9	166	16	184	1,885	270	46.7	294	45.9	222
38	Census Tract 712.01	Boston	80.47	6.0	35	188	3,051	228	41.3	229	45.2	164	54	272	4,690	299	41.3	285	45.2	220
39	Census Tract 820	Boston	80.45	2.0	29	177	1,463	197	30.7	194	96.7	241	38	247	1,897	271	30.7	246	96.7	298
40	Census Tract 914	Boston	79.71	7.0	35	190	2,066	214	35.5	211	84.4	219	29	230	1,690	261	35.5	267	84.4	276
41	Census Tract 1005	Boston	79.67	7.0	50	212	1,086	172	28.3	183	73.1	204	63	283	1,375	244	28.3	234	73.1	261
42	Census Tract 916	Boston	79.65	7.0	35	187	1,495	198	21.5	156	53.3	180	42	257	1,803	265	21.5	199	53.3	236
43	Census Tract 819	Boston	79.58	7.0	37	197	1,701	203	12.2	81	96.9	243	35	241	1,600	256	12.2	106	96.9	300
44	Census Tract 8007	Springfield	78.75	6.0	9	102	382	115	37.9	219	93.3	226	17	185	705	196	37.9	275	93.3	283
45	Census Tract 906	Boston	78.34	8.0	45	207	3,131	229	15.8	110	60.4	191	38	249	2,655	281	15.8	144	60.4	248
46	Census Tract 701.01	Boston	77.84	29.0	175	246	5,859	244	34.4	206	11.1	70	259	305	8,662	305	34.4	261	11.1	89
47	Census Tract 8013	Springfield	77.77	8.0	29	176	896	161	35.0	207	81.1	215	26	217	797	204	35.0	263	81.1	272
48	Census Tract 919	Boston	77.60	5.0	33	183	1,400	192	29.0	187	94.7	231	44	262	1,855	268	29.0	238	94.7	288
49	Census Tract 1203.01	Boston	77.09	12.0	45	209	1,267	183	22.7	162	69.5	200	66	286	1,837	267	22.7	207	69.5	257
50	Census Tract 918	Boston	76.90	7.0	45	208	2,003	212	22.3	160	78.1	211	35	243	1,575	254	22.3	204	78.1	268
51	Census Tract 915	Boston	76.54	5.0	48	211	1,514	199	22.5	161	66.2	196	54	273	1,704	262	22.5	205	66.2	253
52	Census Tract 7320.01	Worcester	76.39	7.0	83	238	4,421	241	54.3	245	81.3	216	23	210	1,204	235	54.3	302	81.3	273
53	Census Tract 917	Boston	76.39	8.0	37	196	1,679	202	16.7	121	68.9	198	46	267	2,099	273	16.7	158	68.9	255
n/a	Census Tract 808.01 [‡]	Boston	76.32	52.0	39	200	1,748	204	43.1	233	39.8	153	30	232	1,377	246	43.1	289	39.8	205
54	Census Tract 8022	Springfield	76.23	4.0	13	127	622	139	36.1	213	51.4	177	24	212	1,095	228	36.1	269	51.4	233
55	Census Tract 8014.01	Springfield	76.14	18.0	17	137	613	137	37.6	217	88.7	222	17	188	605	184	37.6	273	88.7	279
56	Census Tract 7312.03	Worcester	76.00	28.0	37	198	931	164	29.0	185	32.9	140	45	265	1,121	230	29.0	236	32.9	190
57	Census Tract 704.02	Boston	75.97	13.0	28	171	2,067	215	41.5	230	29.9	133	42	258	3,152	290	41.5	286	29.9	179
58	Census Tract 702	Boston	75.16	41.0	227	248	6,208	245	35.1	209	3.9	23	177	304	4,844	300	35.1	265	3.9	23
59	Census Tract 1003	Boston	74.81	9.0	32	181	1,303	187	20.0	147	96.0	236	35	242	1,443	249	20.0	189	96.0	293

					2000-2004								2005-2009							
Rank	Census Tract Name	City	DIA	Student enroll (%)	Avg arrests / year	Rank	Avg arrests/ 100k	Rank	Poverty Rate (%)	Rank	Black/Latino (%)	Rank	Avg arrests /year	Rank	Avg arrests/ 100k	Rank	Poverty Rate (%)	Rank	Black/Latino (%)	Rank
60	Census Tract 7330	Worcester	74.64	5.0	33	184	1,427	194	31.0	195	25.5	116	32	235	1,384	247	31.0	247	25.5	160
61	Census Tract 610	Boston	74.26	7.0	28	173	1,347	189	47.6	240	33.9	144	28	226	1,319	240	47.6	296	33.9	193
62	Census Tract 709	Boston	73.98	13.0	35	186	1,448	196	26.9	175	50.9	176	32	237	1,348	243	26.9	226	50.9	232
63	Census Tract 7324	Worcester	73.85	6.0	19	147	404	118	28.1	182	27.6	124	45	264	964	219	28.1	233	27.6	168
64	Census Tract 907	Boston	73.75	8.0	83	239	2,276	217	16.9	125	15.2	89	63	284	1,718	263	16.9	163	15.2	116
65	Census Tract 7312.04	Worcester	73.75	8.0	10	109	554	132	29.0	186	32.9	141	22	204	1,222	236	29.0	237	32.9	189
66	Census Tract 8023	Springfield	73.73	6.0	24	166	570	133	27.2	180	48.4	173	31	233	729	201	27.2	231	48.4	229
67	Census Tract 1010.01	Boston	73.23	4.0	35	191	802	156	14.3	98	94.9	232	60	279	1,376	245	14.3	127	94.9	289
68	Census Tract 815	Boston	72.92	9.0	17	139	1,420	193	14.4	99	90.6	223	23	209	1,866	269	14.4	128	90.6	280
69	Census Tract 3119	Lowell	72.68	8.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	170	650	191	-	262	-	169
70	Census Tract 921.01	Boston	72.14	8.0	59	223	1,186	179	16.8	123	28.5	127	66	287	1,322	242	16.8	160	28.5	172
71	Census Tract 8009	Springfield	71.95	5.0	6	83	241	82	50.5	243	73.1	203	13	171	496	167	50.5	300	73.1	260
72	Census Tract 912	Boston	71.48	7.0	26	170	1,049	168	20.3	149	47.4	170	31	234	1,286	238	20.3	191	47.4	226
73	Census Tract 1004	Boston	71.39	7.0	42	204	1,102	173	14.9	103	78.2	212	34	240	898	214	14.9	133	78.2	269
74	Census Tract 3883	Lowell	70.73	44.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	18	195	480	164	-	298	-	202
75	Census Tract 7319	Worcester	70.53	10.0	22	161	594	136	30.3	192	44.1	163	37	245	1,004	221	30.3	244	44.1	218
76	Census Tract 1205	Boston	70.51	12.0	35	192	1,983	209	17.4	129	73.6	205	26	224	1,479	250	17.4	169	73.6	262
77	Census Tract 509.01	Boston	70.45	3.0	38	199	1,343	188	19.8	144	43.2	159	34	239	1,187	233	19.8	186	43.2	214
78	Census Tract 3104	Lowell	70.45	6.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14	172	583	180	-	218	-	176
79	Census Tract 3101	Lowell	70.30	20.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12	163	405	149	-	256	-	206
80	Census Tract 922	Boston	70.08	7.0	30	178	1,128	174	10.0	66	60.3	190	43	260	1,602	257	10.0	83	60.3	247
81	Census Tract 502	Boston	69.10	5.0	36	193	977	166	20.2	148	54.2	183	40	251	1,098	229	20.2	190	54.2	239
82	Census Tract 1010.02	Boston	68.93	6.0	31	180	806	157	16.1	113	93.8	229	40	252	1,058	225	16.1	148	93.8	286
83	Census Tract 814	Boston	68.78	21.0	21	160	1,145	177	17.5	132	80.8	214	26	222	1,405	248	17.5	172	80.8	271
84	Census Tract 1401.06	Boston	68.38	13.0	10	107	683	148	22.9	164	52.1	179	14	177	1,011	222	22.9	210	52.1	235
85	Census Tract 1011.01	Boston	67.87	8.0	15	131	678	147	20.0	146	98.4	248	25	213	1,152	231	20.0	188	98.4	305
86	Census Tract 7318	Worcester	67.46	7.0	17	142	382	114	39.7	225	38.8	151	41	254	901	216	39.7	281	38.8	203
87	Census Tract 506	Boston	67.46	7.0	18	144	1,051	169	17.1	127	60.8	192	20	201	1,183	232	17.1	167	60.8	249
88	Census Tract 1403	Boston	67.12	9.0	36	195	784	154	11.7	76	65.6	195	42	256	925	217	11.7	97	65.6	252
89	Census Tract 501.01	Boston	66.92	6.0	20	151	582	135	20.8	154	42.4	156	26	221	764	203	20.8	197	42.4	210
90	Census Tract 3111	Lowell	66.82	5.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9	137	631	189	-	255	-	196



					2000-2004								2005-2009							
Rank	Census Tract Name	City	DIA	Student enroll (%)	Avg arrests / year	Rank	Avg arrests/ 100k	Rank	Poverty Rate (%)	Rank	Black/ Latino (%)	Rank	Avg arrests /year	Rank	Avg arrests/ 100k	Rank	Poverty Rate (%)	Rank	Black/ Latino (%)	Rank
91	Census Tract 8011.02	Springfield	66.40	8.0	9	103	703	149	29.4	188	42.6	157	6	106	437	157	29.4	240	42.6	212
92	Census Tract 3112	Lowell	66.27	6.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14	174	640	190	-	239	-	135
93	Census Tract 1101.03	Boston	64.81	4.0	41	202	866	159	19.7	143	47.3	168	42	259	900	215	19.7	185	47.3	224
94	Census Tract 1202.01	Boston	64.42	10.0	35	189	1,216	182	15.4	107	47.1	167	38	250	1,319	241	15.4	141	47.1	223
95	Census Tract 8021	Springfield	64.18	8.0	11	118	238	80	25.8	170	32.2	139	29	228	618	185	25.8	219	32.2	187
96	Census Tract 507	Boston	63.47	4.0	20	153	643	143	18.2	134	49.7	174	22	208	713	198	18.2	174	49.7	230
97	Census Tract 612	Boston	63.28	6.0	71	233	4,254	239	17.1	126	3.6	18	68	290	4,086	297	17.1	166	3.6	18
98	Census Tract 402	Boston	62.98	5.0	13	126	1,188	180	27.6	181	40.7	154	12	157	1,064	226	27.6	232	40.7	208
99	Census Tract 504	Boston	62.62	6.0	21	157	1,046	167	14.3	97	49.8	175	17	187	827	206	14.3	126	49.8	231
100	Census Tract 7326	Worcester	62.21	7.0	11	120	360	108	16.5	118	18.0	100	22	206	706	197	16.5	155	18.0	132
101	Census Tract 408.01	Boston	61.69	8.0	20	154	728	150	33.3	202	24.0	112	23	211	814	205	33.3	257	24.0	154
102	Census Tract 910.01	Boston	60.32	4.0	28	172	1,271	184	13.9	95	14.5	84	33	238	1,491	251	13.9	122	14.5	111
103	Census Tract 3120	Lowell	60.11	6.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	112	314	137	-	249	-	158
104	Census Tract 511.01	Boston	60.06	6.0	24	163	551	131	15.5	109	25.4	115	38	246	878	212	15.5	143	25.4	159
105	Census Tract 7327	Worcester	60.01	4.0	9	104	316	101	17.5	130	18.9	102	12	155	390	146	17.5	170	18.9	134
106	Census Tract 8017	Springfield	59.30	37.0	14	130	273	94	18.8	137	69.4	199	10	143	188	92	18.8	177	69.4	256
107	Census Tract 6.02	Boston	59.29	21.0	11	115	268	92	43.0	232	29.9	134	20	202	511	168	43.0	288	29.9	180
108	Census Tract 303	Boston	59.26	14.0	30	179	795	155	14.0	96	8.5	51	41	253	1,075	227	14.0	123	8.5	60
109	Census Tract 3124	Lowell	59.15	5.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	59	199	95	-	206	-	199
110	Census Tract 705	Boston	58.45	9.0	53	218	1,147	178	21.9	159	34.0	145	26	218	552	176	21.9	203	34.0	194
111	Census Tract 3118	Lowell	58.05	5.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	166	577	179	-	165	-	143
112	Census Tract 1006.03	Boston	56.99	8.0	22	162	1,366	190	16.1	114	11.1	68	26	219	1,575	253	16.1	149	11.1	87
n/a	Census Tract 7.03‡	Boston	56.69	55.0	8	88	327	103	32.2	197	16.2	91	12	165	533	174	32.2	251	16.2	124
113	Census Tract 810.01	Boston	55.94	30.0	17	143	425	122	33.8	205	37.3	149	18	191	435	156	33.8	260	37.3	200
114	Census Tract 911	Boston	55.85	14.0	25	168	648	144	16.1	115	16.6	93	27	225	705	195	16.1	150	16.6	125
115	Census Tract 1404	Boston	55.69	10.0	18	146	309	97	12.5	84	84.1	218	28	227	481	165	12.5	109	84.1	275
116	Census Tract 1102.01	Boston	55.30	6.0	11	116	742	152	10.6	68	59.4	188	11	149	756	202	10.6	88	59.4	245
117	Census Tract 3103	Lowell	55.04	9.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	123	162	81	-	152	-	140
118	Census Tract 203.03	Boston	54.91	8.0	24	164	916	163	11.1	71	15.1	88	15	182	593	182	11.1	91	15.1	115
119	Census Tract 708	Boston	54.60	17.0	29	175	869	160	18.0	133	34.1	146	17	189	525	172	18.0	173	34.1	195
n/a	Census Tract 7316‡	Worcester	54.57	63.0	16	133	259	87	35.0	208	17.9	99	26	220	425	153	35.0	264	17.9	131



					2000-2004								2005-2009							
Rank	Census Tract Name	City	DIA	Student enroll (%)	Avg arrests / year	Rank	Avg arrests/ 100k	Rank	Poverty Rate (%)	Rank	Black/Latino (%)	Rank	Avg arrests /year	Rank	Avg arrests/ 100k	Rank	Poverty Rate (%)	Rank	Black/Latino (%)	Rank
120	Census Tract 1401.07	Boston	54.07	9.0	10	112	633	141	22.9	163	52.1	178	10	144	620	188	22.9	209	52.1	234
121	Census Tract 1009	Boston	53.65	7.0	21	155	656	145	9.8	64	66.6	197	19	199	618	186	9.8	81	66.6	254
122	Census Tract 7322.03	Worcester	53.58	7.0	8	90	367	110	10.5	67	15.9	90	15	179	714	199	10.5	87	15.9	121
123	Census Tract 1104.01	Boston	53.58	4.0	12	121	453	126	19.2	140	55.2	186	14	175	529	173	19.2	180	55.2	242
124	Census Tract 8.02	Boston	53.11	40.0	17	135	235	79	32.8	201	22.0	105	30	231	416	152	32.8	254	22.0	145
125	Census Tract 703	Boston	52.92	8.0	63	227	1,858	205	13.3	90	8.9	61	57	277	1,675	259	13.3	116	8.9	72
126	Census Tract 7305	Worcester	52.64	14.0	5	66	171	61	16.8	124	20.3	103	25	215	854	211	16.8	161	20.3	141
127	Census Tract 510	Boston	52.52	7.0	20	150	626	140	18.6	135	15.0	85	19	200	619	187	18.6	175	15.0	112
128	Census Tract 809	Boston	52.31	45.0	17	138	532	130	38.5	221	23.5	111	17	186	513	169	38.5	277	23.5	152
129	Census Tract 1006.01	Boston	52.30	6.0	17	141	414	119	15.3	106	29.9	131	22	205	514	170	15.3	139	29.9	177
130	Census Tract 8004	Springfield	52.23	6.0	4	47	85	31	15.9	112	38.0	150	12	156	263	132	15.9	147	38.0	201
131	Census Tract 3121	Lowell	52.00	5.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	46	121	64	-	164	-	122
132	Census Tract 8005	Springfield	51.82	5.0	5	74	221	76	12.5	85	53.6	181	9	139	391	147	12.5	110	53.6	237
133	Census Tract 7320.02	Worcester	51.78	9.0	33	182	1,297	186	16.2	116	13.8	78	18	190	700	193	16.2	151	13.8	105
134	Census Tract 7304.02	Worcester	51.38	7.0	4	51	330	104	16.6	119	25.5	117	10	145	842	209	16.6	156	25.5	161
135	Census Tract 1007	Boston	50.13	6.0	51	215	1,444	195	5.7	26	3.8	20	42	255	1,189	234	5.7	32	3.8	20
<i>n/a</i>	<i>Census Tract 104.05</i>	<i>Boston</i>	<i>49.93</i>	<i>82.0</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>108</i>	<i>267</i>	<i>91</i>	<i>39.1</i>	<i>223</i>	<i>21.6</i>	<i>104</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>180</i>	<i>412</i>	<i>150</i>	<i>39.1</i>	<i>279</i>	<i>21.6</i>	<i>144</i>
136	Census Tract 3102	Lowell	49.92	12.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11	147	239	116	-	95	-	98
137	Census Tract 102.03	Boston	49.54	36.0	21	159	529	129	27.0	178	13.9	80	13	169	319	139	27.0	229	13.9	107
138	Census Tract 1103.01	Boston	49.52	5.0	8	92	433	124	11.9	78	43.7	161	15	181	832	207	11.9	101	43.7	216
139	Census Tract 8015.03	Springfield	49.51	8.0	10	110	368	111	13.7	93	33.0	142	7	114	248	123	13.7	120	33.0	191
140	Census Tract 3530	Cambridge	49.07	16.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	81	136	69	-	125	-	153
141	Census Tract 1008	Boston	48.93	5.0	25	169	572	134	8.9	57	23.2	109	22	207	496	166	8.9	72	23.2	150
142	Census Tract 3107	Lowell	48.77	23.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	126	221	108	-	201	-	137
143	Census Tract 8002.01	Springfield	48.54	3.0	8	95	176	63	15.1	104	28.3	126	11	152	240	119	15.1	136	28.3	171
144	Census Tract 1304.06	Boston	48.40	14.0	5	69	142	56	14.5	102	28.7	128	11	150	312	136	14.5	131	28.7	173
145	Census Tract 106	Boston	48.38	9.0	25	167	1,072	171	9.6	61	9.3	63	16	183	674	192	9.6	77	9.3	75
146	Census Tract 8001.02	Springfield	48.35	6.0	3	43	116	48	20.5	152	32.2	138	5	87	167	86	20.5	194	32.2	186
147	Census Tract 3531.01	Cambridge	48.22	32.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	68	152	77	-	213	-	139
148	Census Tract 7311.01	Worcester	48.18	7.0	9	101	315	100	16.4	117	22.9	108	11	148	378	143	16.4	154	22.9	149
149	Census Tract 403	Boston	48.08	3.0	21	158	657	146	10.8	69	13.9	81	29	229	895	213	10.8	89	13.9	108

					2000-2004								2005-2009							
Rank	Census Tract Name	City	DIA	Student enroll (%)	Avg arrests / year	Rank	Avg arrests/ 100k	Rank	Poverty Rate (%)	Rank	Black/ Latino (%)	Rank	Avg arrests /year	Rank	Avg arrests/ 100k	Rank	Poverty Rate (%)	Rank	Black/ Latino (%)	Rank
150	Census Tract 1105.02	Boston	47.96	8.0	13	123	402	117	9.7	63	31.0	136	14	176	447	158	9.7	80	31.0	183
151	Census Tract 3524	Cambridge	47.91	17.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	110	448	159	-	222	-	243
152	Census Tract 8015.02	Springfield	47.81	5.0	6	79	263	89	21.6	157	57.9	187	5	88	209	102	21.6	200	57.9	244
153	Census Tract 505	Boston	47.61	7.0	9	105	635	142	15.4	108	47.3	169	7	118	459	162	15.4	142	47.3	225
154	Census Tract 512	Boston	47.50	5.0	10	111	472	127	14.5	100	29.9	132	9	140	434	154	14.5	129	29.9	178
155	Census Tract 1401.05	Boston	47.39	12.0	9	106	357	107	10.0	65	43.8	162	14	173	524	171	10.0	82	43.8	217
156	Census Tract 608	Boston	47.21	4.0	36	194	1,142	176	13.2	89	1.4	6	32	236	1,040	223	13.2	115	1.4	6
157	Census Tract 8026.01	Springfield	47.20	7.0	5	77	112	45	13.6	92	25.8	118	8	130	166	85	13.6	119	25.8	162
158	Census Tract 811	Boston	46.78	27.0	15	132	452	125	20.4	150	43.5	160	8	133	241	120	20.4	192	43.5	215
159	Census Tract 104.03	Boston	46.72	34.0	11	117	378	113	37.6	216	14.0	82	7	125	259	130	37.6	272	14.0	109
160	Census Tract 7329.01	Worcester	46.51	7.0	5	62	97	37	19.1	139	17.6	98	12	158	252	128	19.1	179	17.6	130
161	Census Tract 8014.02	Springfield	46.27	6.0	3	37	193	68	16.6	120	54.3	184	2	43	165	84	16.6	157	54.3	240
162	Census Tract 404.01	Boston	46.09	8.0	13	124	728	151	16.7	122	1.6	7	15	178	844	210	16.7	159	1.6	7
163	Census Tract 909.01	Boston	45.83	45.0	4	60	181	65	31.7	196	47.5	171	6	105	230	112	31.7	248	47.5	227
164	Census Tract 8001.01	Springfield	45.52	8.0	3	39	111	44	20.5	153	32.2	137	4	78	156	78	20.5	195	32.2	185
165	Census Tract 1204	Boston	45.49	6.0	19	148	396	116	9.6	62	18.8	101	26	223	540	175	9.6	78	18.8	133
166	Census Tract 105	Boston	44.87	39.0	11	119	372	112	26.3	172	17.2	96	6	108	196	94	26.3	223	17.2	128
167	Census Tract 7304.01	Worcester	44.82	9.0	10	114	264	90	12.1	79	28.8	130	11	153	289	133	12.1	103	28.8	175
168	Census Tract 3117	Lowell	44.81	7.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	94	144	73	-	134	-	90
169	Census Tract 7.04	Boston	44.47	30.0	9	100	189	67	32.2	198	16.2	92	12	161	256	129	32.2	250	16.2	123
170	Census Tract 8003	Springfield	44.24	9.0	7	87	228	77	8.8	53	25.3	113	7	117	203	100	8.8	68	25.3	156
171	Census Tract 1201.04	Boston	44.06	4.0	7	84	365	109	13.7	94	27.2	123	7	121	387	144	13.7	121	27.2	167
172	Census Tract 606	Boston	42.93	6.0	13	125	1,129	175	6.9	34	3.9	21	12	159	1,044	224	6.9	46	3.9	21
173	Census Tract 8015.01	Springfield	42.64	6.0	5	78	155	58	15.1	105	48.3	172	4	74	115	59	15.1	137	48.3	228
174	Census Tract 1	Boston	42.20	11.0	6	81	181	66	13.5	91	12.2	73	19	197	555	177	13.5	117	12.2	96
175	Census Tract 3122	Lowell	41.97	9.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	60	102	54	-	153	-	136
176	Census Tract 1402.01	Boston	41.82	6.0	5	75	335	105	8.4	49	22.3	107	7	122	435	155	8.4	63	22.3	147
177	Census Tract 3521.02	Cambridge	41.55	13.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	102	240	118	-	182	-	94
178	Census Tract 707	Boston	41.53	7.0	14	129	747	153	11.6	75	42.8	158	5	89	249	125	11.6	96	42.8	213
179	Census Tract 1401.02	Boston	41.03	9.0	8	89	270	93	7.4	38	34.5	147	13	167	455	161	7.4	50	34.5	197
180	Census Tract 107.02	Boston	40.91	16.0	21	156	826	158	6.8	33	4.6	27	21	203	842	208	6.8	43	4.6	28



					2000-2004								2005-2009							
Rank	Census Tract Name	City	DIA	Student enroll (%)	Avg arrests / year	Rank	Avg arrests/ 100k	Rank	Poverty Rate (%)	Rank	Black/ Latino (%)	Rank	Avg arrests /year	Rank	Avg arrests/ 100k	Rank	Poverty Rate (%)	Rank	Black/ Latino (%)	Rank
181	Census Tract 1402.02	Boston	40.10	7.0	8	97	203	71	9.1	59	31.0	135	10	142	236	114	9.1	74	31.0	182
182	Census Tract 706	Boston	40.08	7.0	20	152	970	165	9.1	60	13.0	76	12	160	597	183	9.1	75	13.0	100
183	Census Tract 1304.04	Boston	39.86	8.0	4	52	198	69	14.5	101	28.7	129	5	97	248	122	14.5	130	28.7	174
184	Census Tract 3113	Lowell	39.83	12.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	61	120	62	-	100	-	101
185	Census Tract 406	Boston	39.41	8.0	17	136	907	162	5.5	24	2.8	13	19	196	1,003	220	5.5	30	2.8	13
186	Census Tract 1207	Boston	38.86	15.0	7	86	420	121	17.2	128	33.4	143	8	134	454	160	17.2	168	33.4	192
187	Census Tract 1104.03	Boston	38.70	6.0	8	94	242	83	7.9	46	35.0	148	7	119	200	97	7.9	59	35.0	198
188	Census Tract 2.02	Boston	38.16	11.0	2	31	69	26	12.2	80	17.2	97	8	132	252	127	12.2	105	17.2	129
189	Census Tract 7331.02	Worcester	38.11	6.0	5	67	311	98	6.1	29	8.5	47	9	141	584	181	6.1	38	8.5	56
n/a	Census Tract 8.03‡	Boston	38.11	92.0	1	16	36	15	26.9	176	13.8	79	8	135	249	126	26.9	227	13.8	106
190	Census Tract 6.01	Boston	37.95	16.0	4	55	136	53	15.9	111	10.8	67	8	129	260	131	15.9	146	10.8	86
191	Census Tract 101.04‡	Boston	37.20	54.0	12	122	251	86	23.1	165	9.1	62	10	146	211	104	23.1	211	9.1	74
192	Census Tract 203.02	Boston	37.16	16.0	5	68	429	123	11.1	73	15.1	87	4	76	360	141	11.1	93	15.1	114
193	Census Tract 7311.02	Worcester	36.29	10.0	5	65	260	88	7.6	40	11.9	72	5	86	239	117	7.6	53	11.9	93
n/a	Census Tract 101.03‡	Boston	36.13	93.0	1	14	26	9	57.1	246	8.8	58	7	115	168	88	57.1	303	8.8	69
n/a	Census Tract 102.04‡	Boston	36.12	74.0	2	32	85	32	47.7	241	9.5	64	5	99	200	98	47.7	297	9.5	76
194	Census Tract 7310.02	Worcester	36.00	8.0	5	73	114	47	12.6	87	16.9	95	7	120	149	75	12.6	112	16.9	127
195	Census Tract 3114	Lowell	35.17	13.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	96	108	57	-	79	-	102
196	Census Tract 604	Boston	34.65	10.0	14	128	319	102	7.6	39	1.9	8	18	192	416	151	7.6	52	1.9	8
197	Census Tract 7.01	Boston	34.32	33.0	4	59	99	39	26.8	174	11.1	69	11	151	248	124	26.8	225	11.1	88
n/a	Census Tract 104.04‡	Boston	34.15	80.0	9	98	137	54	37.6	215	14.0	83	4	72	64	33	37.6	271	14.0	110
199	Census Tract 5.04	Boston	33.73	23.0	4	56	92	34	23.9	168	8.5	49	8	136	183	91	23.9	216	8.5	58
200	Census Tract 7323.01	Worcester	33.27	9.0	6	82	212	75	8.5	50	8.9	60	9	138	315	138	8.5	64	8.9	71
201	Census Tract 3106.02	Lowell	33.22	7.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	111	145	74	-	18	-	44
202	Census Tract 1206	Boston	33.07	12.0	9	99	418	120	17.5	131	26.4	121	5	91	224	110	17.5	171	26.4	165
203	Census Tract 3105	Lowell	32.37	40.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	54	114	58	-	124	-	82
204	Census Tract 7323.02	Worcester	32.16	9.0	5	64	161	59	8.5	51	8.9	59	6	113	215	107	8.5	65	8.9	70
205	Census Tract 107.01	Boston	32.15	25.0	10	113	477	128	6.8	32	4.6	28	12	164	569	178	6.8	42	4.6	29
206	Census Tract 7328.02	Worcester	31.97	6.0	5	63	148	57	8.9	54	8.8	57	5	101	167	87	8.9	69	8.8	68
207	Census Tract 3525	Cambridge	31.93	14.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	79	165	82	-	196	-	219
208	Census Tract 3115	Lowell	31.63	9.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	95	229	111	-	44	-	34

					2000-2004								2005-2009							
Rank	Census Tract Name	City	DIA	Student enroll (%)	Avg arrests / year	Rank	Avg arrests/ 100k	Rank	Poverty Rate (%)	Rank	Black/Latino (%)	Rank	Avg arrests /year	Rank	Avg arrests/ 100k	Rank	Poverty Rate (%)	Rank	Black/Latino (%)	Rank
209	Census Tract 8016.05	Springfield	31.58	5.0	2	24	54	19	12.9	88	26.8	122	1	19	30	13	12.9	113	26.8	166
<i>n/a</i>	<i>Census Tract 103⁺</i>	<i>Boston</i>	<i>31.49</i>	<i>93.0</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>48</i>	<i>108</i>	<i>41</i>	<i>57.4</i>	<i>247</i>	<i>26.1</i>	<i>120</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>64</i>	<i>102</i>	<i>55</i>	<i>57.4</i>	<i>304</i>	<i>26.1</i>	<i>164</i>
211	Census Tract 1105.01	Boston	31.16	3.0	3	34	98	38	10.9	70	12.3	74	5	103	204	101	10.9	90	12.3	97
212	Census Tract 8002.02	Springfield	30.24	1.0	2	26	206	73	6.1	30	25.3	114	1	17	103	56	6.1	39	25.3	157
213	Census Tract 3534	Cambridge	30.16	16.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	35	98	51	-	114	-	211
214	Census Tract 302	Boston	30.02	14.0	4	44	243	84	8.9	56	3.1	16	4	82	297	135	8.9	71	3.1	16
215	Census Tract 605.01	Boston	29.85	5.0	18	145	620	138	7.1	36	0.9	4	11	154	401	148	7.1	48	0.9	4
216	Census Tract 8016.02	Springfield	29.47	8.0	1	12	30	10	12.3	83	27.7	125	2	44	71	37	12.3	108	27.7	170
217	Census Tract 3527	Cambridge	29.29	13.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	67	200	96	-	208	-	181
218	Census Tract 4.01	Boston	28.72	19.0	5	70	93	35	21.7	158	6.5	37	7	116	123	65	21.7	202	6.5	41
219	Census Tract 3549	Cambridge	28.72	9.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	42	60	31	-	86	-	207
220	Census Tract 3123	Lowell	28.13	4.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	109	156	79	-	51	-	51
221	Census Tract 1303	Boston	27.76	7.0	8	96	246	85	3.4	7	4.2	25	12	162	357	140	3.4	7	4.2	25
222	Census Tract 8016.01	Springfield	27.65	25.0	3	38	68	24	7.6	41	25.9	119	2	40	50	22	7.6	54	25.9	163
223	Census Tract 3521.01	Cambridge	27.58	30.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	6	56	27	-	183	-	95
224	Census Tract 3526	Cambridge	27.26	13.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	49	126	67	-	104	-	142
225	Census Tract 1106.07	Boston	26.59	6.0	7	85	162	60	3.2	6	8.7	54	8	128	175	90	3.2	6	8.7	64
226	Census Tract 3535	Cambridge	26.49	15.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	33	92	47	-	138	-	188
227	Census Tract 203.01	Boston	26.35	13.0	3	40	179	64	11.1	72	15.1	86	4	73	238	115	11.1	92	15.1	113
228	Census Tract 2.01	Boston	26.03	16.0	2	19	47	17	8.7	52	9.9	65	8	131	233	113	8.7	67	9.9	78
<i>n/a</i>	<i>Census Tract 3531.02⁺</i>	<i>Cambridge</i>	<i>25.75</i>	<i>92.0</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>48</i>	<i>52</i>	<i>23</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>214</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>138</i>
230	Census Tract 104.08	Boston	25.45	26.0	2	22	136	52	26.9	177	13.8	77	3	50	211	105	26.9	228	13.8	104
231	Census Tract 401	Boston	25.26	3.0	6	80	348	106	5.9	28	2.1	9	8	127	467	163	5.9	36	2.1	9
232	Census Tract 4.02	Boston	25.20	25.0	2	23	55	20	20.4	151	7.5	43	4	70	116	60	20.4	193	7.5	50
233	Census Tract 7303	Worcester	24.64	6.0	3	35	74	28	5.3	21	5.7	31	5	92	127	68	5.3	26	5.7	35
<i>n/a</i>	<i>Census Tract 5.02⁺</i>	<i>Boston</i>	<i>24.58</i>	<i>63.0</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>45</i>	<i>118</i>	<i>49</i>	<i>23.6</i>	<i>166</i>	<i>8.4</i>	<i>46</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>53</i>	<i>98</i>	<i>50</i>	<i>23.6</i>	<i>212</i>	<i>8.4</i>	<i>55</i>
235	Census Tract 304	Boston	23.99	13.0	4	57	205	72	11.1	74	2.3	10	5	93	224	109	11.1	94	2.3	10
236	Census Tract 3522	Cambridge	23.89	9.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	14	56	28	-	162	-	118
237	Census Tract 7310.01	Worcester	23.88	10.0	1	10	68	23	12.6	86	16.9	94	5	90	389	145	12.6	111	16.9	126
238	Census Tract 3542	Cambridge	23.61	6.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	18	194	701	194	-	10	-	31
239	Census Tract 3532	Cambridge	22.71	37.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	47	100	52	-	132	-	148

					2000-2004								2005-2009							
Rank	Census Tract Name	City	DIA	Student enroll (%)	Avg arrests / year	Rank	Avg arrests/ 100k	Rank	Poverty Rate (%)	Rank	Black/Latino (%)	Rank	Avg arrests /year	Rank	Avg arrests/ 100k	Rank	Poverty Rate (%)	Rank	Black/Latino (%)	Rank
240	Census Tract 3546	Cambridge	22.03	9.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	36	57	29	-	99	-	184
241	Census Tract 8016.03	Springfield	21.99	5.0	1	7	19	5	4.2	13	23.4	110	1	22	44	19	4.2	15	23.4	151
242	Census Tract 1304.02	Boston	21.84	3.0	5	61	121	51	3.4	8	3.9	22	7	124	189	93	3.4	8	3.9	22
243	Census Tract 3533	Cambridge	21.84	15.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	80	143	71	-	84	-	120
244	Census Tract 7328.01	Worcester	21.80	10.0	4	54	120	50	8.9	55	8.8	56	4	84	126	66	8.9	70	8.8	67
245	Census Tract 8026.02	Springfield	21.69	4.0	5	72	307	96	8.0	47	4.1	24	3	51	165	83	8.0	60	4.1	24
246	Census Tract 3116	Lowell	21.60	7.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	12	20	9	-	118	-	79
247	Census Tract 3125.01	Lowell	21.46	4.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	26	45	20	-	45	-	66
248	Census Tract 7322.02	Worcester	21.16	6.0	3	42	140	55	5.8	27	7.9	44	3	62	149	76	5.8	33	7.9	52
249	Census Tract 7331.01	Worcester	21.01	8.0	1	8	53	18	7.7	44	7.3	41	3	56	212	106	7.7	57	7.3	48
250	Census Tract 3539	Cambridge	21.01	75.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	18	18	7	-	220	-	119
251	Census Tract 3106.01	Lowell	20.52	8.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	75	100	53	-	34	-	77
252	Census Tract 1201.03	Boston	20.50	9.0	3	36	230	78	5.2	19	8.6	53	4	83	361	142	5.2	24	8.6	62
n/a	Census Tract 3537 [†]	Cambridge	20.42	62.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	30	34	15	-	145	-	84
254	Census Tract 3.01	Boston	20.35	10.0	2	30	78	29	9.0	58	8.2	45	5	100	202	99	9.0	73	8.2	54
255	Census Tract 3528	Cambridge	20.31	17.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	41	118	61	-	85	-	155
256	Census Tract 603.01	Boston	20.14	6.0	8	91	284	95	7.1	37	0.8	2	6	107	209	103	7.1	49	0.8	2
257	Census Tract 202	Boston	20.11	15.0	4	46	110	43	11.7	77	7.4	42	3	55	87	45	11.7	98	7.4	49
258	Census Tract 602	Boston	20.00	5.0	5	76	312	99	6.7	31	0.5	1	5	98	289	134	6.7	41	0.5	1
259	Census Tract 7308.02	Worcester	19.87	11.0	1	17	89	33	5.3	22	5.8	35	4	71	242	121	5.3	28	5.8	39
260	Census Tract 3523	Cambridge	19.69	16.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	21	70	35	-	135	-	103
261	Census Tract 8024	Springfield	19.66	7.0	2	20	55	21	3.9	11	8.5	48	2	45	83	44	3.9	13	8.5	57
262	Census Tract 7322.01	Worcester	19.59	12.0	1	6	25	8	12.3	82	8.7	55	1	23	58	30	12.3	107	8.7	65
263	Census Tract 301	Boston	18.86	13.0	4	50	201	70	7.8	45	1.3	5	1	25	74	39	7.8	58	1.3	5
264	Census Tract 3538	Cambridge	18.60	20.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	8	8	5	-	140	-	63
265	Census Tract 3540	Cambridge	18.58	45.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	15	24	10	-	61	-	73
266	Census Tract 7329.02	Worcester	18.57	98.0	0	1	9	2	18.8	136	4.6	26	0	4	0	1	18.8	176	4.6	27
267	Census Tract 3543	Cambridge	18.49	6.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	16	38	17	-	40	-	117
268	Census Tract 601.01	Boston	18.08	8.0	4	58	171	62	4.2	14	0.9	3	4	85	171	89	4.2	16	0.9	3
269	Census Tract 201.01	Boston	17.44	5.0	8	93	211	74	4.2	12	2.7	12	5	104	143	72	4.2	14	2.7	12
270	Census Tract 7301	Worcester	17.09	9.0	2	21	42	16	3.7	9	6.7	38	4	63	95	48	3.7	9	6.7	42

					2000-2004								2005-2009							
Rank	Census Tract Name	City	DIA	Student enroll (%)	Avg arrests / year	Rank	Avg arrests/ 100k	Rank	Poverty Rate (%)	Rank	Black/Latino (%)	Rank	Avg arrests /year	Rank	Avg arrests/ 100k	Rank	Poverty Rate (%)	Rank	Black/Latino (%)	Rank
271	Census Tract 5.03	Boston	16.91	30.0	0	2	8	1	23.9	167	8.5	50	1	10	24	11	23.9	215	8.5	59
272	Census Tract 3.02	Boston	16.90	14.0	2	25	68	25	5.6	25	4.8	30	2	37	76	41	5.6	31	4.8	32
273	Census Tract 305	Boston	16.45	13.0	5	71	238	81	5.2	20	2.7	11	3	52	137	70	5.2	25	2.7	11
274	Census Tract 8025	Springfield	16.31	7.0	2	18	30	11	5.5	23	10.6	66	2	38	38	18	5.5	29	10.6	83
275	Census Tract 7302	Worcester	15.26	6.0	4	53	95	36	7.0	35	11.2	71	4	69	90	46	7.0	47	11.2	91
276	Census Tract 3550	Cambridge	15.15	7.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	3	0	2	-	37	-	80
277	Census Tract 3547	Cambridge	14.36	13.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	58	158	80	-	20	-	81
278	Census Tract 1302	Boston	13.79	6.0	4	49	101	40	3.0	5	3.1	17	4	65	96	49	3.0	5	3.1	17
279	Census Tract 7309.02	Worcester	13.55	37.0	0	5	19	6	8.3	48	6.0	36	2	27	76	42	8.3	62	6.0	40
280	Census Tract 7307	Worcester	13.12	10.0	1	15	24	7	2.2	2	6.8	39	4	66	73	38	2.2	2	6.8	43
281	Census Tract 3541	Cambridge	12.74	23.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	31	62	32	-	66	-	45
282	Census Tract 1301	Boston	12.74	6.0	3	41	70	27	4.8	16	4.6	29	3	57	74	40	4.8	19	4.6	30
<i>n/a</i>	<i>Census Tract 7312.02‡</i>	<i>Worcester</i>	<i>12.49</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>81</i>	<i>30</i>	<i>0.0</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>7.3</i>	<i>40</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>13</i>	<i>81</i>	<i>43</i>	<i>0.0</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>7.3</i>	<i>47</i>
284	Census Tract 3545	Cambridge	12.31	13.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	11	32	14	-	76	-	33
285	Census Tract 1201.05	Boston	12.08	17.0	2	28	109	42	5.2	18	8.5	52	2	39	120	63	5.2	23	8.5	61
286	Census Tract 3125.02	Lowell	12.00	5.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	20	35	16	-	21	-	26
287	Census Tract 108.01	Boston	11.68	15.0	1	11	33	13	7.7	42	5.8	34	2	28	53	24	7.7	55	5.8	38
288	Census Tract 8016.04	Springfield	11.66	6.0	0	4	13	4	5.1	17	12.7	75	1	24	45	21	5.1	22	12.7	99
289	Census Tract 3536	Cambridge	11.65	47.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	2	0	4	-	102	-	85
290	Census Tract 108.02	Boston	11.12	16.0	2	27	67	22	7.7	43	5.8	33	2	29	54	25	7.7	56	5.8	37
291	Census Tract 7306	Worcester	11.00	26.0	2	29	31	12	2.8	4	3.0	14	4	77	65	34	2.8	4	3.0	14
292	Census Tract 7309.01	Worcester	10.85	12.0	0	3	12	3	3.8	10	5.7	32	2	32	55	26	3.8	12	5.7	36
293	Census Tract 7308.01	Worcester	8.87	7.0	1	13	35	14	4.2	15	3.0	15	2	34	70	36	4.2	17	3.0	15
294	Census Tract 3529	Cambridge	8.44	8.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	5	14	6	-	35	-	46
295	Census Tract 1106.01	Boston	8.37	4.0	2	33	113	46	2.4	3	3.7	19	1	9	28	12	2.4	3	3.7	19
296	Census Tract 3544	Cambridge	7.45	10.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	1	0	3	-	11	-	92
297	Census Tract 3548	Cambridge	5.77	10.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	7	19	8	-	27	-	53

Note: 15 census tracts grayed out and italicized had more than 50% of residents in undergraduate or graduate degree programs (‡), "-" indicates tract did not have data in that time period.



					2010-2014								2015-2017							
Rank	Census Tract Name	City	DIA	Student enroll (%)	Avg arrests / year	Rank	Avg arrests/ 100k	Rank	Poverty Rate (%)	Rank	Black/ Latino (%)	Rank	Avg arrests /year	Rank	Avg arrests/ 100k	Rank	Poverty Rate (%)	Rank	Black/ Latino (%)	Rank
1	Census Tract 8020	Springfield	94.81	5.0	54	296	2,766	298	54.1	296	82.0	271	47	288	1,929	292	56.3	298	85.2	278
2	Census Tract 804.01	Boston	94.15	6.0	64	300	3,123	301	36.6	254	88.3	282	44	287	1,945	293	37.8	263	87.0	281
3	Census Tract 8012	Springfield	93.05	2.0	35	274	1,827	291	58.4	300	85.4	278	63	298	3,499	299	62.9	304	85.3	279
4	Census Tract 8006	Springfield	92.53	4.0	22	233	1,167	269	66.5	305	95.7	299	34	277	1,953	294	60.7	302	97.3	304
5	Census Tract 805	Boston	92.38	14.0	45	285	2,089	296	39.6	266	92.4	292	24	257	1,046	275	42.4	281	82.1	272
6	Census Tract 7314	Worcester	91.80	7.0	100	303	2,963	300	49.1	287	64.6	241	104	302	3,214	298	41.1	275	57.7	218
7	Census Tract 902	Boston	91.09	2.0	31	269	1,839	292	31.6	227	83.9	275	22	252	1,232	283	35.9	253	91.3	289
8	Census Tract 801	Boston	90.99	6.0	94	302	3,813	303	38.3	260	70.1	248	123	304	5,399	305	24.8	201	77.3	263
9	Census Tract 7313	Worcester	90.63	11.0	48	289	1,714	290	40.8	268	61.0	233	49	290	1,767	291	41.9	277	62.5	233
10	Census Tract 924	Boston	90.18	8.0	49	291	1,201	271	28.6	209	96.5	300	27	262	635	241	42.3	280	96.8	303
11	Census Tract 813	Boston	89.91	16.0	55	298	1,255	276	38.4	261	82.2	272	53	293	1,159	280	45.1	288	83.8	274
12	Census Tract 803	Boston	89.80	8.0	35	275	2,234	297	33.7	241	87.8	280	24	255	1,391	288	20.6	164	88.0	285
13	Census Tract 7317	Worcester	89.60	15.0	101	304	5,177	305	46.2	283	45.0	200	120	303	4,953	303	44.1	283	41.9	183
14	Census Tract 812	Boston	89.50	12.0	30	268	1,253	275	42.7	271	82.9	273	29	267	1,162	281	36.7	257	70.0	246
15	Census Tract 903	Boston	88.90	6.0	24	248	946	255	36.9	256	89.1	284	20	247	934	266	37.0	259	95.3	300
16	Census Tract 8011.01	Springfield	88.62	5.0	23	247	1,443	282	63.9	303	81.6	269	63	297	4,147	302	64.5	305	86.3	280
17	Census Tract 8018	Springfield	87.99	14.0	29	264	991	261	54.3	297	84.5	277	39	284	1,357	287	39.7	268	84.8	275
18	Census Tract 817	Boston	87.71	14.0	49	290	2,002	295	41.8	270	89.8	286	18	237	594	236	29.4	234	79.7	266
19	Census Tract 1001	Boston	87.63	7.0	44	284	1,021	263	33.7	240	91.1	290	32	272	672	246	30.3	239	94.4	296
20	Census Tract 818	Boston	87.34	7.0	35	276	1,572	287	37.6	258	95.4	298	16	222	656	244	24.8	200	92.6	290
21	Census Tract 8019.01	Springfield	87.30	9.0	37	277	1,362	280	43.3	277	83.1	274	53	294	2,010	295	45.8	290	79.1	265
22	Census Tract 901	Boston	87.24	8.0	46	287	1,226	273	30.2	217	89.9	288	30	269	825	262	33.8	250	94.7	298
23	Census Tract 7315	Worcester	86.50	5.0	51	294	1,479	283	42.9	274	68.4	247	62	296	1,664	289	40.9	274	58.8	222
n/a	Census Tract 806.01‡	Boston	86.49	64.0	41	281	1,108	267	48.4	286	41.3	188	29	268	762	255	45.0	286	42.7	187
24	Census Tract 821	Boston	84.99	7.0	30	266	883	251	45.6	281	95.2	297	17	224	426	202	40.0	270	87.9	284
25	Census Tract 8019.02	Springfield	84.88	4.0	25	253	1,080	265	60.1	301	77.3	265	102	301	4,064	301	54.7	296	74.2	256
26	Census Tract 904	Boston	84.61	6.0	29	265	1,213	272	31.7	229	87.8	281	16	215	491	216	25.9	207	90.5	288
27	Census Tract 8008	Springfield	84.37	9.0	17	201	1,151	268	50.5	289	89.8	287	54	295	3,910	300	55.9	297	87.4	283
28	Census Tract 7325	Worcester	83.82	11.0	39	279	2,896	299	32.2	231	49.0	206	34	278	2,329	296	39.6	266	51.4	208
29	Census Tract 1011.02	Boston	83.68	7.0	29	262	788	235	33.6	239	93.4	295	20	246	556	230	26.7	214	93.3	291
30	Census Tract 611.01	Boston	82.81	6.0	28	259	1,885	293	60.7	302	65.0	242	17	229	1,178	282	60.5	301	63.6	235

					2010-2014								2015-2017							
Rank	Census Tract Name	City	DIA	Student enroll (%)	Avg arrests / year	Rank	Avg arrests/ 100k	Rank	Poverty Rate (%)	Rank	Black/ Latino (%)	Rank	Avg arrests /year	Rank	Avg arrests/ 100k	Rank	Poverty Rate (%)	Rank	Black/ Latino (%)	Rank
31	Census Tract 920	Boston	82.78	9.0	32	271	797	239	27.9	207	80.1	268	42	286	1,060	276	28.8	232	80.4	267
32	Census Tract 913	Boston	82.37	13.0	29	263	1,484	284	23.5	183	63.0	235	19	242	946	268	21.8	179	76.2	261
33	Census Tract 923	Boston	82.14	5.0	22	237	896	252	25.8	194	93.0	294	21	249	783	257	20.9	168	94.1	295
34	Census Tract 503	Boston	82.07	10.0	22	234	1,247	274	39.5	264	58.0	226	18	235	968	272	37.2	261	57.6	217
35	Census Tract 1002	Boston	81.81	8.0	20	226	949	256	23.0	178	91.0	289	16	216	726	252	26.4	212	89.6	287
36	Census Tract 711.01	Boston	80.86	14.0	60	299	1,642	288	33.2	234	34.2	167	67	299	1,746	290	29.9	236	22.4	127
37	Census Tract 607	Boston	80.50	8.0	19	222	1,276	277	39.9	267	64.3	240	10	177	561	232	49.1	294	72.2	251
38	Census Tract 712.01	Boston	80.47	6.0	51	293	1,953	294	33.5	236	44.8	198	9	171	322	175	32.1	246	43.8	192
39	Census Tract 820	Boston	80.45	2.0	22	232	963	258	36.1	249	98.0	304	8	156	365	186	27.9	224	95.1	299
40	Census Tract 914	Boston	79.71	7.0	21	228	1,052	264	30.8	221	76.9	264	10	180	434	204	23.8	192	83.7	273
41	Census Tract 1005	Boston	79.67	7.0	38	278	809	242	31.2	224	76.4	263	28	265	493	219	30.9	241	73.7	255
42	Census Tract 916	Boston	79.65	7.0	33	273	1,298	278	25.4	192	63.3	237	32	270	1,336	286	24.4	196	59.6	224
43	Census Tract 819	Boston	79.58	7.0	21	231	877	250	36.7	255	99.0	305	16	221	630	239	41.9	278	96.3	301
44	Census Tract 8007	Springfield	78.75	6.0	18	213	630	219	50.5	290	96.5	301	78	300	2,605	297	44.5	284	97.8	305
45	Census Tract 906	Boston	78.34	8.0	23	242	1,437	281	25.1	188	75.4	258	12	203	658	245	23.6	191	81.0	268
46	Census Tract 701.01	Boston	77.84	29.0	214	305	4,184	304	22.0	169	8.9	42	319	305	5,353	304	21.1	169	11.4	50
47	Census Tract 8013	Springfield	77.77	8.0	17	204	505	192	39.3	262	81.9	270	33	276	889	265	40.1	271	81.4	269
48	Census Tract 919	Boston	77.60	5.0	19	214	607	213	18.9	142	89.4	285	18	232	585	233	19.7	151	94.4	297
49	Census Tract 1203.01	Boston	77.09	12.0	43	282	980	260	15.0	110	46.4	203	47	289	1,037	274	15.8	123	49.4	205
50	Census Tract 918	Boston	76.90	7.0	16	200	576	206	36.5	253	75.1	257	15	211	526	224	26.1	209	74.9	259
51	Census Tract 915	Boston	76.54	5.0	22	239	618	215	22.9	177	49.1	207	32	271	787	258	20.1	158	66.4	242
52	Census Tract 7320.01	Worcester	76.39	7.0	10	159	519	197	57.2	298	78.2	267	3	79	122	102	58.3	299	82.0	270
53	Census Tract 917	Boston	76.39	8.0	21	230	823	244	26.1	195	74.2	256	16	219	681	247	21.6	178	74.4	257
n/a	Census Tract 808.01‡	Boston	76.32	52.0	26	254	795	238	44.2	279	58.9	228	10	183	263	161	40.0	269	57.8	219
54	Census Tract 8022	Springfield	76.23	4.0	18	210	771	229	45.8	282	74.1	255	23	253	961	270	36.8	258	74.7	258
55	Census Tract 8014.01	Springfield	76.14	18.0	18	211	632	221	39.6	265	86.1	279	19	241	752	254	43.1	282	84.9	276
56	Census Tract 7312.03	Worcester	76.00	28.0	39	280	774	230	49.4	288	44.7	197	39	285	743	253	36.6	254	41.1	181
57	Census Tract 704.02	Boston	75.97	13.0	48	288	3,419	302	53.8	295	12.0	66	7	146	371	188	39.6	265	20.8	120
58	Census Tract 702	Boston	75.16	41.0	77	301	1,486	285	36.3	252	5.2	22	49	291	973	273	27.4	219	5.1	13
59	Census Tract 1003	Boston	74.81	9.0	16	198	643	223	18.9	143	93.8	296	14	209	443	208	24.8	202	93.4	292
60	Census Tract 7330	Worcester	74.64	5.0	27	257	936	253	25.2	189	41.0	187	25	260	865	263	28.0	226	44.0	193



					2010-2014								2015-2017							
Rank	Census Tract Name	City	DIA	Student enroll (%)	Avg arrests / year	Rank	Avg arrests/ 100k	Rank	Poverty Rate (%)	Rank	Black/ Latino (%)	Rank	Avg arrests /year	Rank	Avg arrests/ 100k	Rank	Poverty Rate (%)	Rank	Black/ Latino (%)	Rank
61	Census Tract 610	Boston	74.26	7.0	19	217	795	237	44.1	278	40.1	185	10	178	415	199	36.6	255	55.4	214
62	Census Tract 709	Boston	73.98	13.0	21	229	793	236	20.8	160	39.3	182	32	273	1,319	285	17.6	137	40.7	180
63	Census Tract 7324	Worcester	73.85	6.0	44	283	1,002	262	41.8	269	51.4	210	38	283	818	261	30.2	238	64.4	236
64	Census Tract 907	Boston	73.75	8.0	45	286	1,196	270	26.9	201	25.6	140	35	280	963	271	25.7	205	25.4	138
65	Census Tract 7312.04	Worcester	73.75	8.0	25	250	1,513	286	34.9	244	56.6	224	18	234	1,066	277	39.0	264	49.4	204
66	Census Tract 8023	Springfield	73.73	6.0	23	244	496	190	36.2	250	61.4	234	38	282	814	259	45.0	287	73.5	254
67	Census Tract 1010.01	Boston	73.23	4.0	28	258	581	209	20.8	162	96.7	302	18	236	386	191	27.2	218	93.9	294
68	Census Tract 815	Boston	72.92	9.0	13	177	717	226	33.5	237	84.2	276	9	163	492	217	32.7	248	85.1	277
69	Census Tract 3119	Lowell	72.68	8.0	15	189	853	246	42.7	272	34.3	168	16	218	815	260	48.3	293	43.5	190
70	Census Tract 921.01	Boston	72.14	8.0	52	295	967	259	23.3	181	30.6	153	52	292	875	264	20.5	163	32.7	158
71	Census Tract 8009	Springfield	71.95	5.0	17	205	575	205	58.2	299	91.9	291	19	240	637	242	39.7	267	88.9	286
72	Census Tract 912	Boston	71.48	7.0	22	236	873	249	25.5	193	45.5	202	17	225	703	250	22.3	182	46.1	195
73	Census Tract 1004	Boston	71.39	7.0	32	270	812	243	19.4	148	75.7	260	18	231	402	196	22.3	183	77.4	264
74	Census Tract 3883	Lowell	70.73	44.0	23	246	459	188	52.0	292	38.4	180	21	250	401	195	61.5	303	39.4	176
75	Census Tract 7319	Worcester	70.53	10.0	23	245	632	222	30.7	219	48.7	205	17	226	456	213	29.1	233	47.3	198
76	Census Tract 1205	Boston	70.51	12.0	15	192	783	234	21.9	166	51.8	212	10	174	435	205	20.6	165	54.0	212
77	Census Tract 509.01	Boston	70.45	3.0	20	227	500	191	21.5	163	72.9	253	20	244	556	229	19.7	152	70.1	247
78	Census Tract 3104	Lowell	70.45	6.0	19	220	761	227	32.8	233	36.6	176	28	264	1,104	278	28.0	227	36.1	167
79	Census Tract 3101	Lowell	70.30	20.0	33	272	778	232	29.4	214	33.6	166	35	281	707	251	30.6	240	31.2	154
80	Census Tract 922	Boston	70.08	7.0	28	260	1,087	266	11.4	85	56.5	223	33	274	1,252	284	9.9	70	51.9	209
81	Census Tract 502	Boston	69.10	5.0	23	243	520	198	12.7	96	71.3	250	21	251	441	207	17.0	134	73.2	253
82	Census Tract 1010.02	Boston	68.93	6.0	15	191	411	177	22.9	176	92.9	293	17	228	377	190	17.6	138	93.7	293
83	Census Tract 814	Boston	68.78	21.0	14	185	574	203	28.3	208	58.4	227	8	160	332	177	27.5	223	59.9	227
84	Census Tract 1401.06	Boston	68.38	13.0	18	212	1,342	279	27.1	202	75.7	259	7	139	413	198	20.5	162	82.1	271
85	Census Tract 1011.01	Boston	67.87	8.0	14	182	442	185	16.1	123	96.9	303	11	191	369	187	16.9	132	96.5	302
86	Census Tract 7318	Worcester	67.46	7.0	19	218	389	174	32.8	232	44.0	195	17	227	312	173	37.4	262	53.5	211
87	Census Tract 506	Boston	67.46	7.0	16	194	839	245	15.7	118	78.0	266	11	188	540	225	13.5	103	72.6	252
88	Census Tract 1403	Boston	67.12	9.0	25	252	512	194	15.7	117	75.9	261	25	258	450	212	20.0	155	76.1	260
89	Census Tract 501.01	Boston	66.92	6.0	22	238	527	199	23.0	179	65.6	244	18	230	434	203	28.1	228	64.5	237
90	Census Tract 3111	Lowell	66.82	5.0	11	166	574	204	31.7	228	34.4	170	19	239	950	269	24.7	199	27.8	143
91	Census Tract 8011.02	Springfield	66.40	8.0	9	146	803	241	37.0	257	54.8	219	12	201	1,108	279	22.0	181	60.5	228



					2010-2014								2015-2017							
Rank	Census Tract Name	City	DIA	Student enroll (%)	Avg arrests / year	Rank	Avg arrests/ 100k	Rank	Poverty Rate (%)	Rank	Black/Latino (%)	Rank	Avg arrests /year	Rank	Avg arrests/ 100k	Rank	Poverty Rate (%)	Rank	Black/Latino (%)	Rank
92	Census Tract 3112	Lowell	66.27	6.0	19	215	778	231	27.2	203	33.1	165	16	220	692	249	24.0	193	29.5	148
93	Census Tract 1101.03	Boston	64.81	4.0	27	256	542	200	19.2	147	41.7	190	16	217	316	174	14.0	110	40.5	178
94	Census Tract 1202.01	Boston	64.42	10.0	18	208	508	193	24.7	187	41.9	192	11	193	340	183	14.8	115	41.5	182
95	Census Tract 8021	Springfield	64.18	8.0	20	224	441	184	24.3	184	53.9	217	34	279	765	256	25.9	208	49.4	206
96	Census Tract 507	Boston	63.47	4.0	15	188	386	173	24.7	186	72.3	252	11	196	272	164	26.2	210	71.3	250
97	Census Tract 612	Boston	63.28	6.0	55	297	1,652	289	9.5	63	7.3	34	24	256	588	234	7.5	47	4.9	10
98	Census Tract 402	Boston	62.98	5.0	8	139	611	214	33.6	238	44.2	196	4	94	274	166	24.3	195	37.7	173
99	Census Tract 504	Boston	62.62	6.0	20	225	944	254	9.9	72	60.8	232	11	190	494	220	8.4	55	57.5	215
100	Census Tract 7326	Worcester	62.21	7.0	29	261	860	247	28.9	211	49.1	208	19	238	620	237	19.7	153	46.4	196
101	Census Tract 408.01	Boston	61.69	8.0	16	195	464	189	33.4	235	35.2	174	7	137	184	129	32.5	247	39.1	174
102	Census Tract 910.01	Boston	60.32	4.0	22	240	872	248	9.9	74	15.0	85	23	254	934	267	10.4	74	14.8	76
103	Census Tract 3120	Lowell	60.11	6.0	13	178	626	217	29.0	212	31.4	155	9	166	446	210	25.7	206	42.7	186
104	Census Tract 511.01	Boston	60.06	6.0	30	267	579	208	22.4	174	42.8	193	12	204	203	138	21.1	170	48.9	203
105	Census Tract 7327	Worcester	60.01	4.0	17	202	590	211	36.3	251	45.1	201	20	245	683	248	30.0	237	48.2	202
106	Census Tract 8017	Springfield	59.30	37.0	13	175	204	121	36.0	248	67.2	245	27	263	422	201	31.8	245	68.3	243
107	Census Tract 6.02	Boston	59.29	21.0	12	170	389	175	31.5	225	24.6	135	10	185	308	170	34.4	251	29.2	147
108	Census Tract 303	Boston	59.26	14.0	50	292	959	257	17.9	134	12.9	73	33	275	634	240	16.9	131	11.6	53
109	Census Tract 3124	Lowell	59.15	5.0	11	165	618	216	26.8	200	53.3	216	10	175	542	226	26.8	215	47.2	197
110	Census Tract 705	Boston	58.45	9.0	22	235	424	178	14.7	107	18.0	112	9	165	185	130	21.2	172	22.3	125
111	Census Tract 3118	Lowell	58.05	5.0	15	190	596	212	20.0	154	17.3	106	13	207	505	221	22.0	180	21.5	121
112	Census Tract 1006.03	Boston	56.99	8.0	14	181	783	233	7.9	42	18.9	118	11	198	640	243	6.9	42	18.4	103
n/a	Census Tract 7.03 ‡	Boston	56.69	55.0	10	156	454	187	53.7	294	16.6	98	8	161	437	206	40.6	272	17.5	96
113	Census Tract 810.01	Boston	55.94	30.0	7	129	179	107	43.0	276	32.7	163	5	115	110	94	45.8	289	39.1	175
114	Census Tract 911	Boston	55.85	14.0	23	241	571	202	21.6	164	11.3	60	20	243	468	214	15.0	116	11.7	54
115	Census Tract 1404	Boston	55.69	10.0	19	223	293	149	11.3	83	88.8	283	10	179	145	115	13.0	98	87.4	282
116	Census Tract 1102.01	Boston	55.30	6.0	9	150	515	196	14.7	106	71.8	251	4	105	213	143	14.7	114	76.6	262
117	Census Tract 3103	Lowell	55.04	9.0	13	174	278	146	20.7	157	32.3	158	25	259	548	227	36.6	256	43.7	191
118	Census Tract 203.03	Boston	54.91	8.0	24	249	799	240	18.5	137	23.0	127	11	186	309	172	19.6	150	24.9	136
119	Census Tract 708	Boston	54.60	17.0	8	142	241	135	20.1	155	21.9	125	10	176	297	167	18.5	145	26.9	142
n/a	Census Tract 7316 ‡	Worcester	54.57	63.0	17	206	281	147	42.9	275	13.9	79	11	187	166	124	42.2	279	17.2	94
120	Census Tract 1401.07	Boston	54.07	9.0	10	153	440	183	9.5	62	67.8	246	3	92	152	119	9.3	65	58.0	220

					2010-2014								2015-2017							
Rank	Census Tract Name	City	DIA	Student enroll (%)	Avg arrests / year	Rank	Avg arrests/ 100k	Rank	Poverty Rate (%)	Rank	Black/ Latino (%)	Rank	Avg arrests /year	Rank	Avg arrests/ 100k	Rank	Poverty Rate (%)	Rank	Black/ Latino (%)	Rank
121	Census Tract 1009	Boston	53.65	7.0	9	151	273	142	14.4	105	63.6	238	7	140	205	140	11.2	82	60.6	229
122	Census Tract 7322.03	Worcester	53.58	7.0	14	186	650	224	20.8	161	26.8	144	12	202	407	197	24.4	197	41.9	184
123	Census Tract 1104.01	Boston	53.58	4.0	7	130	227	129	11.3	81	65.1	243	7	138	218	147	14.4	111	58.3	221
124	Census Tract 8.02	Boston	53.11	40.0	17	203	254	137	34.0	242	28.2	148	7	145	113	96	31.7	243	23.1	131
125	Census Tract 703	Boston	52.92	8.0	15	187	369	171	12.4	95	9.5	47	14	210	335	179	6.1	30	5.9	19
126	Census Tract 7305	Worcester	52.64	14.0	16	197	578	207	28.8	210	31.8	157	5	128	192	133	28.6	230	35.8	166
127	Census Tract 510	Boston	52.52	7.0	16	199	439	182	15.1	112	45.0	199	5	113	132	110	20.0	157	43.4	189
128	Census Tract 809	Boston	52.31	45.0	10	152	272	141	37.9	259	13.8	77	3	88	93	79	40.9	273	12.8	62
129	Census Tract 1006.01	Boston	52.30	6.0	14	184	316	157	15.6	116	32.8	164	11	189	218	146	15.7	122	47.8	200
130	Census Tract 8004	Springfield	52.23	6.0	12	171	274	143	25.2	190	63.2	236	18	233	395	193	28.7	231	62.9	234
131	Census Tract 3121	Lowell	52.00	5.0	11	163	512	195	22.0	168	32.5	160	11	194	506	222	31.7	244	31.3	156
132	Census Tract 8005	Springfield	51.82	5.0	8	135	311	153	24.3	185	70.5	249	6	131	228	153	27.5	222	71.1	249
133	Census Tract 7320.02	Worcester	51.78	9.0	9	149	226	128	13.0	97	24.7	137	16	214	421	200	7.6	49	20.4	116
134	Census Tract 7304.02	Worcester	51.38	7.0	7	126	586	210	7.3	37	38.2	179	8	162	555	228	13.6	104	36.2	169
135	Census Tract 1007	Boston	50.13	6.0	25	251	713	225	4.3	9	4.2	14	20	248	590	235	6.4	34	5.5	16
n/a	Census Tract 104.05	Boston	49.93	82.0	5	108	91	65	50.8	291	16.4	95	8	155	129	107	44.9	285	20.3	115
136	Census Tract 3102	Lowell	49.92	12.0	19	221	363	169	7.0	33	24.3	132	28	266	558	231	13.0	97	33.8	163
137	Census Tract 102.03	Boston	49.54	36.0	5	107	113	83	44.9	280	17.4	107	7	142	146	116	49.6	295	16.7	90
138	Census Tract 1103.01	Boston	49.52	5.0	9	147	438	181	6.1	28	56.5	222	4	102	186	131	9.5	66	57.5	216
139	Census Tract 8015.03	Springfield	49.51	8.0	6	110	188	111	20.8	159	55.6	221	11	192	336	181	20.0	156	64.8	238
140	Census Tract 3530	Cambridge	49.07	16.0	14	183	435	180	21.9	167	18.7	117	17	223	515	223	17.1	135	20.4	117
141	Census Tract 1008	Boston	48.93	5.0	18	209	343	165	6.6	31	29.8	152	15	212	262	160	10.2	72	35.4	165
142	Census Tract 3107	Lowell	48.77	23.0	12	172	327	160	21.6	165	26.5	142	8	158	211	141	23.1	188	22.1	124
143	Census Tract 8002.01	Springfield	48.54	3.0	12	173	244	136	19.5	150	50.3	209	11	197	205	139	26.3	211	59.7	226
144	Census Tract 1304.06	Boston	48.40	14.0	13	176	343	166	15.5	115	60.6	230	9	168	221	151	21.2	174	61.4	230
145	Census Tract 106	Boston	48.38	9.0	10	158	381	172	15.1	111	10.7	56	13	208	450	211	12.8	96	13.4	68
146	Census Tract 8001.02	Springfield	48.35	6.0	7	128	237	134	34.9	246	60.8	231	8	153	258	159	25.3	204	66.4	241
147	Census Tract 3531.01	Cambridge	48.22	32.0	6	114	265	139	26.2	196	21.1	124	12	199	492	218	17.8	140	28.1	145
148	Census Tract 7311.01	Worcester	48.18	7.0	8	136	278	144	26.3	197	35.5	175	5	122	165	123	29.8	235	34.2	164
149	Census Tract 403	Boston	48.08	3.0	11	164	325	159	16.1	124	10.2	54	10	181	308	171	18.0	142	7.3	27
150	Census Tract 1105.02	Boston	47.96	8.0	14	180	398	176	5.4	23	34.8	173	13	206	342	184	5.0	14	40.6	179

					2010-2014								2015-2017							
Rank	Census Tract Name	City	DIA	Student enroll (%)	Avg arrests / year	Rank	Avg arrests/ 100k	Rank	Poverty Rate (%)	Rank	Black/ Latino (%)	Rank	Avg arrests /year	Rank	Avg arrests/ 100k	Rank	Poverty Rate (%)	Rank	Black/ Latino (%)	Rank
151	Census Tract 3524	Cambridge	47.91	17.0	2	49	131	92	29.3	213	43.5	194	2	64	128	106	21.2	173	52.8	210
152	Census Tract 8015.02	Springfield	47.81	5.0	3	69	107	79	27.4	205	73.4	254	4	99	168	125	21.1	171	69.0	244
153	Census Tract 505	Boston	47.61	7.0	4	86	207	122	19.2	146	60.1	229	2	70	119	101	10.9	77	62.1	232
154	Census Tract 512	Boston	47.50	5.0	4	91	199	116	23.3	182	39.7	183	6	132	263	162	13.6	105	36.1	168
155	Census Tract 1401.05	Boston	47.39	12.0	10	154	330	161	4.5	14	64.2	239	7	141	215	145	5.0	13	64.9	239
156	Census Tract 608	Boston	47.21	4.0	26	255	632	220	8.4	53	0.4	1	10	182	252	158	6.4	33	5.9	18
157	Census Tract 8026.01	Springfield	47.20	7.0	11	167	228	130	18.4	136	51.5	211	26	261	472	215	18.4	144	61.4	231
158	Census Tract 811	Boston	46.78	27.0	6	116	146	98	32.0	230	23.9	130	2	61	53	51	33.0	249	29.7	149
159	Census Tract 104.03	Boston	46.72	34.0	3	84	122	89	46.3	284	16.0	90	3	90	118	99	34.5	252	22.6	129
160	Census Tract 7329.01	Worcester	46.51	7.0	19	219	334	162	18.8	139	32.4	159	16	213	265	163	15.5	119	33.7	162
161	Census Tract 8014.02	Springfield	46.27	6.0	3	83	210	123	11.3	82	53.0	215	9	170	623	238	15.5	118	69.5	245
162	Census Tract 404.01	Boston	46.09	8.0	12	169	563	201	18.8	140	8.4	38	5	120	220	150	21.3	175	7.9	29
163	Census Tract 909.01	Boston	45.83	45.0	2	62	76	57	52.2	293	39.8	184	2	69	71	62	48.1	292	40.2	177
164	Census Tract 8001.01	Springfield	45.52	8.0	6	111	198	115	35.9	247	52.8	214	9	164	306	168	19.2	147	50.1	207
165	Census Tract 1204	Boston	45.49	6.0	17	207	312	154	16.0	121	24.5	134	8	159	144	114	11.0	79	17.4	95
166	Census Tract 105	Boston	44.87	39.0	4	93	130	91	34.9	245	19.9	120	5	121	161	122	27.4	220	22.0	123
167	Census Tract 7304.01	Worcester	44.82	9.0	8	133	189	112	18.7	138	41.4	189	7	148	181	128	20.9	167	36.3	171
168	Census Tract 3117	Lowell	44.81	7.0	13	179	368	170	17.0	128	16.6	97	13	205	337	182	24.1	194	15.3	79
169	Census Tract 7.04	Boston	44.47	30.0	8	137	199	117	27.2	204	16.6	99	5	114	109	92	26.6	213	17.7	99
170	Census Tract 8003	Springfield	44.24	9.0	7	125	211	124	19.0	145	57.1	225	12	200	398	194	13.8	107	59.7	225
171	Census Tract 1201.04	Boston	44.06	4.0	3	81	178	106	20.2	156	27.6	147	6	135	332	178	17.4	136	25.3	137
172	Census Tract 606	Boston	42.93	6.0	19	216	771	228	4.9	18	1.5	6	11	195	374	189	5.5	21	5.0	11
173	Census Tract 8015.01	Springfield	42.64	6.0	6	112	134	93	16.5	125	76.1	262	10	184	247	157	6.8	41	71.0	248
174	Census Tract 1	Boston	42.20	11.0	7	120	216	127	17.1	129	26.8	146	9	172	243	156	13.4	101	20.6	118
175	Census Tract 3122	Lowell	41.97	9.0	10	157	301	150	11.5	86	28.3	149	8	152	220	149	20.2	160	33.4	161
176	Census Tract 1402.01	Boston	41.82	6.0	7	123	344	167	8.6	54	48.1	204	4	110	227	152	6.3	31	54.3	213
177	Census Tract 3521.02	Cambridge	41.55	13.0	8	143	341	164	12.4	92	10.6	55	6	129	274	165	13.3	100	19.5	110
178	Census Tract 707	Boston	41.53	7.0	5	109	213	125	8.9	56	40.2	186	3	73	110	93	8.7	62	30.4	152
179	Census Tract 1401.02	Boston	41.03	9.0	7	121	187	110	9.4	58	55.4	220	5	118	114	98	6.4	35	66.3	240
180	Census Tract 107.02	Boston	40.91	16.0	10	160	449	186	7.9	43	7.3	33	7	150	306	169	6.7	39	6.8	24
181	Census Tract 1402.02	Boston	40.10	7.0	11	162	228	131	9.4	61	52.4	213	5	124	105	89	10.1	71	59.1	223



					2010-2014								2015-2017							
Rank	Census Tract Name	City	DIA	Student enroll (%)	Avg arrests / year	Rank	Avg arrests/ 100k	Rank	Poverty Rate (%)	Rank	Black/ Latino (%)	Rank	Avg arrests /year	Rank	Avg arrests/ 100k	Rank	Poverty Rate (%)	Rank	Black/ Latino (%)	Rank
182	Census Tract 706	Boston	40.08	7.0	6	115	313	155	2.7	4	4.5	16	7	144	336	180	5.1	16	7.7	28
183	Census Tract 1304.04	Boston	39.86	8.0	12	168	427	179	4.5	13	25.0	138	6	130	218	148	5.4	20	30.9	153
184	Census Tract 3113	Lowell	39.83	12.0	11	161	344	168	15.8	119	17.7	109	10	173	326	176	13.9	109	15.0	77
185	Census Tract 406	Boston	39.41	8.0	16	196	628	218	7.5	39	6.9	28	5	123	196	135	2.5	4	6.8	25
186	Census Tract 1207	Boston	38.86	15.0	2	48	112	81	11.9	90	16.0	92	1	45	67	59	16.5	128	28.1	146
187	Census Tract 1104.03	Boston	38.70	6.0	5	106	138	94	14.2	102	54.0	218	5	117	129	108	12.2	91	47.9	201
188	Census Tract 2.02	Boston	38.16	11.0	7	124	234	132	22.7	175	23.9	129	6	134	197	136	18.2	143	29.9	151
189	Census Tract 7331.02	Worcester	38.11	6.0	5	103	278	145	7.6	40	25.5	139	7	149	392	192	11.0	78	23.3	133
n/a	Census Tract 8.03‡	Boston	38.11	92.0	10	155	171	104	34.7	243	17.2	105	3	86	49	46	31.1	242	19.1	108
190	Census Tract 6.01	Boston	37.95	16.0	8	138	287	148	22.0	170	9.3	44	8	157	234	155	13.4	102	13.1	63
191	Census Tract 101.04‡	Boston	37.20	54.0	5	101	106	78	26.6	198	14.3	82	3	85	63	58	23.5	190	13.4	69
192	Census Tract 203.02	Boston	37.16	16.0	3	82	317	158	13.1	98	3.7	10	4	109	443	209	12.0	90	2.7	3
193	Census Tract 7311.02	Worcester	36.29	10.0	6	118	308	152	9.5	64	24.5	133	7	136	342	185	10.4	75	20.7	119
n/a	Census Tract 101.03‡	Boston	36.13	93.0	7	131	200	118	42.8	273	12.1	67	1	27	27	27	37.1	260	15.9	85
n/a	Census Tract 102.04‡	Boston	36.12	74.0	4	88	117	87	39.3	263	7.0	29	2	60	60	56	41.2	276	11.2	46
194	Census Tract 7310.02	Worcester	36.00	8.0	8	145	167	103	19.8	153	30.6	154	5	119	102	85	21.6	177	25.9	139
195	Census Tract 3114	Lowell	35.17	13.0	7	127	139	95	18.0	135	26.3	141	5	125	112	95	20.7	166	27.9	144
196	Census Tract 604	Boston	34.65	10.0	15	193	315	156	9.4	59	4.5	17	9	169	172	126	11.5	88	4.5	9
197	Census Tract 7.01	Boston	34.32	33.0	3	72	85	60	30.8	220	16.2	94	1	46	32	32	27.0	217	16.3	87
n/a	Census Tract 104.04‡	Boston	34.15	80.0	3	78	53	37	64.9	304	14.2	81	1	18	13	11	59.0	300	14.1	75
199	Census Tract 5.04	Boston	33.73	23.0	4	96	101	75	30.9	222	11.4	62	4	108	100	83	25.2	203	10.7	44
200	Census Tract 7323.01	Worcester	33.27	9.0	8	141	269	140	4.3	8	13.2	74	7	147	193	134	5.2	17	22.7	130
201	Census Tract 3106.02	Lowell	33.22	7.0	5	99	104	77	15.0	109	19.0	119	9	167	213	144	19.9	154	19.1	109
202	Census Tract 1206	Boston	33.07	12.0	2	41	68	54	10.8	79	17.0	102	2	56	80	68	8.6	57	13.9	73
203	Census Tract 3105	Lowell	32.37	40.0	3	76	111	80	19.4	149	16.9	101	4	104	132	111	28.4	229	13.1	64
204	Census Tract 7323.02	Worcester	32.16	9.0	6	117	197	114	12.4	93	29.4	151	3	82	93	78	19.2	148	36.3	170
205	Census Tract 107.01	Boston	32.15	25.0	5	105	176	105	8.2	50	7.0	31	4	101	159	121	9.9	69	10.3	41
206	Census Tract 7328.02	Worcester	31.97	6.0	5	102	139	96	8.8	55	24.2	131	8	154	232	154	11.8	89	31.7	157
207	Census Tract 3525	Cambridge	31.93	14.0	2	37	65	51	15.2	113	17.8	110	2	72	92	77	14.6	113	18.3	102
208	Census Tract 3115	Lowell	31.63	9.0	4	90	152	100	19.8	152	18.6	116	1	32	44	39	27.9	225	32.8	159
209	Census Tract 8016.05	Springfield	31.58	5.0	3	79	94	67	22.1	171	39.2	181	4	103	130	109	24.6	198	43.0	188

					2010-2014								2015-2017							
Rank	Census Tract Name	City	DIA	Student enroll (%)	Avg arrests / year	Rank	Avg arrests/ 100k	Rank	Poverty Rate (%)	Rank	Black/ Latino (%)	Rank	Avg arrests /year	Rank	Avg arrests/ 100k	Rank	Poverty Rate (%)	Rank	Black/ Latino (%)	Rank
<i>n/a</i>	<i>Census Tract 103[‡]</i>	<i>Boston</i>	<i>31.49</i>	<i>93.0</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>24</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>27.5</i>	<i>206</i>	<i>14.1</i>	<i>80</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>31</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>23.1</i>	<i>187</i>	<i>15.7</i>	<i>83</i>
211	Census Tract 1105.01	Boston	31.16	3.0	8	144	304	151	11.7	87	28.9	150	3	87	106	90	11.2	80	13.6	70
212	Census Tract 8002.02	Springfield	30.24	1.0	2	44	182	109	7.9	41	37.3	177	2	62	201	137	16.3	126	45.9	194
213	Census Tract 3534	Cambridge	30.16	16.0	1	28	49	33	9.6	66	34.6	172	4	98	148	117	12.7	94	33.3	160
214	Census Tract 302	Boston	30.02	14.0	4	94	234	133	14.8	108	9.9	49	3	93	211	142	11.5	87	13.2	66
215	Census Tract 605.01	Boston	29.85	5.0	9	148	260	138	8.1	45	4.8	18	4	95	98	81	4.5	11	2.8	4
216	Census Tract 8016.02	Springfield	29.47	8.0	1	29	38	25	14.4	104	41.7	191	5	127	152	120	22.4	184	42.7	185
217	Census Tract 3527	Cambridge	29.29	13.0	2	50	98	73	15.3	114	32.6	161	0	15	18	16	11.5	86	16.5	88
218	Census Tract 4.01	Boston	28.72	19.0	4	98	94	68	25.3	191	12.6	72	2	49	35	33	27.4	221	6.6	23
219	Census Tract 3549	Cambridge	28.72	9.0	3	64	57	45	18.9	141	37.8	178	1	29	17	15	23.0	186	47.7	199
220	Census Tract 3123	Lowell	28.13	4.0	8	140	191	113	8.2	49	10.0	51	6	133	151	118	2.9	5	15.0	78
221	Census Tract 1303	Boston	27.76	7.0	8	134	215	126	0.2	2	6.8	27	7	143	191	132	0.9	2	9.0	33
222	Census Tract 8016.01	Springfield	27.65	25.0	2	51	50	36	19.0	144	34.3	169	5	126	133	112	16.6	129	37.1	172
223	Census Tract 3521.01	Cambridge	27.58	30.0	1	20	45	28	26.6	199	23.2	128	2	54	91	76	23.4	189	22.3	126
224	Census Tract 3526	Cambridge	27.26	13.0	1	17	34	23	29.6	216	18.0	111	1	34	45	42	21.3	176	23.7	134
225	Census Tract 1106.07	Boston	26.59	6.0	7	132	164	102	14.2	101	16.8	100	5	116	103	88	5.3	19	14.1	74
226	Census Tract 3535	Cambridge	26.49	15.0	1	35	58	46	30.6	218	31.8	156	1	26	45	43	6.8	40	18.8	106
227	Census Tract 203.01	Boston	26.35	13.0	4	87	143	97	11.9	89	2.3	8	2	52	74	65	12.8	95	11.2	48
228	Census Tract 2.01	Boston	26.03	16.0	3	70	97	72	13.2	99	14.5	84	4	111	124	105	14.5	112	11.3	49
<i>n/a</i>	<i>Census Tract 3531.02[‡]</i>	<i>Cambridge</i>	<i>25.75</i>	<i>92.0</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>22</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>31.5</i>	<i>226</i>	<i>13.3</i>	<i>75</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>53</i>	<i>35</i>	<i>34</i>	<i>22.5</i>	<i>185</i>	<i>13.9</i>	<i>72</i>
230	Census Tract 104.08	Boston	25.45	26.0	0	7	14	10	22.4	173	9.5	46	0	14	25	24	19.5	149	10.4	42
231	Census Tract 401	Boston	25.26	3.0	6	119	336	163	2.1	3	6.4	25	1	39	61	57	2.3	3	5.2	14
232	Census Tract 4.02	Boston	25.20	25.0	3	75	112	82	23.2	180	9.4	45	2	48	55	52	17.8	139	9.5	37
233	Census Tract 7303	Worcester	24.64	6.0	7	122	180	108	12.2	91	8.5	39	7	151	178	127	8.7	60	18.9	107
<i>n/a</i>	<i>Census Tract 5.02[‡]</i>	<i>Boston</i>	<i>24.58</i>	<i>63.0</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>67</i>	<i>47</i>	<i>31</i>	<i>31.2</i>	<i>223</i>	<i>11.1</i>	<i>59</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>20.1</i>	<i>159</i>	<i>11.5</i>	<i>52</i>
235	Census Tract 304	Boston	23.99	13.0	4	89	153	101	9.7	69	3.1	9	3	76	101	84	9.7	68	6.0	21
236	Census Tract 3522	Cambridge	23.89	9.0	1	15	35	24	17.1	131	18.2	113	1	42	82	71	15.6	120	23.1	132
237	Census Tract 7310.01	Worcester	23.88	10.0	2	39	91	64	8.2	51	18.3	115	1	22	37	35	5.1	15	20.0	113
238	Census Tract 3542	Cambridge	23.61	6.0	1	30	55	41	5.7	24	4.8	19	3	84	114	97	4.7	12	5.1	12
239	Census Tract 3532	Cambridge	22.71	37.0	1	22	22	17	14.3	103	15.9	89	2	63	43	38	16.8	130	16.9	91
240	Census Tract 3546	Cambridge	22.03	9.0	3	77	70	55	10.2	75	26.8	145	1	24	22	18	7.9	50	20.1	114

					2010-2014								2015-2017							
Rank	Census Tract Name	City	DIA	Student enroll (%)	Avg arrests / year	Rank	Avg arrests/ 100k	Rank	Poverty Rate (%)	Rank	Black/ Latino (%)	Rank	Avg arrests /year	Rank	Avg arrests/ 100k	Rank	Poverty Rate (%)	Rank	Black/ Latino (%)	Rank
241	Census Tract 8016.03f	Springfield	21.99	5.0	2	38	48	32	17.3	132	34.5	171	4	107	139	113	8.2	52	31.2	155
242	Census Tract 1304.02	Boston	21.84	3.0	5	104	119	88	5.9	25	10.9	57	4	112	107	91	6.9	43	12.4	59
243	Census Tract 3533	Cambridge	21.84	15.0	2	47	63	50	6.9	32	12.3	68	3	81	86	74	7.5	46	11.5	51
244	Census Tract 7328.01	Worcester	21.80	10.0	2	56	55	39	8.0	44	21.0	123	2	59	44	41	11.3	85	22.4	128
245	Census Tract 8026.02	Springfield	21.69	4.0	1	26	75	56	7.1	36	4.3	15	2	65	118	100	13.6	106	11.8	55
246	Census Tract 3116	Lowell	21.60	7.0	4	85	88	62	9.9	73	17.4	108	3	91	79	66	12.4	92	11.8	56
247	Census Tract 3125.01	Lowell	21.46	4.0	4	92	128	90	10.4	77	12.4	70	2	68	68	60	12.7	93	18.7	105
248	Census Tract 7322.02	Worcester	21.16	6.0	1	18	33	22	16.8	127	12.5	71	3	78	102	86	16.2	125	16.3	86
249	Census Tract 7331.01	Worcester	21.01	8.0	3	66	152	99	5.2	20	15.7	87	1	36	80	67	13.1	99	19.8	112
250	Census Tract 3539	Cambridge	21.01	75.0	0	8	3	5	20.7	158	16.0	91	0	5	0	1	26.9	216	17.7	100
251	Census Tract 3106.01	Lowell	20.52	8.0	2	55	39	26	6.0	27	20.4	121	4	97	73	64	6.0	26	26.8	141
252	Census Tract 1201.03	Boston	20.50	9.0	2	60	203	120	5.9	26	10.2	53	0	8	25	25	3.9	8	8.7	32
n/a	Census Tract 3537†	Cambridge	20.42	62.0	2	58	42	27	19.6	151	13.3	76	2	58	31	30	16.4	127	12.8	61
254	Census Tract 3.01	Boston	20.35	10.0	2	54	92	66	14.1	100	9.6	48	1	25	41	36	8.5	56	17.5	97
255	Census Tract 3528	Cambridge	20.31	17.0	0	11	19	14	10.4	76	12.3	69	1	41	68	61	11.2	81	17.6	98
256	Census Tract 603.01	Boston	20.14	6.0	6	113	201	119	7.1	34	1.0	3	0	12	10	10	8.4	54	2.5	2
257	Census Tract 202	Boston	20.11	15.0	3	80	86	61	16.6	126	9.2	43	1	28	28	28	13.9	108	13.3	67
258	Census Tract 602	Boston	20.00	5.0	2	42	95	70	7.4	38	0.6	2	2	50	81	69	6.1	29	1.0	1
259	Census Tract 7308.02	Worcester	19.87	11.0	2	43	117	86	6.3	30	3.7	11	2	47	100	82	15.9	124	13.9	71
260	Census Tract 3523	Cambridge	19.69	16.0	2	40	54	38	17.1	130	15.4	86	0	6	0	3	15.1	117	19.6	111
261	Census Tract 8024	Springfield	19.66	7.0	3	65	89	63	6.3	29	32.6	162	3	89	102	87	8.9	64	26.4	140
262	Census Tract 7322.01	Worcester	19.59	12.0	1	31	56	43	11.1	80	20.7	122	2	67	81	70	18.0	141	15.4	80
263	Census Tract 301	Boston	18.86	13.0	2	59	103	76	17.4	133	1.3	5	3	80	123	104	7.6	48	4.2	8
264	Census Tract 3538	Cambridge	18.60	20.0	0	12	9	6	16.0	122	11.3	61	4	96	84	73	15.7	121	12.5	60
265	Census Tract 3540	Cambridge	18.58	45.0	4	97	116	85	11.4	84	11.0	58	1	33	25	23	19.1	146	11.2	47
266	Census Tract 7329.02	Worcester	18.57	98.0	0	4	0	4	47.4	285	7.8	35	0	2	0	6	47.7	291	15.8	84
267	Census Tract 3543	Cambridge	18.49	6.0	2	36	57	44	15.9	120	17.0	103	1	38	52	50	8.3	53	18.0	101
268	Census Tract 601.01	Boston	18.08	8.0	2	57	67	53	10.8	78	3.9	12	4	106	123	103	4.0	9	3.3	5
269	Census Tract 201.01	Boston	17.44	5.0	4	95	115	84	4.4	11	2.1	7	2	66	47	44	5.2	18	5.5	15
270	Census Tract 7301	Worcester	17.09	9.0	3	74	66	52	9.2	57	26.5	143	3	74	57	53	8.7	61	17.0	92
271	Census Tract 5.03	Boston	16.91	30.0	0	5	11	7	29.6	215	7.1	32	0	3	0	5	20.3	161	5.8	17

					2010-2014								2015-2017							
Rank	Census Tract Name	City	DIA	Student enroll (%)	Avg arrests / year	Rank	Avg arrests/ 100k	Rank	Poverty Rate (%)	Rank	Black/Latino (%)	Rank	Avg arrests /year	Rank	Avg arrests/ 100k	Rank	Poverty Rate (%)	Rank	Black/Latino (%)	Rank
272	Census Tract 3.02	Boston	16.90	14.0	2	53	82	58	22.3	172	6.3	24	2	51	59	55	11.3	84	15.5	81
273	Census Tract 305	Boston	16.45	13.0	1	27	47	29	8.2	48	1.3	4	2	71	96	80	9.5	67	5.9	20
274	Census Tract 8025	Springfield	16.31	7.0	3	68	47	30	4.2	7	21.9	126	3	75	48	45	10.5	76	29.7	150
275	Census Tract 7302	Worcester	15.26	6.0	1	34	33	21	8.3	52	16.4	96	0	7	0	2	8.6	59	11.8	57
276	Census Tract 3550	Cambridge	15.15	7.0	1	19	32	20	9.9	71	24.7	136	1	43	50	47	10.2	73	17.1	93
277	Census Tract 3547	Cambridge	14.36	13.0	1	25	55	40	4.8	17	13.9	78	0	13	14	12	8.8	63	9.8	38
278	Census Tract 1302	Boston	13.79	6.0	2	52	49	34	4.4	10	10.0	50	3	83	72	63	8.6	58	7.2	26
279	Census Tract 7309.02	Worcester	13.55	37.0	1	23	30	19	11.8	88	16.1	93	0	9	9	9	17.0	133	16.6	89
280	Census Tract 7307	Worcester	13.12	10.0	3	71	49	35	7.1	35	18.3	114	1	40	23	20	6.4	36	21.6	122
281	Census Tract 3541	Cambridge	12.74	23.0	2	63	96	71	4.6	15	8.7	40	1	20	26	26	4.3	10	9.3	35
282	Census Tract 1301	Boston	12.74	6.0	5	100	99	74	3.4	5	4.1	13	2	57	31	31	3.0	6	8.1	30
<i>n/a</i>	<i>Census Tract 7312.02‡</i>	<i>Worcester</i>	<i>12.49</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>55</i>	<i>42</i>	<i>0.0</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>15.7</i>	<i>88</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>37</i>	<i>90</i>	<i>75</i>	<i>0.0</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>18.4</i>	<i>104</i>
284	Census Tract 3545	Cambridge	12.31	13.0	0	1	0	2	12.4	94	11.9	65	1	30	51	49	11.2	83	10.3	40
285	Census Tract 1201.05	Boston	12.08	17.0	1	14	29	18	9.5	65	10.1	52	0	16	15	13	5.9	24	9.0	34
286	Census Tract 3125.02	Lowell	12.00	5.0	2	46	59	47	4.9	19	6.5	26	3	77	82	72	5.5	22	6.5	22
287	Census Tract 108.01	Boston	11.68	15.0	2	45	62	49	5.2	21	4.9	20	2	55	58	54	6.1	28	8.3	31
288	Census Tract 8016.04	Springfield	11.66	6.0	0	9	13	9	4.6	16	17.2	104	1	35	42	37	3.8	7	24.6	135
289	Census Tract 3536	Cambridge	11.65	47.0	0	3	0	1	9.7	70	14.4	83	1	23	15	14	7.3	45	15.7	82
290	Census Tract 108.02	Boston	11.12	16.0	0	10	14	11	9.4	60	7.0	30	1	44	44	40	6.5	37	11.0	45
291	Census Tract 7306	Worcester	11.00	26.0	1	32	17	13	4.4	12	11.8	64	4	100	51	48	6.0	27	13.1	65
292	Census Tract 7309.01	Worcester	10.85	12.0	3	73	95	69	9.6	67	11.5	63	1	19	23	21	5.8	23	10.6	43
293	Census Tract 7308.01	Worcester	8.87	7.0	2	61	82	59	3.5	6	5.8	23	1	21	23	22	6.6	38	3.3	6
294	Census Tract 3529	Cambridge	8.44	8.0	1	33	59	48	9.7	68	5.1	21	0	4	0	4	8.0	51	4.2	7
295	Census Tract 1106.01	Boston	8.37	4.0	0	13	17	12	8.1	46	8.2	36	1	17	28	29	7.2	44	10.2	39
296	Census Tract 3544	Cambridge	7.45	10.0	0	2	0	3	8.1	47	8.2	37	0	11	23	19	6.3	32	12.2	58
297	Census Tract 3548	Cambridge	5.77	10.0	0	6	11	8	5.2	22	8.8	41	0	1	0	7	6.0	25	9.3	36

Note: 15 Tracts grayed out and italicized had more than 50% of residents in undergraduate or graduate degree programs (‡), "-" indicates tract did not have data in that time period.



Memorandum

To: Commissioners; Travis Ahern, Executive Director
From: Matt Giancola, Director of Government Affairs and Policy (DGAP)
Date: October 14, 2025
Subject: Memorandum on Previous Discussions on DIAs- FOR INFORMATION

BACKGROUND:

A Study on Identifying Disproportionately Impacted Areas by Cannabis and Drug Prohibition was discussed at the following meetings:

March 11, 2021- Report from UMass Donahue Institute Presented

- https://masscannabiscontrol.com/wp-content/uploads/2021/07/20210311_Mins_Public-Meeting.pdf

April 16, 2021- Additional Staff work presented during ED Report

- https://masscannabiscontrol.com/wp-content/uploads/2021/07/20210416_Mins_Public-Meeting.pdf

October 13, 2021- New Business the Chair Did Not Anticipate at the Time of Posting

- https://masscannabiscontrol.com/wp-content/uploads/2021/10/20211013_Packet_October_2021_Public_Meeting.pdf
- Conversation begins at 4:40:39 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8Fg5JNgTPas>

February 10, 2022- Update on DIA report

- <https://masscannabiscontrol.com/wp-content/uploads/2022/03/Meeting-Book-March-Monthly-Public-Meeting-Packet-1.pdf>

February 2022 - Study Team provides written answers for questions presented by Commissioners in March 11, 2021 Public Meeting

- Staff Report - <https://masscannabiscontrol.com/wp-content/uploads/2022/02/Report-on-Identifying-Disproportionately-Impacted-Areas-by-Cannabis-and-Drug-Prohibition.pdf>



August 11, 2022

- https://masscannabiscontrol.com/wp-content/uploads/2022/11/20220811_mins_Public-Meeting_Approved.pdf

November 10, 2022

- https://masscannabiscontrol.com/wp-content/uploads/2023/09/20221110_Mins_Public-Meeting_For-Commission-Consideration_AMENDED.pdf

December 28, 2022

- Around 4:50:51 mark discussion on the Disproportionate Impact Study and around 4:53:50 discussion on including cost in FY24 Budget
 - <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1uCdFad866Q&t=14s>
 - Minutes can be found starting on page 31 of the February 9, 2023 Meeting Book
<https://masscannabiscontrol.com/wp-content/uploads/2023/02/Meeting-Book-February-Monthly-Public-Meeting-Packet.pdf>

Report on *Identifying Disproportionately Impacted Areas*
by *Cannabis and Drug Prohibition:*
Commissioner Questions & Research Team Answers

These questions include all public meeting questions and questions individually asked by Commissioners. They are sub-divided into: (1) RFQ/Process; (2) Report/Study; (3) Study Implications; and (4) Appendix.

PREPARED BY:

Julie Johnson, PhD, Director of Research, Massachusetts Cannabis Control Commission

Samantha Doonan, BA, Research Analyst, Massachusetts Cannabis Control Commission

Jennifer M. Whitehill, PhD, Associate Professor, Department of Health Promotion and Policy, University of Massachusetts Amherst

Mark Melnik, PhD, Director of Economic and Public Policy Research, University of Massachusetts Donahue Institute

Renee M. Johnson, PhD, MPH, Associate Professor, Departments of Mental Health and Epidemiology, Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health



Table of Contents

Executive Summary 3

I. RFQ Process Questions 5

II. Report/Study Questions 12

III. Study Implications Questions 29

IV. Appendix 33

Executive Summary

Introduction

The impetus for a revised study on Areas of Disproportionate Impact (DI) originated from Commissioners Flanagan and Title who were deemed the “Commission Sponsors” of the study. The Commission posted the first Request for Quotes (RFQ) for a study on disproportionately impacted communities on December 9, 2019 and, not finding an acceptable proposal, posted the re-issued RFQ on February 6, 2020. A diverse team of staff reviewed submitted applications and recommended the University of Massachusetts (UMass) for the award, as it met all requirements and featured a diverse, interdisciplinary group of experts in criminal justice, public health, and equity. The Executive Director approved the recommendation on April 15, 2020.

Once awarded the contract, the UMass team collaborated with the Commission's Research Department on the study, and held two meetings with Commissioners to share the study's methodology and in-progress findings. To stay within the bounds of the Open Meeting Law, individual Commissioners sent questions and comments to the Director of Research to field responses and provide information when needed. On February 18, 2021, the team shared a full copy of the report with all Commissioners. On March 11, 2021, the Primary Investigators, Drs. Mark Melnik and Jennifer Whitehill, presented the report at the Commission Public Meeting.

As a result of the March 11 public meetings, Commissioners identified multiple questions for the study team. Answers are below.

RFQ Process Questions

RFQ process questions largely pertained to understanding whether internal Commission policies and procedures surrounding the DI RFQ were conducted through a social justice and racial justice lens. In these answers, we reflect on the questions regarding: (1) the two RFQ processes and the Commission staff involved in drafting, editing, and approving these documents; (2) the submitted proposals, the processes and template for reviewing the proposals and the Commission staff involved in selecting staff reviewers and the staff reviewers; (3) the rationale for National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS) data expertise as identified in the RFQ; and (4) the demographics and areas of expertise of the selected study team.

Report/Study Questions

Report and study questions largely pertain to data limitations. In these answers, we reflect on questions in the following areas: (1) missing data for the City of Lawrence; (2) exclusion of data prior to 2000; (3) the cutoff point used when presenting disproportionate impact scores; (4) economic indicators used in the analytic model; (5) the use of arrest data as the only criminal justice data; (6) the use of Census tracts; (7) the project timeline; (8) the limitations of the previous disproportionate impact study; (9) the analytic model; and (10) the definition of the “War on Drugs.”

Implications Questions

Implications questions largely pertain to policy implications, decisions, and stakeholder perceptions. Many of these questions are regulatory decisions that are beyond the scope of the research study team to fully answer, and in these incidences, we respectfully defer to the Commission.

I. RFQ Process Questions

I.1. Question:

Was this study done with a lens on social justice and racial justice?

I.1. Answer:

Yes. The study and RFQ were originally requested from former Commissioners Flanagan Title. Both Commissioners made significant contributions to the study and emphasized the need for expertise in social justice and public health.

The RFQ begins with: “Vendor will provide the Cannabis Control Commission (herein referred to as “Commission”) a study, relevant data procurements, and resulting list of communities disproportionately affected by the ‘war on drugs’. The report will inform the Commission’s work to repair damage to communities disproportionally affected by cannabis prohibition,” [see Tab A]. The Commission assembled a procurement review team including: Adriana Leon, Chief Financial and Accounting Officer; Shekia Scott, Director of Community Outreach and Equity Programming (former); Rebecca Kwakye, Project Coordinator; and Julie Johnson, Director of Research. Independently, each team member ranked the UMass proposal as the best of the proposals.

The UMass team specifically addressed the War on Drugs through a racial justice lens in text and in its analytic model. The introduction of the report states:

In June of 1971, Nixon officially declared a “War on Drugs.” This campaign aimed to stop illegal drug use and distribution, but had adverse effects on communities of color (“disproportionate impact”). The campaign increased funding for drug-control agencies and created a mandatory prison sentencing for drug crimes. This prison reform led to a disproportionate incarceration rate of people of color for drugs crimes. Many believe this was the intended effect of the “War on Drugs.”

In the 1980s, President Reagan leaned into the Nixon era drug policies and took on a “Law and Order” approach to the nation’s perceived drug problem. The Anti-Drug Abuse Acts of 1986 and 1988 established punitive criminal sanctions for drug charges including new mandatory minimum sentences for offenses related to most drugs, including cannabis. During the Reagan Administration, drug users were targeted by law enforcement via drug possession charges. Drug control practices targeted Black men in low-income, urban areas leading to a dramatic increase (“disproportionate impact”) in the proportion of Black people under correctional control. While some “War on Drugs” and “Law and Order” policies have been discontinued, they have affected many systems and social structures in the U.S., leaving a legacy of impacts that persist through the present day. (pgs. 9-10)

In the UMass team’s analytic model, the team also demonstrates a racial justice lens through inclusion of the percent of the population in a particular geographic area that is Black/African

American and/or Latino. The impetus for this variable's inclusion can be found in the following excerpt:

Additionally, enforcement of drug prohibition has resulted in disproportionately high numbers of arrest and incarceration for Black and Latino individuals. These disparities persist despite the Commonwealth's changing cannabis policies, including cannabis decriminalization, followed by medicinal and adult-use legalization. Because of this situation, it was important to account for the fact that Black and Latino persons experience race-based disparities in drug-related stops, searches, and arrests in the methodology. Further, regardless of race, there are strong correlations between poverty and involvement in drug selling and/or drug use, and after incarceration, many individuals face steep challenges to gain legal employment which can establish cycles of poverty that last generations. (pg. 11).

I.2. Question:

What are the demographics and geographics of the study team who participated in the study?

I.2. Answer:

Scientific research finds that diverse teams produce stronger science. To gauge the diversity of the research team in response to your comment, we gathered information about team members using [new criteria](#) established by the National Institutes of Health in their efforts to diversify the scientific workforce.¹ The NIH's criteria for having a disadvantaged background includes individuals who: come from a family with an annual income below established low-income thresholds (i.e., the federal poverty line); who were or are homeless; were in the foster care system; were eligible for free or reduced school lunch program, or who received Special Supplemental Nutrition Program for Women Infants and Children, as a parent or child; have/had no parents or guardians who completed a bachelor's degree; were eligible for Federal Pell grants; or grew up in a U.S. Rural area eligible for Rural Health Grants or designated Low-Income and Health Professional Shortage Areas. For any team members meeting any of those criteria, we indicated "Yes" for disadvantaged background in the table below.

There were two team members who were unavailable or declined to respond.

	Race & Hispanic Ethnicity	Sex	Disability	Disadvantaged Background	Geographic Data
<i>Principal Investigators</i>					
<u>Jennifer M. Whitehill, PhD, Univ. Massachusetts Amherst</u>	White, non-Hispanic	Female	No	No	From suburban Philadelphia; currently lives near Amherst, MA.
<u>Mark Melnik, PhD, Univ. Massachusetts Donahue Institute</u>	White, non-Hispanic	Male	No	Yes	From Youngstown, OH; currently lives in MA.
<i>Project Officer</i>					
<u>Julie K. Johnson, PhD, Director of Research,</u>	White, non-Hispanic	Female	No	Yes	From South Shore MA; currently lives in Westborough, MA.

<u>Massachusetts Cannabis Control Commission</u>					Previously lived in Boston and Chelsea, MA.
<i>Project Team</i>					
<u>April Pattavina, PhD,</u> <u>University of Massachusetts Lowell</u>	White, non-Hispanic	Female	No	Yes	Born and raised in Lowell, MA; currently lives in Andover, MA.
<u>Renee M. Johnson, PhD,</u> <u>MPH, Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health</u>	Black, non-Hispanic	Female	No	No	From suburban Philadelphia; currently lives in Baltimore, MD; previously lived in Boston and Brockton, MA.
<u>Rebecca Loveland, MRP,</u> <u>University of Massachusetts Donahue Institute</u>	White, non-Hispanic	Female	No	Yes	From Central New Jersey; currently lives in Western MA.
<u>Carrie Bernstein, MPPA,</u> <u>University of Massachusetts Donahue Institute</u>					
<u>Faith English, MPH,</u> <u>University of Massachusetts Amherst</u>	White, non-Hispanic	Female	No	Yes	From and currently lives in Western MA.
<u>Abigail Raisz, BA,</u> <u>University of Massachusetts Donahue Institute</u>	White, non-Hispanic	Female	No	No	From Brookline, MA; lives in Boston, MA.
<u>Michael McNally, BA,</u> <u>University of Massachusetts Donahue Institute</u>	White, non-Hispanic	Male	No	Yes	From Queensbury, NY; currently lives in Northampton, MA.
<u>Samantha M. Doonan, BA,</u> <u>Research Analyst,</u> <u>Massachusetts Cannabis Control Commission.</u>	White, non-Hispanic	Female	No	No	From Ipswich, MA; currently lives in Brighton, MA.
<i>Research Assistants</i>					
Lauren-Ashley Daley, MPH	Black, non-Hispanic	Female	No	Declined	Lives in Baltimore, MD.
Jasmine Inim, MPH	Black, non-Hispanic	Female	No	Yes	From East Hartford, CT; currently lives in Charlton, MA.
Olivia Olayiwole	Black, non-Hispanic	Female	No	Yes	Currently lives in Marlborough, MA.
Alandra Ricci	White, non-Hispanic	Female	No	Yes	From Salem, MA.

*See criteria in the paragraph above.

¹Lauer M. Expanding NIH's Definition of Socio-Economic Disadvantage to be More Inclusive and Diversify the Workforce. National Institutes of Health. <https://nexus.od.nih.gov/all/2019/11/26/expanding-nih-definition-of-socio-economic-disadvantaged-to-be-more-inclusive-and-diversify-the-workforce/>. Published 2019. Accessed June 25, 2021.

I.3. Question:

Did the UMass team consider conducting outreach to local institutions and or public health scholars in Massachusetts who specialize in disparity studies or in communities of color?

I.3. Answer:

Yes. While developing a study proposal in response to the RFP, UMass assembled a team that would bring together relevant expertise in the fields of public health, criminal justice, and Massachusetts demographic and economic trends. This included inviting Dr. Renee M. Johnson from Johns Hopkins University to join the team. She has expertise in drug and cannabis policy and studies health disparities. ADr. Johnson has lived and worked in Boston and conducted research related to communities of color, including communities in Massachusetts. Expertise in criminology and the NIBRS dataset in particular was needed, so the team leaders contacted and engaged Dr. April Pattavina from the University of Massachusetts Lowell. Dr. Pattavina has expertise in the NIBRS data and coauthored an important report about police stops, surveillance, and race in Boston. We also wish to note that much of Dr. Melnik's work focuses on disparities and equity in a wide range of social and economic policies, primarily in Massachusetts. Dr. Whitehill's prior public health research has included a focus on low-income, urban, communities of color, and she is an affiliate of the UMass Center for Community Health Equity Research.

I.4. Question:

What baseline was used to discuss, prepare for, and/or consider a social and racial equity lens when preparing the RFQ as well as the study as a whole?

I.4. Answer:

The answer to this question is twofold, because preparing for this RFQ included both building on the original "Gettman Study," that the Commission used in to develop the list of disproportionately impacted areas, and conducting a comprehensive assessment of racial disparities in cannabis-related criminal offenses in Massachusetts.

Gettman Study:

The primary goal of the UMass study was to update the original "baseline" disproportionate impact study ("the Gettman Study"), which was the first Commission study used to define disproportionately impacted areas in Massachusetts for equity related provisions at the Commission.

The UMass Study built on the Gettman study by including: [1] more comprehensive criminal justice data (i.e., National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS) vs. Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR)), [2] a longer timespan of analysis (18-year timespan in the UMass Study vs. 5-year timespan for municipalities and 2-year timespan of Boston in the Gettman Study), and [3] a larger number of areas (279 in the UMass Study vs. 160 municipalities in the Gettman Study). Additionally, the UMass study improved metrics for poverty (socioeconomic) and demographic characteristics (e.g., Black and/or Latino).

While both studies document the reality that the “War on Drugs” disproportionately harms people of color, the Gettman Study characterized its methods as “race neutral” for analytic purposes, while the UMass Study includes race and ethnicity in its methodology and statistical model:

UMass Formula: $(0.5) \times \text{average annual number of drug arrests} + \text{average annual rate of drug arrests per 100,000 population} + (0.5) \times \text{percent of people living in poverty} + (0.5) \times \text{percent of residents who are Black and/or Latino}$

Racial Disparities in Cannabis-Related Criminal Justice Offenses:

The Commission’s research report, entitled: [*A Baseline Review and Assessment of Cannabis Use and Public Safety: 94C Violations and Social Equity*](#), was used as both “baseline” data and “state of science” (i.e., literature reviews) to inform and revise the “baseline” disproportionate impact study with a greater focus on criminal justice system racial disparities across the Commonwealth.

Pertinent to the discussion, in this report, the Research Department:

- Assessed incidents of varying M.G.L. c. 94C Cannabis and Class D substance violations in Massachusetts using the available data able to be procured at this time, including: National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS) 2000- 2017 (aggregate), NIBRS 2000-2013 (stratified), Massachusetts State Police (MSP) 2000-2018, MSP CrimeSOLV 2017, and Boston Police Department (BPD) data (2000-2018); and
- Conducted a series of literature reviews on impact of cannabis violations, including: (1) Cannabis Prohibition and Disproportionate Impact; (2) Employment and Drug Law Violations (i.e., *effects of cannabis and other-drug law violations on employment and potentially compounding variables*); (3) Social Equity (i.e., *ethnic disparities and mechanisms that drive disparities for cannabis-related violations*).

Please see [full report](#) for further detail on these analyses, which include varying assessments of violations by: (1) Race/Ethnicity; (2) Gender; (3) Residency, and (4) Disproportionately impacted areas as outlined by the Gettman Study; and literature reviews.

I.5. Question:

Please explain the environment in which the RFQ was created. Who was consulted and how were the specifications created? Why?

I.5. Answer:

Commissioners Flanagan and Title identified the need for a revised disproportionate impact study. As a result, the Executive Director requested that Julie K. Johnson, Director of Research (DoR), work to create a procurement for the study. Julie worked with Adriana Leon, Chief Financial Officer (CFO), Pauline Nguyen, Deputy General Counsel (DGC), Alisa Stack, Chief Operating Officer (COO), and Samantha Doonan, Research Analyst (RA), to draft and revise a

proposal. This original RFQ was posted on December 8, 2019. The RFQ received one response from the Public Consulting Group (PCG).

Commission staff had concern regarding this response because the vendor did not have experience using the National Incident-Based Reporting System and had a public health lens but lacked expertise regarding public safety, social equity, and criminal justice. Because the proposal did not meet the standards the Commission sought in the December 2019 RFQ, the Commission reissued an RFQ, requiring access to and experience with National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS), the FBI's Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) program historically compiled the Summary Reporting System dataset ("UCR SRS") to obtain the most comprehensive data.

In drafting this RFQ, the team additionally drew upon an [equity-centered assessment of Positive Impact Plans \(PIP\)](#) led by Rappaport Fellow, Jessica Hamilton, (e.g., notes from drafting the RFQ indicate that the item: "Understanding of demographic changes and forced migration patterns of populations (*e.g. gentrification, movement based on the availability of work in a community, movement based on public policy, etc.*)" came directly from the PIP Report Consideration B.5.

The re-issued RFQ was posted on 2/7/2020. As a result of the second RFQ, on March 16, 2020, the Commission received two responses. The CFAO, Former Director of Community Outreach and Equity Programming, Project Coordinator, Enforcement and Investigations, and Director of Research reviewed these proposals.

I.6. Question:

How many educational institutions bid on the RFQ? Who were they and how was each evaluated? Explain what sort of equity lens was utilized and by whom.

I.6. Answer:

One. Abt Associates and the University of Massachusetts (Donahue Institute) submitted proposals. (Attached)

I.7. Question:

Considering data limitations previously known to the Commission and referenced both in the RFQ and DIA report (i.e., no information for Lawrence or Boston, information only being available from 2000 and beyond, no conviction data, and an inability to distinguish between marijuana offenses and all other drug offenses), why rely on NIBRS at the onset and for the duration of the project?

I.7. Answer:

Neither UMass nor the Commission knew that data for Lawrence was unavailable at the start of the study. By contrast, the Commission knew that Boston data were missing, and the RFQ required that Boston Police Data be procured by the vendor (UMass).

There are two large, comprehensive public safety datasets that could have been used to complete this study, including the Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) and/or National Incident Based Security System (NIBRS). The Commission relied on NIBRS because it is the most comprehensive dataset in Massachusetts and nationally to assess cannabis (“marijuana”)-related criminal justice incidents in comparison to UCR, which was used in the original Gettman Study.

Regarding data availability, certain data were available prior to 2000, including Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) data, which were obtained for the study but lack direct comparability to data collected via NIBRS and BPD (*e.g., hierarchical reporting vs. incident-based*).

Advantages to prioritizing comparability and completeness include: ability for results could be replicable across time (as UCR data is currently being phased out by; and greater accuracy in comparison between communities).

Regarding conviction data, we agree that inclusion of conviction data would greatly strengthen research on disproportionately impacted areas. However, it will require an additional study and contract, meriting funding, topic and data source expertise, as well as data procurement and other things.

Regarding cannabis versus other drug convictions, the data contains information on whether charges were for cannabis vs. other drugs, and this data will be provided to the Commission. For purposes of data validity (*e.g., cannabis is often under-reported, and most drug offenses include several substances*) and study comprehensiveness, the decision to combine all drugs together in our analytic model was made in conjunction with the Commission’s Research Department.

II. Report/Study Questions

Introduction - What is “community” and what do the rankings telling us?

In reviewing the questions from the Commission, there were a couple of important themes that came up consistently—in particular the concept of impacted communities and the interpretation of the municipal rankings.

First, we consider how to conceptualize community. There are, of course, different ways to interpret what is “community”. Early in this project, we consulted with Commission staff to understand if we should be thinking about “community” in geographic terms (e.g. municipalities, neighborhoods, etc.) or in demographic terms (e.g. the Black community). The Request for Quotes (RFQ) was clear in its conceptualization of community as geographic, especially because this work was to serve as an update to the 2018 Gettman study. That said, public policy makers often talk about disproportionate impacts in demographic terms. The Commission was clear in its guidance to focus on the current work on geographic community, as there were other policies within the Commission that dealt with demographic communities/groups. We understood this research study as seeking to inform an effort to update elements of social equity policy that focused on geographic groups. We also recognize that geographic groups and demographic groups overlap substantially, with many geographic neighborhoods having a larger number of specific population groups.

The research team recognizes the important racial and socioeconomic dimension of disproportionate enforcement of drug control policies. While racial segregation in Massachusetts certainly allows for geographic analyses to partially address concerns of racial inequity (i.e., the concentration of communities of color in the larger cities of Massachusetts), the research team specifically chose to include a racial/ethnic dimension in the calculation of the disproportionate impact score. That said, in the original RFQ the draft report deliverable specified that the vendor provide a “list of the impact of the ‘War on Drugs’ for every Massachusetts community.” Being that Massachusetts is over 70 percent white and that the non-white population is concentrated in Boston and the 26 Gateway Cities, any ranking of all municipalities will include several communities with small concentrations of Black and Latinx populations. This is an important point to consider when using geography as the primary unit of analysis in understanding “community.”

Relatedly, there are several questions in the document regarding the municipal rankings. It seems the organization of scores into tiers led readers to interpret the tiers as a conclusion that the Tier 1 and 2 areas were equally disproportionately impacted by drug enforcement policies or the “new list” of DIA communities for policy purposes. That is not the case. It is important to be clear that the Commission, and not the UMass Team, has regulatory authority. With that, it seemed inappropriate for the researchers to determine a list of disproportionately impacted areas (DIAs) for policy purposes. The UMass Research Team does not have knowledge of the resources available to the Commission for mitigating disproportionate impacts nor are we privy to other policy considerations that could potentially inform determinations about which municipalities end up on the DIA list. We see the DI score developed in this study as a tool for helping the Commission determine which areas should end up on a such a list, but it was not

intended to be the sole factor. In fact, there may be factors outside of our model that the Commission may want to consider for including or excluding a community from the DIA list. As a result, the research team specifically focused on developing a consistent and easily understood calculation for understanding disproportionate impact of drug enforcement that covered as many communities as possible, given availability of appropriate, comparable data in the Commonwealth. The Report provides additional context for interpreting results and data limitations, such as using both demographic and geographic criteria for making policy and targeting benefits to certain categories of individuals and/or communities.

It is a fair critique to ask about alternative metrics for reporting the extent of “disproportionate” impact rather than using percentiles for splitting tiers. We address this in some of the answers below. To summarize, it is possible with the analytic dataset compiled for this study to use measures of central tendency and dispersion to further group communities based on the relative magnitude of disproportionate impact scores. That said, communities with the highest scores in the current calculation can be thought of as “most impacted.” The UMass Team encourages the Commission to leverage this knowledge and consider different levels of policy intervention knowing the relative differences in impact implied by the disproportionate impact score.

II.1. Question:

Dr. Melnik pointed out that all of Massachusetts “Gateway Cities” are included in the list of Tier 1 communities except Lawrence. Can you estimate that Lawrence would have been in that Tier 1 list if the city had been measured upon the review criteria of “[...]percent of people living in poverty (“economic deprivation”); [...] the percent of residents who report Black and/or Latino race/ethnicity (“racial and ethnic composition”),” and some median/average of the other two criteria?

II.1. Answer:

In 2017, Lawrence had an 11 percent unemployment rate and 24 percent of residents under the poverty line, with over 80 percent of the population of Latino ethnicity. While, we are hesitant to create an additional numeric estimation without drug arrest data for Lawrence, based on the demographics and economics of Lawrence, it is highly likely the city would rank high on the DI score if all data were available.

The research team could obtain data for Lawrence, or use statistical approaches to estimate or impute data for Lawrence by drawing upon information for similar cities, if the Commission wishes to have additional analyses conducted to determine exactly where Lawrence falls in a ranking. Such an analysis was out of scope for the prior study.

Given the socioeconomic characteristics of Lawrence, we know that it has very similar characteristics to a place like a Holyoke, like a New Bedford, like a Brockton. But for us it was important to highlight here is the degree to which we have consistency with the “Gateway Cities.”

II.2. Question:

Was there use of media or publication review to consider any sources that reported on the proliferation of drug arrests, incarcerations, etc. that could have indicated the prevalence of drug crimes in the time period before consistent crime reporting was being implemented? Is there any value to the UCR data from the 1990s?

II.2. Answer:

Study team members read several manuscripts, reports, and books pertaining to drug crimes, including those that addressed the 1980s and 1990s. However, the nature of the research design is that we sought to create a numeric index score at the municipal and/or Census tract level, and there was a need for data that would be consistently collected across places and time. We considered possible data sources, but were not aware of any additional media or publications that offered such detailed data with the necessary address-level information available.

Regarding the UCR data, this issue was raised to Commissioners in a memo submitted in December 2020. This memo noted that it is possible to incorporate data from the Uniform Crime Reporting system (UCR) going back to 1990, but UCR data can only be utilized for city-town level analysis and information on Latino ethnicity is not included. This sets up a choice between starting the analyses in 2000 and having “better” data in more recent years that is equivalent across places (*i.e., available for both cities/towns and Census tracts within cities*) or starting analysis in 1990 for cities/towns reporting to UCR only.

Based on Commissioner feedback for the study team to use its best judgment, we opted to use only NIBRS data, which is more comprehensive across municipalities and time, but agree that this represents a limitation. [Please also see answer to the question: *Considering data limitations previously known to the Commission and referenced both in the RFQ and DIA report...why rely on NIBRS at the onset and for the duration of the project?*]

II.3. Question:

Tier 1 includes the 28 cities and towns and Tier 2 includes the next 28 municipalities, which fell into the top 11-20 percent of DI scores. How did you decide where the cutoff was between Tiers?

II.3. Answer:

After research team discussions, we decided to divide the final sample of municipalities (n=279), into percentiles based on their DI scores. Tier 1 represents the top 10 percent of DI scores. Tier 2 contains the municipalities that fall in the 11-20th percentile of DI scores. Each tier after that contains approximately 56 areas that represent 20 percent of ranked municipalities (e.g., Tier 6 is the bottom 20 percent of DI scores).

The tiers could have been classified differently, but our use of percentiles is a familiar format for rankings. Importantly, scores for all geographic areas are included in the report, so the Commission could opt to establish a different set of cut points. The tiers are an interpretation

ranking of the final scores and has no bearing on the actual ranking or score. The tiers organize the ranking into more vs. less impacted places.

The research report provides all DI scores for all municipalities and Census tracts as a source of information for guidance.

II.4. Question:

The report discusses the longtime challenges to employment for those who were arrested and/or incarcerated. Dr. Gettman looked at unemployment rates as well as poverty for these areas and you used only a measurement of poverty. Do you feel the poverty measurement in the report can alone adequately reflect the challenges to employment?

II.4. Answer:

Negative consequences of the war on drugs are diffuse, from challenges in housing to employment to disruption of social cohesion of neighborhoods. For this analysis, we considered multiple additional measures of economic and employment challenges. For example, in Deliverable 1, the UMass Team documented other indicators under consideration:

“We will consider several other measures available in U.S. Census and ACS data for inclusion in our models and make determinations based on their correlation with arrests and with poverty. It will be important not to include indicators that are too tightly correlated. The indicators we will consider include:

a. Unemployment rate.

b. Labor force participation rate (LFPR). The construct of LFPR combines availability of jobs and availability of adults under 65 who are available to work. Communities with no childcare and many single mothers, or many people whose disabilities or criminal justice history prevent them from working also show lower LFP percent.

i. Limitations: Areas with a lot of "discouraged" workers will have a lower LFPR. We may find this is too tightly correlated with poverty and the unemployment rate to retain in our analysis.

c. High school completion. We would define this measure as the percent of residents who have completed high school (HS).

i. Limitations: HS completion is highly correlated with age in MA, and this has a different standard over time—in the 1970s it was far more common not to complete high school. Thus, older communities have lower HS completion rates. Not completing HS also may partially auto-correlate with poverty alone. We will explore whether we should include GED attainment in the measure of HS completion” (Deliverable 1).

Ultimately, the team constructed an index score that could be used by policymakers without too many duplicative measures. The high correlation between unemployment and poverty, in general, led the researchers team to fear that we may ultimately be measuring (and adding) the same concept in to the model twice, which could result in misestimated rankings. Poverty is a more comprehensive measure of economic deprivation, as it captures the reality that there are working poor who are not unemployed, but who may be in poverty.

II.5. Question:

Do you happen to know how many communities in the Tier I list were contributing to NIBRS in 2000?

II.5. Answer:

In 2000, 50 percent (14 out of 28) of Tier 1 municipalities were contributing to NIBRS (see below). Most of the five largest cities started reporting before 2000. Cambridge and Lowell started contributing in 2007, but are not shown in the Table because they were analyzed separately at the Census tract level).

Table. Starting Date for Contributing Data to NIBRS, Among Massachusetts Municipalities

<i>Jan. 1995 through May 2000</i>		<i>Jun. 2000 through Dec. 2003</i>		<i>Jan. 2004 through Sept. 2012</i>	
North Adams, Southbridge, Webster, Chelsea, Leominster	1/1/95	Randolph	7/1/00	Attleboro, New	1/1/04
		Holyoke	8/1/00	Bedford, Taunton	
Gardner, Chicopee	1/1/96	Barnstable	10/1/00	Fall River, Malden	6/1/04
Greenfield	1/1/98	Revere	5/1/01	Haverhill	7/1/04
Falmouth	1/1/99	Northampton	2/1/02	Pittsfield	1/1/05
West Springfield	1/1/00	Brockton	9/1/02	Lynn	1/1/07
Everett	5/1/00	Fitchburg	1/1/03	Salem	9/1/12
		Quincy	4/1/03		

II.6. Question:

In looking at the timeframes you created starting with 2000, was there any noticeable drop off in drug arrests in Massachusetts from before 2009 to after 2009 with decriminalization? I am interested in understanding the impact of cannabis arrests as best we can and where there might be a change in the nature of the arrests because of the rise in opioid arrests and other drug use.

II.6. Answer:

Previous [research](#) from the Commission shows a distinct drop in the absolute number of cannabis incidents and arrests following decriminalization.

Because a determination was made between the Commission's DoR and the UMass team to use all drug arrests in the creation of the DI Score (see I.7 Question and Answer), this question of the change in nature of arrests related to opioids vs. other drugs vs. cannabis would warrant additional analyses.

II.7. Question:

UMass explained that the project was rushed due to time sensitivity. What would UMass have advocated for in terms of methodology, data access, and timeline in an ideal project of this scope?

II.7. Answer:

This project was time sensitive, but not rushed. It was conducted on an aggressive timeline for research. If additional time and resources were available, say two to three years, there are several things the UMass team might seek to do. This includes taking a “mixed methods” approach, that would allow input on the definition of disproportionate impacts from stakeholders, officials from other states with adult-use cannabis, and community members negatively impacted by the war on drugs. Knowing, through interviews perhaps, about how the Commissioners understand disproportionate impact could have helped set a stage for analytic choices. Another direction could have been more up-front input and discussion of the policy interventions that the Commissioners would contemplate for addressing disproportionate impacts. For example, additional discussion about the focus on geographic vs. demographic groups. These discussions might not have changed anything about the DI score itself, but perhaps the approach to presenting cut points or tiers. Sensitivity analyses, in which we statistically test the impact of certain analytic choices on the final ranked list or “tiered” groups would have been also conducted. These additional analyses could be about the impact of using all drugs vs. only cannabis in the models, or the inclusion of sentencing and/or incarceration data. We also would have liked to undertake assessment of the relative differences of DI scores across locations (see Question II.11 below) for alternative groupings in addition to (or instead of) percentile-based tiers. Additional sensitivity analyses would have been made assessing potential imputed data for Lowell. If data imputation could be conducted with available valid and reliable data, this type of analyses permits estimated values for missing data based on other available data (e.g., local law enforcement data from Lawrence).

II.8. Question:

Our regulatory definition of DIA is “a geographic area identified by the Commission for the purposes identified in M.G.L. c. 94G, 4(a½)(iv), 935 CMR 500.040 and 500.101, and which has had historically high rates of arrest, conviction, and incarceration related to Marijuana crimes.” Appreciating the data limitations discussed throughout the Report, would the project have produced a substantively different DIA list if we assessed data that more closely correlates to our definition of DIA, primarily the inclusion of:

- Conviction data;
- Incarceration data; and
- Focusing on Marijuana crimes?

II.8. Answer:

Using this data was not within the scope of this Statement of Work (SOW). This study, as specified in the RFQ, required incorporation of arrest data but did *not* require conviction and/or

incarceration data. It also required production of a ranking of all areas in the Commonwealth (recognizing that “all” must be defined as “all areas with available data”). The study focused on the assessment of “incident-level” arrest data first, as this is considered an update to the Gettman “baseline” study and prioritized our ability to be as comprehensive as possible across the entire Commonwealth. To examine these and other data, the Commission would need to seek a contract for a follow-on study.

II.9. Question:

At our public meeting on 3/11/2021, a researcher from UMass rejected ZIP codes as a Census tract alternative because of the artificial borders created by ZIP codes, but Census tracts have more acute challenges. Can you explain the challenges of a ZIP code approach appreciating Census tracts seem more problematic?

II.9. Answer:

It is not accurate to suggest there are more acute challenges to Census tract versus ZIP codes, nor that Census tracts are more problematic. Census tracts were used as a proxy for sub-municipal analyses and specifically were intended to reflect “neighborhood level” issues in disproportionate impact. When assessing disproportionate impacts, any boundary runs the risk of having “at need” populations being on the other side of the line. This challenge would exist regardless of what geographic unit we used. The most significant issue with Census tract for this analysis is the fact that they are not readily understood by the general population, whereas ZIP codes are. That said, area covered by Census tracts are much smaller than ZIP codes (particularly in the neighborhoods), giving researchers increased flexibility in analyzing small areas. A Census tract approach could allow a more precise targeting of benefits. Population-level characteristics are more homogenous with Census tracts than within ZIP codes. ZIP codes were developed by the US Postal Service for ease of delivering mail, whereas the development (and ongoing refinement) of Census tracts was based on the need to characterize neighborhoods for health and government planning purposes.

We add here Dr. Melnik’s comments from the meeting which we believe to be what the question is referencing: “It’s a natural concern anytime you draw lines around where a benefit may be versus the other side of a line, and so unfortunately any line you draw would have that risk, whether it was a Census tract, a neighborhood, or there’s a smaller geography available, called a Census block. But in all these scenarios you run the risk that you could be on one side of the line, and now you have the benefit on the other side of the line. One of the problems, of course, is that neighborhoods become tricky. They are socially-constructed in a lot of ways. Before I was at the Donahue Institute, I worked at the Boston Redevelopment Authority and I asked residents of Boston what neighborhoods they lived in and where the boundaries of the different neighborhoods are, and there isn’t a universal agreement on those kinds of things. Neighborhoods run the risk of being too big as well. The Census tract provides us, from a methodological perspective, a certain level of ease of being able to pull this data in a consistent way and analyze them in a consistent way.”

II.10. Question:

Aside from ZIP codes, are there other data, tools, or methodology that can be leveraged to capture the effects of the “war on drugs” more effectively on entire neighborhood sections?

II.10. Answer:

There is the potential that qualitative and/or survey methodologies could be used in conjunction with the secondary data approach taken to understand the impact of the “war on drugs” on people and neighborhoods in a different way.

II.11. Question:

What would be the effective difference in the number of communities that are included in the DIA list if the research team identified the communities that were *disproportionately* impacted vs. the current approach of *ranking the top 20% of impact*?

II.11. Answer:

First, the report does not create a DIA list. The report creates ranking that the Commissioners could use to make a DIA list. On a conceptual level, the idea of *disproportionate* impact was baked into the DI score that was generated for each area because the scores were conceptualized to reflect the idea that the impacts of the “War on Drugs” would be most burdensome in the places where high levels of arrests were combined with a high proportion of Black/Latino residents and high poverty. From that perspective, the places that ranked highest (e.g. top 10% in particular) experienced disproportionately negative impacts from the “War on Drugs.”

The tiers in this report were presented as simple percentiles. This was, in part, done because it is simple and straightforward to interpret, and decisions about where to draw cut points for policy purposes is a policy maker decision.

An alternative approach to defining tiers would be to use measures of central tendency or ratios, for example, defining disproportionately impacted areas as those that scored more than a certain number of standard deviations above the mean, or examine the median and interquartile range to identify outlier areas that were most strongly impacted. Additional analyses would be necessary to examine and test the effect that using different cut points on the number of communities within a grouping designated as the “most disproportionately impacted.” This would certainly be possible with the existing data, but would require a follow-on contract.

II.12. Question:

The report made a ranking order of the impact of the “War on Drugs” in Massachusetts with impact scores ranging between 69.57 - 99.52. What would UMass recommend to further clarify the comparative impact for municipalities that scored in the 90s vs. municipalities that scored in the 60s, to help assess if all these communities have truly been *disproportionately* impacted?

II.12. Answer:

The report did not just make a ranking of places with the impact scores in the range of 69.57-99.52 (Tier 1 and Tier 2). The research team's understanding of the task was that a rank should be provided for places "across Massachusetts" with available, readily comparable arrest data in NIBRS and the BPD datasets. Thus, a comprehensive ranking was provided that includes 279 municipalities and 305 Census tracts. There is an important distinction between the goal of providing a ranking of as many places in Massachusetts as possible vs. identifying a list only of the most disproportionately impacted places. The report provides both a ranking of as many places as possible and a framework (simple percentile cut points) for considering which places landed at the top of the ranking vs. the middle or bottom.

II.13. Question:

Appreciating the data limitation for the City of Lawrence, what could have been done to collect proxy data and adjust the study under the time limitations?

- Could community partnerships (other local research institutions) have assisted with this process?
- How do we prevent this in the future?
- How do we now rectify and collect proxy data to analyze and determine if Lawrence has been disproportionately impacted?

II.13. Answer:

Future research could start with approaching officials in Lawrence to plan to procure data directly from the local authorities. Lawrence is not on the DI list generated from the Gettman study, presumably because of the lack of arrest data.

To our knowledge, there is not a good "proxy" database, but there is the possibility that the Commission can choose to put Lawrence on its updated DIA list because of the socioeconomic and race data (consistent with other Gateway Cities).

II.14. Question:

Help me understand how we explain to the greater community including: Beverly, Salisbury, Yarmouth Port and Dennis (to name a few) as areas disproportionately affected by the War on Drugs as per our RFQ, specifically considering arrest vs. conviction and even sentencing rates?

II.14. Answer:

This is a research report that assesses the disproportionate impact score of all (available) municipality and Census tracts in the Commonwealth based on four measures: average annual number of drug arrests, average annual rate of drug arrests per 100,000 population, percent of people living in poverty, and the percent of residents who report Black and/or Latino race/ethnicity.

All areas (municipalities and Census tracts) were treated the same and analyzed in comparison to one another. This research report can be used as a baseline for future research studies and a resource for regulators.

The report itself does not state that any particular location, including the towns listed above, is or is not “disproportionately affected by the War on Drugs.” The RFQ requested that all municipalities with available data in Massachusetts be ranked. It is more correct to consider that those towns listed above scored higher than some other MA municipalities in terms of the DI Score (but also lower than the Tier 1 towns). The score itself is relative to other places.

[See Report, Appendices: Table VII- 7. Disproportionate Impact Score and score components in Massachusetts by Municipality, 2000-2017, for all DI scores and components by municipality and Table VII- 8. Disproportionate Impact Score and score components in Massachusetts for Census Tracts, Marge Massachusetts Cities, 2000-2017, for all DI scores and components by Cencus Tracts]

II.15. Question:

In assessing the numbers of Black and Latinx residents by race/ethnicity, how was the category “other” approached?

II.15. Answer:

For the purposes of calculating arrest rates, rcial categories were standardized. We did not use “other” as a racial/ethnic category from our measures of population demographics for geographic areas used in this report. The Census/ACS asks persons to report race separately from Hispanic/non-Hispanic ethnicity. Therefore, the number of Black and/or Hispanic residents was determined by calculating the number who report the racial category “Black or African American” and/or “Hispanic” ethnicity. While Census/ACS data had an “other” racial category, local arrest data did not. Arrest data typically used an “unknown” category.

II.16. Question:

Appreciating the data limitations, would there be a significant difference in today’s DI ranking if the data analysis included the 1980’s through 1990’s, when crack cocaine enforcement was rampant in the communities of color?

II.16. Answer:

Based on the data analysis that was performed, we cannot identify how the analysis would have changed with the inclusion of this data. It is noteworthy, however, that a number of Gateway Cities rank at the top of the DI scores in the report. These are all cities that have faced economic and public policy challenges for decades. It is highly likely that Gateway Cities would still rank high on the list if data from the 1980s and 1990s were included in the analysis.

II.17. Question:

Building upon this study as a resource to the Commission and not a policy document, what is your recommendation to policy makers on how to measure Equity vs. Equality using the reports methodology?

II.17. Answer:

It is important to look at equity vs. equality as a comparison between sameness vs. fairness. Equality creates “sameness” across the board, but not “fairness” across the board. Equity creates fairness. This study is intended to inform regulatory efforts to create further equity, allowing for advantages to be given to those that have been previously (and continually) disproportionately harmed by the war on drugs and various legalities involving cannabis.

II.18. Question:

Help me as a policy maker to understand or provide guidance on:

- How does the addition of these towns mentioned above, and others provide more equity for those people of color who were disproportionately arrested, convicted, and sentenced due to the war on drugs causing generational disparities?
- How do we determine if we are hurting or helping the people in the current areas of DIA list?

II.18. Answer:

The Commission was clear that the scope of this project was to generate a list of geographic areas that were disproportionately impacted. This approach has inherent limitation, as not every person in a geographic area will have been equally impacted. However, we suggest as a policy consideration, that the Commission:

Consider a graduated scheme that uses different strategies to attempt to address the impacts of drug policy enforcement on areas in different tiers (or other groupings of areas). Such an approach would reflect the reality that in Tier 1 of the DI score, most residents may have experienced negative impacts from drug policy enforcement. In contrast, lower tiers are likely to be a subset of people who have such experiences. Eligibility for priority license status and other benefits could be based on a combination of requirements such as residence in a Tier 2 DIA and membership in an additional priority group (e.g., personal or family history of drug arrest or incarceration; Black race and/or Latino ethnicity)” (pg. 27-28).

Regular evaluation of policy benefits would help the Commission know if adjustments to public policy are needed and this is an evaluation that should go on regularly.

II.19. Question:

According to page 10, this study sought to expand on the Gettman analysis. What specific gaps were identified and how were they rectified? Explain the rationale behind continuing to analyze the 5 largest cities separately at the Census tract level?

II.19. Answer:

The five largest cities were subdivided as required in the RFQ, “Communities with a population of more than 100,000 people will be subdivided by Census tract numbers according to U.S. Census data.” The rationale for subdivision was not all geographic areas within the largest cities were impacted to the same extent. While any geographic boundaries will have inherent limitations, using Census tracts allowed for data comparability with socioeconomic data as captured in the U.S. Census and comparability with geographic data in the NIBRS and BPD data sets.

Comparisons between Gettman Study and UMass Study

Sample Size

The main Gettman study (2017) included 160 Massachusetts cities and towns for all drug arrests. Of this sample, 148 cities and towns were analyzed for cannabis-specific charges as well.

The UMass study (2021) included 279 Massachusetts cities and towns for all drug arrests. In both studies, missing municipalities offer a major limitation.

Both studies do not include Lawrence, Massachusetts. The UMass study’s larger sample size is a strength which resulted in a more geographically comprehensive study and allowed for greater comparison between municipalities. Nonetheless, missing cities are a limitation in both studies.

Time Period

The main Gettman study (2017) examined drug offenses in a five-year time period, 2006-2010 for all municipalities except Boston and Worcester. Boston data had a two-year time period, 2015-2017. In the companion study (2018), Worcester data was included which spanned 2000-2016.

The UMass study (2021) examined drug offense in an 18-year period, 2000-2017. The time variable was further broken down into smaller time frames to account for variation over time and reduce the influence of outliers (2000-2004, 2005-2009, 2010-2014, 2015-2017).

Both studies are limited because they do not account for the beginning of “war on drug” harms (e.g. 1970s onward). This time period is challenging to capture because limited data sources exist and those that do, have very limited participation across cities and towns. The larger time frame used by UMass is an advantage as trends across time can be monitored but may over-account for the impacts of the opioid crisis rather than the war on drugs, which has predominately impacted white people.

Data Source

For cities and towns (except Boston), Dr. Gettman (2017) used the Uniform Crime Reporting Database. This data is subject to a number of limitations. It is a hierarchical “summary-based” reporting system, which means only the most serious crime is reported when multiple crimes occur. For example, in a case with operating under the influence of drugs and manslaughter, only manslaughter would be recorded. Therefore, it is not representative of all drug incidents.

The UMass Team used the National Incident-Based Report System (NIBRS). NIBRS is a more specific database and contains individual level data for each crime, regardless of severity level. The strength in this, is that the data is more comprehensive of all drug offenses.

Both studies are limited because not all of Massachusetts agencies submit data (e.g. Lawrence). Thus, findings are not representative of the entire state. In the Research Department’s opinion, the dataset NIBRS, used by UMass, has greater strengths for purposes of this study. NIBRS contains a more complete picture of all drugs arrests, contains richer individual level data than Uniform Crime Reporting, and is a stronger source to use for all future analysis, as Uniform Crime Reporting will be phased out soon.

Census Tracts

The Gettman study (2017) uses precinct level data to examine drug offenses in Boston but does examine other cities and towns at a more granular level. In the companion study (2018), Census-level data is used to examine Boston and Worcester.

The UMass team (2021) uses Census level data for cities and towns with populations greater than 100,000. This includes Boston, Worcester, Springfield, Lowell, and Cambridge.

Both studies are limited in using Census or precinct level data because these geographic areas may not reflect meaningful neighborhood boundaries. However, the advantage of using Census tract level data is that it allows researchers to link arrest data to other social measures, including poverty rate, proportion of population that is Black or Latino, unemployment, and other measures. Census tracts are also fairly granular and, therefore, flexible for looking at differences in small geographic areas.

Analysis

In the 2018 report, Gettman created an index ranking score based on six factors:

- i. arrest rate for drug sales;
- ii. arrest rate for drug possession;
- iii. total number of drug arrests;
- iv. population size;
- v. percent of families below poverty line; and
- vi. employment rates.

These data were weighted with two-thirds weight given to arrest data and one-third weight given to economic conditions, however a specific formula is not provided in this report. In the 2021 report, the UMass team created an index ranking score based on four factors:

- i. average annual number of drug arrests;
- ii. average annual rate of drug arrests per 100,000 population;
- iii. percent of people living in poverty; and
- iv. the percent of residents who report Black and/or Latino race/ethnicity.

UMass Formula: $(0.5) \times \text{average annual number of drug arrests} + \text{average annual rate of drug arrests per 100,000 population} + (0.5) \times \text{percent of people living in poverty} + (0.5) \times \text{percent of residents who are Black and/or Latino}$

There are strengths and limitations to both methodologies. Direct comparison is challenging because the studies used different data sources. An important difference is while both studies document the reality that the War on Drugs disproportionately harms people of color, the Gettman (2018) study characterized its methods as “race neutral” for analytic purposes, while the UMass (2021) study includes race and ethnicity in its methodology. There is also a greater level of transparency regarding analytic methodologies in the UMass report text as compared to the Gettman study.

Study timeline and team

Due to differences in contract requirements and funding, the Gettman study was conducted within an approximate three-week period (according to the original contract memo) with one analyst. The UMass study spanned more than six months and included a nine-person team of experts.

II.20. Question:

Page 4 of the report provides that “the purpose of this project was to: develop a method to empirically assess the extent to which Massachusetts communities have been impacted historically by cannabis prohibition and the “War on Drugs;” With that in mind, why were considerable efforts made to incorporate areas that do not have consistently high levels of arrests, poverty, and Black and/or Latino residents? (see page 5.)

II.20. Answer:

The RFQ specified that a ranking be provided for Massachusetts cities and towns (and Census tracts in the five largest cities). The first step for the research team was to obtain existing datasets that would allow inclusion of as many locations as possible with comparable data across locations. The second step was to determine which places were high or low with regard to arrests, poverty, and proportion of Black and/or Latino residents.

It is a misunderstanding of the research method to suggest that “considerable efforts” were made to incorporate areas that do not have consistently high levels of arrests, poverty, and Black and/or Latino residents. All areas were treated the same way in the research process. The

inclusion of so many municipalities (n=279) means that some places have high levels of arrests, poverty, and percent of residents who are Black and/or Latino and some places were low on these measures.

II.21. Question:

When we think about the criminal justice system, there are a number of different stages (entry, arrest, pre-trial, etc.). What we know is that the further into the system, the more acute the disparities are. Why was the focus on arrests and not convictions as the data point? Additionally, what was the decision to use ‘arrests’ as two factors within the DI score?

II.21. Answer:

This report is considered a “baseline” study. The report recommends that incarceration information be added to any future report/analysis of this subject.

Regarding arrests, by using the rate of arrest per population, we were able to capture what share of that town/area/Census tract to address what percent of residents were arrested across time. The rate of arrests take double weight, compared to each of the other factors. A community that is heavily policed will experience a higher rate and higher overall number of arrests relative to other places, so we thought it useful to include both the ranking based on count of arrests and the rate of arrests. Further, arrests are the entry point towards those other criminal justice system encounters mentioned above (conviction, incarceration).

II.22. Question:

Did your team consider alternative approaches for the larger cities, like studying drug enforcement data by ZIP codes, instead of Census tracts?

II.22. Answer:

One of the key things that drove this decision to stay with Census tracts was that measures were needed for all of the relevant indicators (poverty, arrests, etc.). The team acknowledges that some individuals live directly outside of the Census tract line drawn and this is an inherent data limitation, but one that would exist using geographic data.

The Commission’s RFQ required, “Communities with a population of more than 100,000 people will be subdivided by Census tract numbers according to U.S. Census data.”

As noted in other answers, ZIP codes perhaps provide for basic understanding of geography, but introduce limitations as well. There are typically far more Census tracts than ZIP codes in a city, which gives researchers the opportunity to analyze small areas in a municipality.

II.23. Question:

Did the UMass team do anything to reach out to Lawrence and get that data? There was an extra outreach to Boston but not Lawrence.

II.23. Answer:

The lack of Boston data was known before the start of the study, as outlined in the study SOW. lack of Lawrence data in the NIBRS dataset was discovered during analysis. The development of methods was done while we were waiting for the data to come through procurement processes. As the UMass team prepared the draft report that was circulated, we discovered this data was missing. We considered whether UCR data could be used for Lawrence as a substitute, but discovered that this town also did not have data available in the UCR files held by the study team. This is presumably why it is not included in the Gettman study, either. We examined and knew that this community has similar characteristics to communities that were falling into the Tier 1 category and were concerned that there was no data from Lawrence, primarily for this reason. It was known at the onset of the project that Boston's data would have to be discovered in a different manner than from the NIBRS dataset, but it was not known that data for Lawrence would be missing.

II.24. Question:

What was the timespan for data collection?

II.24. Answer:

The proposal was submitted in March 2020. The Commission awarded UMass the contract with a completion date in Fall 2020 (pre-COVID). After being notified of the award, the UMass team developed arrest data requests and worked with the Commission to submit them right away to state and local agencies. Due to COVID and data procurement issues, however, the data was received too close to the initial Fall deadline and an extension was needed. The arrest data was attached to a person and their personal information (Personal Identifying Information or "PII"). As a result, this data had to be stripped of identifying characteristics, which is a time-consuming process. It took months to obtain the data, including some back-and-forth with the agencies, resulting in final data available to us in October. The finalization of the report was in mid-February. Several aspects of this study required data "processing" after raw data were received and before analysis could take place, such as the process of mapping the address of each arrest to a particular Census tract (for the five largest cities).

II.25. Question:

When it was discovered how long it would take to receive the data, why was there not outreach to the state level to receive this data?

II.25. Answer:

As a baseline study, the purpose is to make it as comprehensive as possible. In the RFQ, it was stated that ability to access and expertise in NIBRS, Boston Police Department, and American Community Survey Census Data was required. Additional knowledge of and access to other datasets, including, Massachusetts Executive Office of the Trial Court (EOTC) Trial Court Case Management Database and Massachusetts Department of Correction (DOC) Data, were *secondary* and *optional*. Due to the time constraints of this study, it was not feasible to access these additional data sources.

NIBRS includes 85% of municipalities, and it was stated in the RFQ that Boston data would need to be separately included.

II.26. Question:

How was the “War on Drugs” defined in the beginning - from the Commission to the UMass team?

II.26. Answer:

Contemporary scholars trace the linkage of cannabis specific racial discrimination and systematic racism to *at least* the 1920s. The “War on Drugs” began in the 1970s with the Nixon administration and then curtailed into the Reagan era with the “Law and Order” policies. The nuances of the criminal justice system cannot be empirically assessed with data and disentangle all of these really complex phenomenon: poverty, housing crisis, recessions, etc. The 1970s was when it began systematically in our racial justice system and its impacts persist to the present day.

In the RFQ, the Commission stated, “The vendor will work with CNB Commissioners and staff to complete a report defining the criteria for being a Massachusetts community disproportionately affected by the “War on Drugs,” (e.g., rates of drug-related arrests and imprisonment, and ranking communities across Massachusetts). For the purpose of this study, the “War on Drugs” spanned from June 1970 to December 2017. Communities with a population of more than 100,000 people will be subdivided by Census tract numbers according to U.S. Census data.”

III. Study Implications Questions

III.1. Question:

The RFQ does not instruct vendors to identify the top 20% municipalities in the ranking as tier 1 and 2 DIAs. Why did the UMass team propose this number as the cut off for ranking municipalities for inclusion?

III.1. Answer:

We decided to divide the final sample of municipalities (n=279), into percentiles based on their DI scores. Tier 1 represents the top 10 percent of DI scores. Tier 2 contains the municipalities that fall in the 11-20th percentile of DI scores. Each tier after that contains approximately 56 areas that represent 20 percent of ranked municipalities (e.g., Tier 6 is the bottom 20 percent of DI scores). The research team felt that the use of percentiles would be a simple and transparent way to portray the areas that scored highest on the DI score measure.

III.2. Question:

What does this mean for communities added to DI list and communities taken off the list?

III.2. Answer:

This is a policy question and decision.

III.3. Question:

What are the specific implications that need to be known to inform discussion of this study going forward?

III.3. Answer:

This study could be used to refine eligibility decisions, such as who is eligible and what are they eligible for. This study could be helpful to determine what geographic areas could be including or excluded from Commission programs, expedited licensing processes, and other Commission benefits.

III.4. Question:

Is there staff within the Commission that can review this study with an equity lens? It might also be to the Commission's benefit to think about some organizations that can give some input on this study.

III.4. Answer:

We defer this question to the Executive Director to identify staff and their role(s) for further review of this work.

III.5. Question:

What are the implications of this study as it relates to the roll out of delivery once approved (for new towns and those coming off)?

III.5. Answer:

We are not able to answer this question as this would be a policy decision for the Commission.

III.6. Question:

What are the implications to the current SEP participants from cohort 1 and 2 if we open the DIA list to more towns without reviewing this report with stakeholders?

III.6. Answer:

We are not able to answer this question in full as this would be a policy decision for the Commission.

III.7. Question:

Timeline for briefing possible new cities and towns?

III.7. Answer:

The Director of Government Affairs and Policy has already notified the Massachusetts Municipal Association about the potential change of DIA status. Timely outreach to our municipal partners will continue as we discuss the DIA study, and ultimately, finalize the DIA list

III.8. Question:

What is the fallout of eliminating current towns? If any.

III.8. Answer:

The DIA list provides a town and its residents access to impactful benefits provided by licensees and allied partners who are making investments through Positive Impact Plans in the form of donations, incubator and accelerator programs, etc. Eliminating a town from this list will limit access to these benefits for the residents and organizations in the municipality.

III.9. Question:

How does this protect the Commission’s mission of social equity and equality while reviewing this study?

III.9. Answer:

We do not understand this question and need clarity from the questioner.

III.10. Question:

How will lawmakers on Beacon Hill view this as it relates to equity commissions, cannabis commission, and other social justice issues?

III.10. Answer:

While we cannot predict how lawmakers will definitively react, Commission staff will ensure that legislators with questions regarding the process have access to all publicly-available materials. Staff will raise awareness with legislators that any policy changes were made as a result of a thorough review and on a rational basis.

III.11. Question:

How will not having a town like Lawrence, with one of the top three highest Latino populations, negatively impact equity even if it is a “no” town?

III.11. Answer:

Missing data for Lawrence is a major limitation. The Commission could include Lawrence based on other criteria; however, it is a policy decision for the Commissioners.

RESPONSIVE ANSWER FOR CONSIDERATION:

The exclusion of towns that have a high concentration of communities that have been disproportionately impacted by the “War on Drugs” (e.g., Black, Latino)) may have an adverse impact on our equity efforts by creating eligibility gaps for populations that are critical to our mission.

Using Lawrence as the example, long-time Lawrence residents that do not have CORIs or close family members with CORIs would not be eligible for the Social Equity Program (SEP) since no addresses in the town would meet the qualifying residency criteria. As a result, a large portion of the state’s Latino community may be unable to receive access to exclusive license types, technical assistance, and training. Additionally, licensees would not be incentivized to target Lawrence residents with their Positive Impact Plans. Lawrence being a “no town” has no identifiable consequence on this matter.

III.12. Question:

How does the Census tract tool continue to create barriers to entrance for top 5 cities?

III.12. Answer:

The Commission has received robust feedback on the challenges presented by the use of census tracts to designate theDIAs. Generally, the feedback argues that census tracts “arbitrarily” carve up streets in a manner that doesn’t preserve the effective impact of the war on drugs for an entire neighborhood. For example, multiple addresses on the same street and in extreme proximity will be classified in different census tracts. Some of these tracts will be included while others will be excluded from the DIA list.

The constituents generally argue that the reality is that households that are in such extreme proximity are facing the same harsh outcomes created by the “War on Drugs” (e.g., over-policing, high crime and unemployment rates, etc.) despite their census tract designation. The constituents have argued that voting wards or zip-codes will more effectively capture the fabric of the neighborhood including the socio-economic impact of the War on Drugs while ensuring wealthier communities that aren’t suffering from past harms are not included in the DIA designation.

Further, they note that there is an extreme disparity between this approach and smaller towns, where the entire community has been designated as a DIA even if there are districts and neighborhoods that have not technically been disproportionately impacted by the War on Drugs. In this scenario, a financially secure, unaffected resident may be eligible for our programs based on residency while residents from arguably more effected neighborhoods in large cities remain ineligible for the program.

Data limitations don’t permit assessment at this more granular neighborhood level. We defer to Commissioners and Commission Leadership on policy decisions.

IV. Appendix

1. PUBLICATIONS: SOCIAL EQUITY INCLUSION

A. Table I.1. Cannabis Control Commission Research Reports with Social Equity Assessment Included

Linked Commission Research Reports and G.L. c. 94G Agenda Item	Description of Report
<u><i>A Baseline Review and Assessment of Cannabis Use and Public Safety Part 2: 94C Violations and Social Equity: Literature Review and Preliminary Data in Massachusetts.</i></u> [G. L. c. 94G, § 17 (a) (b)]	This report included a(n): (1) Comprehensive assessment of incidents of G.L.c. 94C violations in the Commonwealth, including: (1) G.L. c. 94C, § 32C (Cultivate/Manufacture Class D Substance); (2) M.G.L. c. 94C, § 32C (Distribute or Intent to Distribute Class D Substance); (3) G.L. c. 94C, § 34 (Cannabis Possession (>1 ounce until 7/2017 and >2 ounces after 7/2017); and (4) M.G.L. c. 94C, § 32L (Cannabis Possession (<1 ounce until 7/2017 and <2 ounces after 7/2017), and review of Public Awareness Data relating to knowledge of cannabis provisions in the Commonwealth. This report also includes a review of the literature regarding social equity and arrests, a review of the social equity provisions in the Commonwealth. and, closes with (4) Policy Considerations for the Commonwealth to consider.
<u><i>A Baseline Review and Assessment of Cannabis Use and Youth: Literature Review and Preliminary Data in Massachusetts.</i></u> [G. L. c. 94G, § 17 (a) (b)]	This report included a(n): (1) Assessment of youth cannabis use behaviors and risk/protective factors associated with cannabis use behaviors from 2007-2017 in the Commonwealth using the Youth Risk Behavioral Surveillance System, (YRBS); (2) Review of the literature on youth cannabis use behaviors and associated topics; (3) Public health framework, (4) Prevention framework; and ending with (5) Policy Considerations for the Commonwealth.
<u><i>Special Report: A Baseline Review and Assessment of the Massachusetts Cannabis Industry's Required Positive Impact Plans.</i></u>	Collaboration with Summer Rappaport Institute Fellow and Boston University Student, Jessica Hamilton, this report assessed the first full year of Positive Impact Plans (PIPs) submitted to the Commission and associated data, including: Key Stakeholder Interviews with Commissioners and Social Equity Program (SEP) applicant applications and survey data, and ending with Policy Considerations for the Commonwealth to consider.

<u><i>A Preliminary Assessment of the Massachusetts Cannabis Industry: Literature Review and Preliminary Data in Massachusetts</i></u> . [G. L. c. 94G, § 17 (a) (b)]	This report included preliminary insight into the first year of the Massachusetts Cannabis Industry and state of the science in regard to early legal cannabis markets (first 12 months).
<u><i>Massachusetts Public Awareness Campaign, More About Marijuana Effectiveness: Summary and Effectiveness</i></u> [G. L. c. 94G, § 17 (a) (b)]	The Department assessed the Massachusetts #MoreAboutMJ Public Awareness Campaign (“Campaign”), scientific impetus, and effectiveness using data from the Campaign, which included focus groups and pre-and-post Campaign implementation surveys.
<u><i>A Baseline Review and Assessment of Adult and Emerging Adult Cannabis Use: High-Level Findings from the International Cannabis Policy Study (2018-2019) and Literature Review</i></u> [G. L. c. 94G, § 17 (a) (b)]	The Department in collaboration with Dr. Hammond, University of Waterloo, assessed emerging adult (16-20) and adult (≥21) cannabis use and related behaviors from 2018-2019, including: cannabis use, mode of consumption, source of cannabis, ease of cannabis access, driving and riding behaviors, and perceptions of cannabis.
<u><i>Identifying Disproportionately Impacted Areas by Drug Prohibition in Massachusetts</i></u> [March 2021]	Collaboration and contract with UMass and Johns Hopkins. [PIs: Mark Melnik, PhD, Jennifer Whitehill, PhD] to update the Gettman 2017 study to comprehensively assess Massachusetts’s communities disproportionately impacted by drug prohibition.

B. Table I.2. Commission Research Staff Cannabis Scientific Publications with Social Equity Assessment Included

Commission Research Scientific Publications
Geissler KH, Kaizer K, Johnson JK , Doonan SD , Whitehill JM. Evaluation of Availability of Survey Data about Cannabis Use. The Journal of the American Medical Association (JAMA) Open Network, Accepted March 24, 2020. doi:10.1001/jamanetworkopen.2020.6039 https://jamanetwork.com/journals/jamanetworkopen/fullarticle/2766927?widget=personalizedcontent&previousarticle=0
Doonan SM. , Hamilton JR., Johnson JK . Using National Incidence Based Reporting System (NIBRS) to Examine Racial and Ethnic Disparities in Cannabis Violations. Perspective Paper. The American Journal of Drug and Alcohol Abuse. Accepted July 22, 2020. https://doi.org/10.1080/00952990.2020.1803894
Johnson JK. , Doonan SM. , Cannabis policy heterogeneity and effects on research—complexity expected. Scientific Commentary. Journal of American Medical Association (JAMA) Network Open. Accepted February 2021. Published March 18, 2021. https://jamanetwork.com/journals/jamanetworkopen/fullarticle/2777628
Doonan SM. , Hamilton JR., Johnson JK . “Discussion of the National Incident-Based Reporting System's (NIBRS) Potential to Assess and Monitor Cannabis Incident Disparities: Response to Drs. McCormack and Walfield” Scientific Commentary. American Journal of Drug and Alcohol Abuse (AJDA). Accepted and Published February 2021. https://www.tandfonline.com/eprint/W5NQUIHPIWGR4AKYGU9Y/full?target=10.1080/00952990.2021.1881531



Cannabis Control Commission

Public Meeting

October 15, 2025 at 1:30 pm

In-Person with Remote Access via Microsoft Teams



Agenda

1. Call to Order
2. Commissioner Comments and Updates
3. Staff Recommendations on License Renewals
4. Staff Recommendations on Provisional Licenses
5. Commission Discussion and Votes
6. Executive Session
7. New Business Not Anticipated at Time of Posting
8. Next Meeting Date
9. Adjournment



Staff Recommendations on License Renewals

Staff Recommendations: License Renewals

1. 140 Industrial Road, LLC (#MCR140854)
2. 4bros Inc (#MRR207344)
3. ACK Natural, LLC (#MRR207272)
4. Alternative Compassion Services, Inc. (#MRR207317)
5. Alternative Therapies Group II, Inc. (#MRR207316)
6. Apotho Therapeutics Plainville, LLC (#MRR206963)
7. Blue Collar Botany Corp (#MCR140841)
8. Buudda Brothers LLC (#MRR207300)
9. Dreamfields Massachusetts One, Inc. (#MPR244358)
10. Dris Corporation (#MDR272572)
11. Emerald Grove, Inc. (#MRR207292)
12. Euphorium LLC (#MRR207037)
13. Evergreen Strategies, LLC (#MRR207232)
14. FitzCanna, Inc (#MPR244344)
15. FitzCanna, Inc (#MXR126680)
16. Four Daughters Compassionate Care, Inc. (#MCR140958)
17. Gibby's Garden LLC (#MBR169341)
18. Green Meadows Farm, LLC (#MRR206828)
19. GreenStar Herbals, Inc. (#MRR207242)
20. GTE Franklin LLC (#MRR207319)



Staff Recommendations: License Renewals

21. Infused Element, LLC (#MPR244269)
22. KCCS, LLC (#MRR207326)
23. Leaf Relief, Inc. (#MRR207342)
24. Lowell Cannabis Company (#MRR207347)
25. M2B Home Delivery, Inc. (#MDR272595)
26. Mainely Productions LLC (#MPR244115)
27. Mainely Productions LLC (#MCR140965)
28. Motah 420 LLC (#MDR272596)
29. New Green LLC (#MRR207343)
30. Royal Sun Farm LLC (#MCR140742)
31. Royal Sun Farm LLC (#MCR140964)
32. Silver Therapeutics of Palmer, Inc. (#MRR207312)
33. Simply Lifted, INC (#MBR169351)
34. Stafford Green, Inc. (#MCR140953)
35. Stone's Throw Cannabis LLC (#MRR207363)
36. SUGARLOAF MAYNARD, LLC (#MRR207338)
37. SunnyDayz Inc. (#MRR207371)
38. TDMA LLC (#MRR207056)
39. Teddy's Veggie Farm LLC (#MCR140691)
40. Temescal Wellness of Massachusetts, LLC (#MRR207362)
41. Temescal Wellness of Massachusetts, LLC (#MRR207356)
42. Temescal Wellness of Massachusetts, LLC (#MPR244359)



Staff Recommendations: License Renewals

- 43. The Green Lady Dispensary, Inc. (#MCR140858)
- 44. The Healing Center LLC (#MRR207321)
- 45. The Holistic Concepts, Inc (#MRR207320)
- 46. ToroVerde (Massachusetts) II, Inc. (#MRR207308)
- 47. ToroVerde (Massachusetts), Inc. (#MRR207301)
- 48. Tower Three, LLC (#MPR244349)
- 49. Top Shelf Cannaseurs LLC (#MPR244351)
- 50. Berkshire Roots, Inc. (#RMD505)





Staff Recommendations on Provisional Licenses

Staff Recommendations: Provisional Licenses

1. Mass Cannsit, LLC (#MBN281886), Marijuana Microbusiness
2. Equalitree, LLC (#MPN282363), Marijuana Product Manufacturer





Commission Discussion & Votes

Commission Discussion and Votes

1. Eighth Annual Activities Report (*Vote*)
2. General Matters Legal Billing
3. Red Tape Removal Discussion and Committee Formation (*Vote*)
Responsible Vendor Training Cadence
4. Intervention Protocol Discussion (*Vote*)
5. Disproportionately-Impacted Areas Map for Social Equity: Adoption of UMDI Report (March 2021) (*Vote*)





The Commission is in Executive Session



Upcoming Meetings & Adjournment

Upcoming Meetings and Important Dates

**Public Meeting dates are tentative and subject to change*

Next Meeting Date

October 23, 2025

Public Meeting
Hybrid via Teams
10:00 am

2025 Public Meetings*
October 24
November 13
December 11





The Commission is in recess
until 2:15