Cannabis Control Commission Public Meeting

In Person and Remote via Teams

Public Meeting Book - Cannabis Control Commission Public Meeting

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March 10, 2026

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

March 12, 2026
10:00 AM

Remote via Microsoft Teams Live* and In-Person at Cannabis Control Commission,
Second Floor Public Meeting Room, Worcester Union Station, 2 Washington Square, Worcester

PUBLIC MEETING AGENDA

   I.   Call to Order
  II.   Commissioners' Comments & Updates
 III. Minutes
       1. February 10, 2026
       2. February 12, 2026
 IV. Executive Director and Commission Staff Report
       1. Licensing Update
  V.   Staff Recommendations on Renewal Licenses
       1. 686 Cultivation LLC (#MCR141017)
       2. 686 Cultivation LLC (#MPR244401)
       3. Berkshire Roots, Inc. (#MRR207496)
       4. Berkshire Roots, Inc. (#MPR244408)
       5. Curaleaf Massachusetts Inc. (#MRR207417)
       6. Caroline's Cannabis, LLC (#MPR244394)
       7. dba EMJ LLC (#MCR140992)
       8. Debilitating Medical Condition Treatment Centers (#MPR244415)
       9. Dirigo Cannabis MA LLC (#MPR244392)
       10. Great Barrington Retail, Inc. (#MRR207475)
       11. Green Gold Group, Inc. (#MRR207495)
       12. Greenjeans Farms, LLC (#COR129717)
       13. Haverhill Stem LLC (#MRR207488)
       14. High Hawk Farm LLC (#MRR207491)
       15. Holistic Health Group Inc. (#MRR207437)

16. Holistic Industries, Inc. (#MRR207486)
17. In Good Health Inc. (#MRR207504)
18. JO Worcester, Inc. (#MRR207443)
19. KG Collective Brockton, LLC (#MRR207500)
20. Krishna Lenox, LLC (#MRR207460)
21. Lowkey 2 LLC (#MRR207390)
22. Lunar Xtracts, Inc. (#MPR244397)
23. Mass Greenwoods LLC (#MRR207432)
24. Misty Mountain Shop, LLC (#MRR207024)
25. New England Cannabis Corporation, Inc. (#MCR140902)
26. New England Cannabis Corporation, Inc. (#MPR244311)
27. Nova Farms LLC (#MRR207463)
28. Power Fund Operations (#MRR206816)
29. SafeTiva Labs LLC (#ILR267957)
30. Sira Naturals, Inc. (#MRR207378)
31. SOCIAL-J LLC (#DOR5182983)
32. Supercritical Mass Laboratories Inc. (#MPR244420)
33. Sweetgrass Botanicals Extractions LLC (#MPR244407)
34. T. Bear Inc. (#MPR244405)
35. Temple Hill Collective, Inc. (#MPR244400)
36. True East Leaf LLC (#MCR140994)
37. True East Leaf LLC (#MRR207453)
38. HVV Massachusetts, Inc. (#RMDR193814)
39. Curaleaf Massachusetts, Inc. (#RMD385)
40. HVV Massachusetts, Inc. (#RMDR193815)

VI.   Staff Recommendations on Provisional Licenses
1. Kapnos, Inc. (#MRN285398)

VII. Staff Recommendations on Final Licenses
1. FreeMarketMA, LLC (#MP282279), Marijuana Product Manufacturer

VIII. Commission Discussion and Votes
1. Update on FY27 Joint Ways and Means Budget Testimony
2. ICPS Report *Research Department*
3. Exit Interviews Overview *Chief People Officer Debbie Hilton-Creek*
4. Update on New Product Catalogue Launch Date *Chief Technology and Innovation Officer Paul Clark*
5. Aggregated Open Data *(Vote) Chief Technology and Innovation Officer Paul Clark*
6. Executive Director CY 2026 Goals

7. Executive Director Management Oversight Group
8. Non-Enforcement of Red Tape Items Discussion
9. Biennial License Renewal Study Group
10. Addition of Vernon Hill to the List of Disproportionately Impacted Areas *(Vote)*
11. Update on Petitions Process *Co-Chief of Investigations and Enforcement and Enforcement Counsel Timothy Goodin*
12. 30A Public Process Including Independence of Legal Team Fire Wall, Deadlines to Investigate and Appeal *Co-Chief of Investigations and Enforcement and Enforcement Counsel Timothy Goodin*
13. Update on Attorney General's Office Meeting Regarding Coordination and Referrals

IX. New Business Not Anticipated at the Time of Posting
X. Next Meeting Date
XI. 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.

CANNABIS CONTROL COMMISSION

February 10, 2026
10:15 AM

Remote via Microsoft Teams Live*

PUBLIC MEETING MINUTES

Documents:
- December 22, 2025, email from Tom Moore from Assured.
- December 29, 2025, email from the Executive Director to Mr. Moore from Assured.
- December 5, 2025, email exchange(s) with Assured.
- July 10, 2025, email from General Counsel to Commissioners.
- February 6, 6026, delegation of amendment to Stipulated Agreement Memorandum.
- The Chair's written notes and timeline.
- Meeting Packet

In Attendance:
- Chair Shannon O'Brien
- Commissioner Carrie Benedon
- Commissioner Kimberly Roy
- Commissioner Bruce Stebbins

Minutes:
I. Call to Order
- The Chair recognized a quorum and called the meeting to order.
- The Chair gave notice that the meeting is being recorded.
- The Chair gave an overview of the agenda.

II. Commissioners' Comments & Updates – 00:00:52
- Commissioners Benedon and Stebbins reserved their comments for the February 12th Public Meeting (PM). Commissioner Roy recognized Black History Month.

III. Commission Discussion and Votes – 00:01:52
- The Chair noted she was taking the agenda out of order.

1. Assured Testing Laboratories, LLC. Stipulated Agreement
- The Chair prefaced a discussion regarding delegation, emphasizing that enumerated powers are distinct from so-called implied powers. She provided examples of failing

to adhere to enumerated powers, with specific citation in statute. She cited M.G.L. c. 10, § 76 and expressed that in the fall of 2023, the then-Executive Director (ED) appointed an Acting ED (AED), which the Comptroller deemed constituted an illegal delegation of authority. She added that in September 2023, the then-Acting General Counsel (AGC) failed to follow the Chair's delegation and in August of 2022 the board vote upon policy regarding the collection of pro-rated fees was not followed. She added that the current ED failed to follow process in a Final Order and Stipulated Agreement with Assured Testing Laboratories, LLC. (Assured) on August 14, 2025, and the unanimous vote by Commissioners at that time. The Chair provided a timeline and explained that on July 10, 2025, General Counsel Kajal Chattopadhyay (GC Chattopadhyay) sent out an email warning that Commissioners could not engage in ex parte communications with Assured. Commissioner Roy read an email dated December 22, 2025, from Tom Moore from Assured. The ED then read his own response on December 29, 2025, to Mr. Moore from Assured. Commissioner Roy challenged the subsequent actions of the ED and stated that there was no meeting to deal with the second scheduled payment due from Assured. Commissioner Roy requested that the ED read into the record email exchange(s) on December 5, 2025, and the ED did. He also noted that Assured left him a voicemail. Commissioner Roy read an email to Commissioners from GC Chattopadhyay on July 10, 2025. The Chair read a memorandum, citing section M.G.L. c. 10, § 76(j) concerning the powers and duties of the Enforcement Counsel (EC) at the Commission. The Chair cited the language of former GC Christine Baily's opinion, that concluded that when discretion and judgment are involved, it could not be delegated to administrative staff. The Chair expressed that the ED did not engage in a simple ministerial decision in a major discussion involving extending Assured and its second payment due. The ED emphasized that the change allowed at a PM that the second payment due date was extended. Commissioner Roy asked if the ED used his discretion and judgment in making his decision regarding the extension being granted. The ED mentioned that payments in general are tied to a business' cash flow. The Chair referenced the ED's discussion(s) between the ED and Assured. The Chair asked the ED if he unilaterally amended the Final Order with Assured. Commissioner Roy asked the ED if or when he modified the Final Order with Assured. The Chair asked Commissioner Stebbins what he intended when the Final Order was originally approved by the Commissioners at the time. Commissioner Stebbins felt that it was a severe penalty voted on August 14, 2025. The Chair asked Commissioner Stebbins if he discussed anything with the ED on August 14, 2025, regarding the timing of the $300,000 payments. The Chair asked Commissioner Benedon about her opinion, and she noted that she was not at the Commission on August 14, 2025, but related what was voted on then. She cited that only one amendment was made, and she believed that the actions were in alignment with the August 14th agreement and vote. Commissioner Benedon expressed approval of extending the date of the second payment and not the third payment and she opined that this amendment was minor. Commissioner Stebbins asked whether other conditions in the Final Order were also altered and noted he thought that the key was the final payment date. The ED urged that the amendment was minor. Commissioner Roy stated that she had prepared proposed motion language to ensure the type of issue was not repeated in the future. The ED

clarified that he did not return the voicemail from Assured. Commissioner Roy read ex parte language particularly with someone who exercised an adjudicatory function. The Chair focused on ministerial matters, not major versus minor amendments. Upon the Chair's request, Commissioner Roy opined what are considered ministerial changes, which concerns minor typographical type of changes. The Chair asked Commissioner Benedon about what she considered administrative decisions and Commissioner Benedon expressed that she believed that there was discretion to make minor changes to the Final Order. She focused on the Commission's prior decision not to put Assured out of business, noting that she was not on the Commission at that time and is not in a position to state whether she would have agreed with that decision, and that the extension was consistent with the prior decision. Commissioner Roy expressed her concerns about process, and that the ED did not respect it. The ED stated that he could refer back to video of the PM when the vote was approved. Commissioner Roy asked where the delegation was granted and expressed her concerns about the process regarding Open Meeting Law (OML), the Administrative Procedures Act, and what can and cannot be delegated. The ED disagreed with the three points of concern raised by Commissioner Roy. Commissioner Roy read her proposed motion. Commissioner Stebbins expressed that he thought that the vote may be outside the purview of the posted agenda discussion items and suggested it be voted on at the February 12th PM, or at a later PM. Commissioner Benedon opined that the discussion and the vote on the proposed motion by Commissioner Roy were properly brought forward. The Chair looped into larger concern about potential testing fraud in the industry. She cited that many Licensees were fiscally struggling, but that did not mean that ex parte discussions could be held with them. Commissioner Benedon referenced that the third payment extension date was significant and should be the focus of the Commissioners. Commissioner Roy read the language of her proposed motion.

- Commissioner Roy moved that the Commission direct the Executive Director to refrain from engaging in any offline or informal communications with Licensees for the purpose of renegotiating, modifying, or otherwise altering the terms of any Final Order and Stipulated Agreement previously ratified by the Commission. Any request for modification or reconsideration of such agreements must be brought back before the full Commission for deliberation and vote.
- Commissioner Benedon seconded the motion.
- The Chair took a roll call vote:
  - Commissioner Benedon – Yes
  - Commissioner Roy – Yes
  - Commissioner Stebbins – No
  - Chair O'Brien – Yes
- The Commission approved the motion by a three in favor and one opposed.

- Commissioner Benedon moved to take a recess returning at 12:00 PM.
- Commissioner Roy seconded the motion.
- The Chair took a roll call vote:

- o Commissioner Benedon – Yes
- o Commissioner Roy – Yes
- o Commissioner Stebbins – Yes
- o Chair O'Brien – Yes
- The Commission unanimously approved the motion.
- The Commission took a brief recess. (Returned at 01:43:54.)

- The Chair referenced a note from GC Chattopadhyay that Associate General Counsel Steven Laduzinski (AGC Laduzinski)'s memorandum which the Chair discussed earlier did not represent the office of the General Counsel. The Chair acknowledged the point and stated that AGC Laduzinski's memorandum was in line with a memorandum from a prior GC. Commissioner Roy expressed her expectation that the GC not take punitive action against AGC Laduzinski for issuing the memorandum. Enforcement Counsel (EC) and Co-Interim Chief of Investigations and Enforcement (Co-Interim CIE) Timothy Goodin read into the record Assured's request to extend the third and final payment an additional 60 days. Assured's attorney Daniel Glissman affirmed that the check for the second payment would be postmarked that today, pending the vote. Attorney Glissman was asked whether his client would be able to pay the full $200,000 that day if the extension to the third payment was not approved and responded that he had to consult with his client if full $200,000 was available but stated that $100,000 would be paid that day. Attorney Glissman advocated for the extension to the third payment due date, specifically emphasizing the safeguards that would be utilized, including employing an auditor. Attorney Glissman also stated that this was a major issue for Assured.

- Commissioner Stebbins moved to take a recess returning at 12:35 PM.
- Commissioner Benedon seconded the motion.
- The Chair took a roll call vote:
    - o Commissioner Benedon – Yes
    - o Commissioner Roy – Yes
    - o Commissioner Stebbins – Yes
    - o Chair O'Brien – Yes
- The Commission unanimously approved the motion.
- The Commission took a brief recess. (Returned at 02:15:06.)

- Attorney Glissman confirmed that the Director of Sales had been on half-salary and the Chief Executive Officer (CEO) had not been compensated for the past month. He noted that Assured was at 15% of sales currently compared to pre-suspension weeks. Attorney Glissman stated that the proposed extension was a major issue for Assured. Commissioner Stebbins asked if other conditions, other than making payment dates as originally set forth, had been met, and what section(s) of the Final Order would be affected. Attorney Glissman responded to Commissioner Stebbins' concern that there be no further extensions requested. GC Chattopadhyay confirmed that requested extension(s) were subject to the Commissioners' approval and Commissioners could also request interim payments in lieu of the third full final payment made in April

2026. Commissioner Roy proposed three interim payments of 33 1/3% of the last full payment be made, starting with the first payment due on February 28, 2026. Chief Financial and Accounting Officer Lisa Schlegel (CFAO Schlegel) explained the different options that money is paid to the Commission. Commissioner Stebbins asked how much Assured had expended for public relations staff and consultants. Attorney Glissman stated that recently Assured had seen the need for public relations assistance. The Chair reviewed potential issues with testing data accuracy and ascertained that payments owed to the Commission do not have interest assessed against it. Commissioner Benedon advocated splitting final payments into four with some small increase to the payments. After a discussion that it is not interest but an increase to the stipulated payment, Commissioner Benedon explained that she was proposing an additional $10,000 be added to the total final payment(s) due. Commissioner Stebbins clarified that if Assured wished it could decline any amendments to the Stipulated Agreement and make the full $200,000 payment today. The ED broke down how incremental payments with the additional penalty could be made. Attorney Glissman stated that Assured would accept the amended terms including the additional $10,000. Commissioner Roy requested a quick recess to rework motion language.

- The Commission took a brief recess. (Returned at 03:03:49.)

- Commissioner Roy read her proposed motion language into the record. GC Chattopadhyay believed that the motion language reflected the current discussion conclusions. A small addition was added to address potential future ministerial revisions.

- Commissioner Roy moved to revise the final and third payment schedule under the Stipulated Agreement duly executed on August 14, 2025 (and further amended on December 11, 2025), between Assured Testing Laboratories, LLC and the Massachusetts Cannabis Control Commission, by increasing the third and final payment to $110,000 and restructuring the due dates as follows: February 27, 2026: 25% of $110,000 due ($27,500), March 13, 2026: 25% of $110,000 due ($27,500), March 27, 2026: 25% of $110,000 due ($27,500), April 10, 2026: 25% of $110,000 due ($27,500; final payment). No further extensions of any payment due dates under this Agreement shall be granted, subject to any ministerial edits by Enforcement Counsel.
- Commissioner Benedon seconded the motion.
  - o Commissioner Benedon – Yes
  - o Commissioner Roy – Yes
  - o Commissioner Stebbins – Yes
  - o Chair O'Brien – Yes
- The Commission unanimously approved the motion.

2. Open Meeting Law and Release of Executive Session Minutes Policy

- Commissioner Benedon presented OML practices for Executive Session (ES) meeting minutes and proposed that a policy be prepared in compliance with the OML. She shared that she had spoken to members and General Counsels from other boards and Commissions for their input. She shared a potential policy with the anticipation of it being discussed more fully during the February 12th PM. In response to Commissioner Roy's query, the policy did not specifically set forth a policy for redactions. The Chair mentioned a policy concerning recording ES meetings, noting the need for an accurate record and concerns about recalling months or years later. Commissioner Benedon stated that there was no legal prohibition against doing so nor requirement that they be recorded. Commissioner Benedon noted that her proposed policy was more than is currently required by the OML, with a quick turnaround for preparation of the minutes required. She noted that the Legal department would still prepare the minutes for the approval of the Commissioners.

3. Delegation of Powers to Approve Licenses
   - Commissioner Roy questioned the requirements for delegating authority to approve a license in the event of a recusal such that there are not three Commissioners able to vote. She asked if a Commissioner could delegate their authority to approve a matter that the Commissioner themselves is recused from. The Chair requested how information in a legal memorandum deemed privileged and confidential could be discussed at a PM and GC Chattopadhyay explained how attorney-client privilege applied. The Chair suggested that the matter be tabled with the potential for a vote on removing the privilege attended to GC Chattopadhyay's memorandum on the issue and requested that GC Chattopadhyay prepare research on the rules of necessity. The Chair also noted concerns about responses to Public Records Requests (PRRs). GC Chattopadhyay responded that to his knowledge all requests are responded to appropriately and he is unaware of any missed deadlines.

XII. Next Meeting Date – 03:32:52
   - The Chair stated that the next meeting was scheduled for February 12, 2026.

XIII. Adjournment – 03:33:00
   - Commissioner Stebbins moved to adjourn.
   - Commissioner Benedon seconded the motion.
   - The Chair took a roll call vote:
     - Commissioner Benedon – Yes
     - Commissioner Roy – Yes
     - Commissioner Stebbins – Yes
     - Chair O'Brien – Yes
   - The Commission unanimously approved the motion.

CANNABIS CONTROL COMMISSION

February 12, 2026
10:00 AM

In-Person at Cannabis Control Commission, Second Floor Public Meeting Room, Worcester Union Station, 2 Washington Square, Worcester and with Remote Access via Microsoft Teams Live*

PUBLIC MEETING MINUTES

Documents:
- Application Materials associated with:
  - Staff Recommendations on Changes of Ownership
  - Staff Recommendations on Renewal Licenses
  - Staff Recommendations on Provisional Licenses
  - Staff Recommendations on Final Licenses
  - Staff Recommendations on Responsible Vendor Training Renewals
- Meeting Packet

In Attendance:
- Chair Shannon O'Brien
- Commissioner Carrie Benedon
- Commissioner Kimberly Roy
- Commissioner Bruce Stebbins

Minutes:

I. Call to Order
- The Chair recognized a quorum and called the meeting to order.
- The Chair gave notice that the meeting is being recorded.
- The Chair gave an overview of the agenda.

II. Commissioners' Comments & Updates – 00:01:49
- Commissioners Benedon and Roy deferred. Commissioner Stebbins noted positive experiences visiting Licensees Green Meadows and Caroline's Cannabis, and meetings with groups in Springfield. He added that all outside parties have supported the Commission's Social Consumption (SC) working group's efforts.

III. Minutes – 00:04:57
- January 14, 2026

- Commissioner Roy moved to approve the January 14, 2026, Commission Public Meeting minutes.
- Commissioner Stebbins seconded the motion.
- The Chair took a roll call vote:
  - Commissioner Benedon – Yes
  - Commissioner Roy – Yes
  - Commissioner Stebbins – Yes
  - Chair O'Brien – Yes
- The Commission unanimously approved the January 14, 2026, Commission Public Meeting minutes.

- January 15, 2026
- Commissioner Roy moved to approve the January 15, 2026, Commission Public Meeting minutes.
- Commissioner Stebbins seconded the motion.
- The Chair took a roll call vote:
  - Commissioner Benedon – Yes
  - Commissioner Roy – Yes
  - Commissioner Stebbins – Yes
  - Chair O'Brien – Yes
- The Commission unanimously approved the January 15, 2026, Commission Public Meeting minutes.

IV.   Executive Director and Commission Staff Report – 00:06:05

1. Medical Program Updates
   - The Executive Director (ED) turned the discussion over to Director of Digital and Creative Services AnnMarie Burtt (Director Burtt) and Constituent Services Manager Kate Fiske (Manager Fiske). A technical issue arose and the Commission took a brief recess.

   - Commissioner Roy moved to take a recess returning at 10:25 AM.
   - Commissioner Stebbins seconded the motion.
   - The Chair took a roll call vote:
     - Commissioner Benedon – Yes
     - Commissioner Roy – Yes
     - Commissioner Stebbins – Yes
     - Chair O'Brien – Yes
   - The Commission unanimously approved the motion.
   - The Commission took a brief recess. (Returned at 00:17:11.)

   - Director Burtt and Manager Fiske continued their presentation by introducing public education materials on the medical use of Marijuana program. They explained how the public may access medical Marijuana providers and noted that the Commission could not publicize Caregivers' names on the Commission's website. Commissioner

Roy mentioned that the historical underpinnings for the policy emanated from the Department of Public Health (DPH) and the Commission might consider putting some Caregiver information on the Commissions website, with a possible opt-in for providers. She suggested that workforce safety be addressed at a Public Hearing and expressed the need for a tip line to be set up and reviewed the Commission's Guide for Caregivers and what information is contained therein. A viewing of the Commission's video on accessing medical use Marijuana ensued. Director Burtt and Manager Fiske detailed how the information is available in a number of languages. Manager Fiske presented on behalf of the Constituent Services department, focusing on their support of the public, both on medial use and more globally, and how they keep communications with the public available at all times. She introduced data regarding how their seven-member team responded to thousands of queries in 2025. In addition, Manager Fiske enumerated the number of Caregivers and patients in 2025. She stated that in 2025 there were approximately 79,000 patients and she broke down where Medical Marijuana Treatment Centers (MTCs) are located, noting there is only one treatment on Cape Cod, in Sandwich. She then moved the presentation to her department's outreach of providers in 2025 and listed the phone numbers and email addresses wherefrom the public can contact the Commission.

2. Social Consumption Working Group Updates
    - The ED presented an overview of the working group's four sub-groups: Implementation, Local Advisory, Public Awareness, and Responsible Vendor Training (RVT). He noted specifically the Commissioners' roles and responsibilities in the sub-groups. He then showed the group hews to the requirements of the Open Meeting Law (OML) in their operational efforts. Using the Chapter 180 experience, the ED reviewed the schematics for how the work is currently delegated in a centralized manner.

3. Cannabis Revenue Flow Webpage
    - Manager of Government Affairs and Policy Jessica Porter (Manager Porter) presented on Cannabis fees and tax revenue flows in the Commonwealth and in a color-coded bar chart, she set forth revenue, funds which are statutorily set and mandated, and spending data. Of note, approximately 85% of tax revenue is allocated by the legislature to support a variety of state and local programs and initiatives, and about 15% goes to the Social Equity Trust Fund.

4. Host Community Municipal Equity (HCME) Update
    - Director of Enforcement Training and Co-Interim Chief of Investigations and Enforcement Armond Enos (Director and Co-Interim CIE Enos) on Host Community municipal equity (HCME) updates detailing how many HCMEs were accepted and how many are under review and how many are outstanding. He noted that 107 municipalities in the category are no-towns. The ED pointed out that the increased responsibility of reviewing Host Community Agreements (HCAs) was not accompanied by increased funding from the legislature.

5. Licensing Update
   - Director of Licensing Olivia Koval (Director Koval) presented on the status of licensing applications as of February 12, 2026. She explained the reason why some applications had not gone forward and also identified the alterations in tier numbers. She detailed active and expired Cultivators and noted a reduction in total canopy. She reviewed the status on HCAs and detailed how many were being reviewed currently.

   - Commissioner Roy moved to take a recess returning at 11:45 AM.
   - Commissioner Stebbins seconded the motion.
   - The Chair took a roll call vote:
     - Commissioner Benedon – Yes
     - Commissioner Roy – Yes
     - Commissioner Stebbins – Yes
     - Chair O'Brien – Yes
   - The Commission unanimously approved the motion.
   - The Commission took a brief recess. (Returned at 01:40:15.)

V. Staff Recommendations on Changes of Ownership
   - Licensing Manager Tsuko Defoe (Manager Defoe) presented on behalf of the Licensing department its Recommendations for Changes of Ownership, Renewals, Provisionals, Final Licenses and Responsible Vendor Training Renewal Licenses.

   1. Deep Roots, Inc – add four individuals and one entity.
      - Commissioner Benedon moved to approve the Change of Ownership.
      - Commissioner seconded the motion.
      - The Chair Stebbins took a roll call vote:
        - Commissioner Benedon – Yes
        - Commissioner Roy – Yes
        - Commissioner Stebbins – Yes
        - Chair O'Brien – Yes
      - The Commission unanimously approved the Change of Ownership.

      - Commissioner Roy queried about how the Change of Ownership process is handled and expressed her hope that the process will be expedited through the removal of red tape. Commissioner Roy noted that some jurisdictions don't scrutinize the seller, only the buyer, which could expedite review.

VI. Staff Recommendations on Renewal Licenses – 01:43:26

   - Commissioner Roy moved to approve the renewal of items numbered 1 – 24 as indicated on the agenda.
   - Commissioner Stebbins seconded the motion.
   - The Chair took a roll call vote:
     - Commissioner Benedon – Yes

- o Commissioner Roy – Yes
- o Commissioner Stebbins – Yes
- o Chair O'Brien – Yes
- The Commission unanimously approved the renewal of items numbered 1 – 24 as indicated on the agenda.

VII. Staff Recommendations on Provisional Licenses – 01:44:25
- In reply to a question from the Chair, Manager DeFoe stated that with the Provisional Licenses, there were four Social Equity Program (SEP) applicants and one Economic Empowerment Priority Applicant (EEA).

1. Burn Bright, LLC (#MPN282368), Marijuana Product Manufacturer
   - Commissioner Roy moved to approve the Provisional License.
   - Commissioner Stebbins seconded the motion.
   - The Chair took a roll call vote:
     - o Commissioner Benedon – Yes
     - o Commissioner Roy – Yes
     - o Commissioner Stebbins – Yes
     - o Chair O'Brien – Yes
   - The Commission unanimously approved the Provisional License.

2. Chispa Tres LLC (#MBN282528), Marijuana Microbusiness (Cultivation and Product Manufacturing)
   - Commissioner Roy moved to approve the Provisional License.
   - Commissioner Stebbins seconded the motion.
   - The Chair took a roll call vote:
     - o Commissioner Benedon – Yes
     - o Commissioner Roy – Yes
     - o Commissioner Stebbins – Yes
     - o Chair O'Brien – Yes
   - The Commission unanimously approved the Provisional License.

3. Diablo Man, LLC (#MBN282525), Marijuana Microbusiness (Cultivation and Product Manufacturing)
   - Commissioner Benedon pointed out that there were no delivery endorsements and the Chair suggested determining why the type of License was not being pursued.

   - Commissioner Benedon moved to approve the Provisional License.
   - Commissioner Stebbins seconded the motion.
   - The Chair took a roll call vote:
     - o Commissioner Benedon – Yes
     - o Commissioner Roy – Yes
     - o Commissioner Stebbins – Yes
     - o Chair O'Brien – Yes
   - The Commission unanimously approved the Provisional License.

4. Elevation, Inc (#MRN285306), Marijuana Retailer
   - Commissioner Stebbins moved to approve the Provisional License.
   - Commissioner Roy seconded the motion.
   - The Chair took a roll call vote:
     - Commissioner Benedon – Yes
     - Commissioner Roy – Yes
     - Commissioner Stebbins – Yes
     - Chair O'Brien – Yes
   - The Commission unanimously approved the Provisional License.

5. G&S Management Services, LLC (#MBN282519), Marijuana Microbusiness (Product Manufacturing Only)
   - Commissioner Benedon moved to approve the Provisional License.
   - Commissioner Stebbins seconded the motion.
   - The Chair took a roll call vote:
     - Commissioner Benedon – Yes
     - Commissioner Roy – Yes
     - Commissioner Stebbins – Yes
     - Chair O'Brien – Yes
   - The Commission unanimously approved the Provisional License.

6. John Williams Street Investments, LLC (#MRN285438), Marijuana Retailer
   - Commissioner Roy moved to approve the Provisional License.
   - Commissioner Stebbins seconded the motion.
   - The Chair took a roll call vote:
     - Commissioner Benedon – Yes
     - Commissioner Roy – Yes
     - Commissioner Stebbins – Yes
     - Chair O'Brien – Yes
   - The Commission unanimously approved the Provisional License.

7. The Heritage Club, LLC (#DOA100185), Marijuana Courier
   - Commissioner Stebbins inquired when this Licensee first applied for this type of License and Manager DeFoe replied that it was on May 15, 2025.

   - Commissioner Stebbins moved to approve the Provisional License.
   - Commissioner Roy seconded the motion.
   - The Chair took a roll call vote:
     - Commissioner Benedon – Yes
     - Commissioner Roy – Yes
     - Commissioner Stebbins – Yes
     - Chair O'Brien – Yes
   - The Commission unanimously approved the Provisional License.

8. Wonderland Dispensary & Delivery, Inc. (#MRN285154), Marijuana Retailer
   - Commissioner Benedon moved to approve the Provisional License.
   - Commissioner Stebbins seconded the motion.
   - The Chair took a roll call vote:
     - Commissioner Benedon – Yes
     - Commissioner Roy – Yes
     - Commissioner Stebbins – Yes
     - Chair O'Brien – Yes
   - The Commission unanimously approved the Provisional License.
   - Commissioner Benedon noted how many Provisionals were SEP applicants and EEAs.

VIII. Staff Recommendations on Final Licenses – 02:00:18

1. KG Collective, LLC (#MR284224), Marijuana Retailer
2. Mainely Productions, LLC (#MP281751), Marijuana Product Manufacturer

   - Commissioner Roy moved to approve the Final Licenses numbered 1 – 2 as indicated on the agenda.
   - Commissioner Stebbins seconded the motion.
   - The Chair took a roll call vote:
     - Commissioner Benedon – Yes
     - Commissioner Roy – Yes
     - Commissioner Stebbins – Yes
     - Chair O'Brien – Yes
   - The Commission unanimously approved the Final Licenses numbered 1 – 2 as indicated on the agenda.

IX. Staff Recommendations on Responsible Vendor Training Renewals – 02:00:42

1. Green Flower Inc (#RVR453163)
   - Commissioner Roy moved to approve the Responsible Vendor Training License Renewal.
   - Commissioner Benedon seconded the motion.
   - The Chair took a roll call vote:
     - Commissioner Benedon – Yes
     - Commissioner Roy – Yes
     - Commissioner Stebbins – Yes
     - Chair O'Brien – Yes
   - The Commission unanimously approved the Responsible Vendor Training License Renewal.

2. Marijuana Handlers (#RVR453165)
   - Commissioner Benedon moved to approve the Responsible Vendor Training License Renewal.

- Commissioner Stebbins seconded the motion.
- The Chair took a roll call vote:
  - Commissioner Benedon – Yes
  - Commissioner Roy – Yes
  - Commissioner Stebbins – Yes
  - Chair O'Brien – Yes
- The Commission unanimously approved the Responsible Vendor Training License Renewal.

- Commissioner Roy cited the lack of sensitivity regarding RVT for people with disabilities and asked why waivers are not granted. The Chair opined that motion language could be formulated to guide the Licensing department in making the process more equitable for people with disabilities.

X.   Commission Discussion and Votes – 02:08:02

1. Open Meeting Law and Release of Executive Session Minutes Policy (continued)
   - The Chair tabled the discussion to a later date.

2. Delegation of Powers to Approve Licenses (continued)
   - The Chair requested that a memorandum be prepared and distributed on the topic of the rule of necessity from the General Counsel (GC) by mid-March of 2026.

3. Licensing Freeze Considerations
   - Commissioner Roy presented, citing wholesale and retail price compression. She noted that oversupply was particularly affecting vulnerable populations in a negative manner. She mentioned that the Commission has broad powers to consider a new licensing pause and a pause on licensing types. She then read into the record the text of an Executive Summary concerning the possibility of instituting a prospective freeze, for a limited amount of time. Short term versus long term freezes were differentiated, with a focus on the dormant commerce clause considerations and ensuring that it is not discriminatory. A review of what the Commission can and cannot do was displayed on a slide, in the event that a freeze was instituted. The ED detailed commenced operations and canopy considerations. Commissioner Roy stated that the Commonwealth's canopy statistically stood between supply-constrained states like Connecticut and other over-supplied states. She read proposed motion language. Commissioner Benedon observed that some comparative states' canopies needed to be adjusted since many bordered states that still ban adult use. Commissioner Roy explained the limitations inherent in understanding canopies in other jurisdictions. Additionally, it was noted that Microbusinesses were not included in the canopy analysis. Commissioner Benedon introduced the perspective of considering the quality of product also. The Chair observed that Massachusetts was at a competitive disadvantage in competing with the warmer climates in other jurisdictions. She also expressed her frustration concerning the invocation of attorney-client privilege addressed in a memorandum prepared by the Commission's

Legal department. The Chair requested the GC present her with evidence of past practice with inter-Commission invocations of privilege. Commissioner Benedon reviewed the responsibilities of the GC, particularly in informing the Commissioners of risk. The Chair cited past deficiencies in the advice generated by GCs and received by the Commissioners. The Chair advocated for motion language to address future invocations of privilege before Public Meetings (PMs).

- Commissioner Roy moved to take a recess returning at 1:05 PM.
- Commissioner Stebbins seconded the motion.
- The Chair took a roll call vote:
    - Commissioner Benedon – Yes
    - Commissioner Roy – Yes
    - Commissioner Stebbins – Yes
    - Chair O'Brien – Yes
- The Commission unanimously approved the motion.
- The Commission took a brief recess. (Returned at 03:10:13.)

- The Chair revisited the issue of legal opinions not being available to all Commissioners. Commissioner Benedon mentioned a segment of the memorandum in question, which might be excludible. Commissioner Roy asked why the GC only communicated with two Commissioners, to the exclusion of herself and the Chair. The Chair mentioned that there might be a need for an Executive Session (ES) regarding advice from the Legal department and repeated her request for an answer from the GC regarding past practices of the Commission raised earlier. The ED stated that the Executive Summary addressed the material discussed at the current PM. Commissioner Roy criticized disparate treatment of Commissioners by the GC. Commissioner Roy read into the record her motion for a future hearing concerning a licensing freeze.

- Commissioner Roy moved to direct staff to schedule a Public Hearing within 30 days to receive public testimony on a proposed moratorium on new cultivation Licenses including consideration of a temporary freeze on additional canopy capacity approvals. The Public Hearing shall also accept testimony on the potential extension of such moratorium or freeze measures to other License types, including Craft Marijuana Cooperatives, Product Manufacturing, and Microbusinesses, as informed by current market data on supply, pricing, and operator viability. Staff shall provide at least 14 days' public notice via the Commission's website, email, and standard regulatory channels with remote and in-person access options to ensure broad stakeholder participation, including from equity applicants, rural Cultivators, and affected municipalities.
- Commissioner Stebbins seconded the motion.
- The Chair took a roll call vote:
    - Commissioner Benedon – Yes
    - Commissioner Roy – Yes
    - Commissioner Stebbins – Yes

- o Chair O'Brien – Yes
- The Commission unanimously approved the motion.

4. Notices of Deficiency
   - Director and Co-Interim CIE Enos presented and listed the most commonly cited types of violations with each topic area. For example, required annual and on-going RVT, required on-going Metrc training, record keeping and limited access areas. With the exception of Courier and Third Party Transporter License types, the topics of video camera security, inventory issues and the processing and recording of waste were explored in terms of the most common types of violations found. Thereafter, the most prominent types of violations in transportation of Cannabis were cited as lack of adherence to emergency stop logging, manifests not being properly kept and the absence of operational alarms in vehicles. Finally, deficiencies in advertising, waste processing, expired products, and maintaining real time/virtual inventories were highlighted. Director and Co-Interim CIE Enos focused on advertising violation in Licensee's websites, although there are also violations that need to be addressed on billboards and the like.

   - Commissioner Stebbins moved to take a recess returning at 2:25 PM.
   - Commissioner Benedon seconded the motion.
   - The Chair took a roll call vote:
     - o Commissioner Benedon – Yes
     - o Commissioner Roy – Yes
     - o Commissioner Stebbins – Yes
     - o Chair O'Brien – Yes
   - The Commission unanimously approved the motion.
   - The Commission took a brief recess. (Returned at 04:20:37.)

5. Executive Director Goals for CY 2026 and First Six Months of CY 2027
   - Commissioner Stebbins presented and observed that the Commission is better poised to respond to goals than it had been in the past, largely due to the comprehensive nature of the ED's report. Commissioner Stebbins advocated that a vote not be taken at that time, with the need for more view of the report's Exhibit A.

6. Workforce Safety Hearing Discussion
   - The Chair lauded the work of Danny Carson pertaining to the public health issues at Trulieve. She suggested continuing to address workforce safety at a future Public Hearing and rounded out the discussion on workforce safety by citing the need to set up a tip line.

   - Commissioner Stebbins moved to take a recess returning at 3:35 PM.
   - Commissioner Roy seconded the motion.
   - The Chair took a roll call vote:
     - o Commissioner Benedon – Yes
     - o Commissioner Roy – Yes

- o Commissioner Stebbins – Yes
- o Chair O'Brien – Yes
- The Commission unanimously approved the motion.
- The Commission took a brief recess. (Returned at 05:33:41.)

7. Discussion of US District Court action on February 4, 2026, related to former MA provisional and suspended Licensee
   - The Chair requested an update from the ED, and he discussed the Department of Justice (DOJ)'s release on a probe concerning Carolina Correa and Lifted Luxury. A chronology was presented concerning the history of expired Licenses, mentioning the work done in Rhode Island with the probe of Correa and/or Lifted Luxury. An assessment of M.G.L c. 30A issues was discussed. The Chair specified that the Commission does not audit the actual source of funds for Licensees.

8. Discussion on WS Coliseum (#MR285088)
   - Commissioner Roy discussed lag between September 22, 2025, to the present with advancing this Licensee, despite being a priority applicant on two levels. She noted the architectural review was delayed several months. Globally, the red tape issues involved with delayed architectural reviews need to be alleviated. The ED stressed that this expedited review would be accomplished.

XI. New Business Not Anticipated at the Time of Posting – 05:51:28
   - The Chair stated that there was no new business not anticipated at the time of posting.

XII. Next Meeting Date – 05:51:37
   - The Chair stated that a Public Hearing was scheduled for February 23, 2026, and the next Public Meeting was scheduled for February 26, 2026. She added that there may be an upcoming Executive Session on February 20, 2026.

XIII. Adjournment – 05:52:30
   - Commissioner Benedon moved to adjourn.
   - Commissioner Stebbins seconded the motion.
   - The Chair took a roll call vote:
     - o Commissioner Benedon – Yes
     - o Commissioner Roy – Yes
     - o Commissioner Stebbins – Yes
     - o Chair O'Brien – Yes
   - The Commission unanimously moved to adjourn.

Marijuana Establishment Renewals
Executive Summary
Commission Meeting: March 12, 2026

RENEWAL OVERVIEW

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

	Licensee Name	License Number	Renewal Application Number	Host Community	Current Expiration Date	License Status
1	686 Cultivation LLC	MC283899	MCR141017	Tewksbury	4/24/2026	PL
2	686 Cultivation LLC	MP282298	MPR244401	Tewksbury	4/24/2026	PL
3	Berkshire Roots, Inc.	MR281585	MRR207496	Pittsfield	5/12/2026	CO
4	Berkshire Roots, Inc.	MP281427	MPR244408	Pittsfield	4/29/2026	CO
5	Caroline's Cannabis, LLC	MP282232	MPR244394	Hopedale	4/12/2026	CO
6	Curaleaf Massachusetts, Inc.	MR282183	MRR207417	Ware	3/17/2026	CO
7	dba EMJ LLC	MC282135	MCR140992	Cummington	12/14/2025	FL
8	Debilitating Medical Condition Treatment Centers	MP282067	MPR244415	Whately	3/15/2026	CO
9	Dirigo Cannabis MA LLC	MP282192	MPR244392	Holliston	4/12/2026	PL

10	Great Barrington Retail, Inc.	MR282884	MRR207475	Great Barrington	3/30/2026	CO
11	Green Gold Group, Inc.	MR283723	MRR207495	Marlborough	4/7/2026	CO
12	Greenjeans Farms, LLC	CO281706	COR129717	Whately/Belchertown	3/13/2026	PL
13	Haverhill Stem LLC	MR281327	MRR207488	Haverhill	3/27/2026	CO
14	High Hawk Farm LLC	MR283968	MRR207491	Barre	3/12/2026	CO
15	Holistic Health Group Inc.	MR283126	MRR207437	Middleborough	3/17/2026	CO
16	Holistic Industries, Inc.	MR281787	MRR207486	Somerville	5/11/2026	CO
17	In Good Health Inc.	MR282468	MRR207504	Brockton	5/15/2026	CO
18	JO Worcester, Inc.	MR285223	MRR207443	Worcester	4/11/2026	CO
19	KG Collective Brockton, LLC	MR281374	MRR207500	Brockton	4/17/2026	CO
20	Krishna Lenox, LLC	MR283357	MRR207460	Lenox	4/9/2026	CO
21	Lowkey 2 LLC	MR284730	MRR207390	Boston	3/14/2026	CO
22	Lunar Xtracts, Inc.	MP282247	MPR244397	Taunton	4/16/2026	CO
23	Mass Greenwoods LLC	MR284644	MRR207432	Boston	3/13/2026	CO
24	Misty Mountain Shop, LLC	MR282634	MRR207024	Malden	4/19/2026	CO
25	New England Cannabis Corporation, Inc.	MC281251	MCR140902	Holliston	4/6/2026	CO
26	New England Cannabis Corporation, Inc.	MP281466	MPR244311	Holliston	4/6/2026	CO
27	Nova Farms LLC	MR282516	MRR207463	Framingham	4/8/2026	CO

28	Power Fund Operations	MR281910	MRR206816	Orange	4/8/2026	CO
29	SafeTiva Labs LLC	IL281354	ILR267957	Westfield	4/26/2026	CO
30	Sira Naturals, Inc.	MR283946	MRR207378	Boston	5/16/2026	CO
31	SOCIAL- J LLC	DO100155	DOR5182983	Northampton	3/12/2026	CO
32	Supercritical Mass Laboratories Inc.	MP281321	MPR244420	Worcester	3/19/2026	CO
33	Sweetgrass Botanicals Extractions LLC	MP282058	MPR244407	Lee	4/21/2026	CO
34	T. Bear Inc.	MP281314	MPR244405	Wareham	3/23/2026	CO
35	Temple Hill Collective, Inc.	MP281383	MPR244400	Orange	6/24/2026	CO
36	True East Leaf LLC	MC282313	MCR140994	Pittsfield	3/13/2026	PL
37	True East Leaf LLC	MR282909	MRR207453	Pittsfield	3/13/2026	PL

2. All active license expiration dates will be extended by one (1) year following approval. Expiration dates for licenses that have expired prior to the Public Meeting will be set for one (1) year from the date of approval.

3. 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.

4. All licensees have submitted documentation of good standing from the Secretary of the Commonwealth, Department of Revenue, and Department of Unemployment Assistance, if applicable.

5. All licensees provided a compliant HCA or HCA Waiver, that was accepted by Commission staff pursuant to 935 CMR 500.180(3).

6. All licensees have paid the appropriate annual license fee.

7. The licensees, when applicable, have been inspected during the current renewal period.

8. 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: MARCH 12, 2026

RENEWAL OVERVIEW

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

	Licensee Name	License Number	Renewal Application Number	Current Expiration Date	Host Community (Cultivation)	Host Community (Dispensing)	License Status
38	HVV Massachusetts, Inc.	RMD1185	RMDR193814	3/13/2026	Gloucester	Gloucester	CO
39	Curaleaf Massachusetts, Inc.	RMD385	PAPER	3/19/2026	Webster	Hanover	CO
40	HVV Massachusetts, Inc.	RMD1405	PAPER	3/20/2026	Gloucester	Boston	CO

2. All active license expiration dates will be extended by one (1) year following approval. Expiration dates for licenses that have expired prior to the Public Meeting will be set for one (1) year from the date of approval.

3. All licensees have submitted renewal applications pursuant to 935 CMR 501.100(5).

4. All licensees have paid the appropriate annual license fee.

5. All licensees provided a compliant HCA or HCA Waiver, that was accepted by Commission staff pursuant to 935 CMR 500.180(3).

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 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.

Cannabis Control Commission
COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS

MARIJUANA CULTIVATOR RENEWALS TIER RELEGATION CONSIDERATIONS
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY
COMMISSION MEETING: MARCH 12, 2026

RENEWAL OVERVIEW

1. Renewal applications presented for approval:

Business Name:	HVV Massachusetts, Inc.
License Number:	RMD1405
Renewal Application:	RMDR193815
Expiration Date:	03/20/2026
Host Community (Cultivation)	Gloucester
Host Community (Dispensing)	Boston
Current Tier Level:	No tier designation[1]
Percentage Sold:	N/A
Additional Information:	The above Medical Marijuana Treatment Center is not currently conducting cultivation operations under this vertically integrated license. Therefore, there are no harvests or sales data to calculate the percentage of canopy used. The Licensee provided the following attestation: "The licensee does not grow or harvest any plants under RMD1405. As is common in the industry, the licensee tags all of its plants and cultivation operations under its RMD1185 license which predates its RMD1405 license. There is no harvest data for RMD1405 and harvest data for RMD1185 has been provided."

2. All active license expiration dates will be extended by one (1) year following approval. Expiration dates for licenses that have expired prior to the Public Meeting will be set for one (1) year from the date of approval.

Marijuana Establishment Executive Summary 1

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[1] Medical Marijuana Treatment Centers licensed in MMJOS were not required to select a cultivation tier.

3. 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.

4. All licensees have submitted documentation of good standing from the Secretary of the Commonwealth, Department of Revenue, and Department of Unemployment Assistance, if applicable.

5. All licensees provided a compliant HCA or HCA Waiver, that was accepted by Commission staff pursuant to 935 CMR 500.180(3).

6. All licensees have paid the appropriate annual license fee.

7. The licensees, when applicable, have been inspected during the current renewal period.

8. The licensees' cultivation tier data has been reviewed by Commission staff and found that the licensee sold less than 70% of what it produced during the six months prior to the application for renewal for an indoor cultivator or during the harvest season prior to the application for renewal for an outdoor cultivator.

9. 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.

FreeMarketMA, LLC
MP282279

ESTABLISHMENT OVERVIEW

1. Name and address of the Marijuana Establishment:

Licensee Business Name:	FreeMarketMA, LLC
Licensed Location:	118 Bayview Avenue, Berkley, MA 02779

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

License Type(s) Sought:
Marijuana Product Manufacturer

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

Type	Status	Location
Marijuana Cultivator, Tier X/Indoor/Outdoor (5,001 – 10,000 sq. ft.)	Final License	Berkley

LICENSING OVERVIEW

4. The licensee was approved for provisional licensure for the above-mentioned license(s) on December 14, 2023.

5. The licensee has paid all applicable license fees.

6. No new information has been reported to Commission staff regarding the organizational structure of the entity since the issuance of the provisional license(s).

7. No new information has been discovered by Commission staff regarding the suitability of the licensees previously disclosed since the issuance of the provisional license(s).

INSPECTION OVERVIEW

Final License Executive Summary 1

8. Commission staff inspected the licensee's facility on the following date(s): February 2, 2026.

9. The licensee's facility was inspected by Commission staff and found to be in full compliance with the requirements listed in 935 CMR 500.105through 935 CMR 500.160 as applicable.

10. No evidence was discovered during the inspection(s) that indicated the licensee was not in compliance with all applicable state laws and local bylaws or ordinances.

11. Specific information from Commission staff's inspection is highlighted below:

   a. Security

   Enforcement staff verified that all security-related requirements were in full compliance with Commission regulations. Some of the requirements verified include the following:
      i. The security of all entrances and exits;
      ii. Visitor procedures;
      iii. Limited access areas;
      iv. Verification of a primary and back-up security company;
      v. Presence of perimeter and duress alarms; and
      vi. All cameras complied with Commission requirements.

   b. Inventory and Storage

   Enforcement staff verified that all inventory-related requirements were in full compliance with Commission regulations. Some of the requirements verified include the following:
      i. Secure storage of marijuana and marijuana products;
      ii. Sanitation and pest control measures; and
      iii. Inventory controls and procedures.

   c. Product Manufacturing Operation

   Enforcement staff verified that all manufacturing-related requirements were in full compliance with Commission regulations. Some of the requirements verified include the following:
      i. Proposed product compliance; and
      ii. Safety, sanitation, and security of the area and products.

   d. Transportation

   The licensee will not be performing transportation activities at this time.

FINAL LICENSE CONDITIONS   Final License Executive Summary 2

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

1. The licensee may possess, prepare, produce, and otherwise acquire marijuana, but shall not sell, or otherwise transport marijuana to other Marijuana Establishments, until upon inspection, receiving permission from the Commission to commence full operations.
2. The licensee is subject to inspection to ascertain compliance with Commission regulations.
3. The licensee remains suitable for licensure.
4. The licensee shall cooperate with and provide information to Commission staff.
5. Licensure is subject to notification to the Commission of any update to written operations plans required by 935 CMR 500.105(1) prior to the issuance of a commencement of operations and that Commission staff be given adequate opportunity to review said plans at the business location or the location where any such plans are maintained in the normal course of business.

The licensee has demonstrated compliance with the laws and regulations of the Commonwealth and suitability for licensure. Therefore, the licensee is recommended for final licensure.

As part of the approval of final licensure, the Commission authorizes staff to take all necessary actions to review compliance with the above-referenced conditions and to approve the commencement of operations.

Kapnos, Inc.
MRN285398

APPLICATION OF INTENT REVIEW

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

License Applicant Business Name:	Kapnos, Inc.
License Applicant d/b/a Name:	Kapnos Cannabis Co.
Proposed Location:	2 Merchant St, Unit 4, Sharon, MA 02067

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

License Type(s) Sought:
Marijuana Retailer

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

Type	Status	Location
Marijuana Cultivator, Tier 2/Indoor (5,001 – 10,000 sq. ft.)	Commence Operations	Sharon

4. List of all required individuals and their roles:

Individual	Role
Lynne Striar	Person Having Direct/Indirect Control / Capital Contributor
Cheryl Giannopoulos	Person Having Direct/Indirect Control
Soozen Tribuna	Person Having Direct/Indirect Control
Ralph Morin	Person Having Direct/Indirect Control
Shivam Patel	Person Having Direct/Indirect Control
Jignesh Panchani	Person Having Direct/Indirect Control

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:

    General Applicant

7. The license applicant and host community executed a Host Community Agreement ("HCA") on February 26, 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 received a municipal response from the host community on February 18, 2026 stating the applicant was in compliance with all local ordinances or by-laws

9. The license applicant proposed the following goals for its Positive Impact Plan:

#	Goal
1	The license applicant proposed to provide access to the wholesale market for communities that have been disproportionately impacted by the war on drugs, including Randolph and Brockton by allocating 10% of its product to SE license holders by the end of the company first year of business.
2	The license applicant proposed to donate $5,000, annually to EON.

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: 50% Women, 25% People of color, particularly Black, African American, Hispanic, Latinx, and Indigenous peoples, 10% Veterans, 10% Persons with Disabilities, and 10% LGBTQ+ People.
2	The license applicant proposed to engage with 50% Women, 25% People of color, particularly Black, African American, Hispanic, Latinx, and Indigenous peoples, 10% Veterans, 10% Persons with Disabilities, and 10% LGBTQ+ People-owned businesses.

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.

Cannabis Control Commission
COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS

FY 2027 CNB One Sheet

FY 2027 BUDGET REQUEST- $32,927,978

Maintenance Request- $23,313,736

"Expansion" Request- $9,614,242

      Total Request Less Public Education Line Item - $31,427,978

The Massachusetts Cannabis Control Commission (Commission)'s mission 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.

Protecting a $9 Billion Adult-use Cannabis Industry

- Cannabis is now the largest agricultural commodity in Massachusetts by value.
- This budget discussion ultimately ties back to the 2016 Ballot Question and the importance of avoiding disruption to a major source of state revenue.
- A stable and properly funded Commission is essential to preserving market integrity, public trust, and long-term revenue generation for the entire Commonwealth.
- Massachusetts has developed one of the largest regulated cannabis markets in the country. Since legalization, the industry has generated more than $9 billion in cumulative adult-use sales, including $1.65 billion in sales in 2025 alone.
- As of January 2026: There are over 600 active adult-use Marijuana Establishments and 91 Medical Marijuana Treatment Centers operating statewide.

Return on Investment and Revenue

For every $1 invested in the Commission, the Commonwealth receives approximately $16 back in revenue. In FY25, this amounted to:

- Approximately $308 million; and
- Approximately $20 million in non-tax regulatory revenue;

[The Commission retains none of this revenue](). All funds flow directly to the general fund or the Marijuana Regulation Fund and are appropriated through the state budget process to support workforce development, public safety, substance use programs, and other state priorities, along with agency operations.

In FY25, the cannabis industry generated an additional $51 million in local option tax revenue which was directly funneled back into municipal budgets to support essential public services.

Structural Funding Imbalance

Massachusetts' cannabis market has grown rapidly while Commission funding has remained largely flat. Since FY 2023, operational licenses have increased by 34% while Commission funding only increased by 2.5%.

Over the past four fiscal years, the Commission has been charged with expanded responsibilities without commensurate increases in staffing or infrastructure.

Public education remains an increasingly unfunded mandate. The Commission has not received public education funding since FY 2020, despite new statutory responsibilities and the advent of social consumption.

Comparable public safety education programs receive dedicated funding.

In FY 2026, the Commission delayed hiring of critical positions limited required updates to IT Infrastructure, reduced spending on training, compliance oversight, and public education to balance its limited budget. A hiring freeze maintains in effect in order for the Commission to stay within its FY2026 budget allocation. **This approach is no longer sustainable without operational and financial risk.**

FY 2027 Budget Request Overview

Total FY 2027 request: $32.9 million, representing approximately 10% of annual cannabis projected revenues.
- Excluding public education, the core operating request is $31.4 million.

Primary investment areas:
- Public health and safety – Off-the-shelf testing verification ($100K) and reference laboratory ($700K)
- Data transparency and analysis – Requires continued IT investment through EOTSS and MassCIP ($2.8M)
- Social Consumption rollout – Licensing, compliance, education, and enforcement infrastructure
- Personnel – Deferred and new staffing necessary to support inspections, investigations, policy development, and data integrity

Public Health, Research, and Emerging Risks

- Ongoing research continues to highlight public health concerns, including links between high-potency cannabis exposure and adolescent mental health impacts.
- Massachusetts-based studies, including work from major medical institutions, reinforce the importance of regulatory oversight, education, and research capacity.
- Hemp-derived and novel products further increase the need for regulatory and scientific expertise.

Consequences of Underfunding

Continued underfunding creates agency operational strain that can lead to reduced enforcement capacity resulting in:
- Slower licensing decisions;
- Investigative delays;
- Fewer inspections; and
- Greater risk of compliance violations.

These conditions increase the risk of market instability, consumer harm, and revenue loss for the Commonwealth.

Bottom Line

The Commission regulates a voter-authorized industry that returns hundreds of millions of dollars annually to the Commonwealth and employees over 18,000 individuals. The Commission's FY 2027 request represents approximately 10% of projected annual cannabis revenue generated by the regulated market. Ensuring that the Commission has the resources necessary to regulate this market protects:
- Public health and safety
- Market integrity
- Consumer confidence
- State revenue streams

The Commonwealth cannot afford to risk disruption or revenue loss through under-investment in the agency responsible for regulating this industry.

Outlook

FY2027 Cannabis Control Commission Budget Request

From Government Affairs Department <GovAffairs@cccmass.com>

Date Mon 3/9/2026 3:57 PM

Cc Matt Giancola <Matt.Giancola@cccmass.com>; Jessica Porter <Jessica.Porter@cccmass.com>; Callie MacDonald <Callie.MacDonald@cccmass.com>

📎 1 attachment (311 KB)
FY27 Budget One Sheet (1).pdf;

Dear Senators and Representatives,

In determining your budget allocations, the Cannabis Control Commission asks you to consider that the Commission has absorbed four years of mission expansion on a flat budget. With emerging research and trends in Cannabis, this model is no longer sustainable without risk for the Commonwealth. Social consumption is coming to Massachusetts and implementation without properly funded staffing and infrastructure could pose a threat to public health and safety.

The Cannabis Control Commission does not retain any of the revenue generated by the cannabis industry, but instead relies on budget appropriations. Investment in the Commission directly benefits the Commonwealth, as every $1 invested returns $16 in revenue through taxes and fees. In FY 2025 alone, the regulated cannabis market returned approximately $308 million to the Commonwealth, not including local option tax revenue. The Commission's FY27 Budget request is $32.9 million, just 10% of the annual cannabis revenue.

For more information, please find attached to this email a one sheet containing information on the Commission's Fiscal Year 2027 Budget Request.

If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to reach out to jessica.porter@cccmass.com.

Sincerely,

Government Affairs and Policy

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Cannabis Use Trends in Massachusetts, Findings from the International Cannabis Policy Study, 2019-2023

March 2026

Massachusetts Cannabis Control Commission

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Executive Summary: Report Impetus and Main Findings

Report Impetus

This report has been prepared in response to Massachusetts General Law Chapter 94G, Section 17(a) to assess multiple items on the Cannabis Control Commission (Commission)'s research agenda. The legislation states that: "*The commission shall develop a research agenda in order to understand the social and economic trends of marijuana in the commonwealth, to inform future decisions that would aid in the closure of the illicit marketplace and to inform the commission on the public health impacts of marijuana*" [G. L. c. 94G, § 17a]. This report addresses the following research agenda items:

1. *Patterns of use, methods of consumption, sources of purchase and general perceptions of marijuana among minors, among college and university students, and among adults* [G. L. c. 94G, § 17a (i)];
2. *Incidents of impaired driving, hospitalization and use of other health care services related to marijuana use, including a report of the state of the science around identifying a quantifiable level of marijuana-induced impairment of motor vehicle operation and a report on the financial impacts on the state healthcare system of hospitalizations related to marijuana* [G. L. c. 94G, § 17a (ii)];
3. *A market analysis examining the expansion or contraction of the illicit marketplace and the expansion or contraction of the legal marketplace, including estimates and comparisons of pricing and product availability in both markets* [G. L. c. 94G, § 17a (v)]; and
4. *A compilation of data on the number of civil penalties, arrests, prosecutions, incarcerations and sanctions imposed for violations of chapter 94C for possession, distribution or trafficking of marijuana or marijuana products, including the age, race, gender, country of origin, state geographic region and average sanctions of the persons charged* [G. L. c. 94G, § 17a (vii)].

This report serves to assess cannabis use trends in Massachusetts, utilizing data from the International Cannabis Policy Study (ICPS). The ICPS is a quasi-experimental population-based survey that allows the monitoring and study of differential effects of cannabis policies and outcomes, including but not limited to prevalence and patterns of use, purchasing and price, consumption and product types, commercial retail landscape, risk behaviors, and knowledge and perceptions. The Research Department assessed ICPS data from 2019-2023 in this report, which contained a total of 11,635 participants from Massachusetts, including the 2019 and 2020 waves previously assessed in the Commission's 2022 ICPS report.

Main Findings

- Thirty-seven percent of Massachusetts residents reported cannabis use in the past year, including 43% of the 2023 sample. Fourteen percent reported daily or near daily cannabis use, including 17% of the 2023 sample.
- Participants report most frequently consuming cannabis products in the form of "Flower" (74%), "Edible" (72%), and "Oils, Vaporized" (40%).
- Cannabis users most frequently reported sourcing their cannabis from a "Store" (61%), a "Family member or friend" (56%), or a "Dealer" (24%). "Store" has surpassed "Family member or friend" as the most frequently reported source of cannabis since the 2022 ICPS report on the 2019-2020 survey waves.
- Seventy-eight percent of participants expressed support for legal adult-use cannabis.
- Fourteen percent of participants who used cannabis in the last 12 months reported driving after using cannabis.
- Of participants who answered the "Use at Work" question, 13% reported use of cannabis at or before work in the past 30 days.
- Many participants reported the co-use of cannabis with another substance. The substances with the highest rates of co-use with cannabis were alcohol (48%), cigarettes (38%), and e-cigarettes (23%). Co-use of cannabis with other illicit substances was reported by 11% of participants who had used these illicit substances, with wide variations in frequency depending on the substance.
- Nine percent of cannabis users reported seeking medical services to treat adverse health effects following cannabis consumption.
- Many cannabis users reported using cannabis to improve or manage both mental health (43%) and physical health (51%) concerns.
- Five percent of participants reported a previous cannabis-related arrest.

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1

I. Introduction

Brief History of Cannabis Laws and Regulations

Federal Regulations

Cannabis (marijuana) has been used for religious, recreational, and therapeutic purposes for thousands of years worldwide, including in the United States (U.S.), where its cultivation and use were legal under federal and state laws throughout most of American history.

From 1850 to 1941, cannabis was even included in the *United States Pharmacopeia*, an official list of public standards for recognized medicinal drugs. However, following the Mexican Revolution of 1910 and the Great Depression, the government began legislating against cannabis. In 1937, the passing of the Marihuana Tax Act restricted the possession and sale of cannabis (Bridgeman & Abazia, 2017). Next, the 1952 Boggs Act amended the Narcotic Drugs Import and Export Act and set mandatory sentences for drug convictions, including cannabis, which ultimately set up cannabis as an enforcement issue. Rigid policing and President Richard Nixon's campaign in 1968 led to cannabis' prohibition being further codified into law in 1970 with the passage of the Controlled Substances Act (Gabay, 2013).

Cannabis is currently federally prohibited and classified as a Schedule I substance, meaning that under federal law, cannabis is designated as having 1) high potential for abuse, 2) no accepted medical uses, and 3) no accepted safety data for use under medical supervision (Bridgeman & Abazia, 2017). Combined, these changes created the phenomenon of the "War on Drugs," or the disproportionate enactment and enforcement of cannabis policies which harmed persons and communities of color.

At the end of the 20th century, cannabis prohibition in the U.S. began to change with state-by-state cannabis decriminalization. Decriminalization did not legalize cannabis but instead replaced criminal sanctions for possession and small-scale casual distribution of cannabis with civil fines. In 1996, California voters passed the Compassionate Use Act (Proposition 215), which permitted cannabis possession and use for those with specific medical conditions. It was the start of medical cannabis policies such as Proposition 215 that marked the historic change to legalize cannabis for medicinal use. As of July 2025, 38 states, including Massachusetts, have enacted medical cannabis programs, and another eight states allow for the use of "low THC, high cannabidiol" cannabis products (Center for Disease Control, 2024; National Conference of State Legislatures, 2025). More recently, Nebraska legalized medical use but does not have an operational program yet (Title 238 Nebraska Medical Cannabis Commission: Emergency Regulations, 2025). Twenty-four states and the District of Columbia have legalized cannabis for non-medical adult use (Cross, 2025).

Federal regulation in the post-prohibition era has largely taken a state-led approach in which cannabis is still federally prohibited, but states may set their own policies. With the exception of the Cole memorandum under the Obama Administration and Sessions memorandum under the first Trump Administration that provided enforcement guidance regarding states with legal cannabis, the federal government has largely kept out of state-led cannabis legalization and regulation. However, this trend started to change in the 2022 White House statement from former President Joe Biden on Marijuana Reform. The Administration pardoned all federal offenses of simple cannabis possession and recommended that state governors do the same, and former President Biden requested the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) to review marijuana's Schedule I status. In April 2024, the Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) signaled its agreement with HHS's recommendation to reclassify marijuana as a Schedule III drug and began a formal rulemaking process to effectuate the reclassification. The Commission provided public comment for this, along with stakeholders throughout the nation.

However, under the second Trump Administration, federal rescheduling has stalled. While a hearing to assess the Biden Administration's rescheduling proposal was initially scheduled for January 21, 2025, a DEA administrative law judge cancelled the hearing and left marijuana rescheduling to the new Trump Administration. On February 11, 2025, President Donald Trump announced his nomination of Terrance C. Cole for DEA Administrator, who has expressed opposition to cannabis reform, as has the current acting DEA Administrator, Derek Maltz (Ravitz et al., 2025). Additionally, in April 2025, the White House announced its Statement of Drug Policy Priorities for the Trump Administration's first year, and cannabis rescheduling was not among them (The White House, 2025). At this time, it remains unclear how federal cannabis reform will develop moving forward, but states and industry stakeholders continue to monitor cannabis policy changes at local, state, and federal levels.

Massachusetts Regulations

Massachusetts enacted and implemented cannabis reform in different waves via ballot initiatives. Voters passed the Massachusetts Sensible Marijuana Policy Initiative in 2008, which converted the possession of small amounts of cannabis (i.e., less than one ounce or 28 grams) from a misdemeanor to a $100 fine. In 2012, voters approved the Massachusetts Medical Marijuana Initiative, which established Massachusetts as the 18th state to legalize medical cannabis. The first Medical Marijuana Treatment Center (MTC) in Massachusetts opened in June 2015. Voters then legalized non-medical adult-use cannabis in 2016 via the Massachusetts Marijuana Legalization Initiative. This established Massachusetts as the sixth state to legalize cannabis possession and use for residents ages 21 and older. Upon passage of the Massachusetts Marijuana Legalization Initiative, the Legislature made further amendments and adopted Chapter 55 of the Acts of 2017, which led to the establishment of G. L. c. 94G governing adult-use cannabis. After the first Commission was appointed on September 1, 2017, Commissioners

approved Massachusetts' first adult-use cannabis regulations in March 2018, followed by their approval of the state's first provisional license in June 2018. Adult-use Marijuana Retailers officially opened for operation beginning in November 2018. Additionally, G. L. c. 94I governing medical use of marijuana was included in Chapter 55 of the Acts of 2017, under which the Commission assumed regulation of medical cannabis in Massachusetts from the Department of Public Health (DPH), starting in December 2018.

The enabling legislation also outlined a robust research agenda with both one-time and annual research mandates. The one-time statutes include St. 2017, c.55 [St. 2017, c. 55, § 30(f); St. 2017, c. 55, § 62] and the annual agenda items are outlined in G. L. c. 94G, § 17(a) and G. L. c. 94G, § 17(b). The Commission completed its one-time research mandates in 2021, and continues to pursue its annual mandate on an ongoing basis by policy design.

Cannabis legislation has continued to evolve as the market has matured. Chapter 180 of the Acts of 2022, An Act Relative to Equity in the Cannabis Industry, was signed into law on August 11, 2022, and went into effect on November 9, 2022. Chapter 180 required the Commission to amend its existing medical and adult-use cannabis regulations to interpret and implement this reform law, which significantly impacted the licensed cannabis industry, particularly with respect to the agency's oversight of Host Community Agreements (HCAs), municipal equity requirements, and agent suitability reform. The Commission voted on September 22, 2023, to approve final regulatory changes. Regulations were promulgated ahead of the Legislature's deadline on October 27, 2023.

Most recently, as of July 2025, the Massachusetts House of Representatives passed H. 4206, *An Act modernizing the commonwealth's cannabis laws,* which would make substantial changes to Massachusetts' regulated cannabis industry (Bill H.4206: An Act Modernizing the Commonwealth's Cannabis Laws, 2025). This bill lists a variety of policy changes, including: restructuring the Commission from a five Commissioner board to three Commissioners appointed by the Governor; making structural changes to the medical marijuana program, such as removing the current vertical integration requirement; expanding the Commission's regulatory oversight to hemp-based products; implementing a new accounts receivable system for cannabis licenses; raising the cap on retail license ownership from three to six; and mandating research studies by 2027 on youth, impaired driving, and the use of health care services related to marijuana use. This bill has since moved to the Senate for further consideration.

Legal Market Update

The first Medical Marijuana Treatment Center (MTC), formerly referred to as a Registered Marijuana Dispensary (RMD), licensed under Massachusetts' Medical Use of Marijuana (MMJ) program opened in June 2015; the first adult-use Marijuana Retailers opened in November 2018. As of July 22, 2025, there were 380 operational Marijuana Retailers across the Commonwealth

[See Table I.A.1. Marijuana Establishment Licenses by Type and Active Status, July 2025], including (as of June 2025) 94 licensed dispensing MTCs. There were 662 total operational adult-use Marijuana Establishments as of July 2025, including Independent Testing Laboratories, Cultivators, Product Manufacturers, delivery services, and more.

There were 21,337 active agent (establishment owner and employee) registrations, including 5,433 MMJ registrations, as of July 10, 2025 (Massachusetts Cannabis Control Commission, 2025a). The number of individual agents is lower than this total, because many individuals have more than one agent registration.

Figure I.A.1. Active, Operational Marijuana Retailers and MTCs by Zip Code, July 2025

Number
1   11
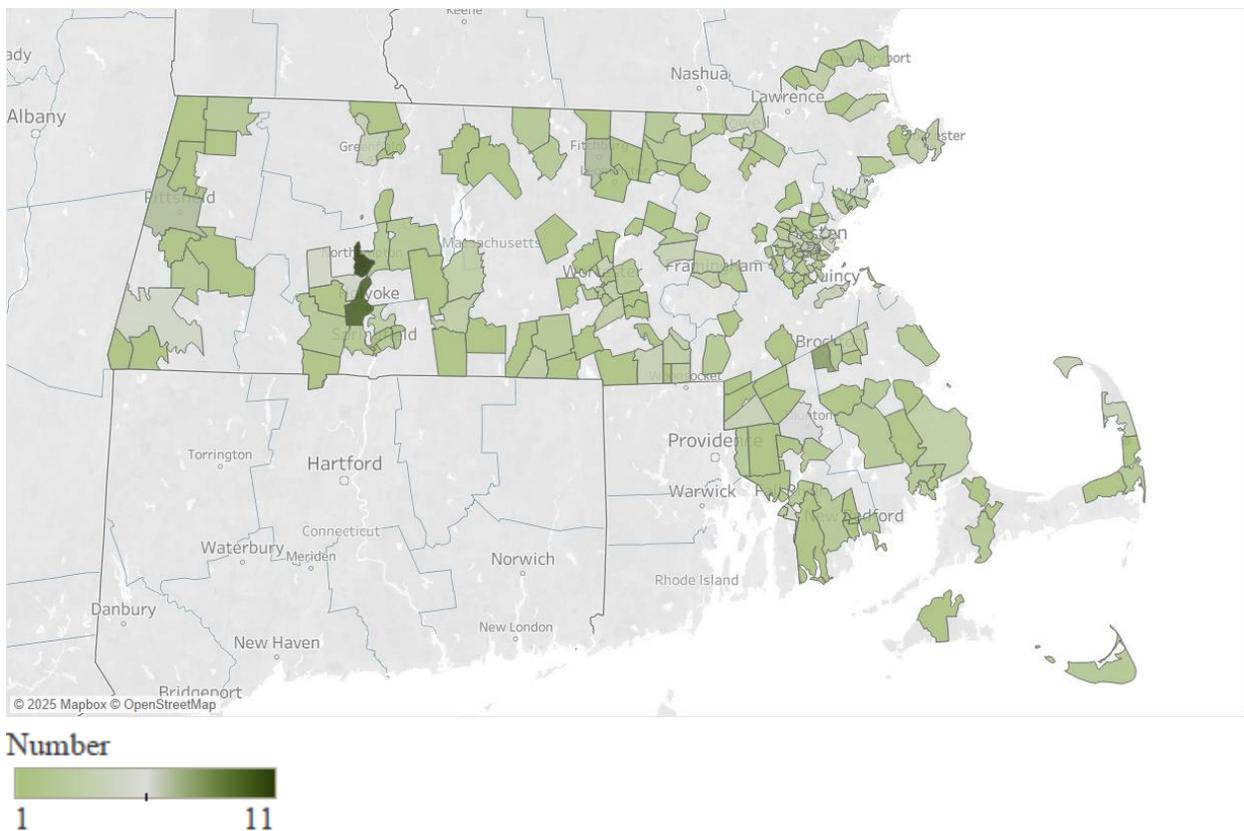
Note: The geographic unit here is zip code, rather than county, to show a more detailed distribution of Marijuana Retailers and MTCs across the Commonwealth.

Table I.A.1. Marijuana Establishment Licenses by Type and Active Status, July 2025

License Type	Active	Inactive	Grand Total
Independent Testing Laboratory	11	5	16
Marijuana Courier	5	3	8
Marijuana Cultivator	123	20	143

Marijuana Delivery Operator	16	2	18
Marijuana Microbusiness	12	2	14
Marijuana Product Manufacturer	106	18	124
Marijuana Retailer	380	20	400
Marijuana Transporter with Other Existing Marijuana Establishment License	4	0	4
Microbusiness Delivery	1	1	2
Third Party Marijuana Transporter	4	1	5
Grand Total	**662**	**72**	**734**

Legislative Research Mandate

Per the results of 2016 ballot Question 4, a legislative effort was enacted to modify the voter initiative. One of those modifications created the enabling legislation, St. 2017, c.55, *An Act to Ensure Safe Access to Marijuana*, which outlined a robust research agenda. The one-time statutes include St. 2017, c.55 [St. 2017, c. 55, § 30(f); St. 2017, c. 55, § 62] and the annual agenda items are outlined in G.L. c. 94G, § 17.

Massachusetts G. L. c. 94G, § 17(a) outlines research agenda items and states: "*[t]he [Cannabis Control] commission shall develop a research agenda in order to understand the social and economic trends of marijuana ("cannabis") in the commonwealth, to inform future decisions that would aid in the closure of the illicit marketplace and to inform the commission on the public health impacts of marijuana*" and § 17 (b) states: "*[t]he Commission shall incorporate available data, annually report on the results of its research, and make recommendations for further research or policy changes.*"

Cannabis Use Statistics

National Cannabis Use Statistics

Adults

Cannabis use patterns have changed in the U.S. over time. According to the 2002 National Survey on Drug Use and Health (NSDUH), 11 percent of the noninstitutionalized U.S. population ages 12 or older reported past-year cannabis use (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention et al., 2016). In the 2021 National Survey on Drug Use and Health (NSDUH), 18.7% of participants ages 12 and older reported using cannabis in the past year (Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration, 2022). Past-year cannabis use was 35.4% among those ages 18-25 and 17.2% of those aged 26 and older.

In the 2022 NSDUH survey, the most recent data available, 22% of Americans aged 12 or older reported using cannabis in the past year. Past-year cannabis use was 38.2% among participants

aged 18 to 25, and 20.6% among participants aged 26 and older (Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration et al., 2023).

Youth

In the 2022 NSDUH survey, 11.5% of participants ages 12-17 reported using cannabis in the past year, compared to 10.5% in 2021, 10.1% in 2020, 13.2% in 2019, and 12.5% in 2018.

The 2021 Youth Risk Behavior Surveillance System (YRBSS) survey found a 15.8% rate of "current" (past month) cannabis use among high school students, compared to 21.7% in 2019, and 19.8% in 2017 (Walensky et al., 2023).

Discrepancies between surveys are unsurprising, and likely stem from differences in survey design and sampling procedures. The YRBSS survey is carried out in public schools, therefore excluding non-public school students and any students who are absent or who have dropped out. NSDUH, by contrast, is a household interview survey.

However, both surveys find a decrease in cannabis use from before to during or after the COVID-19 pandemic, consistent with broader trends in substance use during that time. For example, the YRBSS also found that current use of alcohol among high school students decreased from 29.2% in 2019 to 22.7% in 2021.

Massachusetts Cannabis Use Statistics

The 2023 Behavioral Risk Factor Surveillance System (BRFSS) survey found that 18.2% of Massachusetts adults who took the survey reported cannabis use in the past year, compared to 14.2% in 2021, 15.9% in 2020, 12.9% in 2018, and 14.4% in 2017 (Massachusetts Department of Public Health et al., 2018, 2019, 2022, 2023, 2025). The 18-24 and 25-34 age groups reported the highest rates of past-year use, compared to other age groups in all enumerated years— rates were 26.5% (18-24) and 29.0% (25-34) in 2023, and 25.2% (18-24) and 26.1% (25-34) in 2021.

II. Methods

International Cannabis Policy Study (ICPS)

Overview

As described in the Results section, the [International Cannabis Policy Study (ICPS)](#) is a quasi-experimental population-based survey that allows the monitoring and study of differential effects of cannabis policies and outcomes, including but not limited to prevalence and patterns of use, purchasing and price, consumption and product types, commercial retail landscape, risk behaviors, and knowledge and perceptions.

The survey began in 2018 and is led by Dr. David Hammond and his team at the University of Waterloo. The study initially surveyed residents of the U.S. and Canada, and now includes Australia, Germany, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom. The study assesses many aspects of residents' experiences with cannabis, including patterns of consumption, purchasing trends, adverse outcomes, and their attitudes and beliefs about cannabis. The Commission has used the ICPS to study the public health impacts of cannabis legalization in Massachusetts since 2019.

Participants

Massachusetts residents ages 16-65 years old were recruited to complete the survey through the Nielsen Consumer Insights Global Panel.

From 2019-2023, a total of 11,635 participants from Massachusetts completed the ICPS. This total includes the 2019 and 2020 waves previously surveyed in the 2022 ICPS report (n = 4,683). The most recent sample from 2023 contained 1,800 total participants. A simplified survey sample breakdown can be found in Table II.B.1. Demographics Overview by Survey Year, and a more complete breakdown can be found in the Results section.

Table II.B.1. Demographics Overview by Survey Year

Sample Year	Sample Size	% of Total	Mean Age	White %	Woman % (Gender)	Student %	Difficult %(Income)
2019	2,476	21.28%	43.3	83.40%	74.70%	15.32%	37.16%
2020	2,207	18.97%	44.8	82.74%	64.67%	17.05%	25.29%
2021	1,763	15.15%	44.2	84%	69.30%	17.58%	24.20%
2022	3,389	29.13%	43.1	82.92%	66.28%	13.03%	25.83%
2023	1,800	15.47%	42.6	83.39%	62.89%	15.29%	36.75%

Grand Total	11,635	100%	43.5	83.22%	65.99%	15.11%	32.52%

Note: "Difficult %" refers to the ICPS question that asks participants to subjectively rate their income adequacy, specifically how difficult or easy it is to make ends meet. This is the percent of respondents that selected "Difficult" or "Very Difficult." Details regarding the income adequacy measure can be found below under "Data Sections: Demographics."

Sampling

Non-probability samples of participants were recruited through the Nielsen Consumer Insights Global Panel and their partners' panels. The Nielsen panels are recruited using a variety of probability and non-probability sampling methods. For the ICPS surveys, Nielsen draws stratified random samples from the online panels, with quotas based on sex, age and state/province of residence. Upon completion, participants receive compensation in accordance with panels' usual incentive structure.

Branching Questions

The ICPS uses branching question methodology to efficiently obtain the most information from participants without including questions irrelevant to their situation (for example, asking someone if they consume cannabis edibles if that person has already reported that they have never tried cannabis). Although there were 11,635 participants in the entire Massachusetts sample from 2019-2023, the sample size can shrink quickly when looking only at specific "branches" of participants. For example, the subset of participants who reported that they had used cannabis within the past 30 days was 2,989, or 26%, of the entire sample of 11,635 [Figure III.B.1 Survey Branching]. Samples are even smaller and less generalizable when stratified by year, by demographics, or other characteristics; for example, there were only 33 participants in the 2020 survey who identified as current students and who used cannabis on a daily/almost daily basis.

Figure II.B.1. Survey Branching

```
                                              ┌─────────────────────────┐
                                              │ Within the past 30 days │
                                              │         (26%)           │
                                              │                         │
                                              │  n = 2,989 : 11,635     │
                                              └─────────────────────────┘

                                              ┌─────────────────────────┐
                                              │ More than 30 days but   │
                                              │ less than 3 months (4%) │
                                              │                         │
                                              │  n = 498 : 11,635       │
                        ┌──────────────────┐  └─────────────────────────┘
                        │ When was the last time │
                        │ you used marijuana? │  ┌─────────────────────────┐
                        │       (70%)       │    │ More than 3 months but  │
                        │                   │    │ less than 12 months (7%)│
                        │ n = 8,194 : 11,635│    │                         │
                        └──────────────────┘     │  n = 856 : 11,635       │
                                              └─────────────────────────┘

                                              ┌─────────────────────────┐
  ┌──────────────────┐                        │ More than 12 months ago │
  │ Have you ever tried │                      │         (33%)           │
  │    marijuana?    │                         │                         │
  │                  │                         │  n = 3,851 : 11,635     │
  └──────────────────┘                        └─────────────────────────┘
       N = 11,635

                        ┌──────────────────┐
                        │ Never used cannabis │
                        │       (30%)       │
                        │                   │
                        │ n = 3,441 : 11,635│
                        └──────────────────┘
```
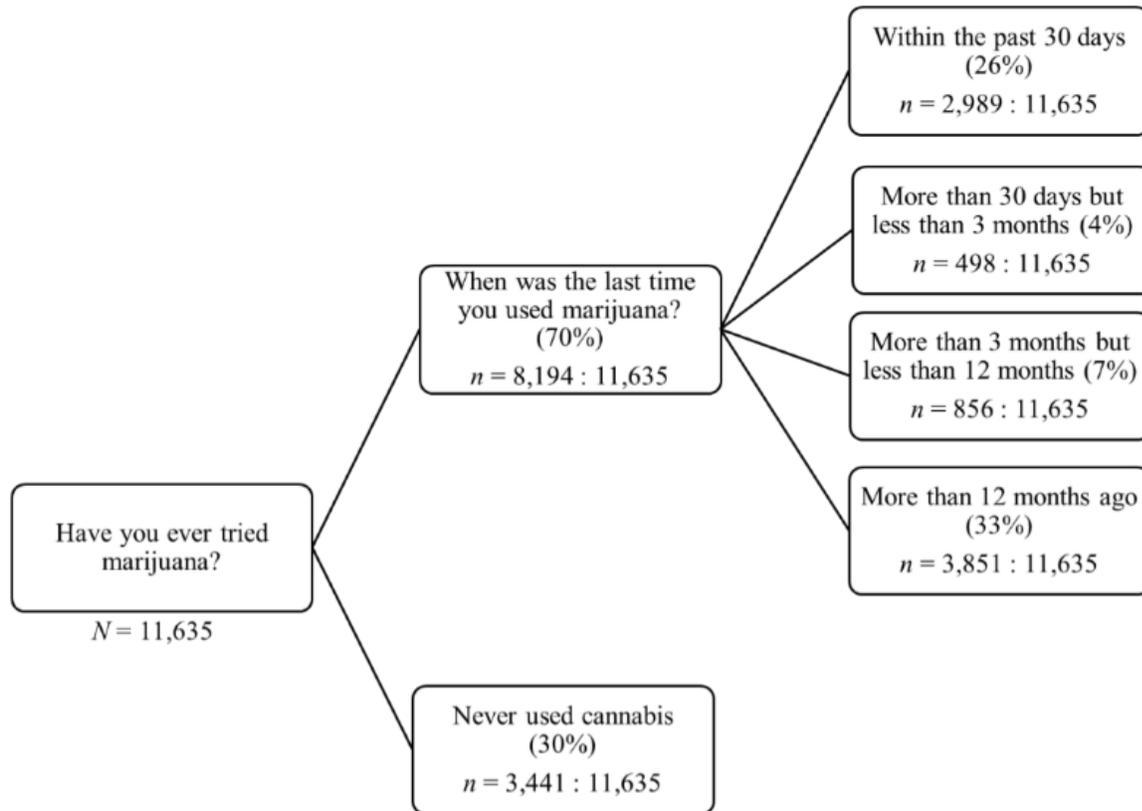
Data Sections

Demographics

The ICPS contains many demographic questions. However, for consistency and comparability to previous reports, the current report focused on seven demographic areas of interest:

1. Age;
2. Student status;
3. Sex;
4. Gender;
5. Race;
6. Ethnicity; and
7. Subjective income adequacy.

This report collapsed participant age into six age groups for analysis: 16-20, 21-25, 26-35, 36-45, 46-55, and 56-65 years old. The ICPS initially included all 16-25 year old participants in the same category, but this report separated this age cohort into two distinct subgroups to align with regulations in Massachusetts, which allow adults ages 21 or older to obtain cannabis products from licensed sources (there are exceptions for patients under age 21 registered in the Medical Use of Marijuana Program).

For student status, this report used the ICPS item "Are you currently a student, or will you be going to school next term?". While the ICPS does collect data on the highest level of education attained (e.g., "less than high school", "bachelor's degree or higher"), this report used a simple student/non-student dichotomy due to the concern of sample sizes.

For sex, this report used the ICPS item "What sex were you assigned at birth, on your original birth certificate?", which had the choices of "Female", "Male", or "Intersex". The ICPS team recategorized "Intersex" responses according to their gender identity, because very few participants selected this response; they also dropped individuals who selected "Intersex" and a gender identity of "Other" or "Unstated" from the analytic dataset.

For gender, this report used the ICPS item "How would you describe your gender today?". Several options for gender identities are presented in the current ICPS survey format, but to align with previous reports, this report categorized all responses into the options available in previous survey waves: 1) "Woman", 2) "Man", 3) Other, or 4) Unstated (the combined responses of "Don't know" and "Refuse to answer").

This report included participants' reported racial identity as a demographic of interest. Specifically, the ICPS item "People living in the United States come from many different cultural and racial backgrounds. What race do you consider yourself to be?". There were five identities provided as response options: 1) "American Indian or Alaskan Native"; 2) "Asian"; 3) "Black or African American"; 4) "Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander"; or 5) "White". This report grouped "American Indian or Alaskan Native" and "Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander" responses together as "Native, Mainland or Island" due to the small number of responses for each category. Participants could also select "Other" and write in their own identity or otherwise select "Don't know" or "Refuse to answer" (the latter two are collapsed in the report as "Unstated").

Racial and ethnic identities are treated as distinct entities in the U.S. version of the ICPS, with the ethnicity question recording whether an individual identifies as being of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin. Participants were asked "Do you consider yourself to be Hispanic, Latino, or of Spanish origin?" and provided a list of categories for assistance with identification. The available response options were "Yes", "No", "Don't know", or "Refuse to answer" (the latter two were collapsed in the report as "Unstated").

The ICPS asked participants to report their annual household income, and to subjectively rate their "income adequacy": "Thinking about your family's income, how difficult or easy is it to make ends meet?". Participants could respond "Very difficult", "Difficult", "Neither easy nor difficult", "Easy", "Very easy", "Don't know", or "Refuse to answer" (the latter two are collapsed in the report as "Unstated"). This report used the subjective income adequacy rating, rather than participants' reported annual income, for two reasons. Firstly, the cost of living varies widely across Massachusetts, and therefore the "adequacy" of the same annual income varies widely depending on area of residence. MIT's Living Wage Calculator estimates that typical

yearly expenses for one adult with zero children in 2025 amount to $46,164 in Hampden County, compared to $70,419 in Norfolk County, for example (Living Wage Institute & Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2025). Secondly, participants may have additional factors influencing the adequacy of their income that would not be captured by reported income alone, such as debts or care responsibilities.

Cannabis Use Frequency

Participants were asked a number of questions about the frequency with which they use cannabis. First, all participants were asked "Have you ever tried marijuana?". Those who reported that they had ever tried it were then asked, "When was the last time you used marijuana?". If they reported use less than 12 months ago, they were further asked, "How often do you use marijuana?". From these three items, this report grouped participants into one of six use frequency categories: "Never user", "Used more than 12 months ago", "Past 12-month user", "Monthly user", "Weekly user", or "Daily/almost daily user". These categories are mutually exclusive; for example, the "Past 12-month user" category does not also include participants in the "Monthly user", "Weekly user", or "Daily/almost daily user" categories.

Age of Cannabis Initiation

Participants who reported that they had ever used cannabis (70% of the survey sample) were asked: "How old were you when you first used marijuana?", for which they could enter a numeric answer (e.g. "25" if they were 25 years old).

Methods of Consumption

Participants who reported cannabis use within the past 12 months (37% of the survey sample) were asked about their methods of consumption: "Have you ever used marijuana in any of the following ways?" and were presented ten different methods of consumption, listed below (shortened names used in the report included in *italics*):

- Dried herb (smoked or vaped, including pre-rolled joints); *Flower*
- Cannabis oils or liquids taken orally (e.g. drops, capsules or sprays); *Oils, Oral*
- Cannabis oils or liquids for vaping; *Oils, Vaporized*
- Edibles/foods; *Edibles*
- Drinks (e.g., marijuana cola, tea or coffee); *Drinks*
- Concentrates (e.g., wax, shatter, budder, resin, rosin, crumble); *Concentrates*
- Hash or kief; *Hash/Kief*
- Tinctures (concentrated amounts ingested orally or taken under the tongue); *Tinctures*
- Topical ointments (e.g. skin lotions or bath products); *Topicals*

For each method of consumption, participants could respond "No", "Yes, but NOT in past 12 months", "Yes, in past 12 months", or "Don't know". Responses of "Yes, but not in the past 12 months" were categorized with "No", and responses of "Don't know" were excluded from analysis. Reported percentages for each method of consumption were calculated as the number of participants who responded "Yes, in the past 12 months" divided by the number of responses to the question, after exclusions.

Sources of Cannabis Access

Questions about sources of cannabis access were shown to those who reported using cannabis within the past 12 months (37% of the survey sample). Participants were asked, "In the past 12 months, have you gotten any type of marijuana from the following sources?", and were presented the following response options (which are followed by the shortened version used in the report in *italics*):

- I made or grew my own; *Self-grown*
- From a family member or friend; *Family or friend*
- From a dealer (in person); *Dealer*
- Internet delivery service or mail order (delivered to me); *Delivery service*
- From a store, co-operative or dispensary; *Store*

For each item, participants could respond either "Yes" or "No."

Additionally, participants were asked to estimate the percentage of cannabis products purchased from legal or authorized sources. This question is asked about cannabis generally and for each of the individual methods of consumption listed above. For cannabis generally, the question reads "Overall, how much of the marijuana that you used in the past 12 months was purchased from LEGAL/AUTHORIZED sources?". For specific product types (e.g., flower or tinctures), the question reads "Overall, about what percentage (%) of the [product type] that you used in the past 12 months was purchased from LEGAL/AUTHORIZED sources?". Participants could respond with a number (percentage) from 0-100 for both the items on general cannabis and those on specific product types.

Finally, participants who reported buying less than 100% of their cannabis from legal/authorized sources were asked "What were the main reasons you bought from illegal/unauthorized sources instead of legal/authorized sources?". Participants were once again shown items individually and were able to respond "Yes" or "No" to each of the following options (response options are followed by the shortened version used in the report in *italics*):

- Legal sources didn't sell the products I wanted; *Product not offered legally*
- Legal sources had low supply or ran out; *Low supply in legal market*
- Legal sources had lower quality marijuana; *Low quality in legal market*
- Legal sources had higher prices; *High prices*

- I wanted to stay anonymous; *Not anonymous*
- Legal stores were too far away/there are none where I live; *Too far*
- Legal sources were less convenient; *Less convenient*
- Legal sources require ID; *Requires ID*
- Loyalty to my dealer; *Dealer loyalty*
- I can't legally buy marijuana where I live; *Cannot buy legally*

Cannabis Knowledge and Social Norms

The ICPS asked all participants several questions about their general knowledge of the effects of cannabis use, and about their perceptions of norms surrounding cannabis use.

The study assessed general knowledge through a set of nine questions about the effects of cannabis as generally understood by North American researchers. The questions shown were as follows (correct answer in parentheses):

- Can marijuana smoke be harmful? (A: Yes)
- Can it be harmful to use marijuana when pregnant or breastfeeding? (A: Yes)
- Can it be dangerous to drive or operate machinery after using marijuana? (A: Yes)
- Can marijuana be addictive? (A: Yes)
- Can regular use of marijuana increase the risk of psychosis and schizophrenia? (A: Yes)
- Are teenagers at greater risk of harm from using marijuana than adults? (A: Yes)
- Can using marijuana cause diabetes? (A: No)
- Can marijuana or CBD help cure or prevent cancer? (A: No)
- Can high-THC marijuana products negatively affect memory and concentration? (A: Yes)

The response options for each question listed above were "Yes", "No", "Don't know", and "Refuse to answer". Responses of "Refuse to answer" were excluded. Responses of "Don't know" were considered incorrect for all items. Percentages were calculated as the number of correct responses as the numerator and the sum of correct and incorrect responses as the denominator.

Social norms were assessed through two questions on legal status and use by friends. For legal status, participants were asked "Should the use of recreational (non-medical) marijuana be ..." and could respond "Legal", "Illegal", "Don't know", or "Refuse to answer". Percentages were calculated as the number of "Legal" responses over the total number of responses, excluding "Refuse to answer".

For use by friends, participants were asked, "How many of your 5 closest friends use marijuana?", and they could reply with a numerical answer of 0-5 (i.e. 0 friends, 1 friend, and so on), or with "Don't know" or "Refuse to answer"; these latter two answers were excluded from analyses. The calculated figure is the average number of friends reported. *(Note: Due to an error in recoding responses, responses of "0 friends" were excluded from the prior report on the*

Risky Behaviors

This report includes ICPS items assessing three types of risky behaviors: 1) Driving behaviors, 2) Cannabis use at or before work, and 3) Poly-substance use (using cannabis concurrently with another drug or substance).

Driving behaviors were captured by three items. The first item, shown to participants who reported using cannabis within the past 12 months (37% of participants), identifies if the participant has used a motor vehicle after consuming cannabis: "Have you ever driven a vehicle (e.g., car, snowmobile, motor boat or an off-road vehicle (ATV)) within 2 hours of using marijuana?". The second item, shown to all participants, identifies whether the participant has been the passenger to someone who recently used cannabis: "Have you been a passenger in a vehicle (e.g., car, snowmobile, motorboat, or an off-road vehicle (ATV)) driven by someone who had been using marijuana in the last 2 hours?". For each item, responses of "Don't know" and "Refuse to answer" were excluded, and participant responses were collapsed into two categories: "Yes, in the past 12 months" or "No, never, or not in the past 12 months". Percentages for each item were then calculated as the number of participants who answered "Yes, in the past 12 months" divided by all responses to the question.

Participants who reported cannabis use within the past 12 months (37%) were also asked if they have ever planned to avoid driving high: "Have you ever planned ahead or decided NOT to drive to avoid driving high?". Participants were able to respond "Yes", "No", "Don't know", or "Refuse to answer". Percentages were calculated as the number of "Yes" responses out of all "Yes" or "No" responses, excluding responses of "Don't know" and "Refuse to answer".

For cannabis use at work, participants who reported cannabis use within the past 12 months were asked: "In the past 30 days, have you used marijuana at work (including breaks) or within 2 hours of starting work?" Participants could respond "Yes", "No", "Don't know", "Refuse to answer", or "Not applicable – I have not worked/gone to work in the past 30 days"; the latter three responses were excluded. Percentages were calculated as the number of "Yes" out of all "Yes" or "No" responses.

Finally, participants who reported cannabis use within the past 12 months were asked about which drugs they had used concurrently with cannabis/marijuana within the past 12 months. At an earlier point in the survey, all participants were asked which other substances they had ever used (e.g., alcohol, tobacco, cigarettes). If a participant reported having used any other substance(s), and also reported using cannabis within the past 12 months, that participant was then shown a list of the other substance(s) they reported having ever used, and was asked "Which substances have you used on the same occasion with marijuana in the past 12 months?". The substances assessed in the survey are listed below:

- Tobacco cigarettes
- E-cigarettes/vaped nicotine
- Alcohol
- Synthetic marijuana (e.g., spice, K2, K3, scene, herbal mixtures, herbal incense)
- Amphetamines (e.g., speed, crystal meth, or ice)
- MDMA (e.g., ecstasy, Molly, E, X)
- Hallucinogens (e.g., LSD, acid, PCP, magic mushrooms or "shrooms", mescaline, peyote)
- Prescription pain relievers to get high (e.g., oxycodone, hydrocodone)
- Other prescription medication to get high (e.g., Adderall, Valium)
- Heroin (e.g., smack, dope), illegal fentanyl, or other illegal/street opioids
- Cocaine (e.g., crack, blow, snow)

Participants were instructed to select each substance (if any) that they had used concurrently with cannabis in the past 12 months. Percentages were calculated for each substance as the number of participants who selected that substance out of the total number of participants who were shown that substance (in other words, the number of participants who reported having used that substance concurrently with cannabis in the past year, divided by the number of participants who reported ever having used that substance and had reported past-year cannabis use). For example, a percentage of 20% for alcohol would mean that, out of all the participants who reported having ever used alcohol and reported using cannabis within the past 12 months, 20% of them used alcohol concurrently with cannabis within the past year.

Health Care Use and Cannabis
This report included two types of questions to understand participants' histories of cannabis use as it relates to their own health and their usage of the healthcare system. Participants who reported using cannabis within the past 12 months (37%) were asked about their history of seeking health care treatment after using cannabis: "In the past 12 months, did you seek medical help for any adverse or negative health effect(s) caused by using marijuana?". Participants were able to select "Yes", "No", "Don't know", "Refuse to Answer", or "Never tried cannabis"; the latter three responses were excluded from analysis. Percentages were calculated as the number of participants who answered "Yes" divided by the number of participants who answered "Yes" or "No".

Participants who reported that they had ever tried cannabis (70%) were also asked about whether they had used cannabis to alleviate mental or physical health symptoms. The two questions for physical and mental health symptoms were identically worded: "Have you ever used marijuana to improve or manage symptoms for any of the following: (Select all that apply)".

The following symptoms were listed as *mental health* symptoms:

- Anxiety (including phobia, obsessive compulsive disorder or a panic disorder);
- Depression (including dysthymia);
- Post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) or traumatic event (e.g., abuse or loss);
- Bipolar disorder, mania, or borderline personality disorder;
- Psychosis (e.g., paranoia, disorganized thinking, hearing voices that others can't hear) or Dissociative Identity Disorder;
- Schizophrenia;
- Alcohol or other drug use;
- Eating disorder; or
- ADD/ADHD

The following symptoms were listed as *physical health* symptoms:

- Headaches/migraines;
- Pain (including arthritis, neuropathy or premenstrual syndrome);
- Nausea/vomiting or chemotherapy symptoms;
- Lack of appetite;
- Seizures;
- Muscle spasms;
- To shrink tumors or treat cancer;
- Problems sleeping;
- Digestion/gastrointestinal issues (Crohn's Disease, colitis, irritable bowel syndrome, inflammatory bowel disease, etc.);
- Fibromyalgia;
- Other: Multiple sclerosis

Percentages for physical and mental health treatment were each calculated as the number of participants who checked one or more health symptoms (i.e., answered "Yes" to using cannabis for health treatment), divided by the number of participants who answered the question, after excluding responses of "Don't know", "Refuse to answer", and "Never tried cannabis".

History of Cannabis Arrests

Finally, history of cannabis arrests was assessed through a question asking all participants, "Have you ever been arrested for any of the following cannabis offenses…?". Participants were able to select one or more from the following list of offenses:

- Cannabis possession;
- Cannabis trafficking, cultivation or importation; or
- Cannabis-impaired driving*

*The third offense, cannabis-impaired driving, was not added until the 2021 wave of the ICPS, meaning this item was not included in the 2019 and 2020 datasets or the report on 2019-2020 ICPS data published by the Commission's Research Department in 2022.

The percentage was calculated using the number of participants reporting at least one prior arrest for a cannabis offense out of the total number of participants who answered the question.

III. Results: Data

Detailed methodology and information on how numbers and percentages are obtained for the tables in each section are available in the Methods section of this report. This information on methodology, along with the background information in the Introduction section, provides context for the data presented below.

A. Demographics

The Massachusetts ICPS samples from the 2019-2023 annual survey waves included a total of 11,635 Massachusetts residents aged 16-65 years. Pursuant to metrics outlined in G.L. c. 94G, § 17, this report analyzed data across seven demographics measures of interest: age, student status, sex, gender, race, ethnicity, and income adequacy. The mean age of participants across all five survey waves was 43.54 years (SD ±13.90 years). Other demographics are shown in the tables below, and demographics by survey year are available in the appendix [See Appendix Table VII.A.1. Sample Demographics: Age by Year]. §

The tables below show the number and the percentage of survey participants, across all survey waves (2019-2023), in each demographic category.

Table III.A.1. Sample Demographics: Age

Age Category	Participants	% of Total
16 - 20 years	627	5%
21 - 25 years	839	7%
26 - 35 years	2,233	19%
36 - 45 years	2,534	22%
46 - 55 years	2,347	20%
56 - 65 years	3,055	26%
Grand Total	**11,635**	**100%**

Table III.A.2. Sample Demographics: Student Status (Any)

Student Status	Participants	% of Total
Student	1,601	14%
Not a student	9,761	84%
Unstated	273	2%

Grand Total	**11,635**	**100%**

Table III.A.3. Sample Demographics: Sex

Sex at Birth	Participants	% of Total
Male	3,546	30%
Female	8,089	70%
Grand Total	**11,635**	**100%**

Table III.A.4. Sample Demographics: Gender

Gender	Participants	% of Total
Man	3,501	30%
Woman	8,002	69%
Other	40	0%
Unstated	92	1%
Grand Total	**11,635**	**100%**

Table III.A.5. Sample Demographics: Race

Race	Participants	% of Total
Asian	543	5%
Black or African American	697	6%
Native, Mainland or Island	97	1%
White	9,683	83%
Other	615	5%
Grand Total	**11,635**	**100%**

Table III.A.6. Sample Demographics: Ethnicity

Hispanic or Latino	Participants	% of Total
Hispanic or Latino	1,043	9%
Not Hispanic or Latino	10,453	90%
Unstated	139	1%
Grand Total	**11,635**	**100%**

Table III.A.7. Sample Demographics: Income Adequacy

Income Adequacy	Participants	% of Total
Difficult	3,440	30%
Neither easy nor difficult	3,975	34%
Easy	3,806	33%
Unstated	414	4%
Grand Total	**11,635**	**100%**

B. Use Frequency

Questions about use frequency were shown to all participants. Use frequency categories here are mutually exclusive – for example, the "Past 12-month user" category does not also include participants in the "Monthly user", "Weekly user", or "Daily/almost daily user" categories.

Among all participants, 30% reported that they had never used cannabis, 33% reported that they had last used over 12 months ago, 11% reported use in the past 12 months, 7% reported use in the past month, 6% reported use in the past week, and 14% reported daily/near daily use. In short, 70% of participants reported ever using cannabis, and 37% of participants reported using cannabis within the past year (including monthly, weekly, and daily/near daily users).

Notable trends in use frequency emerge when stratified by participant age group. As expected, the 16-20-year-old age group had the largest percentage of participants who reported that they had never used cannabis (54%). Adults ages 56-65 were the least likely to report that they had never used cannabis (25%); however, they were also the least likely to report daily/near daily use (9%). Notably, emerging adults aged 21-25─the youngest cohort able to purchase cannabis from adult-use Marijuana Establishments under state law─had the highest proportion of daily/near daily users (19%), but also the second-highest proportion of never-users (35%).

Use frequency rates were more consistent between male and female participants, with 31% of males having never used cannabis compared to 29% of females, and 14% of both reporting daily or near daily use. Daily use rates also varied by participants' reported race and ethnicity: 22% of Black or African American participants reported daily/near daily use, compared to 3% of Asian participants. Use frequency also varied by income adequacy; participants who selected "Very easy" or "Easy" to make ends meet reported rates of daily use (9%) much lower than those who selected "Difficult" or "Very Difficult" (19%).

The tables below show the number and the percentage of survey participants in each use frequency category.

Table III.B.1. Cannabis Use Frequency: All Participants

Use Frequency	Percent (Count)
Never user	30% (3,441)
Used more than 12 months ago	33% (3,851)
Past 12-month user	11% (1,273)
Monthly user	7% (776)
Weekly user	6% (678)
Daily/almost daily user	14% (1,616)
Grand Total	**100% (11,635)**

Table III.B.2. Cannabis Use Frequency: Age

Use Frequency	16-20	21-25	26-35	36-45	46-55	56-65
Never user	54% (340)	35% (294)	26% (590)	30% (752)	30% (698)	25% (767)
Used more than 12 months ago	7% (43)	14% (119)	27% (603)	29% (741)	38% (899)	47% (1,446)
Past 12-month user	13% (79)	15% (124)	13% (298)	10% (266)	10% (230)	9% (276)
Monthly user	9% (58)	11% (91)	8% (177)	8% (205)	5% (108)	4% (137)
Weekly user	6% (37)	6% (52)	7% (155)	7% (166)	5% (120)	5% (148)
Daily/almost daily user	11% (70)	19% (159)	18% (410)	16% (404)	12% (292)	9% (281)
Grand Total	**100% (627)**	**100% (839)**	**100% (2,233)**	**100% (2,534)**	**100% (2,347)**	**100% (3,055)**

Figure III.B.3. Cannabis Use Frequency: Age Cohort
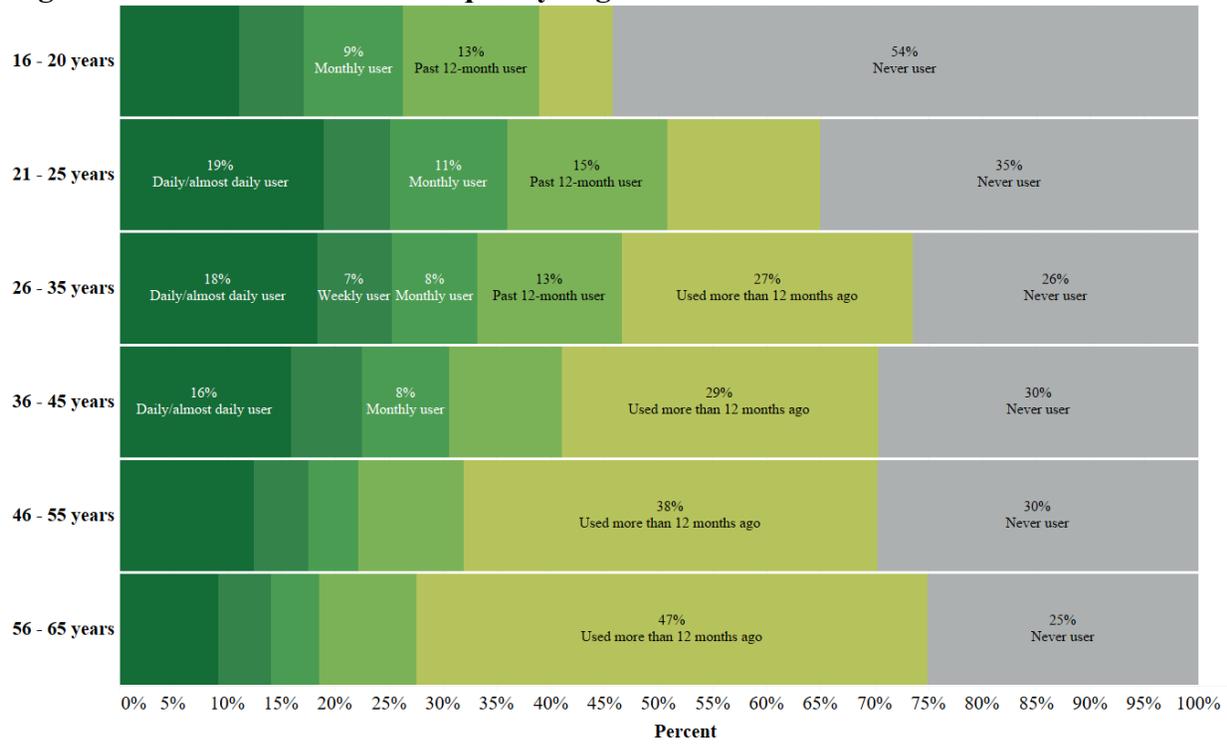
Figure III.B.4. Cannabis Use Frequency: Age Group x Year
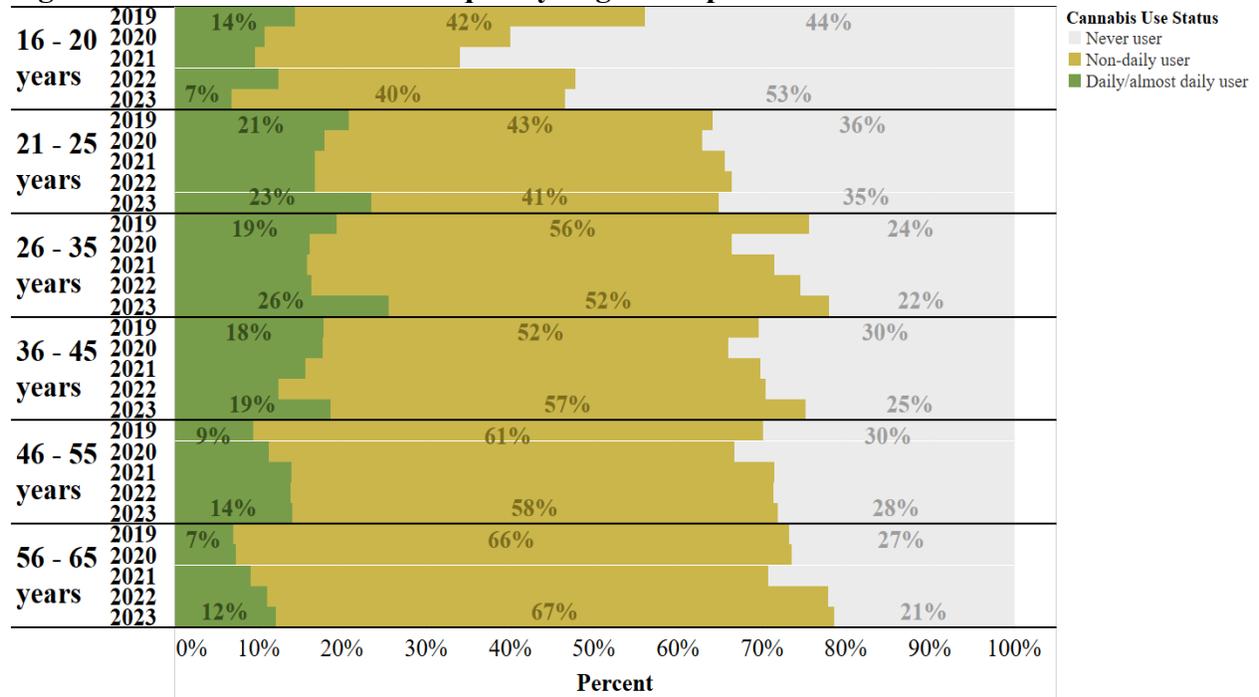
Note: The "Non-daily user" group was created by aggregating response options "Used more than 12 months ago", "Past 12-month user", "Monthly user", and "Weekly user".

Table III.B.4. Cannabis Use Frequency: Student Status (Any)

Use Frequency	Student	Not a Student	Unstated
Never user	39% (622)	28% (2,750)	25% (69)
Used more than 12 months ago	18% (294)	36% (3,485)	26% (72)
Past 12-month user	12% (190)	11% (1,050)	12% (33)
Monthly user	10% (154)	6% (603)	7% (19)
Weekly user	8% (127)	5% (536)	5% (15)
Daily/almost daily user	13% (214)	14% (1,337)	24% (65)
Grand Total	**100% (1,601)**	**100% (9,761)**	**100% (273)**

Table III.B.5. Cannabis Use Frequency: Sex

Use Frequency	Male	Female
Never user	31% (1,101)	29% (2,340)
Used more than 12 months ago	32% (1,125)	34% (2,726)
Past 12-month user	9% (326)	12% (947)
Monthly user	7% (254)	6% (522)
Weekly user	7% (240)	5% (438)
Daily/almost daily user	14% (500)	14% (1,116)
Grand Total	**100% (3,546)**	**100% (8,089)**

Table III.B.6. Cannabis Use Frequency: Gender

Use Frequency	Man	Woman	Other	Unstated
Never user	31% (1,080)	29% (2,305)	28% (11)	49% (45)
Used more than 12 months ago	32% (1,116)	34% (2,718)	10% (4)	14% (13)
Past 12-month user	9% (320)	12% (940)	18% (7)	7% (6)
Monthly user	7% (250)	6% (519)	8% (3)	4% (4)
Weekly user	7% (238)	5% (431)	10% (4)	5% (5)
Daily/almost daily user	14% (497)	14% (1,089)	28% (11)	21% (19)
Grand Total	**100% (3,501)**	**100% (8,002)**	**100% (40)**	**100% (92)**

Table III.B.7. Cannabis Use Frequency: Race

Use Frequency	Asian	Black or African American	Native, Mainland or Island	White	Other
Never user	63% (342)	35% (244)	37% (36)	27% (2,613)	33% (206)
Used more than 12 months ago	17% (93)	21% (145)	29% (28)	35% (3,433)	25% (152)
Past 12-month user	9% (51)	9% (63)	7% (7)	11% (1,092)	10% (60)
Monthly user	5% (28)	7% (48)	8% (8)	7% (644)	8% (48)
Weekly user	2% (10)	7% (46)	9% (9)	6% (582)	5% (31)
Daily/almost daily user	3% (19)	22% (151)	9% (9)	14% (1,319)	19% (118)
Grand Total	**100% (543)**	**100% (697)**	**100% (97)**	**100% (9,683)**	**100% (615)**

Figure III.B.7 Cannabis Use Frequency: Race
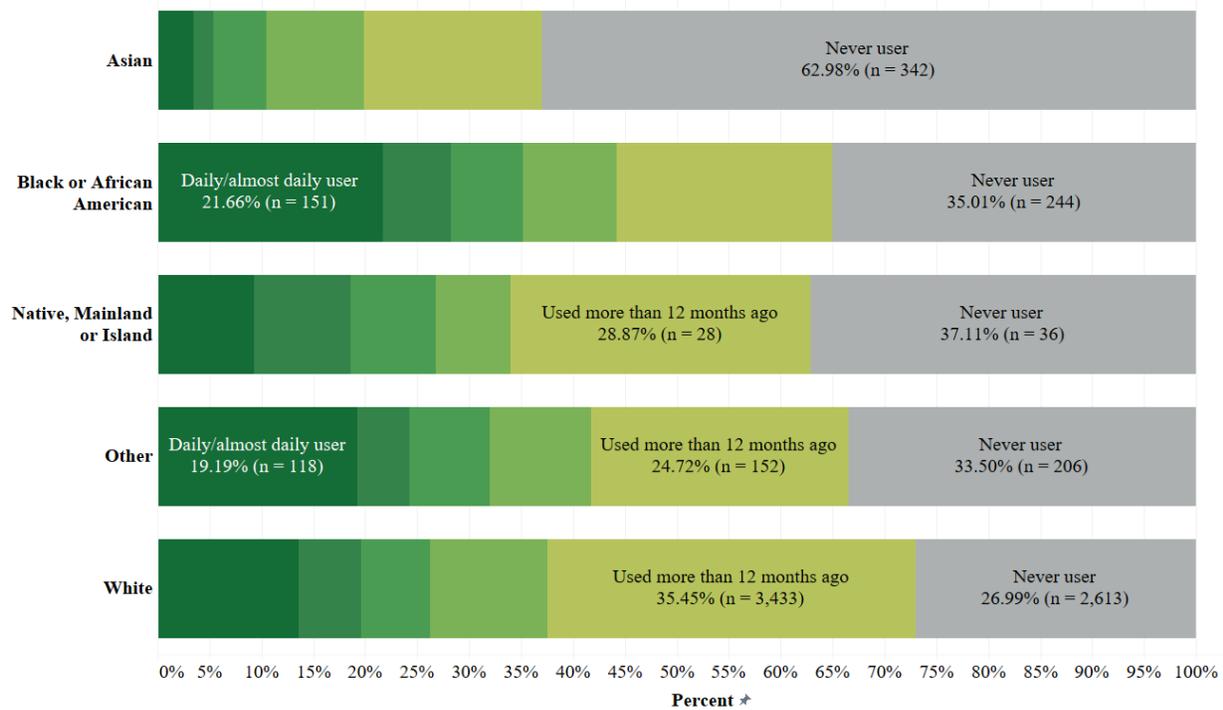
Table III.B.8. Cannabis Use Frequency: Ethnicity

Use Frequency	Hispanic or Latino	Not Hispanic or Latino	Unstated
Never user	31% (326)	29% (3,045)	50% (70)
Used more than 12 months ago	23% (237)	34% (3,594)	14% (20)
Past 12-month user	9% (92)	11% (1,165)	12% (16)
Monthly user	8% (88)	6% (678)	7% (10)
Weekly user	7% (75)	6% (591)	9% (12)
Daily/almost daily user	22% (225)	13% (1,380)	8% (11)
Grand Total	100% (1,043)	100% (10,453)	100% (139)

Table III.B.9. Cannabis Use Frequency: Income Adequacy

Use Frequency	Difficult	Neither Easy nor Difficult	Easy	Unstated
Never user	23% (783)	31% (1,226)	32% (1,216)	52% (216)
Used more than 12 months ago	34% (1,169)	32% (1,258)	35% (1,346)	19% (78)
Past 12-month user	12% (405)	10% (417)	11% (413)	9% (38)
Monthly user	7% (231)	7% (272)	7% (251)	5% (22)
Weekly user	6% (204)	6% (240)	6% (222)	3% (12)
Daily/almost daily user	19% (648)	14% (562)	9% (358)	12% (48)
Grand Total	100% (3,440)	100% (3,975)	100% (3,806)	100% (414)

Figure III.B.10. Cannabis Use Frequency: Income Adequacy
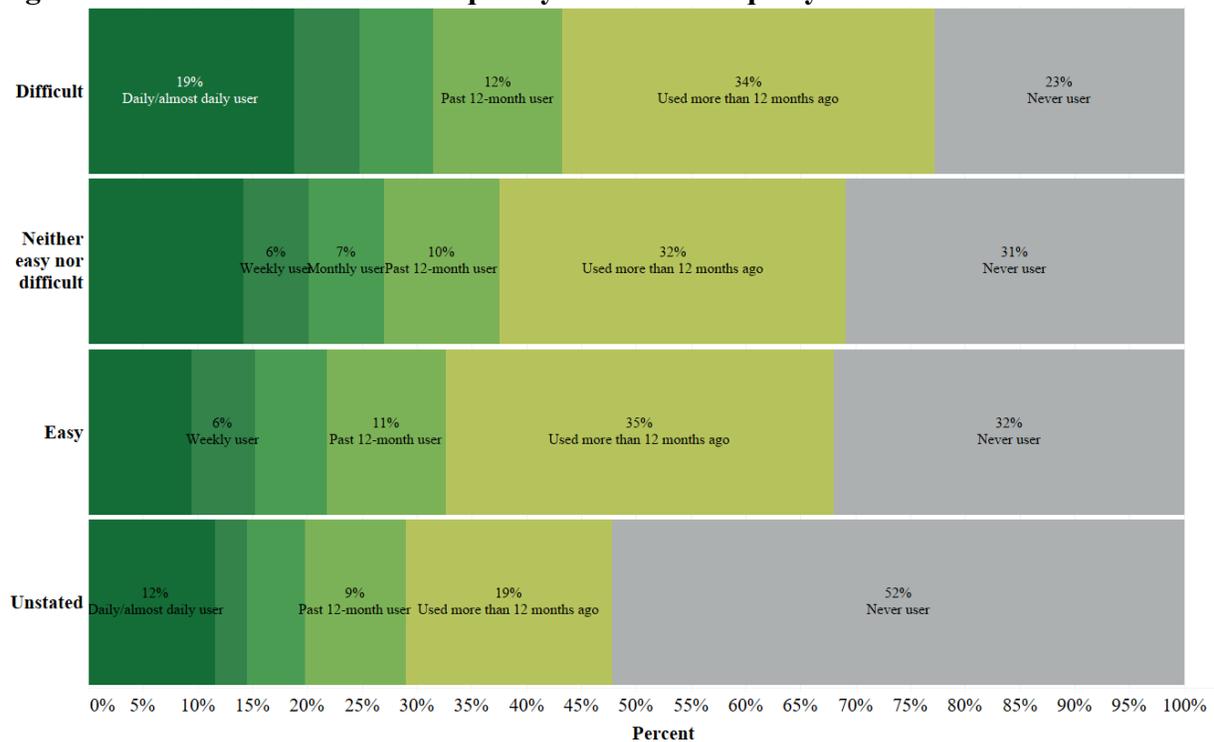
Note: The response options for cannabis use frequency include "Never user", "Used more than 12 months ago", "Past 12-month user", "Monthly user", "Weekly user", and "Daily/almost daily user". Response options for perceived income adequacy were grouped as Easy ("Easy" and "Very easy"), Difficult ("Difficult" and "Very difficult"), Neither easy nor difficult, and Unstated ("Don't know" and "Refuse to Answer").

C. Age of Cannabis Initiation

Participants who reported that they had ever used cannabis (70% of participants) were asked about the age at which they first used cannabis ("initiation"). The mean age of cannabis initiation was 19.48 years old (SD = 8.47). The mean age of initiation was somewhat lower among 16-20-year-olds (15.9) and 21-25-year-olds (17.6) when compared to the older age groups, who reported mean ages of initiation between 18.7-20.5 years of age. Students currently enrolled in a high school or university also had a lower mean age of initiation (18.5) than the non-student sample (19.7), which aligns with the lower age of initiation among younger participants. There were no notable differences in the age of initiation by sex, gender, race, ethnicity, or income adequacy.

The tables below show the average age (including standard deviation) of cannabis use initiation for each demographic category.

Table III.C.1. Age of Cannabis Use Initiation: Age

Use Frequency	16-20	21-25	26-35	36-45	46-55	56-65
N	287	545	1,643	1,782	1,649	2,288
Age of initiation (SDp)	15.9 (1.8)	17.6 (3.5)	18.7 (5.2)	20.3 (8.2)	20.5 (10.0)	19.6 (10.3)

Table III.C.2. Age of Cannabis Use Initiation: Student Status (Any)

Use Frequency	Student	Not a Student	Unstated
N	979	7,011	204
Age of initiation (SDp)	18.5 (6.0)	19.7 (8.8)	17.9 (7.4)

Table III.C.3. Age of Cannabis Use Initiation: Sex

Use Frequency	Male	Female
N	2,445	5,749
Age of initiation (SDp)	19.7 (8.5)	19.4 (8.5)

Table III.C.4 Age of Cannabis Use Initiation: Gender

Use Frequency	Man	Woman	Other	Unstated
N	2,421	5,697	29	47
Age of initiation (SDp)	19.7 (8.5)	19.4 (8.5)	17.1 (3.2)	18.8 (7.7)

Table III.C.5 Age of Cannabis Use Initiation: Race

Use Frequency	Asian	Black or African American	Native, Mainland or Island	White	Other
N	201	453	61	7,070	409
Age of initiation (SDp)	22.4 (8.6)	19.1 (7.3)	18.9 (8.4)	19.5 (8.6)	19.0 (7.8)

Table III.C.6 Age of Cannabis Use Initiation: Ethnicity

Use Frequency	Hispanic or Latino	Not Hispanic or Latino	Unstated
N	717	7,408	69
Age of initiation (SDp)	19.5 (7.5)	19.5 (8.6)	20.4 (8.1)

Table III.C.7 Age of Cannabis Use Initiation: Income Adequacy

Use Frequency	Difficult	Neither Easy nor Difficult	Easy	Unstated
N	2,657	2,749	2,590	198
Age of initiation (SDp)	19.1 (8.5)	19.5 (8.7)	19.9 (8.2)	19.1 (7.1)

D. Methods of Consumption

Participants who reported having used cannabis within the past 12 months (37% of participants) were asked about their methods of consumption. This report shows the percentage of participants who report having used cannabis via that method within the past 12 months.

Across the entire sample, "Flower" (70%), "Edibles" (67%), and "Oils, Vaporized" (39%) were most reported as used within the past year. Consistent with the Research Department's previous report, product preferences differed by age. "Oils, Vaporized" and "Concentrates" were more popular with younger cohorts, while "Topicals" and "Tinctures" were more popular among older cohorts.

The tables below show the percentage and number of participants who reported using each method of consumption within the past 12 months.

Table III.D.1 Methods of Consumption: All Participants

Method of Consumption	Percent (Count: Total)
Concentrates	16% (676: 4,292)
Drinks	16% (668: 4,305)
Edibles	67% (2,898: 4,316)
Flower	70% (3,010: 4,295)
Hash/Kief	19% (815: 4,285)
Oils, Oral	24% (1,049: 4,299)
Oils, Vaporized	39% (1,639: 4,252)
Tinctures	14% (602: 4,290)
Topicals	22% (947: 4,295)

Table III.D.2 Methods of Consumption: Age

Method of Consumption	16-20	21-25	26-35	36-45	46-55	56-65
Concentrates	18% (44: 241)	22% (93: 416)	19% (198: 1,023)	19% (192: 1,026)	12% (87: 749)	7% (62: 837)
Drinks	13% (32: 240)	18% (77: 419)	20% (204: 1,026)	19% (201: 1,033)	11% (85: 747)	8% (69: 840)
Edibles	63% (153: 242)	65% (272: 419)	68% (702: 1,031)	69% (716: 1,032)	66% (497: 750)	66% (558: 842)
Flower	76% (179: 236)	71% (296: 419)	74% (755: 1,026)	70% (720: 1,030)	67% (497: 743)	67% (563: 841)
Hash/Kief	22% (52: 236)	26% (110: 417)	24% (243: 1,025)	21% (216: 1,023)	13% (99: 746)	11% (95: 838)
Oils, Oral	21% (49: 239)	23% (97: 416)	26% (264: 1,026)	29% (294: 1,031)	22% (163: 747)	22% (182: 840)
Oils, Vaporized	52% (123: 238)	47% (194: 417)	46% (466: 1,016)	44% (445: 1,020)	31% (231: 736)	22% (180: 825)
Tinctures	6% (14: 237)	13% (52: 415)	14% (144: 1,023)	17% (172: 1,025)	14% (103: 748)	14% (117: 842)
Topicals	14% (32: 235)	17% (72: 414)	22% (226: 1,026)	25% (255: 1,031)	20% (153: 749)	25% (209: 840)

Figure III.D.3. Methods of Consumption, by Age Cohort
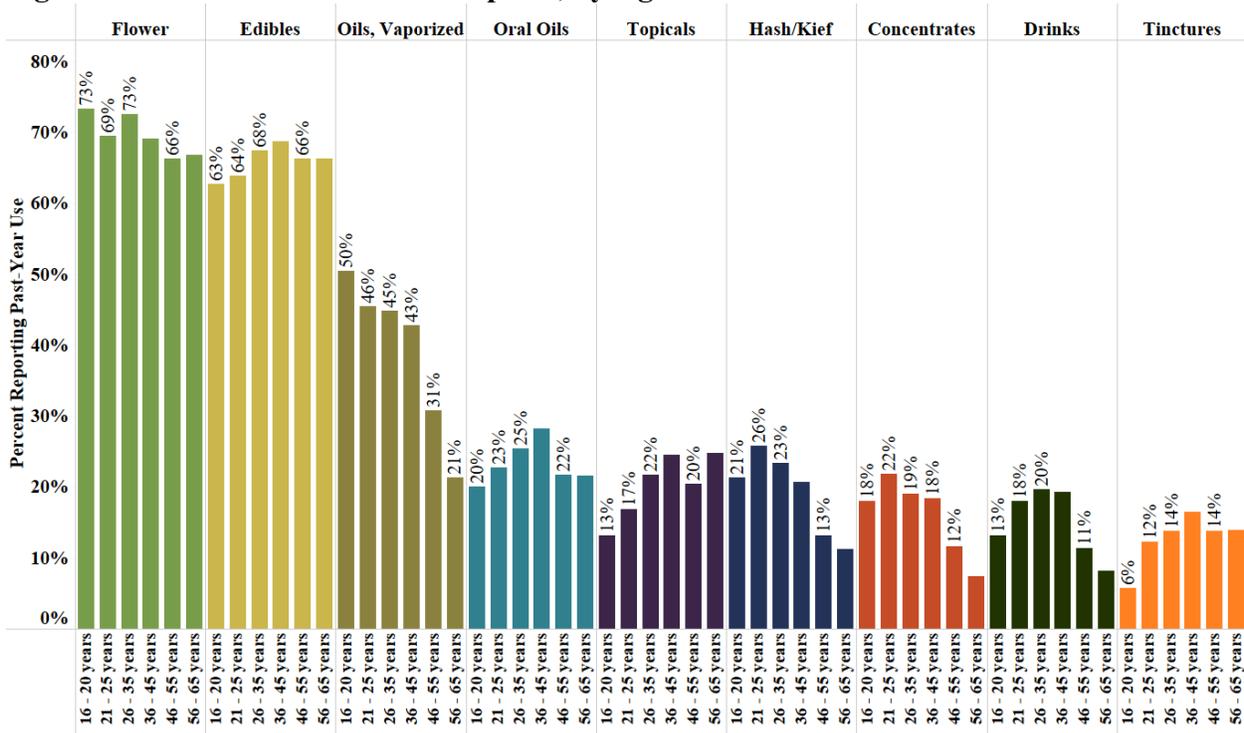
Table III.D.4. Methods of Consumption: Student Status (Any)

Method of Consumption	Student	Not a Student	Unstated
Concentrates	20% (133: 670)	15% (516: 3,494)	21% (27: 128)
Drinks	19% (129: 675)	15% (517: 3,499)	17% (22: 131)
Edibles	63% (428: 676)	68% (2,382: 3,509)	67% (88: 131)
Flower	72% (482: 673)	69% (2,425: 3,491)	79% (103: 131)
Hash/Kief	24% (158: 669)	18% (623: 3,487)	26% (34: 129)
Oils, Oral	26% (176: 672)	24% (839: 3,496)	26% (34: 131)
Oils, Vaporized	46% (309: 669)	37% (1,266: 3,454)	50% (64: 129)
Tinctures	14% (94: 667)	14% (497: 3,495)	9% (11: 128)
Topicals	21% (141: 665)	22% (773: 3,501)	26% (33: 129)

Table III.D.5. Methods of Consumption: Sex

Method of Consumption	Male	Female
Concentrates	19% (253: 1,303)	14% (423: 2,989)
Drinks	18% (230: 1,306)	15% (438: 2,999)
Edibles	65% (843: 1,306)	68% (2,055: 3,010)
Flower	73% (960: 1,310)	69% (2,050: 2,985)
Hash/Kief	23% (302: 1,302)	17% (513: 2,983)
Oils, Oral	26% (338: 1,304)	24% (711: 2,995)
Oils, Vaporized	39% (502: 1,290)	38% (1,137: 2,962)
Tinctures	15% (189: 1,298)	14% (413: 2,992)
Topicals	17% (221: 1,303)	24% (726: 2,992)

Table III.D.6. Methods of Consumption: Gender

Method of Consumption	Man	Woman	Other	Unstated
Concentrates	19% (248: 1,289)	14% (409: 2,945)	29% (7: 24)	35% (12: 34)
Drinks	18% (229: 1,291)	14% (423: 2,957)	17% (4: 24)	36% (12: 33)
Edibles	65% (834: 1,291)	68% (2,027: 2,966)	76% (19: 25)	53% (18: 34)
Flower	73% (949: 1,295)	69% (2,021: 2,945)	83% (20: 24)	65% (20: 31)
Hash/Kief	23% (295: 1,289)	17% (501: 2,940)	35% (8: 23)	33% (11: 33)
Oils, Oral	26% (330: 1,289)	24% (703: 2,953)	33% (8: 24)	24% (8: 33)
Oils, Vaporized	38% (491: 1,276)	38% (1,115: 2,919)	54% (13: 24)	61% (20: 33)
Tinctures	14% (184: 1,283)	14% (411: 2,949)	17% (4: 24)	9% (3: 34)
Topicals	17% (222: 1,291)	24% (713: 2,946)	17% (4: 24)	24% (8: 34)

Table III.D.7. Methods of Consumption: Race

Method of Consumption	Asian	Black or African American	Native, Mainland or Island	White	Other
Concentrates	13% (13: 104)	20% (59: 302)	13% (4: 31)	15% (546: 3,604)	22% (54: 251)
Drinks	18% (19: 108)	23% (71: 303)	24% (7: 29)	15% (526: 3,613)	18% (45: 252)
Edibles	72% (78: 108)	63% (193: 304)	66% (19: 29)	67% (2,431: 3,621)	70% (177: 254)
Flower	61% (65: 107)	71% (213: 302)	71% (22: 31)	70% (2,523: 3,608)	76% (187: 247)
Hash/Kief	11% (12: 105)	22% (68: 303)	38% (12: 32)	18% (663: 3,598)	24% (60: 247)
Oils, Oral	22% (24: 107)	23% (71: 304)	32% (10: 31)	25% (891: 3,606)	21% (53: 251)
Oils, Vaporized	41% (44: 107)	39% (115: 298)	45% (14: 31)	38% (1,362: 3,565)	41% (104: 251)
Tinctures	8% (9: 106)	11% (33: 302)	26% (8: 31)	15% (525: 3,602)	11% (27: 249)
Topicals	15% (16: 106)	16% (49: 302)	10% (3: 31)	23% (829: 3,607)	20% (50: 249)

Table III.D.8. Methods of Consumption: Ethnicity

Method of Consumption	Hispanic or Latino	Not Hispanic or Latino	Unstated
Concentrates	22% (101: 469)	15% (570: 3,778)	11% (5: 45)
Drinks	20% (92: 467)	15% (567: 3,793)	20% (9: 45)
Edibles	62% (293: 474)	68% (2,578: 3,798)	61% (27: 44)

Flower	73% (341: 465)	70% (2,646: 3,787)	53% (23: 43)
Hash/Kief	27% (128: 468)	18% (678: 3,774)	21% (9: 43)
Oils, Oral	27% (128: 472)	24% (911: 3,783)	23% (10: 44)
Oils, Vaporized	46% (214: 467)	38% (1,404: 3,742)	49% (21: 43)
Tinctures	16% (73: 466)	14% (525: 3,780)	9% (4: 44)
Topicals	24% (113: 469)	22% (826: 3,782)	18% (8: 44)

Table III.D.9. Methods of Consumption: Income Adequacy

Method of Consumption	Difficult	Neither Easy nor Difficult	Easy	Unstated
Concentrates	18% (264: 1,471)	15% (223: 1,472)	14% (168: 1,236)	19% (21: 113)
Drinks	13% (197: 1,479)	16% (233: 1,475)	18% (218: 1,237)	18% (20: 114)
Edibles	67% (991: 1,482)	68% (1,004: 1,479)	68% (839: 1,238)	55% (64: 117)
Flower	76% (1,120: 1,475)	70% (1,027: 1,474)	64% (790: 1,235)	66% (73: 111)
Hash/Kief	23% (341: 1,471)	18% (269: 1,469)	14% (178: 1,232)	24% (27: 113)
Oils, Oral	26% (378: 1,478)	23% (340: 1,473)	25% (311: 1,235)	18% (20: 113)
Oils, Vaporized	42% (612: 1,468)	36% (529: 1,450)	37% (447: 1,221)	45% (51: 113)
Tinctures	14% (204: 1,473)	13% (192: 1,470)	16% (198: 1,232)	7% (8: 115)
Topicals	23% (346: 1,475)	21% (308: 1,470)	22% (271: 1,235)	19% (22: 115)

E. Sources of Cannabis Access

The ICPS also asked participants who had used cannabis within the past 12 months (37% of participants) about where they sourced their cannabis. The three most frequently reported sources were from a "Store" (61%), "From a family member or friend" (56%), or from a "Dealer" (24%). **"**Store," "Family member or friend," and "Dealer" were also the three most popular categories reported in the Research Department's 2022 ICPS report, but it is worth noting that the "Store" category has increased in prevalence, overtaking the "Family member or friend" category as the most frequently reported source, whereas the "Family member or friend" and "Dealer" categories both decreased in prevalence.

There were notable differences by age group. Among 16–20-year-olds, "Family member or friend" (69%), "Dealer" (42%), and "Store" (29%) were the most frequently reported sources. It is important to note that this does not necessarily mean that underage Massachusetts residents are purchasing cannabis from licensed adult-use Marijuana Establishments. One ICPS item that asks

about the reason for cannabis use indicates that the majority of 16-20-year-olds who reported sourcing from a "Store" use cannabis at least partly for medical purposes; another ICPS item that asks about medical cannabis prescriptions indicates that two-thirds have received a prescription for medical cannabis use within the past 12 months. Both suggest that some of these participants might be registered as patients in Massachusetts' MMJ Program. Additionally, because this ICPS question did not specify "Store" as meaning a licensed adult-use Marijuana Establishment within Massachusetts, these participants may have visited smoke shops (which fall outside of the Commission's purview of cannabis industry regulations), or establishments (licensed or unlicensed) outside of Massachusetts.

The high rates of sourcing from a "Family member or friend" or a "Dealer" among 16-20-year-olds are not surprising, as individuals under 21 years of age cannot legally obtain cannabis products from a licensed Marijuana Establishment (with the exception of registered patients in the MMJ program). By contrast, 56-65-year-olds most frequently reported sourcing from a "Store" (62%), from a "Family member or friend" (58%), or from a "Dealer" (14%). There were further differences between students and non-students, with students more frequently reporting sourcing from a "Dealer" (33%) compared to non-students (21%), and less frequently sourcing from a "Store" (47%) than non-students (64%).

The below tables show the number and percentage of participants who reported accessing cannabis from each source.

1. **Sources of Cannabis Access**

Table III.E.1.1. Source of Cannabis Access: All Participants

Source of Access	Percent (Count)
N	**4,343**
Dealer	24% (1,021)
Delivery service	7% (301)
Family or friend	56% (2,422)
Self-grown	9% (411)
Store	61% (2,658)

Table III.E.1.2. Source of Cannabis Access: Age

Source of Access	16-20	21-25	26-35	36-45	46-55	56-65
N	244	426	1,040	1,041	750	842

Dealer	42% (102)	31% (130)	27% (281)	24% (247)	19% (141)	14% (120)
Delivery service	6% (15)	9% (40)	8% (83)	8% (86)	4% (33)	5% (44)
Family or friend	69% (168)	54% (228)	54% (566)	55% (568)	53% (401)	58% (491)
Self-grown	4% (10)	6% (26)	8% (85)	12% (126)	8% (62)	12% (102)
Store	29% (70)	61% (258)	63% (659)	64% (670)	64% (480)	62% (521)

Figure III.E.1.3. Source of Cannabis Access: Percent Reporting Dealer or Store by Age and Year
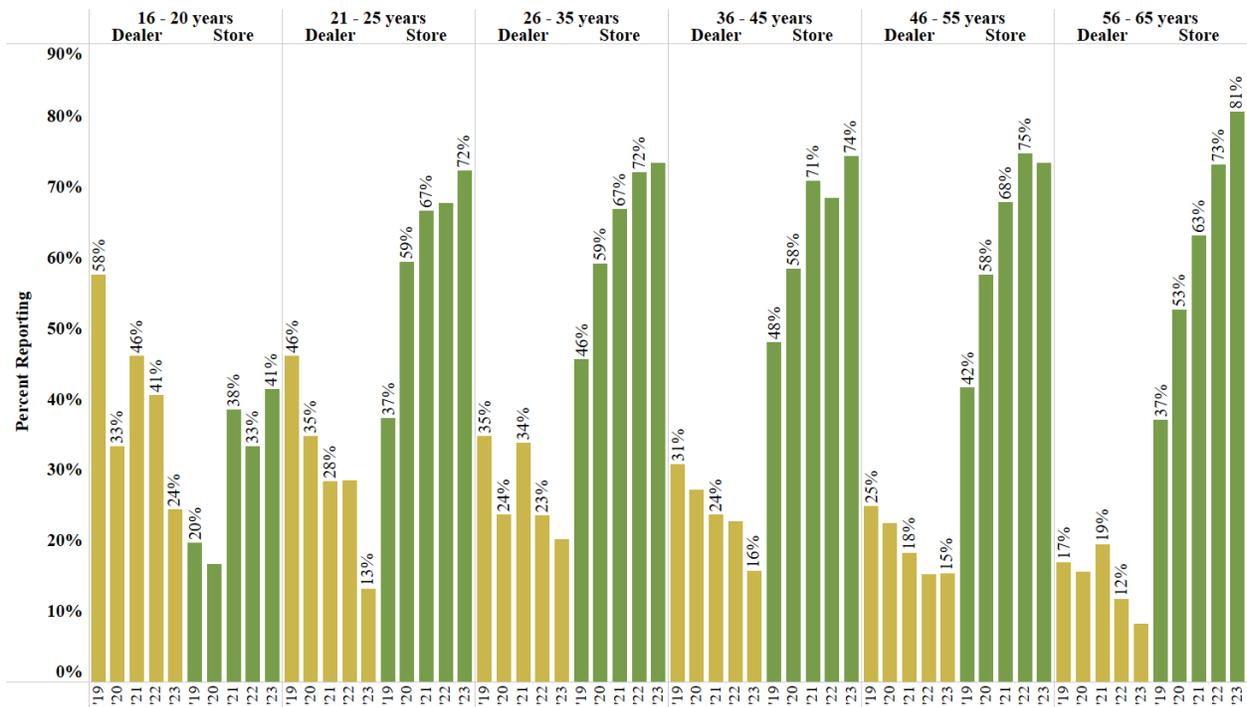
Table III.E.1.4. Source of Cannabis Access: Student Status (Any)

Source of Access	Student	Not a Student	Unstated
N	**685**	**3,526**	**132**
Dealer	33% (228)	21% (753)	30% (40)
Delivery service	10% (68)	6% (225)	6% (8)
Family or friend	57% (389)	56% (1,960)	55% (73)
Self-grown	11% (72)	9% (326)	10% (13)
Store	47% (324)	64% (2,247)	66% (87)

Table III.E.1.5. Source of Cannabis Access: Sex

Source of Access	Male	Female
N	**1,320**	**3,023**
Dealer	29% (385)	21% (636)
Delivery service	10% (130)	6% (171)
Family or friend	50% (664)	58% (1,758)
Self-grown	13% (166)	8% (245)
Store	60% (794)	62% (1,864)

Table III.E.1.6 Source of Cannabis Access: Gender

Source of Access	Man	Woman	Other	Unstated
N	**1,305**	**2,979**	**25**	**34**
Dealer	30% (386)	21% (620)	24% (6)	26% (9)
Delivery service	10% (127)	6% (169)	12% (3)	6% (2)
Family or friend	50% (658)	58% (1,732)	68% (17)	44% (15)
Self-grown	13% (166)	8% (245)	0% (0)	0% (0)
Store	60% (789)	62% (1,839)	60% (15)	44% (15)

Table III.E.1.7. Source of Cannabis Access: Race

Source of Access	Asian	Black or African American	Native, Mainland or Island	White	Other
N	**108**	**308**	**33**	**3,637**	**257**
Dealer	15% (16)	42% (128)	42% (14)	22% (793)	27% (70)
Delivery service	10% (11)	10% (32)	9% (3)	7% (242)	5% (13)
Family or friend	52% (56)	55% (168)	58% (19)	56% (2,030)	58% (149)
Self-grown	4% (4)	7% (21)	9% (3)	10% (357)	10% (26)
Store	63% (68)	52% (161)	61% (20)	62% (2,264)	56% (145)

Table III.E.1.8. Source of Cannabis Access: Ethnicity

Source of Access	Hispanic or Latino	Not Hispanic or Latino	Unstated
N	**178**	**1,439**	**22**
Dealer	34% (164)	22% (850)	14% (7)
Delivery service	9% (42)	7% (258)	2% (1)
Family or friend	51% (246)	57% (2,157)	39% (19)
Self-grown	11% (52)	9% (353)	12% (6)
Store	57% (273)	62% (2,359)	53% (26)

Table III.E.1.9. Source of Cannabis Access: Income Adequacy

Source of Access	Difficult	Neither Easy nor Difficult	Easy	Unstated
N	**1,488**	**1,491**	**1,244**	**120**
Dealer	26% (387)	22% (334)	22% (274)	22% (26)
Delivery service	6% (89)	6% (95)	9% (115)	2% (2)
Family or friend	59% (881)	55% (824)	53% (660)	48% (57)
Self-grown	9% (132)	10% (146)	10% (128)	4% (5)
Store	60% (894)	63% (944)	61% (765)	46% (55)

2. Legal vs Illicit Market Sourcing

a. Legal Market Sourcing

Participants who had used cannabis within the past 12 months (37%) were asked what percentage of their cannabis was purchased from "Legal/Authorized" sources. Across all types of cannabis products, participants reported sourcing an average of 74% of their cannabis from legal sources. There was wide variation in the percentage of products obtained legally when stratified by the product type (method of consumption). Topicals (86%) and Oral oils (83%) were most often reported as legally sourced, whereas Hash/Kief (55%), Flower (65%), and Concentrates (65%) were least often reported as legally sourced.

The below table shows the number of participants who reported using cannabis ("All cannabis") or a specific method of consumption (e.g. "Concentrates"), and the average percentage of each product type that participants reported sourcing legally.

Table III.E.2.a.1. Percent of Cannabis Purchased Legally

Method of Consumption	Count	Percent Obtained Legally
All cannabis	3,254	74%
Concentrates	420	65%
Drinks	464	76%
Edibles	2,237	77%
Flower	2,382	65%
Hash/Kief	396	55%
Oils, Oral	492	83%
Oils, Vaporized	1,206	74%
Tinctures	427	80%
Topicals	554	86%

Figure III.E.2.a.2. Percent of Cannabis Purchased Legally, by Age Cohort, by Sample Year
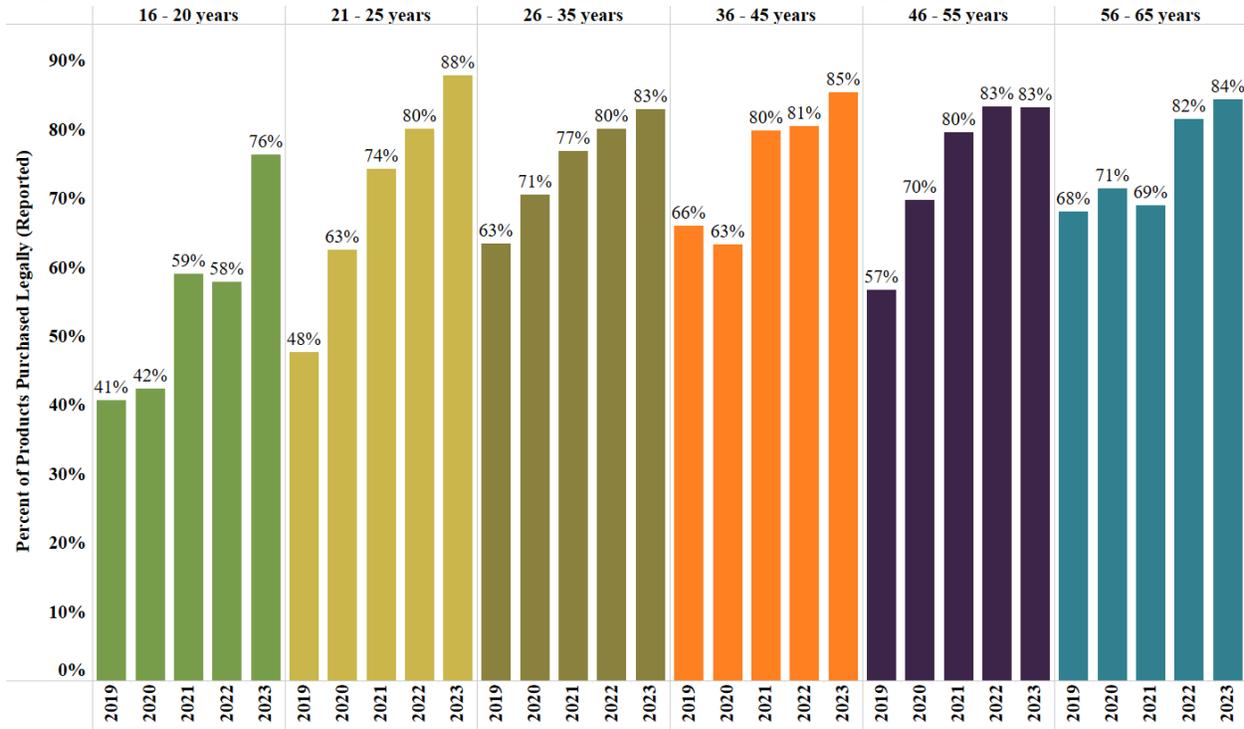
b. Reasons for Avoiding Legal Purchase

Survey participants who reported any illegal sourcing of cannabis were asked about their reason(s) for doing so. These participants reported high prices (33%), less convenience (17%), and dealer loyalty (13%) as the most frequent reasons for not sourcing legally.

There are some noteworthy patterns in reporting over time. The percentage of participants reporting that "Legal sources were less convenient" went from 22% of participants in 2019 to just 12% of participants in 2023. Participants reporting that "Legal stores were too far away/there are none where I live" went from 15% of participants in 2019 to 8% of participants in 2023, although this decrease was less consistent year-to-year, likely due to small survey sample sizes.

The tables below show the percentage and number of participants who selected each reason for purchasing outside the legal market.

Figure III.E.2.b.1. Reasons for Avoiding Legal Cannabis Purchase: All Participants
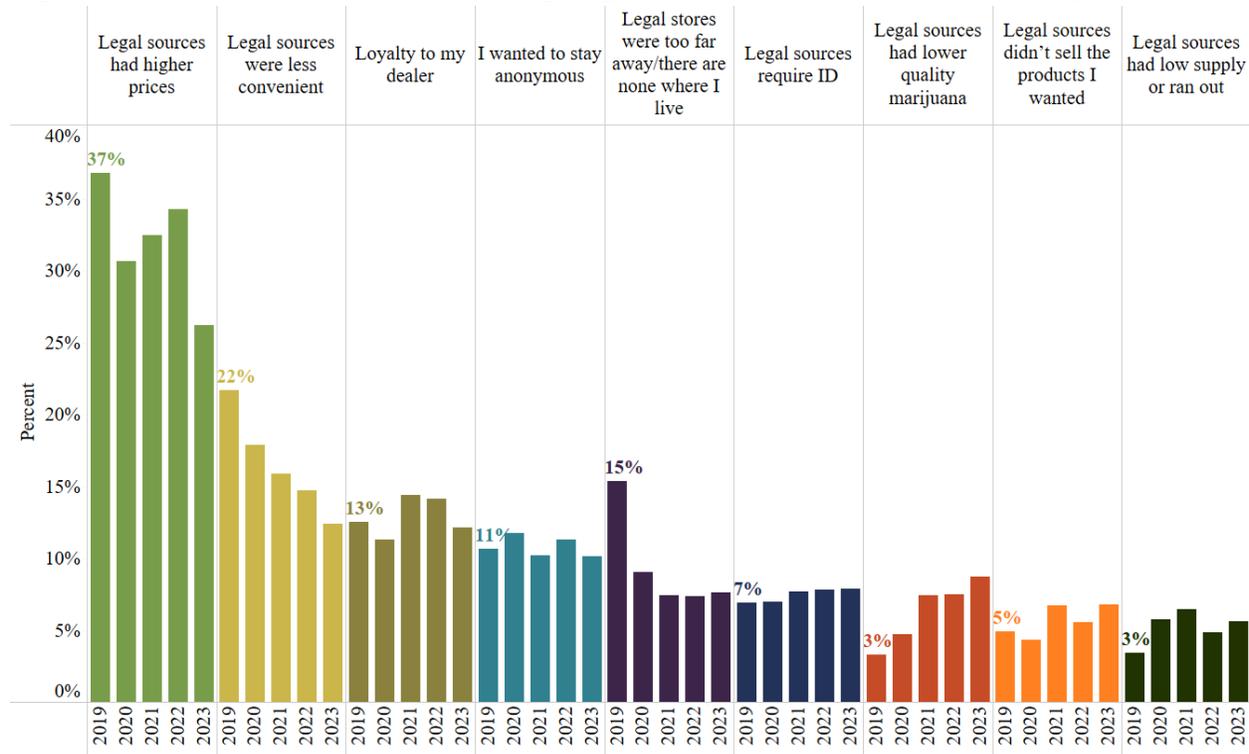
Table III.E.2.b.1. Reasons for Avoiding Legal Cannabis Purchase: All Participants

Reasons for Avoiding	Percent (Count)
N	2,605

High prices	33% (857)
Less convenient	17% (444)
Too far	10% (257)
Dealer loyalty	13% (337)
Not anonymous	11% (283)
Requires ID	7% (193)
Product not offered legally	5% (143)
Cannot buy legally	3% (85)
Low quality in legal market	6% (157)
Low supply in legal market	5% (130)

Table III.E.2.b.2. Reasons for Avoiding Legal Cannabis Purchase: Age

Reasons for Avoiding	16-20	21-25	26-35	36-45	46-55	56-65
N	197	264	672	587	409	476
High prices	80% (158)	69% (181)	65% (437)	63% (371)	67% (275)	68% (326)
Less convenient	13% (25)	20% (53)	19% (127)	19% (110)	15% (63)	14% (66)
Too far	8% (15)	14% (38)	11% (74)	10% (60)	7% (28)	9% (42)
Dealer loyalty	14% (28)	15% (40)	15% (99)	14% (82)	11% (46)	9% (42)
Not anonymous	18% (36)	9% (25)	10% (65)	12% (70)	11% (47)	8% (40)
Requires ID	30% (60)	6% (17)	7% (47)	7% (43)	2% (10)	3% (16)
Product not offered legally	2% (4)	10% (26)	7% (45)	7% (42)	3% (13)	3% (13)
Cannot buy legally	18% (36)	4% (10)	3% (17)	2% (13)	1% (5)	1% (4)
Low quality in legal market	4% (8)	11% (28)	6% (42)	7% (39)	4% (16)	5% (24)
Low supply in legal market	3% (6)	8% (21)	6% (40)	7% (40)	3% (12)	2% (11)

Table III.E.2.b.3. Reasons for Avoiding Legal Cannabis Purchase: Student Status (Any)

Reasons for Avoiding	Student	Not a Student	Unstated
N	467	2,047	91
High prices	26% (121)	35% (708)	31% (28)

Less convenient	16% (73)	18% (359)	13% (12)
Too far	10% (47)	10% (198)	13% (12)
Dealer loyalty	13% (61)	13% (263)	14% (13)
Not anonymous	16% (74)	10% (200)	10% (9)
Requires ID	18% (86)	5% (97)	11% (10)
Product not offered legally	8% (37)	5% (100)	7% (6)
Cannot buy legally	10% (45)	2% (37)	3% (3)
Low quality in legal market	8% (36)	6% (115)	7% (6)
Low supply in legal market	6% (30)	5% (95)	5% (5)

Table III.E.2.b.4. Reasons for Avoiding Legal Cannabis Purchase: Sex

Reasons for Avoiding	Male	Female
N	**819**	**1,786**
High prices	35% (290)	32% (567)
Less convenient	17% (139)	17% (305)
Too far	10% (82)	10% (175)
Dealer loyalty	16% (132)	11% (205)
Not anonymous	14% (111)	10% (172)
Requires ID	9% (70)	7% (123)
Product not offered legally	8% (66)	4% (77)
Cannot buy legally	3% (27)	3% (58)
Low quality in legal market	9% (71)	5% (86)
Low supply in legal market	8% (63)	4% (67)

Table III.E.2.b.5. Reasons for Avoiding Legal Cannabis Purchase: Gender

Reasons for Avoiding	Man	Woman	Other	Unstated
N	**809**	**1,753**	**15**	**28**
High prices	36% (288)	32% (556)	33% (5)	29% (8)
Less convenient	17% (140)	17% (298)	13% (2)	14% (4)
Too far	10% (82)	10% (171)	20% (3)	4% (1)

Dealer loyalty	16% (131)	11% (198)	27% (4)	14% (4)
Not anonymous	13% (109)	10% (173)	0% (0)	4% (1)
Requires ID	9% (70)	7% (119)	20% (3)	4% (1)
Product not offered legally	8% (67)	4% (76)	0% (0)	0% (0)
Cannot buy legally	3% (26)	3% (56)	13% (2)	4% (1)
Low quality in legal market	9% (70)	5% (84)	0% (0)	11% (3)
Low supply in legal market	8% (63)	4% (66)	0% (0)	4% (1)

Table III.E.2.b.6. Reasons for Avoiding Legal Cannabis Purchase: Race

Reasons for Avoiding	Asian	Black or African American	Native, Mainland or Island	White	Other
N	46	231	25	2,120	183
High prices	33% (15)	27% (63)	36% (9)	34% (714)	31% (56)
Less convenient	17% (8)	19% (43)	24% (6)	17% (356)	17% (31)
Too far	7% (3)	14% (32)	16% (4)	9% (194)	13% (24)
Dealer loyalty	9% (4)	23% (53)	16% (4)	12% (251)	14% (25)
Not anonymous	17% (8)	17% (39)	12% (3)	10% (207)	14% (26)
Requires ID	11% (5)	12% (27)	4% (1)	7% (138)	12% (22)
Product not offered legally	9% (4)	8% (19)	12% (3)	5% (101)	9% (16)
Cannot buy legally	2% (1)	7% (16)	0% (0)	3% (65)	2% (3)
Low quality in legal market	7% (3)	10% (22)	4% (1)	6% (119)	7% (12)
Low supply in legal market	0% (0)	11% (25)	12% (3)	5% (96)	3% (6)

Table III.E.2.b.7. Reasons for Avoiding Legal Cannabis Purchase: Ethnicity

Reasons for Avoiding	Hispanic or Latino	Not Hispanic or Latino	Unstated
N	333	2,238	34
High prices	33% (111)	33% (744)	6% (2)
Less convenient	19% (64)	17% (380)	0% (0)
Too far	12% (39)	10% (215)	9% (3)
Dealer loyalty	18% (59)	12% (277)	3% (1)

Not anonymous	17% (56)	10% (225)	6% (2)
Requires ID	10% (34)	7% (156)	9% (3)
Product not offered legally	9% (31)	5% (111)	3% (1)
Cannot buy legally	4% (14)	3% (71)	0% (0)
Low quality in legal market	8% (27)	6% (128)	6% (2)
Low supply in legal market	8% (27)	5% (101)	6% (2)

Table III.E.2.b.8. Reasons for Avoiding Legal Cannabis Purchase: Income Adequacy

Reasons for Avoiding	Difficult	Neither Easy nor Difficult	Easy	Unstated
N	**965**	**864**	**686**	**90**
High prices	38% (362)	33% (282)	29% (200)	14% (13)
Less convenient	18% (173)	15% (133)	19% (130)	9% (8)
Too far	11% (109)	9% (80)	10% (67)	1% (1)
Dealer loyalty	13% (127)	12% (102)	15% (101)	8% (7)
Not anonymous	10% (97)	10% (90)	13% (86)	11% (10)
Requires ID	8% (74)	6% (55)	9% (59)	6% (5)
Product not offered legally	4% (43)	5% (46)	7% (49)	6% (5)
Cannot buy legally	2% (24)	3% (29)	4% (29)	3% (3)
Low quality in legal market	6% (61)	5% (44)	7% (48)	4% (4)
Low supply in legal market	5% (44)	4% (32)	7% (50)	4% (4)

F. Cannabis Knowledge and Social Norms

1. Cannabis Knowledge

All participants were asked nine questions about the effects of cannabis (see Methods: Cannabis Knowledge and Social Norms). The Research Department grouped these questions to form a general knowledge of cannabis index represented by the percent of questions answered correctly. Depending on the question, the correct answer was either "Yes" or "No", and "Don't know" was always counted as incorrect. Percentages reflect the number of correct responses, out of the total responses, to each question.

Across all nine questions, participants answered 48% correctly on average, but results varied widely by question [See Figure III.F.1. Questions about Side Effects: Percent Correct by Question]. While 72% of participants correctly answered that driving/operating machinery after using cannabis can be dangerous, for example, just 20% answered that regular marijuana use can increase the risk of psychosis and schizophrenia. There were no substantial differences over time for any of the nine questions.

Figure III.F.1 Questions about Side Effects: Percent Correct by Question
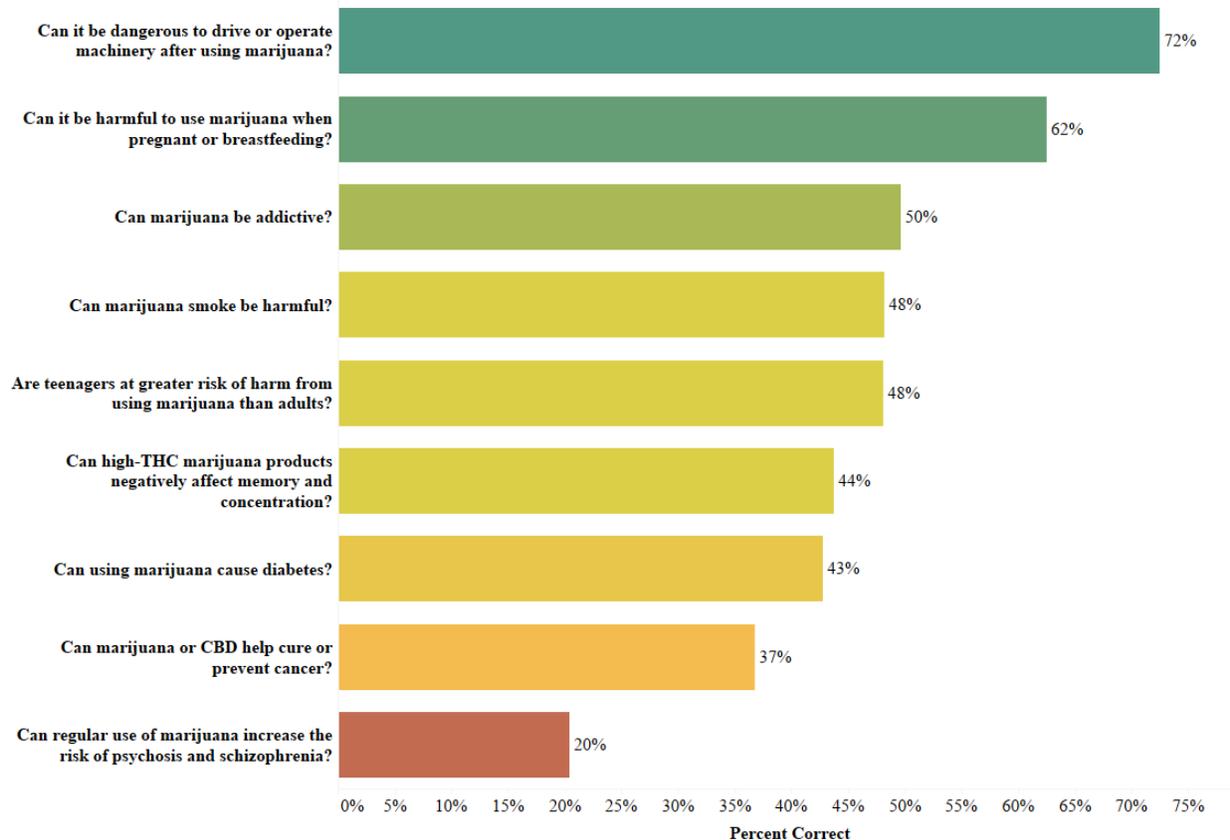
2. Social Norms

In addition to the nine questions gauging their knowledge of risks and side effects, all participants were asked whether they believed cannabis should be legal, and how many of their closest five friends used cannabis. The questions about side effects are described in Methods: Cannabis Knowledge and Social Norms; the below tables again report the average percentage of questions answered correctly.

Participants were asked whether they felt cannabis should be legal. It should be noted that Massachusetts had already enacted medical and adult-use cannabis regulations, so this question served to gauge the public's support for adult-use cannabis' legalized status in the state. The

tables below report the percentages of participants who answered that cannabis should be "Legal". Participants were overwhelmingly in support of legal non-medical cannabis, with 78% of participants in favor of legalization.

The study also asked participants how many of their "top five" friends used cannabis. They reported that 2.02 (SD = 1.70) of their top five friends, on average, used cannabis. Rates were higher among younger cohorts, with 21-25-year-olds and 26-35-year-olds each reporting that an average of 2.34 friends used cannabis, compared to an average of just 1.67 among 56-65-year-olds.

The below tables show the percentages for the three measures of cannabis knowledge and social norms. The first is the percentage of participants who answered "Yes" to "Should cannabis be legal?". The second is the percentage of questions out of the 'general knowledge of cannabis' index that were answered correctly, and the number of participants who answered all questions in the index. The third is the average number of friends, out of their "top five" friends, that participants reported as using cannabis, and the number of participants who answered the question.

Figure III.F.2. Cannabis Social Norms: All Participants, by Year

Should the use of recreational (non-medical) marijuana be ... ?
Percent reporting "Legal"
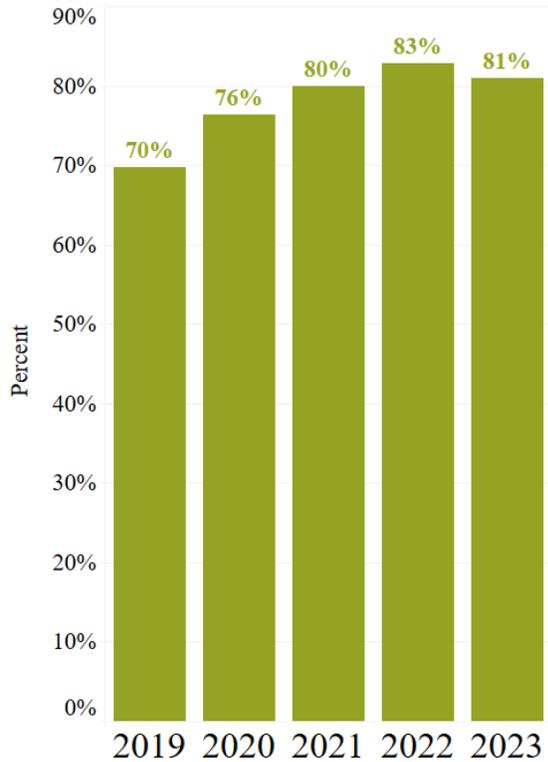
How many of your 5 closest friends use marijuana?
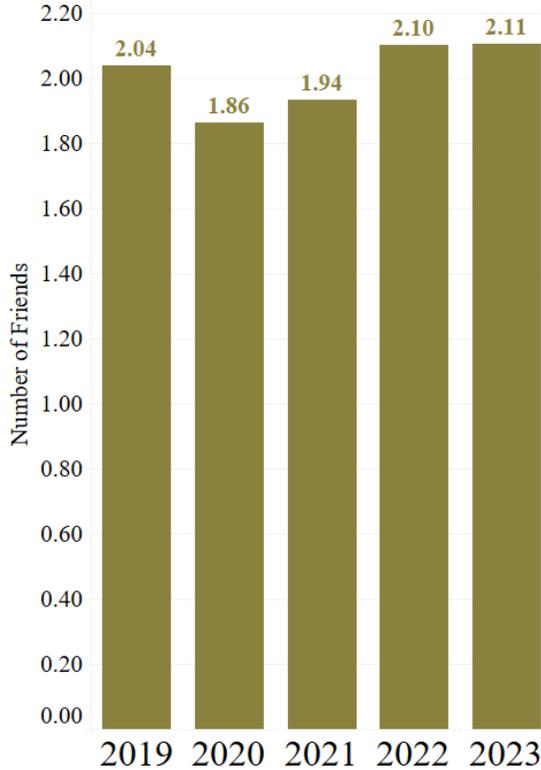
Table III.F.2. Cannabis Knowledge and Social Norms: All Participants

Social Norm	Percent
Should cannabis be legal?	78% (7,558: 9,672)
Questions about side effects	48% (11,589)
Friends using (of top 5)	2.02 (10,250)

Table III.F.3. Cannabis Knowledge and Social Norms: Age

Social Norm	16-20	21-25	26-35	36-45	46-55	56-65
Should cannabis be legal?	75% (361: 483)	80% (539: 670)	83% (1,557: 1,869)	80% (1,697: 2,127)	75% (1,474: 1,966)	75% (1,930: 2,557)
Questions about side effects	49% (620)	43% (829)	44% (2,224)	46% (2,523)	50% (2,343)	51% (3,050)
Friends using (of top 5)	2.16 (566)	2.34 (771)	2.34 (2,048)	2.16 (2,238)	1.84 (2,066)	1.67 (2,561)

Table III.F.4. Cannabis Knowledge and Social Norms: Student Status (Any)

Social Norm	Student	Not a Student	Unstated
Should cannabis be legal?	76% (989: 1,293)	78% (6,399: 8,168)	81% (170: 211)
Questions about side effects	47% (1,586)	48% (9,732)	40% (271)
Friends using (of top 5)	2.22 (1,451)	1.98 (8,570)	2.48 (229)

Table III.F.5. Cannabis Knowledge and Social Norms: Sex

Social Norm	Male	Female
Should cannabis be legal?	78% (2,377: 3,046)	78% (5,181: 6,626)
Questions about side effects	46% (3,536)	49% (8,053)
Friends using (of top 5)	2.02 (3,087)	2.02 (7,163)

Table III.F.6. Cannabis Knowledge and Social Norms: Gender

Social Norm	Man	Woman	Other	Unstated
Should cannabis be legal?	78% (2,366: 3,023)	78% (5,140: 6,587)	89% (32: 36)	77% (20: 26)
Questions about side effects	46% (3,492)	49% (7,972)	54% (40)	23% (85)
Friends using (of top 5)	2.02 (3,061)	2.02 (7,103)	2.68 (37)	2.08 (49)

Table III.F.7. Cannabis Knowledge and Social Norms: Race

Social Norm	Asian	Black or African American	Native, Mainland or Island	White	Other
Should cannabis be legal?	64% (249: 388)	75% (415: 555)	72% (53: 74)	79% (6,477: 8,199)	80% (364: 456)
Questions about side effects	49% (540)	42% (691)	38% (96)	49% (9,651)	42% (611)
Friends using (of top 5)	1.19 (471)	2.31 (611)	2.37 (81)	2.03 (8,577)	2.29 (510)

Table III.F.8. Cannabis Knowledge and Social Norms: Ethnicity

Social Norm	Hispanic or Latino	Not Hispanic or Latino	Unstated
Should cannabis be legal?	77% (664: 859)	78% (6,839: 8,736)	71% (55: 77)
Questions about side effects	43% (1,031)	48% (10,421)	36% (137)

Friends using (of top 5)	2.48 (956)	1.98 (9,205)	1.65 (89)

Table III.F.9. Cannabis Knowledge and Social Norms: Income Adequacy

Social Norm	Difficult	Neither Easy nor Difficult	Easy	Unstated
Should cannabis be legal?	80% (2,343: 2,921)	77% (2,514: 3,269)	78% (2,560: 3,280)	70% (141: 202)
Questions about side effects	47% (3,430)	47% (3,966)	51% (3,788)	35% (405)
Friends using (of top 5)	2.36 (3,097)	2.01 (3,479)	1.75 (3,399)	1.72 (275)

G. Risky Behaviors

1. Driving Behaviors

Participants were asked about their driving behaviors around cannabis. Participants who reported using cannabis within the past 12 months (37% of participants) were asked if, within the past 12 months, they had driven within two hours of using cannabis (Cannabis Driver), and if they had ever planned ahead or decided not to drive to avoid driving while high (Driving Plan; this question was removed from the survey starting in the 2023 wave). All participants were asked if, within the past 12 months, they had been the passenger with a driver who had consumed cannabis within the past two hours (Passenger to Cannabis Driver). Percentages for each item reflect participants who responded "Yes, in the past 12 months" when asked if they had engaged in this behavior.

For the "Cannabis Driver" question, 14% reported that they had driven within two hours of using cannabis within the past 12 months. A larger percentage, 21%, reported that, within the past 12 months, they had been a passenger of a driver who had used cannabis. More than twice as many (46%) reported having previously made a plan to either avoid driving high or to not drive at all. *(Note: There was no follow-up question for participants who reported that they had not made driving plans; it is therefore unknown how many did not make plans because they intended to drive after using cannabis, and how many did not make plans because they did not need to drive after using cannabis. For example, a participant who only uses cannabis at home and does not regularly drive might never have needed a driving plan.)*

There were some notable differences observed in driving behaviors. In particular, 16-20-year-olds were the most likely to report driving after using cannabis (22%) and the second-most likely to report being a passenger (29%). Conversely, 56-65-year-olds were the least likely to drive after cannabis use (8%) and the least likely to be a passenger (13%), but also the least likely to report making a driving plan (36%). Notably, the 21-25-year-olds, the youngest cohort able to

legally consume cannabis, were the second-most likely to report driving after using cannabis (21%), the most likely to report being a passenger (33%), and the most likely to report having a driving plan (59%). These rates may be influenced by participants' reported use rates, since a person who uses cannabis frequently has more opportunities to engage in cannabis-related risky behaviors than a person who uses infrequently.

The tables below show the percentage and number of participants who reported engaging in each behavior.

Table III.G.1.1. Driving and Riding: All Participants

Risky Behavior	Percent (Count: Total)
Cannabis Driver	14% (1,118: 7,824)
Passenger to Cannabis Driver	21% (2,168: 10,498)
Driving Plan	46% (2,892: 6,299)

Table III.G.1.2. Driving and Riding: Age

Risky Behavior	16-20	21-25	26-35	36-45	46-55	56-65
Cannabis Driver	22% (58: 269)	21% (107: 504)	19% (295: 1,545)	18% (307: 1,684)	12% (183: 1,587)	8% (168: 2,235)
Passenger to Cannabis Driver	29% (160: 553)	33% (248: 750)	28% (568: 2,026)	23% (526: 2,287)	15% (315: 2,113)	13% (351: 2,769)
Driving Plan	51% (106: 208)	59% (236: 397)	56% (697: 1,240)	49% (658: 1,331)	42% (547: 1,309)	36% (648: 1,814)

Table III.G.1.3. Driving and Riding: Student Status (Any)

Risky Behavior	Student	Not a Student	Unstated
Cannabis Driver	25% (230: 923)	13% (859: 6,715)	16% (29: 186)
Passenger to Cannabis Driver	31% (441: 1,441)	19% (1,658: 8,819)	29% (69: 238)
Driving Plan	55% (385: 706)	44% (2,413: 5,450)	66% (94: 143)

Table III.G.1.4. Driving and Riding: Sex

Risky Behavior	Male	Female
Cannabis Driver	20% (458: 2,323)	12% (660: 5,501)
Passenger to Cannabis Driver	22% (697: 3,164)	20% (1,471: 7,334)
Driving Plan	44% (819: 1,842)	47% (2,073: 4,457)

Table III.G.1.5. Driving and Riding: Gender

Risky Behavior	Man	Woman	Other	Unstated
Cannabis Driver	20% (456: 2,311)	12% (654: 5,466)	19% (5: 27)	15% (3: 20)
Passenger to Cannabis Driver	22% (687: 3,143)	20% (1,456: 7,284)	42% (16: 38)	27% (9: 33)
Driving Plan	44% (812: 1,832)	47% (2,063: 4,436)	69% (11: 16)	40% (6: 15)

Table III.G.1.6. Driving and Riding: Race

Risky Behavior	Asian	Black or African American	Native, Mainland or Island	White	Other
Cannabis Driver	12% (23: 195)	23% (98: 420)	26% (15: 58)	14% (917: 6,783)	18% (65: 368)
Passenger to Cannabis Driver	13% (63: 490)	32% (199: 615)	34% (31: 92)	20% (1,739: 8,778)	26% (136: 523)
Driving Plan	48% (69: 143)	49% (171: 349)	48% (23: 48)	46% (2,486: 5,454)	47% (143: 305)

Table III.G.1.7. Driving and Riding: Ethnicity

Risky Behavior	Hispanic or Latino	Not Hispanic or Latino	Unstated
Cannabis Driver	25% (168: 678)	13% (937: 7,093)	25% (13: 53)
Passenger to Cannabis Driver	32% (303: 956)	20% (1,844: 9,453)	24% (21: 89)
Driving Plan	55% (288: 527)	45% (2,585: 5,728)	43% (19: 44)

Table III.G.1.8. Driving and Riding: Income Adequacy

Risky Behavior	Difficult	Neither Easy nor Difficult	Easy	Unstated
Cannabis Driver	15% (394: 2,548)	14% (363: 2,621)	14% (350: 2,522)	8% (11: 133)
Passenger to Cannabis Driver	27% (848: 3,155)	20% (719: 3,594)	16% (569: 3,478)	12% (32: 271)
Driving Plan	47% (919: 1,959)	47% (1,006: 2,123)	43% (915: 2,104)	46% (52: 113)

2. **Use at Work**

Participants who reported using cannabis within the past 12 months (37% of participants) were asked whether, within the past 30 days, they had used cannabis either at work or within two hours prior to work. In total, 13% of participants reported cannabis use at or shortly before work within the past 30 days. This may include people who are registered medical patients in Massachusetts' MMJ Program.

The tables below show the percentage and number of participants who reported using cannabis either at work or within two hours prior to work.

Table III.G.2.1. Cannabis Use at Work: All Participants

Risky Behavior	Percent (Count: Total)
Use at Work	13% (451: 3,510)

Table III.G.2.2. Cannabis Use at Work: Age

Risky Behavior	16-20	21-25	26-35	36-45	46-55	56-65
Use at Work	14% (25: 185)	14% (51: 364)	16% (137: 878)	16% (136: 869)	10% (60: 617)	7% (42: 597)

Table III.G.2.3. Cannabis Use at Work: Student Status (Any)

Risky Behavior	Student	Not a Student	Unstated
Use at Work	16% (92: 572)	12% (341: 2,836)	18% (18: 102)

Table III.G.2.4. Cannabis Use at Work: Sex

Risky Behavior	Male	Female
Use at Work	17% (186: 1,087)	11% (265: 2,423)

Table III.G.2.5. Cannabis Use at Work: Gender

Risky Behavior	Man	Woman	Other	Unstated
Use at Work	17% (182: 1,081)	11% (266: 2,399)	10% (2: 21)	11% (1: 9)

Table III.G.2.6. Cannabis Use at Work: Race

Risky Behavior	Asian	Black or African American	Native, Mainland or Island	White	Other
Use at Work	6% (6: 95)	20% (52: 255)	17% (4: 24)	12% (359: 2,955)	17% (30: 181)

Table III.G.2.7. Cannabis Use at Work: Ethnicity

Risky Behavior	Hispanic or Latino	Not Hispanic or Latino	Unstated
Use at Work	22% (83: 386)	12% (363: 3,096)	18% (5: 28)

Table III.G.2.8. Cannabis Use at Work: Income Adequacy

Risky Behavior	Difficult	Neither Easy nor Difficult	Easy	Unstated
Use at Work	16% (182: 1,141)	10% (121: 1,217)	13% (140: 1,084)	12% (8: 68)

3. Poly-substance Use

Participants who reported using cannabis within the past 12 months (37% of participants) were asked which other substances they had ever used (e.g., alcohol or tobacco cigarettes), and then, for each other substance they reported having used, whether they had used that substance simultaneously with cannabis within the past 12 months. Among this subset of participants who reported having used another substance concurrently with cannabis within the past year, the most reported co-used substances were alcohol (48%), cigarettes (38%), and e-cigarettes (23%). Illicit substances were less prevalent, with only 11% of these participants reporting use of any illicit substance with cannabis. Among these illicit substances, cocaine (7%), hallucinogens (6%), prescription painkillers (6%), and prescription drugs (6%) were the most frequent.

The tables below show the percentage of participants who reported using each substance concurrently with cannabis, out of the total number of participants who had ever used that substance and also reported using cannabis within the past 12 months [See Methods section for more details on study methodology].

Table III.G.3.1. Poly-substance Use: All Participants

Use With	Percent (Count: Total)
Alcohol	48% (1,872: 3,925)
Cigarettes	38% (1,028: 2,687)
E-cigarettes	23% (411: 1,812)
Illicit Substances	11% (100: 914)

Table III.G.3.2. Poly-substance Use: Age

Use With	16-20	21-25	26-35	36-45	46-55	56-65

Alcohol	43% (85: 200)	54% (203: 379)	51% (468: 915)	48% (458: 945)	45% (308: 690)	44% (350: 796)
Cigarettes	24% (26: 109)	35% (64: 184)	37% (222: 594)	46% (315: 692)	39% (203: 522)	34% (198: 586)
E-cigarettes	40% (57: 142)	35% (76: 216)	24% (111: 464)	22% (99: 452)	15% (42: 277)	10% (26: 261)
Illicit Substances	9% (6: 67)	16% (15: 91)	12% (29: 242)	15% (31: 212)	10% (15: 148)	3% (4: 154)

Figure III.G.3.3. Poly-substance Use, by Age Group
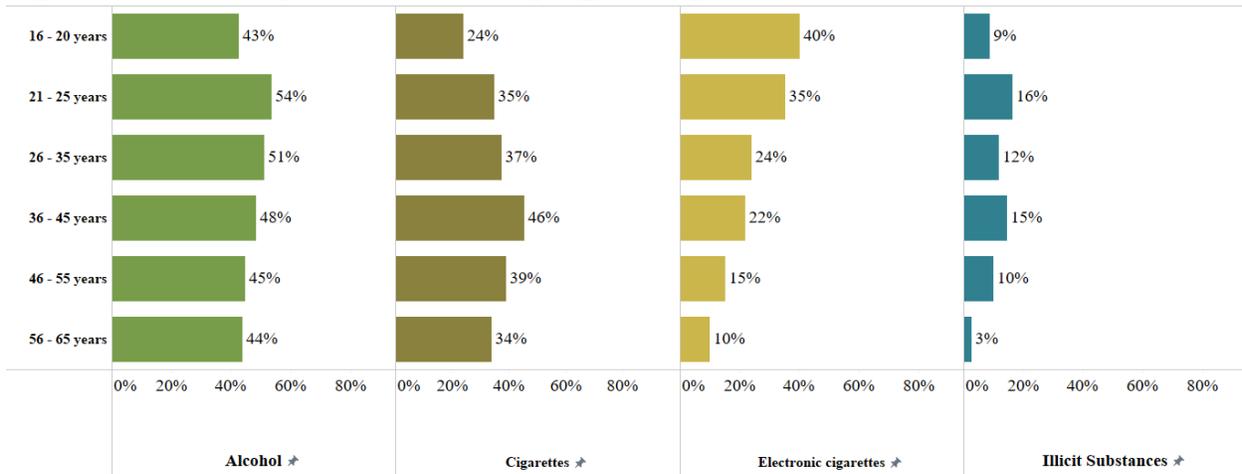
Table III.G.3.4. Poly-substance Use: Student Status (Any)

Use With	Student	Not a Student	Unstated
Alcohol	44% (252: 576)	49% (1,572: 3,233)	41% (48: 116)
Cigarettes	35% (113: 324)	38% (863: 2,275)	59% (52: 88)
E-cigarettes	33% (109: 334)	20% (285: 1,408)	24% (17: 70)
Illicit Substances	12% (19: 156)	10% (69: 720)	32% (12: 38)

Table III.G.3.5 Poly-substance Use: Sex

Use With	Male	Female
Alcohol	52% (613: 1,172)	46% (1,259: 2,753)
Cigarettes	44% (341: 769)	36% (687: 1,918)
E-cigarettes	24% (120: 499)	22% (291: 1,313)
Illicit Substances	15% (31: 205)	10% (69: 709)

Table III.G.3.6 Poly-substance Use: Gender

Use With	Man	Woman	Other	Unstated
Alcohol	52% (607: 1,169)	46% (1,245: 2,721)	64% (14: 22)	46% (6: 13)
Cigarettes	44% (341: 767)	36% (676: 1,897)	50% (8: 16)	43% (3: 7)
E-cigarettes	24% (121: 498)	22% (283: 1,295)	36% (5: 14)	40% (2: 5)
Illicit Substances	15% (32: 209)	10% (68: 696)	0% (0: 7)	0% (0: 2)

Table III.G.3.7. Poly-substance Use: Race

Use With	Asian	Black or African American	Native, Mainland or Island	White	Other
Alcohol	49% (48: 97)	57% (147: 257)	37% (11: 30)	47% (1,571: 3,336)	46% (95: 205)
Cigarettes	26% (15: 58)	41% (62: 152)	39% (7: 18)	38% (890: 2,319)	39% (54: 140)
E-cigarettes	28% (13: 47)	16% (17: 107)	41% (7: 17)	23% (355: 1,537)	18% (19: 104)
Illicit Substances	0% (0: 19)	12% (8: 68)	14% (1: 7)	11% (83: 766)	15% (8: 54)

Table III.G.3.8. Poly-substance Use: Ethnicity

Use With	Hispanic or Latino	Not Hispanic or Latino	Unstated
Alcohol	45% (180: 400)	48% (1,673: 3,491)	56% (19: 34)
Cigarettes	38% (96: 252)	38% (927: 2,415)	25% (5: 20)
E-cigarettes	29% (62: 214)	22% (345: 1,581)	24% (4: 17)
Illicit Substances	14% (13: 96)	11% (86: 807)	9% (1: 11)

Table III.G.3.9. Poly-substance Use: Income Adequacy

Use With	Difficult	Neither Easy nor Difficult	Easy	Unstated
Alcohol	47% (642: 1,365)	47% (626: 1,343)	50% (573: 1,143)	42% (31: 74)
Cigarettes	47% (487: 1,037)	34% (319: 927)	31% (211: 682)	27% (11: 41)
E-cigarettes	22% (153: 710)	22% (129: 592)	25% (120: 480)	30% (9: 30)
Illicit Substances	15% (57: 375)	9% (26: 303)	8% (17: 224)	0% (0: 12)

H. Health Care and Cannabis

The ICPS survey asked participants about healthcare use in relation to cannabis – both using cannabis to treat physical or mental ailments, and seeking medical treatment after cannabis use due to a negative health effect (e.g., dizziness). For example, using edibles with the goal of alleviating pain would be using cannabis to treat a physical ailment, whereas going to the hospital due to an adverse reaction to an edible would constitute seeking medical treatment after cannabis use.

1. Health Care Use after Cannabis Consumption

Participants who reported using cannabis within the past 12 months (37% of participants) were asked if, in that time, they had ever sought medical help for a negative health effect caused by cannabis. In total, 9% of these participants reported seeking medical treatment for adverse health effects following cannabis consumption within the past 12 months.

The tables below show the percentage and number of participants who reported seeking medical treatment for adverse health effects following cannabis consumption within the past 12 months.

Table III.H.1.1. Health Care Use after Cannabis Consumption: All Participants

Health Care Use	Percent (Count: Total)
Sought health care treatment	9% (217: 2,470)

Table III.H.1.2. Health Care Use after Cannabis Consumption: Age

Health Care Use	16-20	21-25	26-35	36-45	46-55	56-65
Sought health care treatment	9% (14: 160)	13% (38: 291)	10% (65: 629)	11% (62: 585)	6% (24: 388)	3% (14: 417)

Table III.H.1.3. Health Care Use after Cannabis Consumption: Student (Any)

Health Care Use	Student	Not a Student	Unstated
Sought health care treatment	21% (91: 436)	6% (117: 1,948)	10% (9: 86)

Table III.H.1.4. Health Care Use after Cannabis Consumption: Sex

Health Care Use	Male	Female

Sought health care treatment	15% (110: 725)	6% (107: 1,745)

Table III.H.1.5. Health Care Use after Cannabis Consumption: Gender

Health Care Use	Man	Woman	Other	Unstated
Sought health care treatment	15% (109: 720)	6% (108: 1,719)	0% (0: 18)	0% (0: 13)

Table III.H.1.6. Health Care Use after Cannabis Consumption: Race

Health Care Use	Asian	Black or African American	Native, Mainland or Island	White	Other
Sought health care treatment	3% (2: 58)	20% (37: 186)	27% (6: 22)	8% (155: 2,065)	12% (17: 139)

Table III.H.1.7. Health Care Use after Cannabis Consumption: Ethnicity

Health Care Use	Hispanic or Latino	Not Hispanic or Latino	Unstated
Sought health care treatment	21% (61: 286)	7% (153: 2,155)	10% (3: 29)

Table III.H.1.8 Health Care Use after Cannabis Consumption: Income Adequacy

Health Care Use	Difficult	Neither Easy nor Difficult	Easy	Unstated
Sought health care treatment	9% (75: 879)	6% (49: 828)	13% (90: 713)	6% (3: 50)

2. **Cannabis for Health Treatment**

Participants who reported ever using cannabis (70% of participants) were asked if they had ever used cannabis to "improve or manage" physical health symptoms and mental health symptoms. In total, 43% of participants reported using cannabis to help manage mental health symptoms, and 51% reported using cannabis to treat physical health symptoms.

The tables below show the percentage and number of participants who reported using cannabis to help manage mental or physical health symptoms.

Table III.H.2.1. Cannabis for Health Treatment: All Participants

Health Care Use	Percent (Count: Total)
Use to manage mental health	43% (3,383: 7,924)

Use to manage physical health	51% (4,028: 7,883)

Table III.H.2.2. Cannabis for Health Treatment: Age

Health Care Use	16-20	21-25	26-35	36-45	46-55	56-65
Use to manage mental health	69% (186: 271)	66% (345: 525)	61% (945: 1,559)	52% (883: 1,709)	34% (548: 1,612)	21% (476: 2,248)
Use to manage physical health	58% (152: 262)	68% (346: 510)	63% (973: 1,547)	56% (956: 1,701)	45% (717: 1,610)	39% (884: 2,253)

Table III.H.2.3. Cannabis for Health Treatment: Student Status (Any)

Health Care Use	Student	Not a Student	Unstated
Use to manage mental health	65% (610: 936)	39% (2,642: 6,796)	68% (131: 192)
Use to manage physical health	64% (588: 916)	49% (3,303: 6,777)	72% (137: 190)

Table III.H.2.4. Cannabis for Health Treatment: Sex

Health Care Use	Male	Female
Use to manage mental health	42% (977: 2,327)	43% (2,406: 5,597)
Use to manage physical health	47% (1,092: 2,316)	53% (2,936: 5,567)

Table III.H.2.5. Cannabis for Health Treatment: Gender

Health Care Use	Man	Woman	Other	Unstated
Use to manage mental health	42% (966: 2,309)	43% (2,377: 5,565)	81% (22: 27)	78% (18: 23)
Use to manage physical health	47% (1,081: 2,299)	53% (2,906: 5,534)	85% (23: 27)	78% (18: 23)

Table III.H.2.6. Cannabis for Health Treatment: Race

Health Care Use	Asian	Black or African American	Native, Mainland or Island	White	Other
Use to manage mental health	36% (69: 192)	60% (257: 429)	66% (40: 61)	41% (2,813: 6,864)	54% (204: 378)

Use to manage physical health	41% (75: 185)	64% (269: 422)	64% (36: 56)	50% (3,422: 6,850)	61% (226: 370)

Table III.H.2.7. Cannabis for Health Treatment: Ethnicity

Health Care Use	Hispanic or Latino	Not Hispanic or Latino	Unstated
Use to manage mental health	63% (437: 689)	41% (2,919: 7,180)	49% (27: 55)
Use to manage physical health	66% (448: 679)	50% (3,549: 7,150)	57% (31: 54)

Table III.H.2.8. Cannabis for Health Treatment: Income Adequacy

Health Care Use	Difficult	Neither Easy nor Difficult	Easy	Unstated
Use to manage mental health	52% (1,351: 2,590)	41% (1,087: 2,660)	35% (877: 2,528)	47% (68: 146)
Use to manage physical health	59% (1,514: 2,573)	52% (1,390: 2,648)	42% (1,058: 2,520)	46% (66: 142)

Figure III.H.2.9. Cannabis for Mental Health Treatment, by Use Frequency
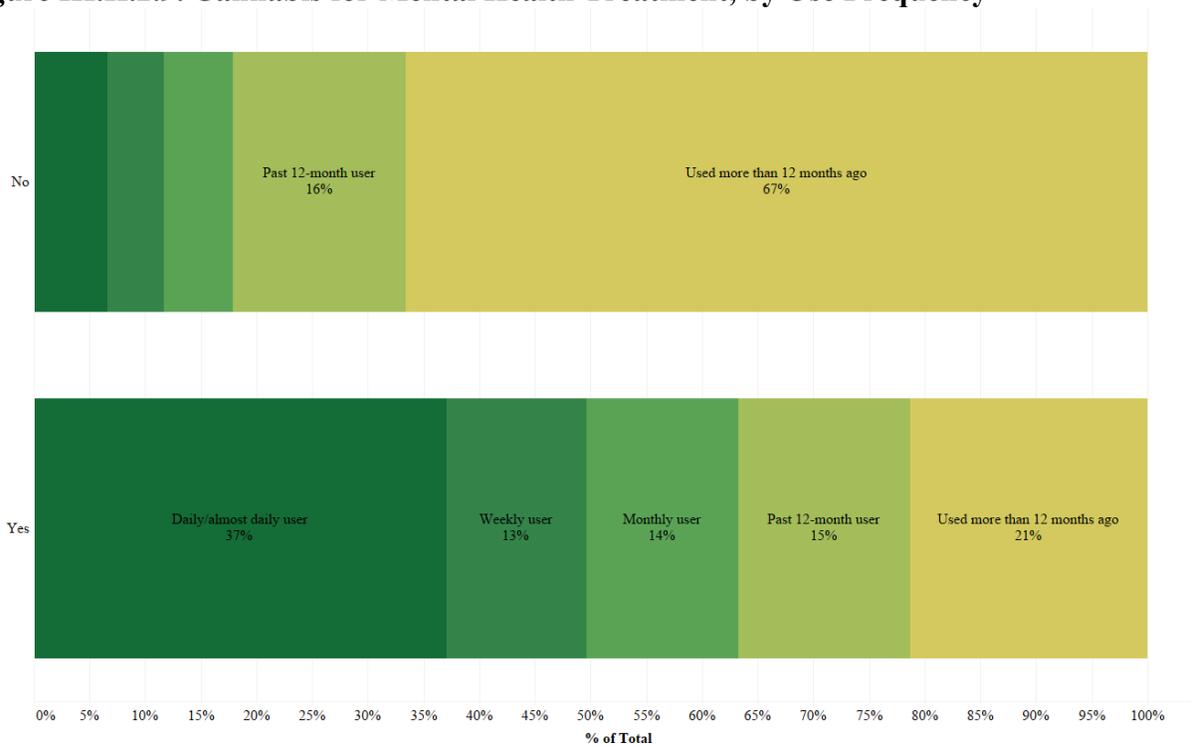
I. History of Cannabis Arrests

Finally, all participants were asked whether they had ever been arrested for 1) cannabis possession, 2) cannabis trafficking, cultivation, or importation, or 3) cannabis-impaired driving (the last item was added in the 2021 survey wave). These three questions were collapsed into one "Any arrests" measure to determine the total number of participants who reported any previous cannabis-related arrest. In total, 5% of participants reported any previous cannabis-related arrests.

The tables below show the percentage and number of participants who reported any previous cannabis-related arrests.

Table III.I.1. History of Cannabis Arrests: All Participants

History of Cannabis Arrest	Percent (Count: Total)
Any arrests	5% (536: 11,337)

Table III.I.2. History of Cannabis Arrests: Age

History of Cannabis Arrest	16-20	21-25	26-35	36-45	46-55	56-65
Any arrests	4% (25: 595)	7% (59: 801)	6% (122: 2,142)	7% (170: 2,459)	4% (84: 2,306)	3% (76: 3,034)

Table III.I.3. History of Cannabis Arrests: Student Status (Any)

History of Cannabis Arrest	Student	Not a Student	Unstated
Any arrests	10% (145: 1,517)	4% (384: 9,565)	3% (7: 255)

Table III.I.4. History of Cannabis Arrests: Sex

History of Cannabis Arrest	Male	Female
Any arrests	8% (290: 3,432)	3% (246: 7,905)

Table III.I.5. History of Cannabis Arrests: Gender

History of Cannabis Arrest	Man	Woman	Other	Unstated
Any arrests	8% (285: 3,406)	3% (239: 7,847)	10% (4: 39)	18% (8: 45)

Table III.I.6. History of Cannabis Arrests: Race

History of Cannabis Arrest	Asian	Black or African American	Native, Mainland or Island	White	Other
Any arrests	2% (11: 529)	10% (69: 661)	16% (15: 94)	4% (412: 9,481)	5% (29: 572)

Table III.I.7. History of Cannabis Arrests: Ethnicity

History of Cannabis Arrest	Hispanic or Latino	Not Hispanic or Latino	Unstated
Any arrests	12% (119: 988)	4% (412: 10,245)	5% (5: 104)

Table III.I.8. History of Cannabis Arrests: Income Adequacy

History of Cannabis Arrest	Difficult	Neither Easy nor Difficult	Easy	Unstated
Any arrests	5% (184: 3,380)	4% (151: 3,890)	5% (191: 3,729)	3% (10: 338)

IV. Results: Limitations and Overall Findings

A. Limitations

As described in the Methods section, the International Cannabis Policy Study (ICPS) is a quasi-experimental population-based survey that permits monitoring and study of differential effects of cannabis policies and outcomes, including but not limited to prevalence and patterns of use, purchasing and price, consumption and product types, commercial retail landscape, risk behaviors, and knowledge and perceptions.

The ICPS has many strengths that allow researchers and regulators to evaluate impacts of cannabis policies; however, prior to any further discussion on results, possible implications, and policy recommendations, it is important to note several limitations to contextualize the methodological landscape.

- The most critical limitations are the small and varied sample sizes across survey years in Massachusetts. The total sample from 2019 to 2023 included 11,635 participants, ranging from 1,763 in 2021 (15% of total sample) to 3,389 in 2022 (29% of total sample).
- Although 3,389 is not a large sample for representing the population of Massachusetts, it is almost twice as large as 1,763, the smallest yearly ICPS sample in our data. Smaller sample sizes make it difficult to assess the results of smaller subgroups (e.g., Native, Mainland, or Island participants). Any findings that involve a small subset of the data are highly limited in their generalizability and insight. The Research Department recommends increased funding to oversample these smaller subgroups across the Commonwealth.
- As with any survey, this data relies on self-reporting, which opens the possibility of bias, such as social desirability or recall bias, even if unintended. Additionally, survey participants may not accurately understand some questions or may misunderstand specific parts of questions.
- Results will also be influenced by external factors, such as municipal-level policies or secular trends occurring at the national-level. For example, although cannabis is legalized at the state level, municipalities can ban or restrict Marijuana Establishments. The Commission tracks zoning and bylaws of adult-use Marijuana Establishments for all 351 cities and towns in Massachusetts (Massachusetts Cannabis Control Commission, 2025b).

The Research Department did not have the time and resources needed to complete advanced statistics beyond the summary analyses presented in this report. Additional staffing and/or funding for external contracting in the future would permit a more comprehensive analysis of the ICPS and similar data.

B. Findings

As the industry matures and saturates across Massachusetts, trends in regulated market share are increasing and unregulated market shares are decreasing. It is important to complement findings from the ICPS with items, such as product popularity, from the 2025 Industry Report to better make sense of the ICPS results. This analysis did not find particularly alarming use trends, including no obvious surge in use among youth, but insights here are limited by sample size.

Use Frequency

Use frequency is critical to understand cannabis use patterns and potential problematic use.
- Fourteen percent of those sampled over the 2019-2023 waves reported daily or almost daily cannabis use, including 17% of the 2023 sample.
- When these daily/near daily users are combined with weekly, monthly, and past 12-month users, we see that 37% of residents sampled from 2019-2023 reported some amount of cannabis use in the past year, including 43% of the 2023 sample.
- Another 33% of participants reported using cannabis over 12 months ago, including 31% of the 2023 sample.

Age of Cannabis Initiation

The age of initiation (i.e., when a person first initiated cannabis use) is critical to assess as research continues to show that earlier initiation of cannabis is strongly linked to higher risk of developing cannabis use disorder (CUD) and other adverse outcomes.
- Among participants who had reported previous cannabis use, the mean age reported for their first use was 19.5 years of age, although the mean age of first use varied by age groups, as well as between students and non-students.

Methods of Consumption

Legalization increased the availability of different cannabis products (methods of consumption), which may have differential effects for persons using, as well as different risks.
- "Flower" (74%) was the most frequently used method in the past year, followed by "Edibles" (72%) and "Oils, Vaporized" (40%) [See the Commission's 2025 Industry Report, Section I. Data: Products and Sales for additional information on product types].

Sources of Cannabis

Where consumers source their cannabis is critical to monitor as the regulated market saturates across the state, as a key goal of legalization is to decrease the size of the unregulated markets, ensuring safer alternatives for patients and consumers alike.

- Consistent with the previous ICPS Report, a "Store" (61%), "Family member or friend" (56%), and "Dealer" (24%) were the most frequently reported sources. It is worth noting, however, that since the previous ICPS report, "Store" has surpassed "Family member or friend" as the most frequently reported source.
- On average, participants reported that 74% of the cannabis they sourced came from legal, authorized sources. Across product types, "Topicals" (86%) and "Oral oils" (83%) were the most likely to be sourced legally, whereas "Flower" (65%), "Concentrates" (65%) and "Hash/Kief" (55%) were the least likely to be sourced legally.
- Among participants who reported sourcing any cannabis illegally, the most frequently reported reasons for not sourcing legally were "high prices" (33%), "less convenience" (17%), and "dealer loyalty" (13%).

Cannabis Knowledge and Social Norms

Knowledge and social norms affect human behavior. It is probable that cannabis legalization has impacted both knowledge and social norms around cannabis through product accessibility and affordability, marketing, and public education.

- Participants' knowledge about cannabis differed greatly depending on the topic assessed. Whereas just one-in-five (20%) participants correctly stated that regular cannabis use can increase the risk of schizophrenia, a large majority (72%) were aware that driving or operating machinery after cannabis consumption can be dangerous.
- Participants were also asked about their own personal experiences with cannabis, including their thoughts on its legal status, and the number of their "top five" friends who use cannabis. Support for the legal status of cannabis remains highly favorable in Massachusetts (81% in 2023). On average, participants reported that two of their "top five" friends were cannabis users.

Risky Behaviors: Driving, Use at Work, Poly-substance Use

As more jurisdictions across the U.S. and worldwide legalize and regulate cannabis, this shift may impact cannabis use behaviors, including the risky behaviors highlighted in this report: Driving after cannabis use, using cannabis at or shortly before work, and using cannabis concurrently with other substances (poly-substance use).

- Across the five waves surveyed (2019-2023), 14% of participants who had used cannabis within the past 12 months reported that, within the past year, they had driven after

cannabis use; 21% of all participants reported that, within the past year, they had been a passenger to a driver who had recently used cannabis.

- Forty-six percent of participants who had used cannabis within the past year reported previously making a plan to avoid driving after cannabis consumption (as noted in this section, there was no follow-up question to ask whether a driving plan was necessary, or whether the participant did not make a plan because they did not need to drive).
- Thirteen percent of participants who had used cannabis within the past 12 months reported that, within the past 30 days, they had used cannabis at or shortly before work.
- If participants reported use of other substances in addition to cannabis, they were also asked if they had used the two substances concurrently. As expected, the substances with highest rates of cannabis polysubstance use were alcohol (48%), cigarettes (38%), and e-cigarettes (23%). Co-use of cannabis with other illicit substances was reported by 11% of participants who had used these illicit substances, with wide variations in frequency depending on the substance.

Health Care and Cannabis

The ICPS asked participants who had ever used cannabis whether they had used it to alleviate mental or physical health symptoms, and asked participants who had used cannabis within the past year whether they had ever sought healthcare due to adverse effects within that time.

- Nine percent of participants reported seeking medical services to treat adverse health effects following cannabis consumption.
- When asked whether they used cannabis to alleviate a health ailment, 43% of those that answered reported use to manage a mental health concern, and 51% reported use to manage a physical health concern.

History of Cannabis Arrests

One priority of cannabis legalization is to decrease arrests and other criminal justice system involvement for low-level cannabis-related offenses. The ICPS asked participants whether they had ever been arrested for 1) cannabis possession, 2) cannabis trafficking, cultivation, or importation, or 3) cannabis-impaired driving.

- Five percent of participants reported that they had been arrested for one or more of the listed offenses.
- Arrests were more commonly reported among men than among women, and more commonly among Hispanic/Latino participants and People of Color than among White or non-Hispanic/Latino participants (with the exception of Asian participants, who reported the lowest rates of arrest).

- Arrests were also more commonly reported by students than by non-students and did not appear to vary based on income adequacy.

V. Policy Recommendations

Cannabis use and legalization varies throughout the U.S. and world. More recent policies that change cannabis' legal status at the state level provide a real-world quasi-experimental study, allowing researchers and policymakers to understand the varying impacts on individuals, communities, and society at large. The Commission's mission is to "safely, equitably, and effectively implement and administer the laws enabling access to Medical and Adult Use Marijuana in the Commonwealth." It is critical to consistently monitor and study these impacts and adjust policy as necessary to realize the goals and missions of legalization.

The purpose of this legislative research report is to provide a high-level overview of metrics pursuant to M.G.L c. 94G Section 17, including data- and research-backed recommendations, which can inform future policy decisions and facilitate the Commission's mission to ensure policy effectiveness and industry safety and equity. This report relies on data from the ICPS to fulfill these metrics due to resource constraints. Although it is a uniquely comprehensive survey of cannabis use, the ICPS has limitations (as described in Limitations), and does not paint a complete picture of cannabis use and impacts in Massachusetts. Additional resources would allow the Research Department to recruit larger sample sizes for the ICPS, to conduct more extensive data analysis, including hypothesis testing and statistical modeling, to include the multitude of ICPS survey questions not able to be included in this report, and to incorporate more data sources beyond the ICPS to more comprehensively understand cannabis use and its impacts in Massachusetts.

Based on this assessment of cannabis use in Massachusetts using 2019-2023 ICPS data, and on current public health and policy concerns that could be addressed by deeper analyses and additional data sources, the Research Department makes recommendations detailed below for policymakers, researchers, and industry stakeholders in the Commonwealth and beyond. Some recommendations are similar to previous reports, including past ICPS reports, highlighting the importance of continuous data monitoring in the constantly evolving cannabis research and policy landscape.

Education and Prevention

Education about cannabis policy, regulations, and safe use continues to be crucial to mitigate potential adverse effects, especially as Massachusetts moves to implement social consumption regulations. Broadly, research shows gaps in consumer knowledge of cannabis use, benefits, and harms. In fact, the Massachusetts "More About Marijuana" public awareness campaign showed a lack of understanding on consumer safety laws and regulations among Commonwealth residents (Doonan et al., 2020; Geiger-Oneto & Sprague, 2020; Goodman et al., 2019; Reboussin et al., 2019). As shown in this report under Data – Cannabis Knowledge and Social Norms, ICPS

participants from Massachusetts answered many questions incorrectly, and did not show improvement over time, which indicates troubling and unaddressed gaps in public knowledge.

It is critical for stakeholders and regulators to collaborate and implement a multi-tiered approach to education and prevention that targets individuals, communities, and industry stakeholders across the Commonwealth.

Recommendation 1: The Commission should continue to support and seek funding for public education, such as the previous "More About Marijuana" public awareness campaign, which emphasized compliance with laws and regulations, responsible consumption behaviors, prevention of youth use, and general awareness about cannabis (Doonan et al., 2020). Any campaign should be accompanied by surveys to gauge baseline knowledge, the effectiveness of messaging, and any changes in perceptions or behaviors. Potential areas of focus for public awareness campaigns include policy education, youth use prevention, and a particular focus on mitigating adverse effects and other harms (e.g. awareness of hemp-derived cannabinoids, product label comprehension, industry worker safety, and the risks of impaired driving).

Recommendation 2: In the absence of funding for comprehensive public education campaigns, the Commission should collaborate with other Massachusetts state agencies and educators to create and disseminate evidence-based educational materials across Commission websites and social media. Since a public awareness campaign has not been funded since the initial "More About Marijuana" campaign, the Commission's Communications Department has been responsible for disseminating public education organically and at zero cost.

Recommendation 3: To most effectively promote safe cannabis use, it is important to monitor constituent knowledge of cannabis products and policies, risks, and social norms, including changes in norms and knowledge over time to understand how state policies intersect with human behavior, including but not limited to youth use, health care usage, and impaired driving. Increased funding resources for the Research Department would enable broader and deeper analysis of these metrics using data from the ICPS and from other sources.

Recommendation 4: To protect constituents who are cannabis industry workers, it is critical to implement a multi-tiered approach to worker safety, including both education and regulation to ensure policies follow best practices and current science. The ICPS does not currently ask participants if they are employed in the cannabis industry. The Research Department will propose a new question to Dr. Hammond's team to include in future ICPS survey waves to ask if participants are cannabis industry workers. Furthermore, the Commission could survey cannabis industry workers to understand workplace safety concerns and potential policy solutions; this could also be part of a broader public awareness campaign survey.

Hemp-Derived Cannabinoids

Delta-9 THC, the most prominently discussed and researched cannabinoid, is classified at the federal level as a Schedule I substance under the 1970 Controlled Substances Act (CSA). This classification means that Delta-9 THC remains federally illegal, and the Schedule I classification designates it as having a high potential for abuse and no accepted medical use. However, the current legal status of cannabis is complicated by the federal legalization of hemp and cannabidiol (CBD) in the 2018 Farm Bill, as the language in this bill provided a legal loophole for intoxicating hemp-derived products (Babalonis et al., 2021; Johnson et al., 2023).

This created new markets not just for hemp and CBD products, as the law ostensibly intended, but also markets for varied hemp-derived intoxicating cannabinoids that are similar to Delta-9 THC (e.g., Delta-8 and Delta-10 THC). These hemp-derived analogues of Delta-9 THC do not fall under the federal CSA, but are still able to create a "high" and have effects generally similar to Delta-9 THC, and can be found in smoke shops, convenience stores, gas stations, and online retailers. Most hemp and hemp-derived cannabinoid product markets in states with legalized cannabis operate outside of the state-regulated cannabis markets (Harlow et al., 2022), creating different markets for hemp-derived cannabinoids that are therefore regulated differently than Delta 9-THC (or not regulated at all).

This emergent market poses multiple threats to public health and safety due to this lack of research, oversight, and regulation. Hemp-derived products are often available both from brick-and-mortar and online retailers without any age verification, making them accessible to youth. The lack of regulation also allows for product packaging and labelling that may appeal to youth. Furthermore, the general public are often unable to discern the differences between consumable cannabis and hemp products (Kolodinsky & Lacasse, 2021; McFadden & Malone, 2021; Rampold et al., 2021). This gap in knowledge is especially concerning given that rates of hemp-derived cannabinoid use appear to be increasing over the past five to 10 years in the U.S, an unsurprising trend with the increased availability of hemp-derived products. Finally, despite the relatively recent rise and expansion of the hemp and hemp-derived cannabinoid market, there is evidence that consumption of these products has led to THC-related poisoning and adverse event reports in the U.S., particularly in states where cannabis remains illegal (Oliverio, 2025; Simpson & Keemahill, 2025).

Hemp-derived cannabinoid products are policy, research, and public health and safety concerns due to their lack of regulation and scientific study and their accessibility to youth. There is a dearth of research on the hemp market and hemp-derived cannabinoid products, and of their impact on state-regulated cannabis markets and on cannabis use behaviors. Even distinguishing between "cannabis" and "hemp" is not straightforward, and this distinction may no longer be meaningful in some situations (Johnson et al., 2023). Recently, the Massachusetts House of Representatives passed a bill that would give the Commission increased oversight and regulation of hemp in the Commonwealth. The Commission does not currently regulate industrial hemp, which is regulated by the Massachusetts Department of Agricultural Resources. While this bill

has not yet passed the Senate, it is critical to understand the complexities of hemp and secure baseline data and research to inform policy decisions moving forward.

Some hemp-related items have been added to the ICPS survey in recent waves. For example, Wave 6 (2023) includes the addition of items asking participants about their consumption of hemp and CBD products, such as the last time they used a CBD product, or their age when they first used one. This report does not cover these ICPS items due to limited resources; when there is an opportunity to analyze these additional metrics, they will be useful for understanding subjective resident experiences and perceptions around cannabinoid hemp products as the landscape around hemp continues to change, outpacing what researchers understand about the scope of hemp use and subsequent policy concerns.

However, even when resources permit, ICPS data will not be sufficient by itself to understand the scope and concerns of the hemp and hemp-derived cannabinoid market in Massachusetts. The recommendations below outline some of the necessary steps for researchers and regulators in Massachusetts and beyond to address the knowledge gaps and the regulatory and public health concerns surrounding the hemp market. In Massachusetts, these measures merit resourcing and funding from the Legislature.

Recommendation 1: The Commission should collaborate with other Massachusetts state agencies and researchers to assess hemp market products and availability within the Commonwealth, analyze available data on use trends, and compare to cannabis availability and use. This could include an assessment of hemp-derived product retailers similar to a Standardized Tobacco Assessment for Retail Settings (STARS; Henriksen et al., 2016).

Recommendation 2: The Commonwealth should launch a public awareness campaign and accompanying surveys to gauge public knowledge of hemp-derived products (particularly of intoxicating products and their availability to youth) and to remedy public knowledge gaps. Surveys should include metrics similar to those now included in the ICPS [e.g., *Have you ever used a CBD-only product?*], which are critical to understanding youth who may be accessing hemp-derived cannabinoid products outside Commission regulated markets.

Recommendation 3: Distinguishing hemp from cannabis is a regulatory concern due to their different legal status and regulatory oversight across U.S. states. The study of cannabinoid profiles including testing, packaging, labeling, and storage of THC and CBD, both from cannabis and hemp plants, is critical. There is an urgent need to address large knowledge gaps among researchers, regulators, and the public and to standardize metrics for future research and policy comparisons.

Future Research, Monitoring, and Data

Research and data monitoring are critical to safely and effectively regulate the fast-paced cannabis industry. The federally illegal Schedule I status of Delta 9-THC impedes research into the risks, therapeutic potential, use trends, and public health impacts of cannabis and individual cannabinoids. These further hamper researchers' ability to advance cannabis science and regulators' ability to craft evidence-based policy.

Massachusetts was the first state to include a legislative research mandate within the law establishing its cannabis regulatory body, the Commission. This research mandate empowers the Commission, via its Research Department, to address some of the gaps created by federal obstacles to cannabis research. This report addresses metrics outlined in the legislative mandate outlined in G. L. c. 94G, §17, particularly in (i), (ii), (v), and (vii), using 2019-2023 ICPS data. As described previously, the ICPS is a uniquely in-depth survey of cannabis use and its impacts among the general population, but it does not offer the breadth and depth needed to comprehensively understand cannabis use and its effects, as well as the social and public health impacts of national, state, and local laws and regulations on residents of the Commonwealth. The Research Department continues to rely on the ICPS to fulfill these mandate metrics due to resource constraints that do not allow for analyzing additional data sources, or for directly designing and conducting its own studies.

Robust research across a variety of disciplines and continuous public health monitoring would permit regulators to enact timely, evidence-based policy. The recommendations below are a non-exhaustive list of research gaps and some potential methods for addressing them. Many of these recommendations could be acted upon by the proposed Center for Cannabis Research and Policy with access to the full staff and funding needed to more comprehensively meet Massachusetts' pioneering research mandate.

Recommendation 1: The Commission should continue collaborating with regulators and researchers, including epidemiologists and public health professionals, to identify and implement best practices and monitoring tools [e.g., Council of State and Territorial Epidemiologists (CSTE), Cannabis Regulators Association (CANNRA)].

Recommendation 2: Research should build on the Commission's most recent Industry Report to conduct a comprehensive supply and demand study to further assess consumer and patient preferences, as well as sourcing of cannabis and cannabis products. This should include an assessment of the scope of the unregulated market and consumers' reasons for continued sourcing of unregulated market products. Advanced economic analyses are needed to monitor the state of the regulated industry and assess behaviors and interactions with the regulated and unregulated cannabis industries in the Commonwealth.

Recommendation 3: The Commission should prioritize contracting a comprehensive study of cannabis-related impaired driving and hospitalization or other health care usage pursuant to G. L. c. 94G, §17,(a)(ii). Compared to this present study that uses surveys to assess health care use at a high level, data from the Massachusetts Center for Health Information and Analysis (CHIA) and

the Massachusetts Poison Control Center would provide specific and comprehensive information about health care usage. This data could be used to find indicators of problematic use, to estimate the prevalence of Cannabis Use Disorder (CUD), and to further understand interactions with other controlled substances or harm reduction efficacy.

Recommendation 4: Epidemiologic studies are critical to assess changes in trends over time and to better understand the impacts of heterogenous and evolving cannabis policies and regulations. Local policies impact access to regulated cannabis for consumers and patients, as well as the development of a diverse, inclusive cannabis industry. Research should assess heterogeneity of municipal-level policies and their differential impacts. Potential subjects for epidemiologic study could include access to adult-use Marijuana Establishments and MTCs, variations in host community agreements, and permission for social consumption sites. [See Report, Identifying Disproportionately Impacted Areas by Cannabis Prohibition in Massachusetts]

Recommendation 5: Research should further assess cannabis criminal justice involvement using self-report surveys in conjunction with criminal justice databases, such as the National Incident-Based Reporting System and municipality law enforcement data. These data could assess discrepancies in criminal justice encounters to answer key questions, such as arrest rates among different racial and ethnic groups, which would indicate disproportionate enforcement of cannabis policies. Criminal justice assessments at different municipality levels across the Commonwealth could be conducted to assess more localized discrepancies. Additionally, qualitative data could illuminate the experiences of persons affected by the continued disproportionate impact of cannabis arrests, which could influence how the Commission executes equity provisions, such as the Social Equity Program. Together, these studies would provide greater understanding of persons and communities disproportionately harmed by the prohibition and enforcement of cannabis (often referred to as the "War on Drugs") to rectify past harms.

Recommendation 6: Given the varying data collection mechanisms implemented across the Commonwealth and its agencies, Massachusetts should add metrics to preexisting surveillance systems to more accurately assess types, methods, frequency, and quantity patterns of cannabis use among different population groups (e.g., age, sex/gender, race/ethnicity, urban/suburban/rural, and socioeconomic status), and partner with health systems to assess adverse clinical health effects, such as CUD, Cannabis Hyperemesis Syndrome (CHS), psychosis, and co-occurring mental health and cannabis use disorders. The recommendations below are specific to Massachusetts and are intended for the Commission, but include other Massachusetts state agencies, academics, public health experts, and other stakeholders within the Commonwealth as key collaborators. These research recommendations would give the Commission and other agencies valuable data pursuant to the Commission's research mandate and to the missions of multiple state agencies and stakeholders, beyond what the ICPS can provide.

- Collaborate with researchers in municipal government, healthcare systems, and university health centers to monitor cannabis consumption adverse events, including rates of CUD and CHS.
- Pursuant to G.L. c. 94G, § 17 (a) (vi), collaborate with the primary and secondary educational systems to comprehensively assess impacts on educational systems, including incidents of disciplinary actions, to create best practices for prevention, intervention, and education.
- Assess metrics in ongoing data collection mechanisms in the Commonwealth, including groups not assessed in the current study. For example, the Pregnancy Risk Assessment Monitoring System could assess cannabis use in prenatal and breastfeeding women, two at-risk cohorts, and perceived social norms of cannabis use during pregnancy.
- Fund a contract to procure the research study on hospitalizations and use of other healthcare services related to marijuana use that was chartered and approved by the Commission's former Executive Director but does not have the funding to move forward. The contracted researchers would draft the study and obtain, procure, categorize, and analyze CHIA, Poison Control, and other data to complete a two-year study.
- Collaborate with the Council of State and Territorial Epidemiologists to assess optimal Internal Classification of Diseases (ICD) codes and systematically monitor and report incidences of cannabis-related ICD-9 and ICD-10 codes in health-care settings, to better understand adult and emerging adult cannabis use and cannabis-related clinical outcomes.
- Continue reviewing cannabis testing practices and industry safety standards, which have become critical research areas, and collaborate with other state agencies when possible to review and update these regulations as the science evolves.
- Continue collaborating with Dr. Hammond at the University of Waterloo on reviewing and crafting ICPS metrics to assess cannabis use and behaviors, including information about the unregulated cannabis market, the hemp market, methods of consumption, knowledge of cannabis and hemp, and cannabis and hemp use behaviors.
- Continue collaborating with academic researchers with expertise in areas of interest pursuant to G.L. c. 94G § 17 and Commission policy priorities, such as social consumption, youth prevention, and medical efficacy. Facilitate collaboration with researchers at Boston Children's Hospital, where the Poison Control Center is housed, to systematically code and report Poison Control Center data related to cannabis exposures and types of products of exposure.

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V. Appendices

A. Sample Demographics by Year

The Massachusetts ICPS samples from the 2019-2023 survey waves included a total of 11,635 Massachusetts residents aged 16-65 years. This report analyzed data across seven demographics measures: age, student status, sex, gender, race, ethnicity, and income adequacy. The tables below show the number and the percentage of survey participants in each demographic category by survey wave (year).

Table VII.A.1. Sample Demographics: Age by Year

Age category	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023	Grand Total
16-20	6% (139)	6% (130)	5% (94)	5% (161)	6% (103)	**5% (627)**
21-25	7% (173)	6% (140)	7% (119)	8% (262)	8% (145)	**7% (839)**
26-35	21% (526)	17% (372)	18% (316)	20% (678)	19% (341)	**19% (2,233)**
36-45	20% (488)	19% (423)	22% (391)	23% (776)	25% (456)	**22% (2,534)**
46-55	20% (499)	21% (472)	19% (337)	21% (705)	19% (334)	**20% (2,347)**
56-65	26% (651)	30% (670)	29% (506)	24% (807)	23% (421)	**26% (3,055)**
Grand Total	**100% (2,476)**	**100% (2,207)**	**100% (1,763)**	**100% (3,389)**	**100% (1,800)**	**100% (11,635)**

Table VII.A.2. Sample Demographics: Student Status (Any) by Year

Student status	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023	Grand Total
Student	13% (325)	13% (281)	13% (232)	14% (481)	16% (282)	**14% (1,601)**
Not a student	84% (2,083)	85% (1,875)	84% (1,482)	84% (2,851)	82% (1,470)	**84% (9,761)**
Unstated	3% (68)	2% (51)	3% (49)	2% (57)	3% (48)	**2% (273)**
Grand Total	**100% (2,476)**	**100% (2,207)**	**100% (1,763)**	**100% (3,389)**	**100% (1,800)**	**100% (11,635)**

Table VII.A.3. Sample Demographics: Sex by Year

Sex at birth	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023	Grand Total
Male	23% (568)	34% (749)	33% (586)	29% (987)	36% (656)	**30% (3,546)**
Female	77% (1,908)	66% (1,458)	67% (1,177)	71% (2,402)	64% (1,144)	**70% (8,089)**

Grand Total	100% (2,476)	100% (2,207)	100% (1,763)	100% (3,389)	100% (1,800)	100% (11,635)

Table VII.A.4. Sample Demographics: Gender by Year

Gender	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023	Grand Total
Man	23% (569)	33% (736)	33% (578)	29% (973)	36% (645)	**30% (3,501)**
Woman	76% (1,873)	65% (1,439)	66% (1,170)	70% (2,389)	63% (1,131)	**69% (8,002)**
Other	N < 16	N < 16	N < 16	N < 16	N < 16	**0% (40)**
Unstated	N < 27	N < 27	N < 27	N < 27	N < 27	**1% (92)**
Grand Total	**100% (2,476)**	**100% (2,207)**	**100% (1,763)**	**100% (3,389)**	**100% (1,800)**	**100% (11,635)**

Table VII.A.5. Sample Demographics: Race by Year

Race or ethnicity	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023	Grand Total
Asian	4% (108)	5% (114)	4% (75)	5% (166)	4% (80)	5% (543)
Black or African American	6% (143)	6% (127)	6% (105)	6% (192)	7% (130)	6% (697)
Native, Mainland or Island	1% (25)	1% (13)	1% (16)	1% (29)	1% (14)	1% (97)
White	83% (2,065)	83% (1,826)	84% (1,481)	83% (2,810)	83% (1,501)	83% (9,683)
Other	5% (135)	6% (127)	5% (86)	6% (192)	4% (75)	5% (615)
Grand otal	**100% (2,476)**	**100% (2,207)**	**100% (1,763)**	**100% (3,389)**	**100% (1,800)**	**100% (11,635)**

Table VII.A.6. Sample Demographics: Ethnicity by Year

Hispanic or Latino	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023	Grand Total
Hispanic or Latino	8% (204)	9% (192)	9% (163)	9% (309)	10% (175)	9% (1,043)
Not Hispanic or Latino	90% (2,239)	90% (1,986)	90% (1,582)	90% (3,036)	89% (1,610)	90% (10,453)
Unstated	1% (33)	1% (29)	1% (18)	1% (44)	1% (15)	1% (139)
Grand otal	**100% (2,476)**	**100% (2,207)**	**100% (1,763)**	**100% (3,389)**	**100% (1,800)**	**100% (11,635)**

Table VII.A.7. Sample Demographics: Income Adequacy by Year

Income adequacy	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023	Grand Total
Difficult	34% (852)	25% (542)	23% (406)	29% (971)	37% (669)	30% (3,440)
Neither easy nor difficult	33% (823)	37% (816)	32% (563)	35% (1,185)	33% (588)	34% (3,975)
Easy	30% (735)	35% (762)	41% (723)	32% (1,096)	27% (490)	33% (3,806)
Unstated	3% (66)	4% (87)	4% (71)	4% (137)	3% (53)	4% (414)
Grand otal	**100% (2,476)**	**100% (2,207)**	**100% (1,763)**	**100% (3,389)**	**100% (1,800)**	**100% (11,635)**

B. Age of Cannabis Use Initiation: Corrected Tables from Previous Report

The previous ICPS report, published in 2022 and covering data from the ICPS survey waves in 2019 and 2020, contained a response recoding error for age of cannabis use initiation. Responses of "0 friends" were mistakenly excluded; updated tables for the 2019-2020 data are shown below.

Participants who reported that they had ever used cannabis were asked about the age at which they first used cannabis. The mean age of first cannabis use was 19.01 years old (SD = 7.91) among those who reported any prior cannabis use.

The tables below show the average age (including standard deviation) of cannabis use initiation for each demographic category.

Table VII.B.1. Age of Cannabis Use Initiation: Age

Use Frequency	16-20	21-25	26-35	36-45	46-55	56-65
N	130	199	645	619	665	970
Age of initiation (SDp)	15.9 (1.8)	17.4 (3.3)	18.5 (5.0)	20.1 (8.3)	19.6 (9.1)	19.0 (9.2)

Table VII.B.2. Age of Cannabis Use Initiation: Student Status (Any)

Use Frequency	Student	Not a Student	Unstated
N	362	2,779	87
Age of initiation (SDp)	18.1 (5.7)	19.2 (8.2)	17.6 (6.1)

Table VII.B.3. Age of Cannabis Use Initiation: Sex

Use Frequency	Male	Female
N	**904**	**2,324**
Age of initiation (SDp)	19.3 (8.6)	18.9 (7.6)

Table VII.B.4 Age of Cannabis Use Initiation: Gender

Use Frequency	Man	Woman	Other	Unstated
N	**902**	**2,291**	**15**	**20**
Age of initiation (SDp)	19.3 (8.6)	18.9 (7.7)	17.0 (2.7)	18.5 (6.1)

Table VII.B.5 Age of Cannabis Use Initiation: Race

Use Frequency	Asian	Black or African American	Native, Mainland or Island	White	Other
N	**61**	**178**	**25**	**2,788**	**176**
Age of initiation (SDp)	20.8 (9.2)	19.5 (9.1)	18.4 (7.0)	19.0 (7.8)	18.5 (7.6)

Table VII.B.6 Age of Cannabis Use Initiation: Ethnicity

Use Frequency	Hispanic or Latino	Not Hispanic or Latino	Unstated
N	**276**	**2,917**	**35**
Age of initiation (SDp)	19.1 (7.3)	19.0 (8.0)	20.9 (8.4)

Table VII.B.7 Age of Cannabis Use Initiation: Income Adequacy

Use Frequency	Difficult	Neither Easy nor Difficult	Easy	Unstated
N	**1,069**	**1,096**	**992**	**71**
Age of initiation (SDp)	19.0 (8.4)	18.9 (7.7)	19.1 (7.6)	19.2 (6.8)

Identifying Disproportionately Impacted Areas by Drug Prohibition in Massachusetts

March 2021

Massachusetts Cannabis Control Commission
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Table of Contents

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*

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[a]The "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].

[b]Race 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

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[c]The DI scores in this analysis were calculated using rankings for the following measures and in the following equation: (0.5)* Average Annual Number of Drug Arrests + Average Annual Rate of Drug Arrests per 100,000 population + (0.5)* Percent of people living in poverty + (0.5)* Percent of Black and/or Latino residents.

[d]The time spans used for the analysis were: 2000-2004, 2005-2009, 2010-2014, and 2015-2017.

[e]DI 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.

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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 Commission[4] 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 midsized 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*).

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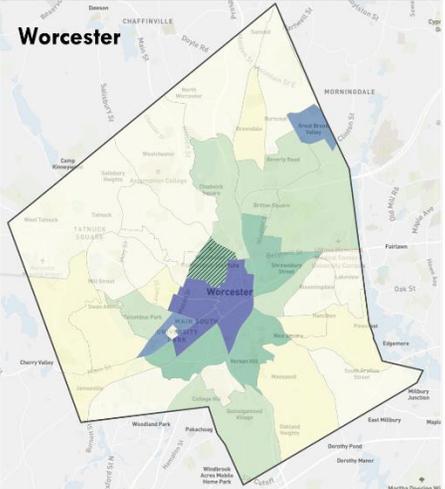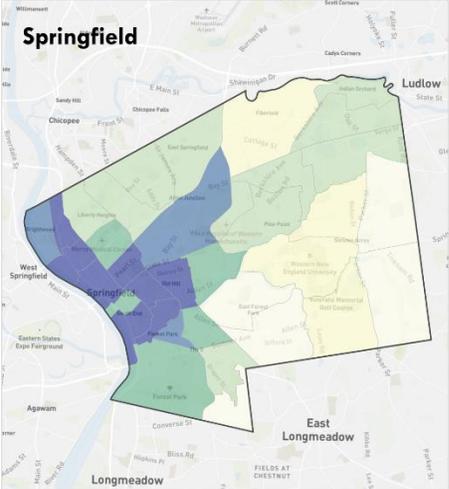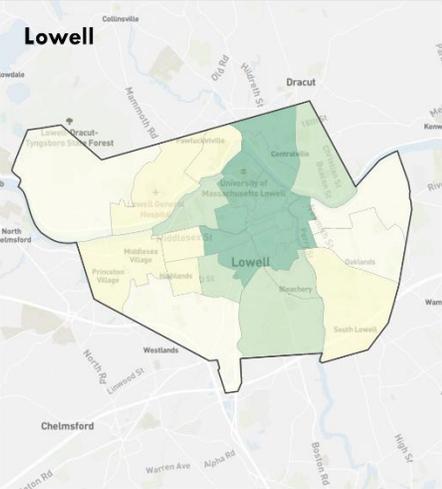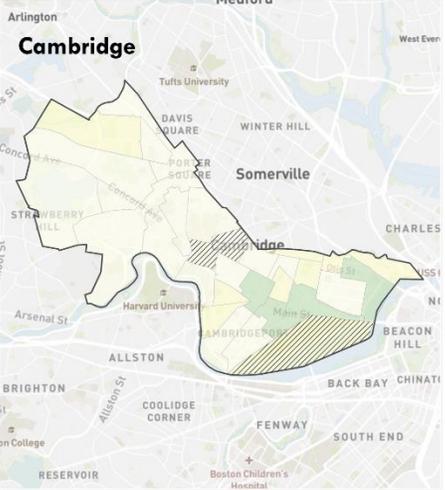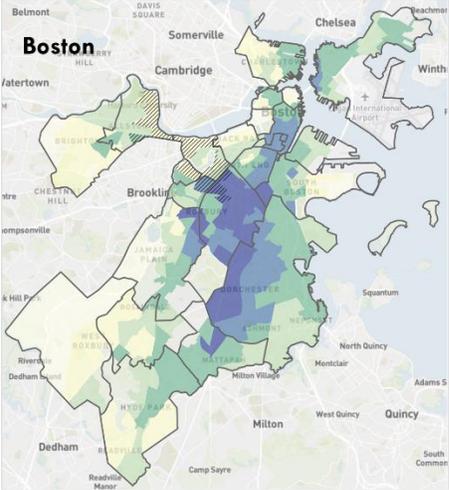
Note: Further detail on census tracts (and alignment with neighborhoods for Boston only) can be found in *Table IV-2* and *Figures IV-2* through *IV-6*.

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.[g]

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[g]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 NIBRS[12] 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 NIBRS[12] 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 City[5] 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 Latino[i] 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.*).

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[h]The term Black is used to report non-Hispanic or Latino persons who identify as either "Black or African American."

[i]The 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)*average annual number of drug arrests + average annual rate of drug arrests per 100,000 population + (0.5)*percent of people living in poverty + (0.5)*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
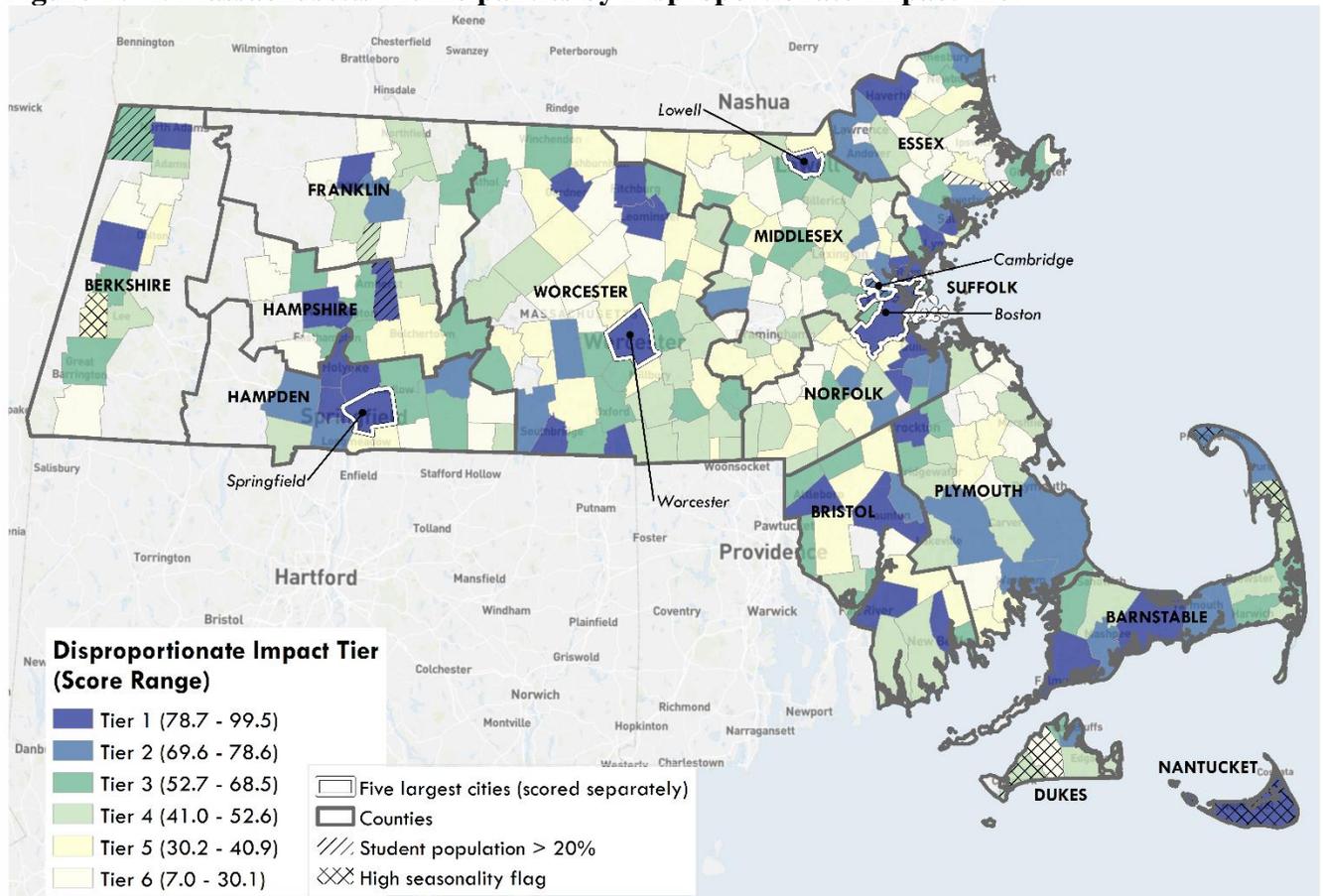
Note: See *Appendix II. Data. Table VI-7* for DI scores and components for all Massachusetts Municipalities, 2000-2017 and *Appendix II. Data. Table VI-8* for DI scores and components for all Census Tracts of large Massachusetts cities, 2000-20017.

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
N/A	*Cambridge*	*Middlesex*	*70.99*	*Not ranked*	*No*
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,

none of the tracts in these two cities rank among the most disproportionately impacted among the tracts in the largest cities of the state.

Figure IV-2. Boston Census Tracts (within Neighborhoods) by Disproportionate Impact Tier
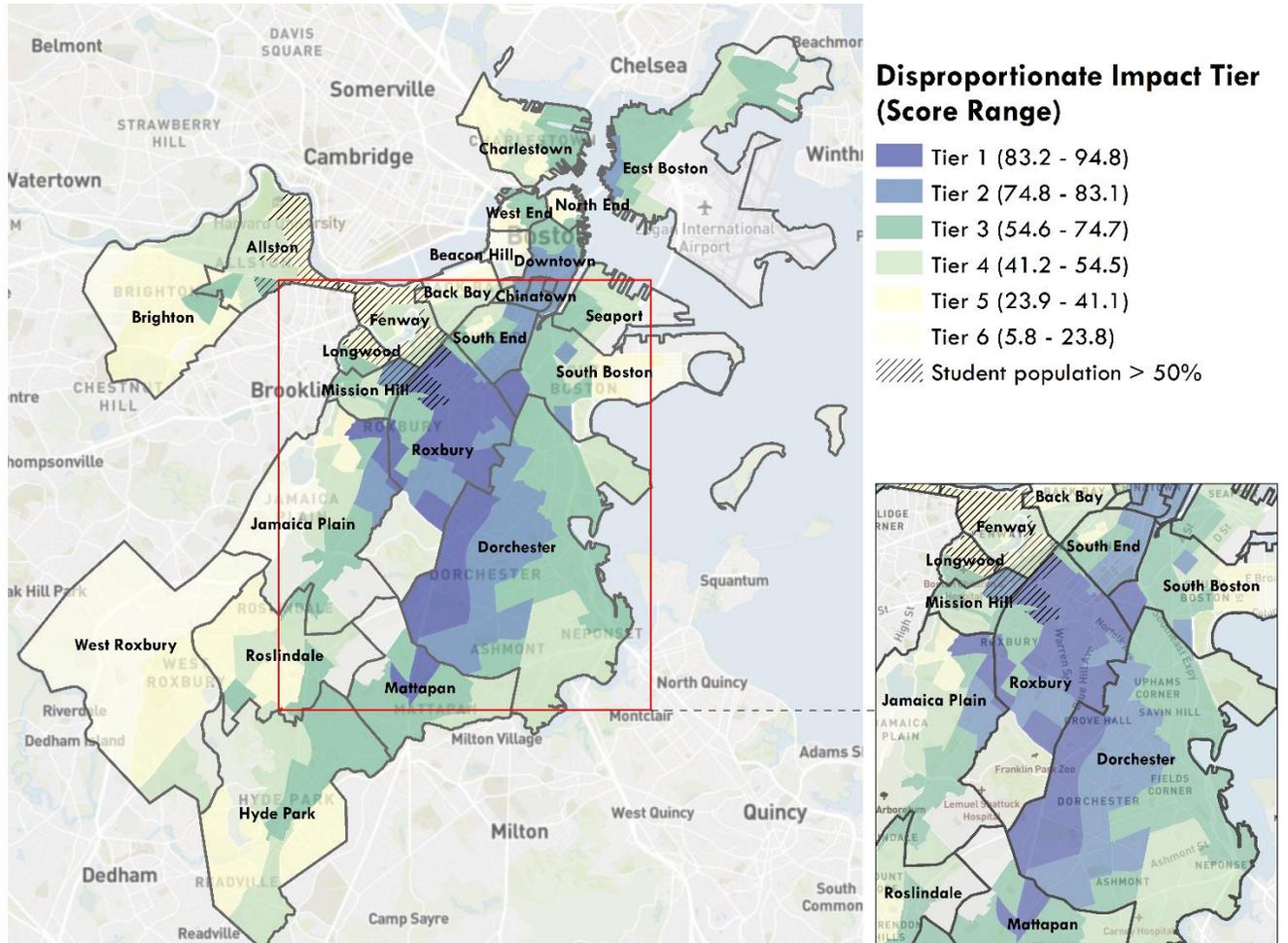
Note: See *Appendix II. Data. Table VI-7* for DI scores and components for all Massachusetts Municipalities, 2000-2017 and *Appendix II. Data. Table VI-8* for DI scores and components for all Census Tracts of large Massachusetts cities, 2000-20017.

Figure IV-3. Cambridge Census Tracts by Disproportionate Impact Tier
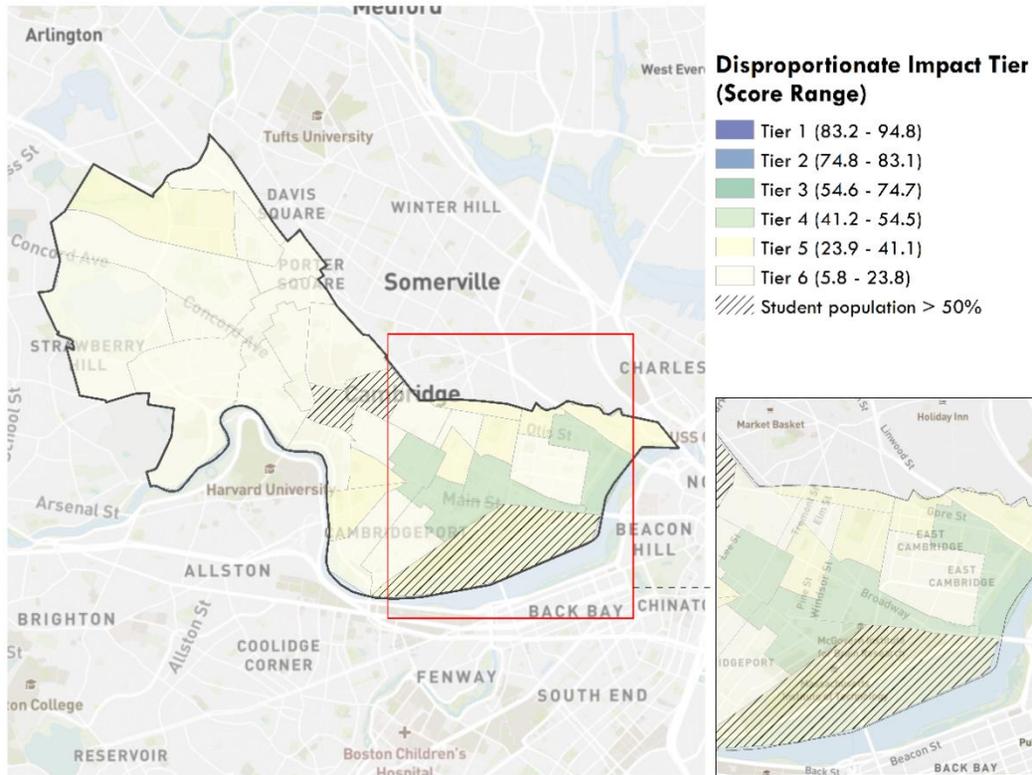
Note: See *Appendix II. Data. Table VI-7* for DI scores and components for all Massachusetts Municipalities, 2000-2017 and *Appendix II. Data. Table VI-8* for DI scores and components for all Census Tracts of large Massachusetts cities, 2000-20017.

Figure IV-4. Lowell Census Tracts by Disproportionate Impact Tier
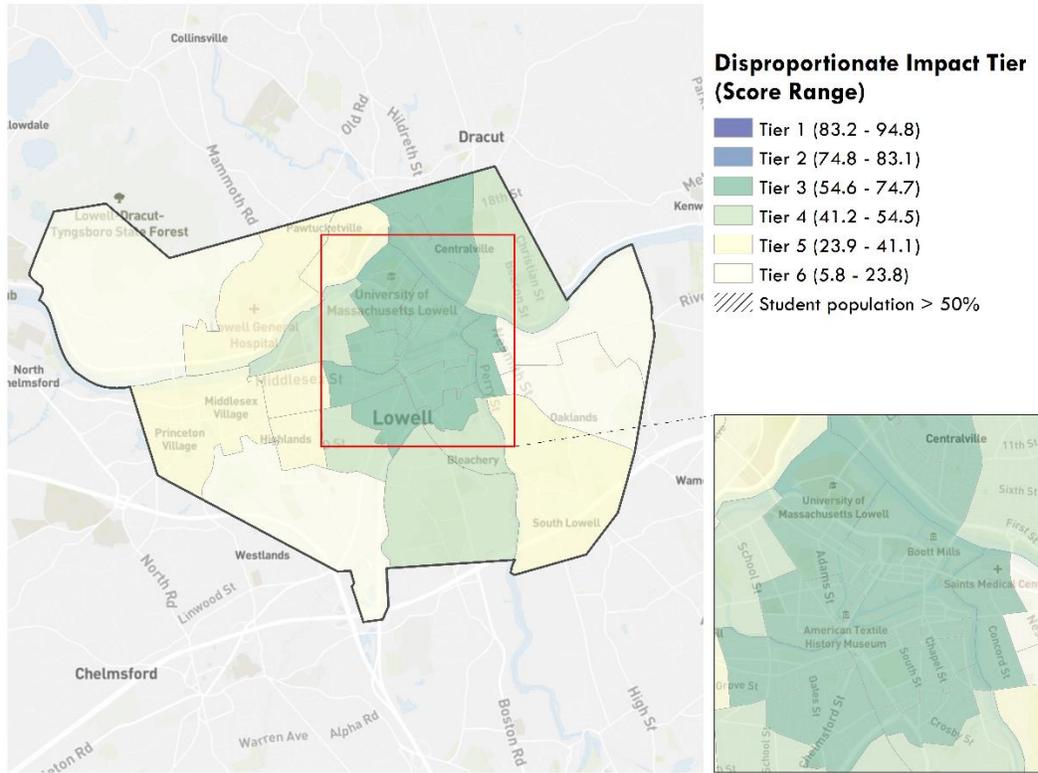
Note: See *Appendix II. Data. Table VI-7* for DI scores and components for all Massachusetts Municipalities, 2000-2017 and *Appendix II. Data. Table VI-8* for DI scores and components for all Census Tracts of large Massachusetts cities, 2000-20017.

Figure IV-5. Springfield Census Tracts by Disproportionate Impact Tier
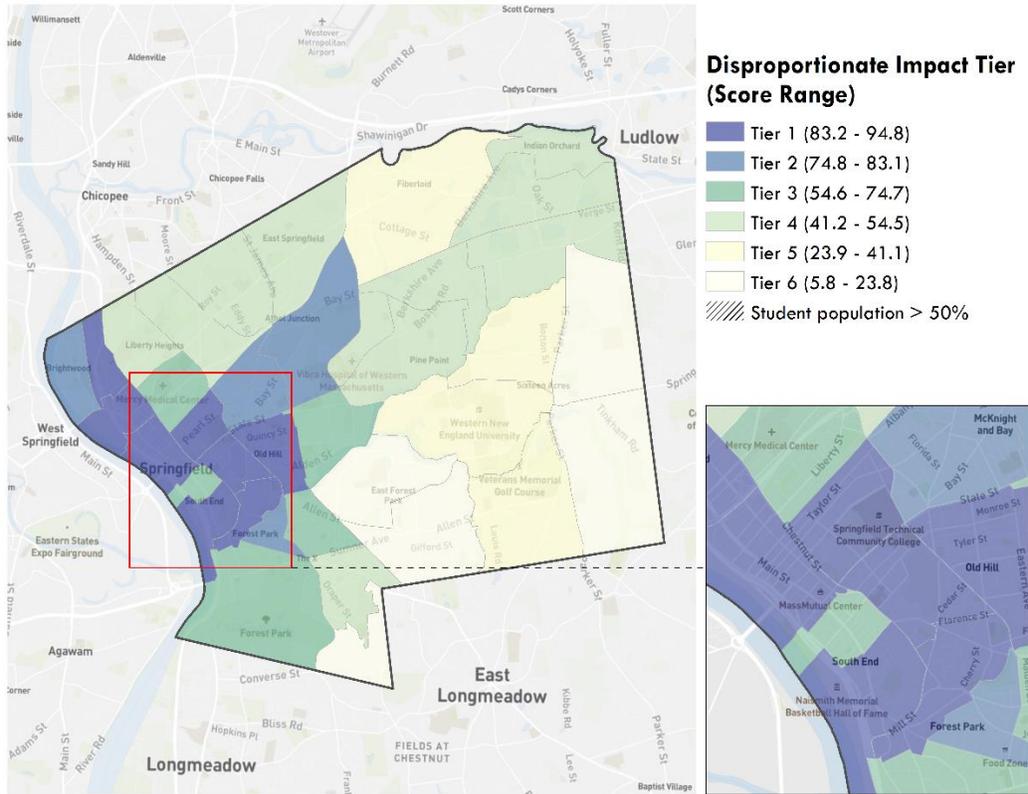
Note: See *Appendix II. Data. Table VI-7* for DI scores and components for all Massachusetts Municipalities, 2000-2017 and *Appendix II. Data. Table VI-8* for DI scores and components for all Census Tracts of large Massachusetts cities, 2000-20017.

Figure IV-6. Worcester Census Tracts by Disproportionate Impact Tier
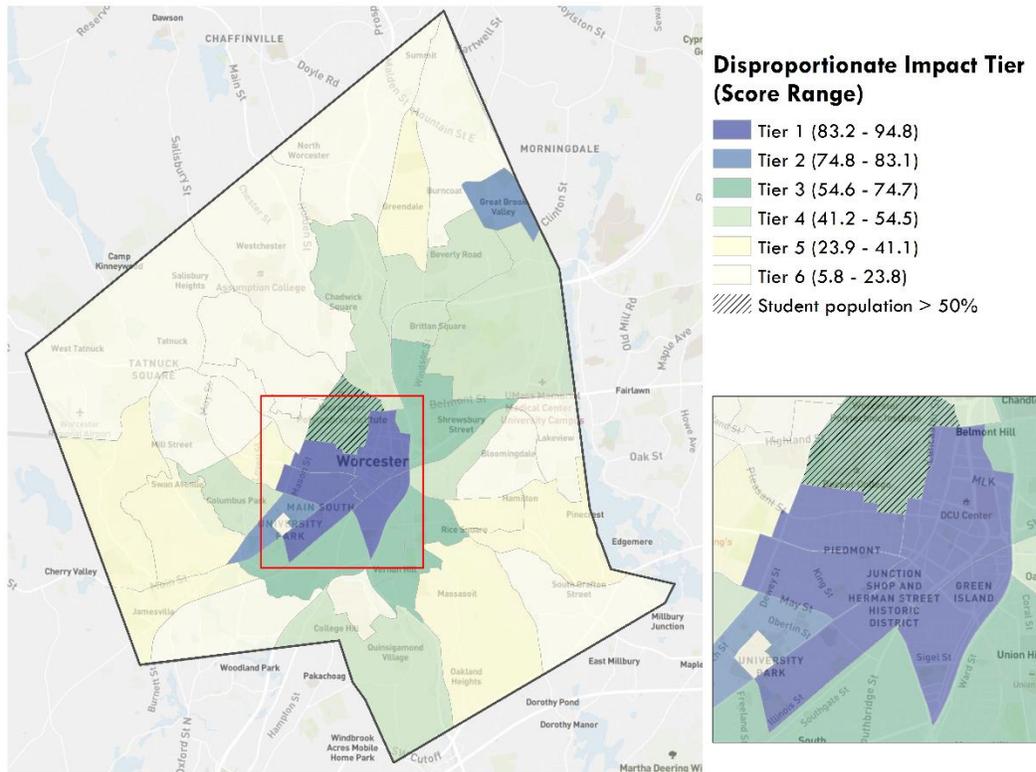
Note: See *Appendix II. Data. Table VI-7* for DI scores and components for all Massachusetts Municipalities, 2000-2017 and *Appendix II. Data. Table VI-8* for DI scores and components for all Census Tracts of large Massachusetts cities, 2000-20017.

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	*Census Tract 806.01*	*Boston*	*Roxbury*	*Suffolk*	*86.49*	*Not ranked*	*Yes*
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	*Census Tract 808.01*	*Boston*	*Mission Hill*	*Suffolk*	*76.32*	*Not ranked*	*Yes*
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 DIAs[4] 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

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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 – Geocodio[15] 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.e., vacation homes*).

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 (*e.g., Black Hispanic*) 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
N/A	*Cambridge*	*70.99*	*Not ranked*	*No*
59	Waltham	68.81	Tier 3 (52.7 - 69.5)	No
Nantucket County				
N/A	*Nantucket*	*81.69*	*Not ranked*	*No*
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				
N/A	*Boston*	*98.39*	*Not ranked*	*Yes*
7	Chelsea	92.76	Tier 1 (78.7 - 99.5)	Yes
15	Revere	87.30	Tier 1 (78.7 - 99.5)	Yes
Worcester County				
N/A	*Worcester*	*97.87*	*Not ranked*	*Yes*
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

					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
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

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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
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

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
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

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
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

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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

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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

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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

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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

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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
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

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
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	Wenham‡	Essex	14.49	34.0	0	13	10	13	3.3	66	1.0	22	1	32	29	35	3.3	75	1.0	26
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.

Rank	Municipality	County	DIA	Student enroll (%)	2010-2014								2015-2017							
					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

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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

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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

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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

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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

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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

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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

Rank	Municipality	County	DIA	Student enroll (%)	2010-2014								2015-2017							
					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

Rank	Municipality	County	DIA	Student enroll (%)	2010-2014								2015-2017							
					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	Wenham‡	Essex	14.49	34.0	1	27	19	29	3.7	52	3.2	105	0	15	8	15	1.7	9	6.5	193
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‡	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

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
									2000-2004								**2005-2009**			
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

Rank	Census Tract Name	City	DIA	Student enroll (%)	2000-2004								2005-2009							
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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

Rank	Census Tract Name	City	DIA	Student enroll (%)	2000-2004								2005-2009							
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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

Rank	Census Tract Name	City	DIA	Student enroll (%)	2000-2004								2005-2009							
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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
n/a	Census Tract 104.05‡	Boston	49.93	82.0	10	108	267	91	39.1	223	21.6	104	15	180	412	150	39.1	279	21.6	144
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

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Rank	Census Tract Name	City	DIA	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
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

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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
n/a	*Census Tract 103‡*	*Boston*	*31.49*	*93.0*	*4*	*48*	*108*	*41*	*57.4*	*247*	*26.1*	*120*	*4*	*64*	*102*	*55*	*57.4*	*304*	*26.1*	*164*
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
n/a	*Census Tract 3531.02‡*	*Cambridge*	*25.75*	*92.0*	*-*	*-*	*-*	*-*	*-*	*-*	*-*	*-*	*3*	*48*	*52*	*23*	*-*	*214*	*-*	*138*
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
n/a	*Census Tract 5.02‡*	*Boston*	*24.58*	*63.0*	*4*	*45*	*118*	*49*	*23.6*	*166*	*8.4*	*46*	*3*	*53*	*98*	*50*	*23.6*	*212*	*8.4*	*55*
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

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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

Rank	Census Tract Name	City	DIA	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
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
n/a	*Census Tract 7312.02‡*	*Worcester*	*12.49*	*100.0*	*1*	*9*	*81*	*30*	*0.0*	*1*	*7.3*	*40*	*1*	*13*	*81*	*43*	*0.0*	*1*	*7.3*	*47*
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.

Rank	Census Tract Name	City	DIA	Student enroll (%)	2010-2014								2015-2017							
					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

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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

Rank	Census Tract Name	City	DIA	Student enroll (%)	2010-2014								2015-2017							
					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

Rank	Census Tract Name	City	DIA	Student enroll (%)	2010-2014								2015-2017							
					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

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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

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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

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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

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
									2010-2014								**2015-2017**			
n/a	*Census Tract 103‡*	*Boston*	*31.49*	*93.0*	*1*	*24*	*20*	*15*	*27.5*	*206*	*14.1*	*80*	*1*	*31*	*19*	*17*	*23.1*	*187*	*15.7*	*83*
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
n/a	*Census Tract 3531.02‡*	*Cambridge*	*25.75*	*92.0*	*1*	*21*	*22*	*16*	*31.5*	*226*	*13.3*	*75*	*2*	*53*	*35*	*34*	*22.5*	*185*	*13.9*	*72*
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
n/a	*Census Tract 5.02‡*	*Boston*	*24.58*	*63.0*	*3*	*67*	*47*	*31*	*31.2*	*223*	*11.1*	*59*	*0*	*10*	*6*	*8*	*20.1*	*159*	*11.5*	*52*
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

Rank	Census Tract Name	City	DIA	Student enroll (%)	2010-2014								2015-2017							
					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
n/a	*Census Tract 7312.02‡*	*Worcester*	*12.49*	*100.0*	*1*	*16*	*55*	*42*	*0.0*	*1*	*15.7*	*88*	*1*	*37*	*90*	*75*	*0.0*	*1*	*18.4*	*104*
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.

Petition for Regulatory Change Request
Form

Instructions

Pursuant to MGL c. 30A sec. 4 and 935 CMR 500.830 and 501.350, any interested person may request from the Cannabis Control Commission (Commission) a petition for the adoption, amendment or repeal of regulations. This form shall be used for general petition requests.

Only one adoption, amendment or repeal of regulations may be the subject of each petition request form submitted to the Commission. In other words, Petitioner must submit a new form for each individual petition request. However, if Petitioner is requesting an adoption, amendment or repeal of regulations from a section under both the adult- and medical-use cannabis regulations, the Petitioner may use one form and state the relevant provisions.

The Petitioner must submit written documentation for the Commission to evaluate the petition request. Documentation must specifically state the name, address and relevant contact information for Petitioner or Petitioner's representative; Petitioner's request for the adoption, amendment, or repeal of a regulation, including proposed regulatory language; if the request is to amend an existing regulation, a copy of the existing regulation with changes clearly marked on paper and electronic copies; and the reasons for the request including, but not limited to, citation to any relevant legal authority, arguments and evidence, including data, that supports the request. Additional documentation may be submitted along with the petition form if it directly addresses the regulations to be adopted, amended or repealed.

All requests must be filled out electronically and signed. If Petitioner is an entity, the form must be signed by an individual who has authority to act on behalf of the entity ("Petitioner's Representative"). Once the Commission receives signed documentation pertaining to the petition request, staff will evaluate the request.

Please note: The Commission may need considerable time to complete its due diligence review, depending on the nature of the petition. Petitioner or Petitioner's Representative will be notified once the Commission has completed its evaluation and made its determination.

Review

Failure of Petitioner or its Representative to fully complete this form may result in denial of the petition request. When completing the form below, Petitioner should use additional documents and/or pages if needed and reference addendum appropriately. Once complete, this petition request form and all supplemental documentation should be combined into a single PDF document and emailed to Petitions@CCCMass.com.

I. Petitioner Information

1. Petitioner's Name

        First Name

        Last Name

2. Petitioner's status:

    Applicant (MTC, ME, CMO)
    Licensee (MTC, ME, CMO)
    Registered Agent Applicant (ME, MTC, CMO)
    Registered Agent (ME, MTC, CMO)
    Qualifying Patient
    Personal Caregiver
    Certifying Healthcare Provider
    Caregiving Institution

Institutional Caregiver

Other

3. Petitioner's application/license/registration number(s) (if applicable):

4. Petitioner's email address:

5. Petitioner's Address:

6. Authorized Representative's name, relationship to Petitioner, and contact information (if applicable):

II. Petition Request Information

7. List the specific regulation(s) and associated regulatory cite(s) to be adopted, amended or repealed:

8. List the reason(s) why this regulation requirement should be adopted, amended or repealed.

9. List the new regulatory language that will be utilized if the petition request is granted (if applicable):

10. In the opinion of Petitioner or its representative, if the Commission grants this regulatory change, will changing this regulation pose a risk to the health, safety, or welfare of any registered qualifying patient or the public (please check one of the boxes below)?

     Yes
     No

11. Please explain the reasons why adopting, amending or repealing the requested regulation will not pose a risk to the health, safety, or welfare of any registered qualifying patient or the public:

12a. Would granting the requested regulatory adoption, amendment or repeal constitute the waiver of any statutory requirements (please check one of the boxes and include any notations in the section below)?

     Yes
     No

12b. Please include any notations below:

Please attach additional documents

Drag and drop here or   Browse files

Max file size: 10 MB

By signing this document, I affirm that all the information provided above is true and accurate. I understand that compliance with all requirements listed in 935 CMR 500.000 and 501.000 *(where applicable)* **is required unless otherwise notified by the Commission. Incomplete submissions may not be processed. Failure of petitioner or its Representative to fully complete this form may result in the request being administratively closed.**

Signed under pains and penalties of perjury:

Petitioner or Petitioner's Representative printed name:

Petitioner or Petitioner's Representative signature:

Clear   Use your mouse or finger to draw your signature above

Date/Time
MMMM DD, YYYY

Submit Form

Memorandum

To: Commissioners
Cc: Travis Ahern, Executive Director
From: Jessica Porter, Esq. Manager of Government Affairs and Policy
Date: March 12, 2026
Subject: **March 2026 Government Affairs Update**

Legislative Update

In early February, Representative Soter visited Commission Headquarters to meet with all Commissioners and staff to learn more about the ongoing work of the Commission. The Commission will testify for its FY27 budget before the Joint Committee on Ways and Means on March 9, 2026.

Municipal Update

Municipal Law Unit

The Attorney General's Municipal Law Unit (MLU) issued one marijuana-related decision during the past month.

Town of Egremont: The MLU disapproved an article from a May 2025 Town Meeting to the town's zoning code which attempted to modify the own's Medical Marijuana Overlay District and related definitions. The MLU determined the amendments were invalid for both procedural and substantive reasons and the proposed bylaw would effectively ban medical marijuana dispensaries.

Cannabis
Control
Commission
COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS

Cannabis Control Commission

Public Meeting

March 12, 2026 at 10:00 am

In-Person with Remote Access via Microsoft Teams

Agenda

1. Call to Order

2. Commissioner Comments and Updates

3. Minutes

4. Executive Director and Commission Staff Report

5. Staff Recommendations on Renewal Licenses

6. Staff Recommendation on Final Licenses

7. Staff Recommendation on Provisional Licenses

8. Commission Discussion and Votes

9. New Business Not Anticipated at Time of Posting

10. Next Meeting Date

11. Adjournment

Minutes

1. February 10, 2026
2. February 12, 2026

Executive Director and Commission Staff Report

Executive Director and Staff Report

1. Licensing Update

Highlights from Licensing Data

- 5 applications awaiting first review

- 21 applications awaiting supplemental review

- 1 applications for Provisional License consideration

- 1 applications for Final License consideration

- 75,860 certified active patients

Licensing Applications | March 12, 2026

The totals below are number of approvals by stage.

Type	#
Pre-Certified/Delivery Endorsed Microbusiness	248
Provisionally Approved	132
Provisional License	489
Final License	42
Commence Operations	779
Total	**1,690**

➡ **+ 7.5%**

* Note: This represents the percent increase since March 2025.

Provisionally approved means approved by the Commission but has not submitted license fee payment yet – provisional license has not started

Licensing Applications | March 12, 2026

Type	Pending Application	Pre-Certified Endorsement	Initial License Declined	Provisionally Approved	Provisional License	Final License	Commence Operation	Active Commence Operation	Total
Craft Marijuana Cooperative	2	N/A	0	0	4	0	0	**0**	**6**
Marijuana Courier License	14	N/A	0	0	16	1	12	**9**	**43**
Marijuana Courier Pre-Certification	22	123	0	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	**N/A**	**145**
Independent Testing Laboratory	1	N/A	0	2	2	0	16	**11**	**21**
Marijuana Cultivator	43	N/A	2	41	188	14	150	**123**	**438**
Marijuana Delivery Operator License	12	N/A	0	0	22	0	20	**18**	**54**
Marijuana Delivery Operator Pre-Certification	18	120	0	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	**N/A**	**138**
Marijuana Microbusiness	6	N/A	0	7	18	1	16	**12**	**48**
Marijuana Product Manufacturer	35	N/A	1	47	128	19	127	**104**	**357**
Marijuana Research Facility	5	N/A	0	1	0	1	0	**0**	**7**
Marijuana Retailer	51	N/A	2	32	106	6	429	**403**	**626**
Marijuana Transporter with Other Existing ME License	5	N/A	0	2	4	0	4	**3**	**15**
Microbusiness Delivery Endorsement	1	5	0	0	0	0	2	**0**	**8**
Third Party Transporter	12	N/A	0	0	1	0	5	**4**	**18**
Standards Laboratory	0	N/A	0	0	0	0	0	**0**	**0**
Total	**227**	**248**	**5**	**132**	**489**	**42**	**781**	**687**	**1,924**

*As of 2/23/26

*Does not include MTCs

Active Cultivators | March 12, 2026

Type	Provisional License	Final License	Commence Operation	Total
Microbusiness with Tier 1 Cultivation (up to 5,000 sq. Ft.)	9	1	10	**20**
Cultivation Tier 1 (Up to 5,000 sq. ft.)	9	3	22	**34**
Cultivation Tier 2 (5,001-10,000 sq. ft.)	13	2	35	**50**
Cultivation Tier 3 (10,001-20,000 sq. ft.)	6	1	27	**34**
Cultivation Tier 4 (20,001-30,000 sq. ft.)	5	1	7	**13**
Cultivation Tier 5 (30,001-40,000 sq. ft.)	1	0	9	**10**
Cultivation Tier 6 (40,001-50,000 sq. ft.)	2	1	8	**11**
Cultivation Tier 7 (50,001-60,000 sq. ft.)	1	0	2	**3**
Cultivation Tier 8 (60,001-70,000 sq. ft.)	0	0	1	**1**
Cultivation Tier 9 (70,001-80,000 sq. ft.)	0	0	1	**1**
Cultivation Tier 10 (80,001-90,000 sq. ft.)	0	0	5	**5**
Cultivation Tier 11 (90,001-100,000 sq. ft.)	1	0	6	**7**
Total	**47**	**9**	**133**	**189**
Total Maximum Canopy (Sq. Ft.)	**790,000**	**140,000**	**3,340,000**	**4,270,000**

+70.7%

+9%

* Note: percentage is of "Total" Cultivation commence operations licenses
**Note: Totals under "Total Maximum Canopy" do not reflect current canopy in use; rather the maximum that could be in use

Active Cultivators | March 12, 2026

Type*	Provisional License	Final License	Commence Operation	Total
Marijuana Cultivator (Indoor)	44	8	111	**163**
Marijuana Cultivator (Outdoor)	3	1	22	**26**
Total	47	9	133	**189**
Total Maximum Canopy	790,000 sq. ft.	140,000 sq. ft.	3,340,000 sq. ft.	**4,270,000 sq. ft.**
Total Minimum Canopy	475,047 sq. ft.	85,010 sq. ft.	2,345,133 sq. ft.	**2,900,189 sq. ft.**

* Includes Microbusinesses

Type	Provisional License	Final License	Commence Operation	Total
Expired Only (Indoor)	124	4	17	**145**
Expired Only (Outdoor)	13	1	2	**16**
Total	**137**	**5**	**19**	**161**
Total Maximum Canopy	3,325,000 sq. ft.	90,000 sq. ft.	410,000 sq. ft.	**3,825,000 sq. ft.**
Total Minimum Canopy	2,310,137 sq. ft.	55,005 sq. ft.	265,019 sq. ft.	**2,630,161 sq. ft.**
Average Number of Days Expired	770	572	544	**737**
Expired More than One (1) Year	116	2	11	**129**

As of 2/23/26

*Note: Totals under "Total Maximum Canopy" and "Total Minimum Canopy" do not reflect current canopy in use; rather the maximum or minimum that could be in use
***Between Tiers 1-3, there is a range of 4,999 sq. ft. in between tiers whereas Tiers 3-11 include a range of 9,999 sq. ft between tiers

Host Community Agreements Data | March 12, 2026

Overview	Total	SEP & EEA	DBE
The total number of applications received since March 1, 2024, containing an HCA	1,566	278	150
Number of Model HCAs received	405	43	42
Compliant Model HCAs	396	42	40
Number of Model HCA Waivers received	203	48	18
Compliant HCAs	1,404	250	131
Non-Compliant HCAs	113	16	16

170 Towns with Compliant HCAs

Abington, Adams, Amesbury, Amherst, Ashburnham, Ashby, Athol, Attleboro, Avon, Ayer, Barre, Becket, Belchertown, Bellingham, Belmont, Berkley, Bernardston, Beverly, Blackstone, Blandford, Bolton, Boston, Bourne, Brewster, Bridgewater, Brimfield, Brockton, Brookfield, Brookline, Cambridge, Charlton, Chelsea, Cheshire, Chicopee, Clinton, Colrain, Cummington, Danvers, Dartmouth, Deerfield, Dighton, Douglas, Dracut, Eastham, Easthampton, Egremont, Essex, Fairhaven, Fall River, Fitchburg, Framingham, Franklin, Gardner, Georgetown, Gill, Gloucester, Grafton, Great Barrington, Greenfield, Groton, Hadley, Halifax, Hanover, Hanson, Hardwick, Hatfield, Haverhill, Hinsdale, Holbrook, Holliston, Holyoke, Hopedale, Hubbardston, Hudson, Hull, Kingston, Lakeville, Lanesborough, Lee, Leicester, Lenox, Littleton, Lowell, Lunenburg, Lynn, Malden, Mansfield, Marblehead, Marlborough, Marshfield, Mashpee, Maynard, Medford, Medway, Melrose, Mendon, Merrimac, Middleborough, Milford, Millbury, Millis, Millville, Monson, Montague, Nantucket, Natick, Needham, New Bedford, Newton, North Adams, North Attleboro, North Brookfield, Northampton, Norton, Norwood, Orange, Orleans, Palmer, Peabody, Phillipston, Pittsfield, Plainfield, Plainville, Plymouth, Provincetown, Quincy, Rehoboth, Rockland, Rowley, Royalston, Rutland, Salem, Salisbury, Sandisfield, Sandwich, Saugus, Sharon, Sheffield, Shrewsbury, Somerville, Southbridge, Southwick, Springfield, Sterling, Sturbridge, Sunderland, Swansea, Taunton, Templeton, Tewksbury, Tisbury, Tyngsborough, Uxbridge, Wakefield, Waltham, Ware, Wareham, Webster, Wellfleet, West Boylston, West Springfield, West Tisbury, Westfield, Weymouth, Whately, Whitman, Williamstown, Winchendon, Woburn, Worcester.

Host Community Agreements Data | March 12, 2026

HCA Review Status	Total
Number of HCAs reviewed	1,546
Number of HCAs currently under review	20
Number of Host Community Agreement Determination Notices sent out	886

Extensions	Total
Extension requests received	2,677
Extension requests that received conditional pre-approval	58
Extension requests granted	2,485
Average number of days requested	87
Municipalities with extension requests*	179

*Abington, Acton, Adams, Amesbury, Amherst, Arlington, Ashburnham, Ashby, Athol, Attleboro, Avon, Ayer, Barre, Becket, Belchertown, Bellingham, Belmont, Berkley, Bernardston, Beverly, Billerica, Blackstone, Blandford, Bolton, Boston, Braintree, Brewster, Bridgewater, Brimfield, Brockton, Brookline, Cambridge, Carver, Charlton, Chelsea, Cheshire, Chicopee, Clarksburg, Clinton, Colrain, Cummington, Danvers, Dartmouth, Dighton, Douglas, Dracut, Dudley, Eastham, Easthampton, Essex, Fairhaven, Fall River, Fitchburg, Framingham, Franklin, Freetown, Gardner, Georgetown, Gill, Gloucester, Grafton, Great Barrington, Greenfield, Groton, Hadley, Halifax, Hanover, Hanson, Hatfield, Haverhill, Hinsdale, Holliston, Holyoke, Hopedale, Hopkinton, Hubbardston, Hudson, Hull, Kingston, Lakeville, Lanesborough, Lee, Leicester, Lenox, Leominster, Littleton, Lowell, Lunenburg, Lynn, Malden, Mansfield, Marblehead, Marlborough, Marshfield, Mashpee, Maynard, Medford, Medway, Melrose, Mendon, Merrimac, Middleborough, Milford, Millbury, Millis, Millville, Monson, Montague, Nantucket, Natick, Needham, New Bedford, Newburyport, Newton, North Adams, North Attleboro, North Brookfield, Northampton, Northbridge, Norton, Norwood, Orange, Orleans, Oxford, Palmer, Pepperell, Pittsfield, Plainfield, Plainville, Plymouth, Provincetown, Quincy, Rehoboth, Rockland, Rowley, Rutland, Salem, Salisbury, Sandisfield, Sandwich, Seekonk, Sharon, Sheffield, Shirley, Shrewsbury, Somerset, Somerville, Southampton, Southbridge, Springfield, Sterling, Sturbridge, Sunderland, Swampscott, Taunton, Tewksbury, Tisbury, Tyngsborough, Upton, Uxbridge, Waltham, Ware, Wareham, Watertown, Webster, Wellfleet, West Boylston, West Bridgewater, West Springfield, West Stockbridge, West Tisbury, Westfield, Westport, Weymouth, Whately, Whitman, Winchendon, Woburn, Worcester

*As of 2/23/26

Cannabis Control Commission
COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS

Staff Recommendations on Renewal Licenses

Staff Recommendations on Renewal Licenses

1. 686 Cultivation LLC (#MCR141017)

2. 686 Cultivation LLC (#MPR244401)

3. Berkshire Roots, Inc. (#MRR207496)

4. Berkshire Roots, Inc. (#MPR244408)

5. Curaleaf Massachusetts Inc. (#MRR207417)

6. Caroline's Cannabis, LLC (#MPR244394)

7. dba EMJ LLC (#MCR140992)

8. Debilitating Medical Condition Treatment Centers (#MPR244415)

9. Dirigo Cannabis MA LLC (#MPR244392)

10. Great Barrington Retail, Inc. (#MRR207475)

11. Green Gold Group, Inc. (#MRR207495)

12. Greenjeans Farms, LLC (#COR129717)

13. Haverhill Stem LLC (#MRR207488)

14. High Hawk Farm LLC (#MRR207491)

15. Holistic Health Group Inc. (#MRR207437)

16. Holistic Industries, Inc. (#MRR207486)

17. In Good Health Inc. (#MRR207504)

18. JO Worcester, Inc. (#MRR207443)

19. KG Collective Brockton, LLC (#MRR207500)

20. Krishna Lenox, LLC (#MRR207460)

Staff Recommendations on Renewal Licenses

21. Lowkey 2 LLC (#MRR207390)

22. Lunar Xtracts, Inc. (#MPR244397)

23. Mass Greenwoods LLC (#MRR207432)

24. Misty Mountain Shop, LLC (#MRR207024)

25. New England Cannabis Corporation, Inc. (#MCR140902)

26. New England Cannabis Corporation, Inc. (#MPR244311)

27. Nova Farms LLC (#MRR207463)

28. Power Fund Operations (#MRR206816)

29. SafeTiva Labs LLC (#ILR267957)

30. Sira Naturals, Inc. (#MRR207378)

31. SOCIAL-J LLC (#DOR5182983)

32. Supercritical Mass Laboratories Inc. (#MPR244420)

33. Sweetgrass Botanicals Extractions LLC (#MPR244407)

34. T. Bear Inc. (#MPR244405)

35. Temple Hill Collective, Inc. (#MPR244400)

36. True East Leaf LLC (#MCR140994)

37. True East Leaf LLC (#MRR207453)

38. HVV Massachusetts, Inc. (#RMDR193814)

39. Curaleaf Massachusetts, Inc. (#RMD385)

40. HVV Massachusetts, Inc. (#RMDR193815)

Cannabis
Control
Commission
COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS

Staff Recommendations on Provisional Licenses

Staff Recommendations on Provisional Licenses

1. Kapnos, Inc. (#MRN285398)

Staff Recommendations on Final Licenses

1. FreeMarketMA, LLC (#MP282279), Marijuana Product Manufacturer

Commission Discussion & Votes

Commission Discussion and Votes

1. Update on FY27 Joint Ways and Means Budget Testimony

2. ICPS Report Research Department

3. Exit Interviews Overview

4. Update on New Product Catalogue Launch Date

5. Aggregated Open Data *(Vote)*

6. Executive Director CY 2026 Goals

7. Executive Director Management Oversight Group

8. Non-Enforcement of Red Tape Items Discussion

9. Biennial License Renewal Study Group

10. Addition of Vernon Hill to the List of Disproportionately Impacted Areas *(Vote)*

11. Update on Petitions Process

12. 30A Public Process Including Independence of Legal Team Fire Wall, Deadlines to Investigate and Appeal

13. Update on Attorney General's Office Meeting Regarding Coordination and Referrals

Cannabis Use Trends in Massachusetts

Findings from the International Cannabis Policy Study, 2019–2023

March 2026

Alexander Colby, MA, Research Analyst
Graelyn Humiston, MS, Research Analyst
Victoria Edwards, MSW, MLS, Project Coordinator
Julie Johnson, PhD, Chief of Research

Report Outline

1. Legislative Research Agenda
2. Introduction
3. Methods
4. Results: Data
   A. Demographics
   B. Use Frequency
   C. Age of Cannabis Initiation
   D. Methods of Consumption
   E. Sources of Cannabis Access
   F. Cannabis Knowledge and Social Norms
   G. Risky Behaviors
   H. Health Care Use and Cannabis
   I. History of Cannabis Arrests
5. Results: Limitations and Overall Findings
6. Policy Recommendations

Cannabis Control Commission
COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS

Legislative Research Agenda

Legislatively Mandated Research Agenda
Pursuant to G. L. c. 94G, § 17(a) and G. L. c. 94G, § 17(b)

G. L. c. 94G, § 17(a)

The commission shall develop a research agenda in order to understand the social and economic trends of marijuana in the commonwealth, to inform future decisions that would aid in the closure of the illicit marketplace and to inform the commission on the public health impacts of marijuana. The research agenda shall include, but not be limited to:

i. Patterns of use, methods of consumption, sources of purchase and general perceptions of marijuana

ii. Incidents of impaired driving, hospitalization and use of other health care services related to marijuana use

iii. Economic and fiscal impacts for state and local governments including the impact of legalization on the production and distribution of marijuana in the illicit market and the costs and benefits to state and local revenue

iv. Ownership and employment trends in the marijuana industry examining participation by racial, ethnic and socioeconomic subgroups, including identification of barriers to participation in the industry;

v. Market analysis examining the expansion or contraction of the illicit marketplace and the expansion or contraction of the legal marketplace

vi. Incidents of discipline in schools, including suspensions or expulsions, resulting from marijuana use or possession of marijuana or marijuana products

vii. Civil penalties, arrests, prosecutions, incarcerations and sanctions imposed for possession, distribution or trafficking

G. L. c. 94G, § 17(b)

The commission shall annually report on the results of its research agenda and, when appropriate, make recommendations for further research or policy changes. The annual reports shall be posted online in a machine-readable format.

Cannabis Control Commission
COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS

Background

Brief History of Cannabis Laws & Regulations

Federal Regulations

- 1996: California established first medical cannabis program with passing of the Compassionate Care Act (Proposition 215)

- As of September 2025:
  - 38 states, including Massachusetts (MA), have enacted medical cannabis programs, and another 8 states allow for the use of "low THC, high cannabidiol" products
  - 24 states and the District of Columbia have legalized cannabis for non-medical adult use

Massachusetts Regulations

- 2008: Cannabis possession under 28 grams decriminalized via MA Sensible Marijuana Policy Initiative

- 2012: Medical cannabis legalized via the MA Medical Marijuana Initiative

- 2015: First Marijuana Treatment Centers (MTCs) open in June

- 2016: Adult use of cannabis legalized via MA Marijuana Legalization Initiative

- 2017: Legislature adopted Chapter 55 of the Acts of 2017, establishing the Cannabis Control Commission (CCC) to regulate adult use cannabis, and transferred medical cannabis regulation to the CCC from the MA Department of Public Health

- 2018: First adult use cannabis dispensaries open in November
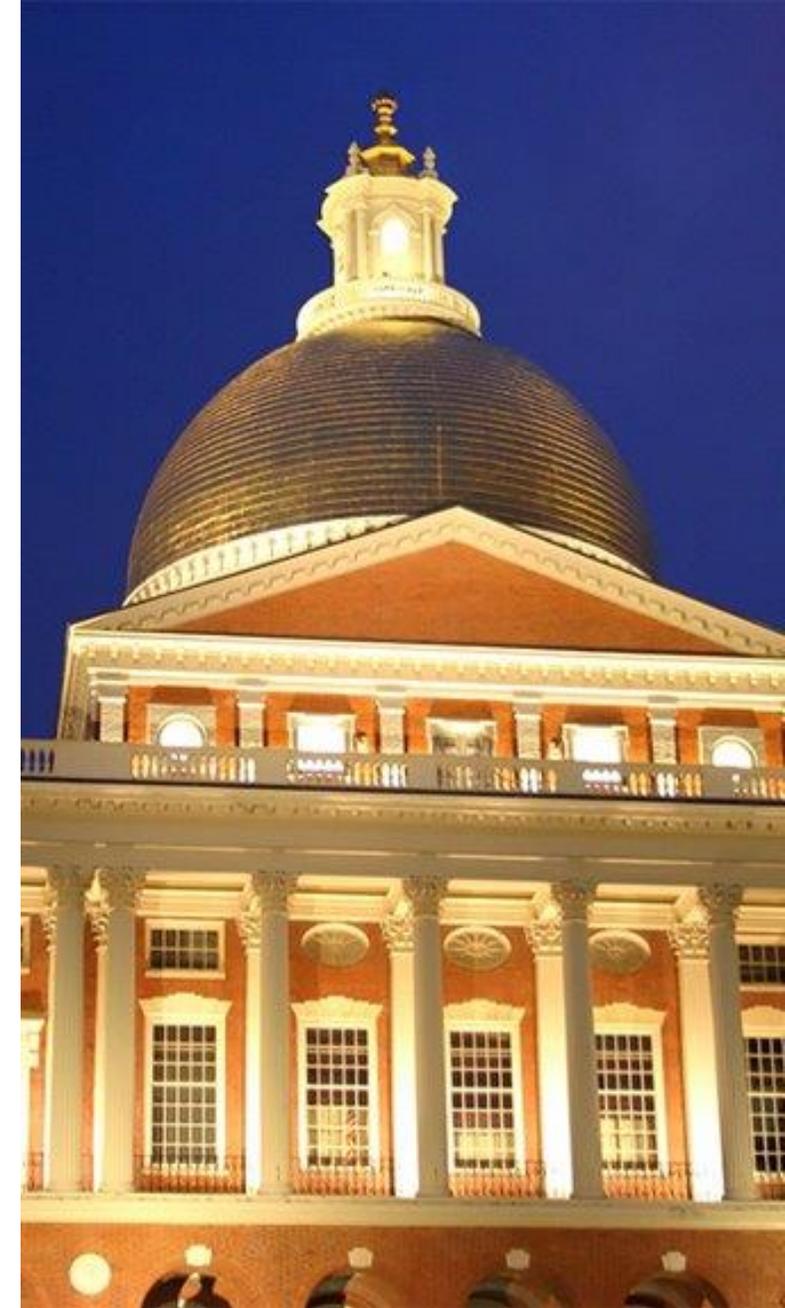
National Cannabis Use Statistics

- *Percent reporting past-year cannabis use – General population: Ages 12 years or older (NSDUH)*
  - 2002: **11%**
  - 2021: **18.7%**
  - 2022: **22%**

- *Percent reporting past-year cannabis use – Youth: Ages 12-17 years old (NSDUH)*
  - 2018: **12.5%**
  - 2019: **13.2%**
  - 2020: **10.1%**
  - 2021: **10.5%**
  - 2022: **11.5%**

- *Percent reporting "current" (past month) cannabis use – High school students (YRBSS)*
  - 2017: **19.8%**
  - 2019: **21.7%**
  - 2021: **15.8%**

Massachusetts Cannabis Use Statistics

- *Percent reporting past-year cannabis use – Adults: Ages 18 years or older (BRFSS)*
  - 2017: **14.4%**
  - 2018: **12.9%**
  - 2020: **15.9%**
  - 2021: **14.2%**
  - 2023: **18.2%**

Methods

International Cannabis Policy Study

- **International Cannabis Policy Study (ICPS)**: Quasi-experimental population-based survey that allows the monitoring and study of differential effects of cannabis policies and outcomes
  - Led by Dr. David Hammond at the University of Waterloo
  - Survey conducted annually starting in 2018
  - Surveys residents of the United States, Canada, Australia, Germany, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom

- The Commission has used the ICPS to study the public health impacts of cannabis legalization in Massachusetts since 2019
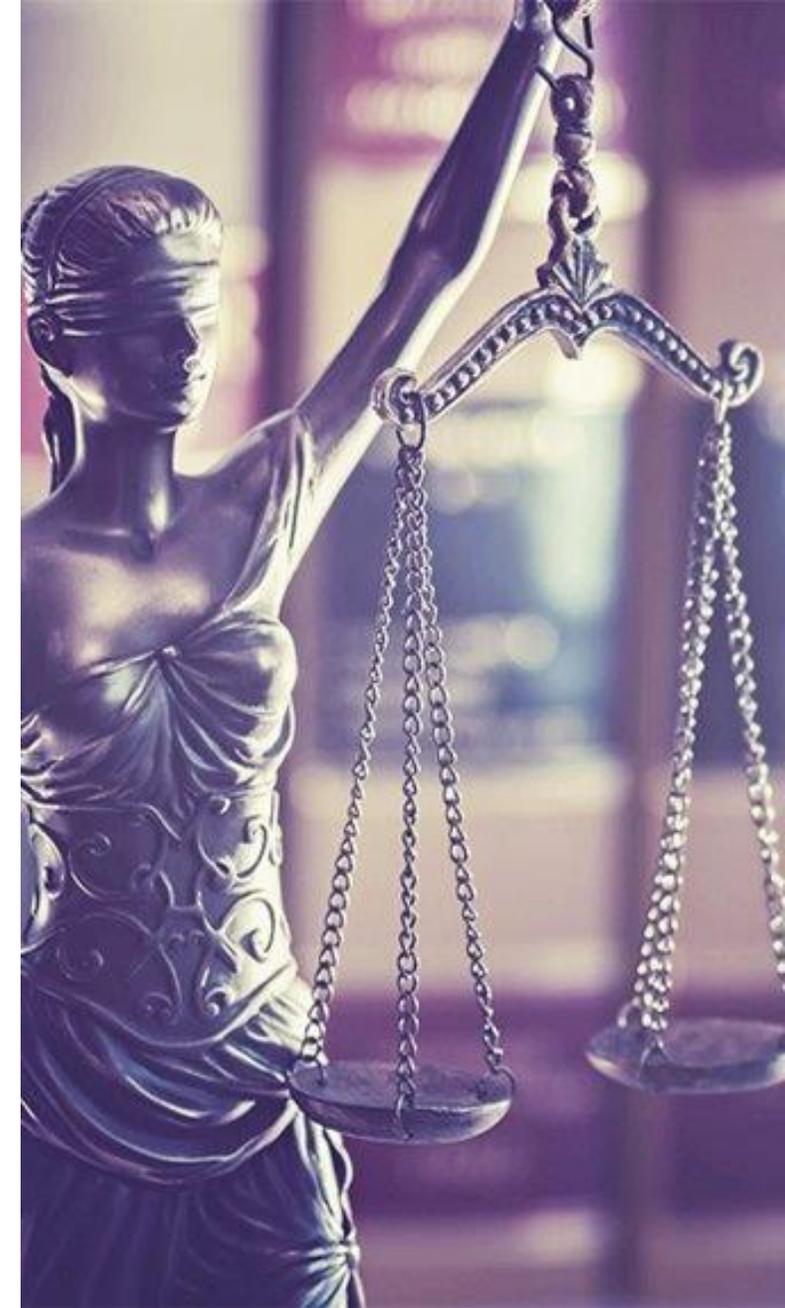
Methods

- **Data Time Frame**: 2019 (Wave 2) – 2023 (Wave 6)

- **Participants:** People ages 16-65 years old recruited from Nielsen panel

- **Branching Questions:** Methodology to efficiently obtain information without asking irrelevant questions (see Figure)

- **Data Sections**
  - Demographics
  - Cannabis Use Frequency
  - Age of Cannabis Initiation
  - Methods of Consumption
  - Sources of Cannabis Access
  - Cannabis Knowledge and Social Norms
  - Risky Behaviors
  - Health Care Use and Cannabis
  - History of Cannabis Arrests

Figure: Survey Branching

Cannabis Control Commission
COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS
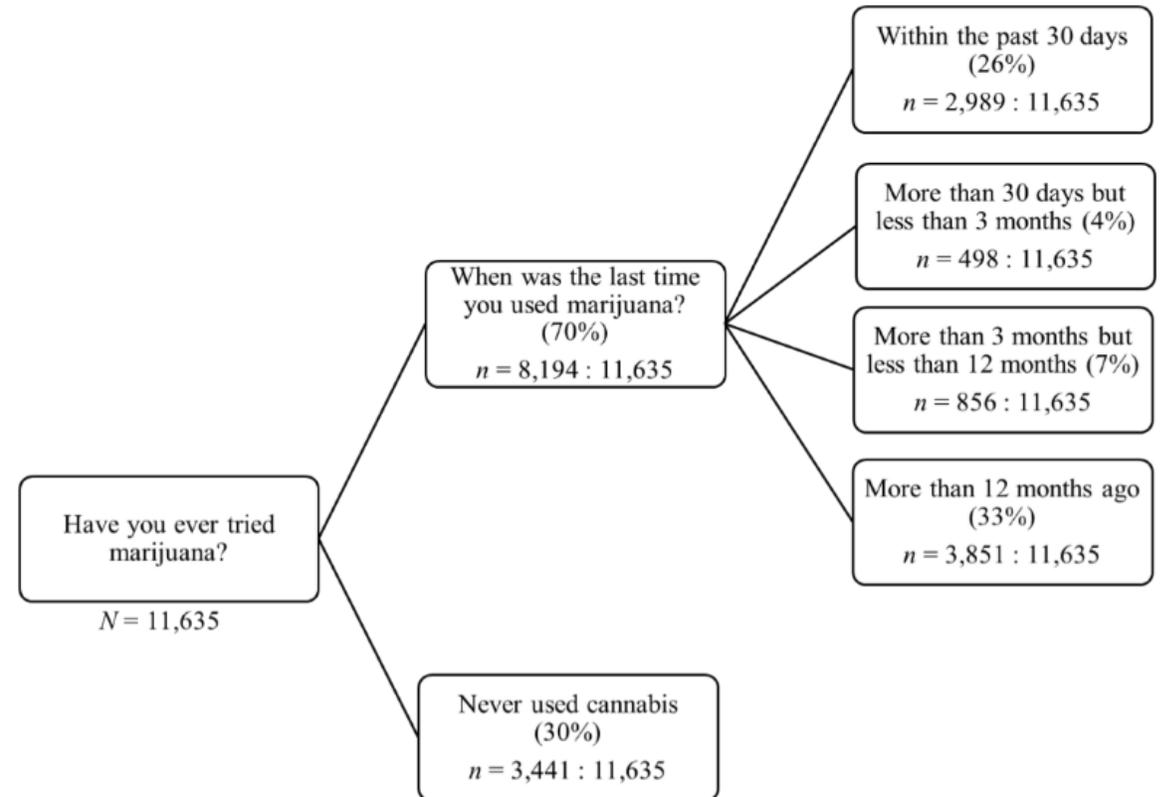
Results: Data

Demographics Overview

- Total Sample (2019-2023): 11,635 Participants

- Mean Age: 43.54 years (SD ±13.90 years)

- 83.22% White

- 65.99% Woman (Gender)

- 15.11% Student

- 32.52% Difficult or Very Difficult Income Adequacy

Table: Demographics Overview by Survey Year

Sample Year	Sample Size	% of Total	Mean Age	White %	Woman % (Gender)	Student %	Difficult % (Income)
2019	2,476	21.28%	43.3	83.40%	74.70%	15.32%	37.16%
2020	2,207	18.97%	44.8	82.74%	64.67%	17.05%	25.29%
2021	1,763	15.15%	44.2	84%	69.30%	17.58%	24.20%
2022	3,389	29.13%	43.1	82.92%	66.28%	13.03%	25.83%
2023	1,800	15.47%	42.6	83.39%	62.89%	15.29%	36.75%
Grand Total	**11,635**	**100%**	**43.5**	**83.22%**	**65.99%**	**15.11%**	**32.52%**

Use Frequency

- All Participants
  - 30% reported having never used cannabis
  - 70% reported previous cannabis use
  - 37% reported cannabis use in the past 12 months
  - 14% reported daily or near daily use

- Gender
  - Use rates relatively consistent; 31% of males never used compared to 29% of females, and 14% of both reported daily use

- Race
  - Daily use rates varied by race and ethnicity; 22% of Black or African American participants reported daily/near daily use compared to 3% of Asian participants

- Income Adequacy
  - Participants who selected "Very easy" or "Easy" to make ends meet reported much lower rates of daily use (9%) than those who selected "Difficult" or "Very Difficult" (19%)

Use Frequency

- Age
  - 56-65 group had the lowest rate of daily users (9%) and lowest rate of never users (25%)
  - 21-25 group had the highest rate of daily users (19%)
  - 16-20 group had the highest proportion of never users (54%)

Figure: Cannabis Use Frequency: Age Cohort
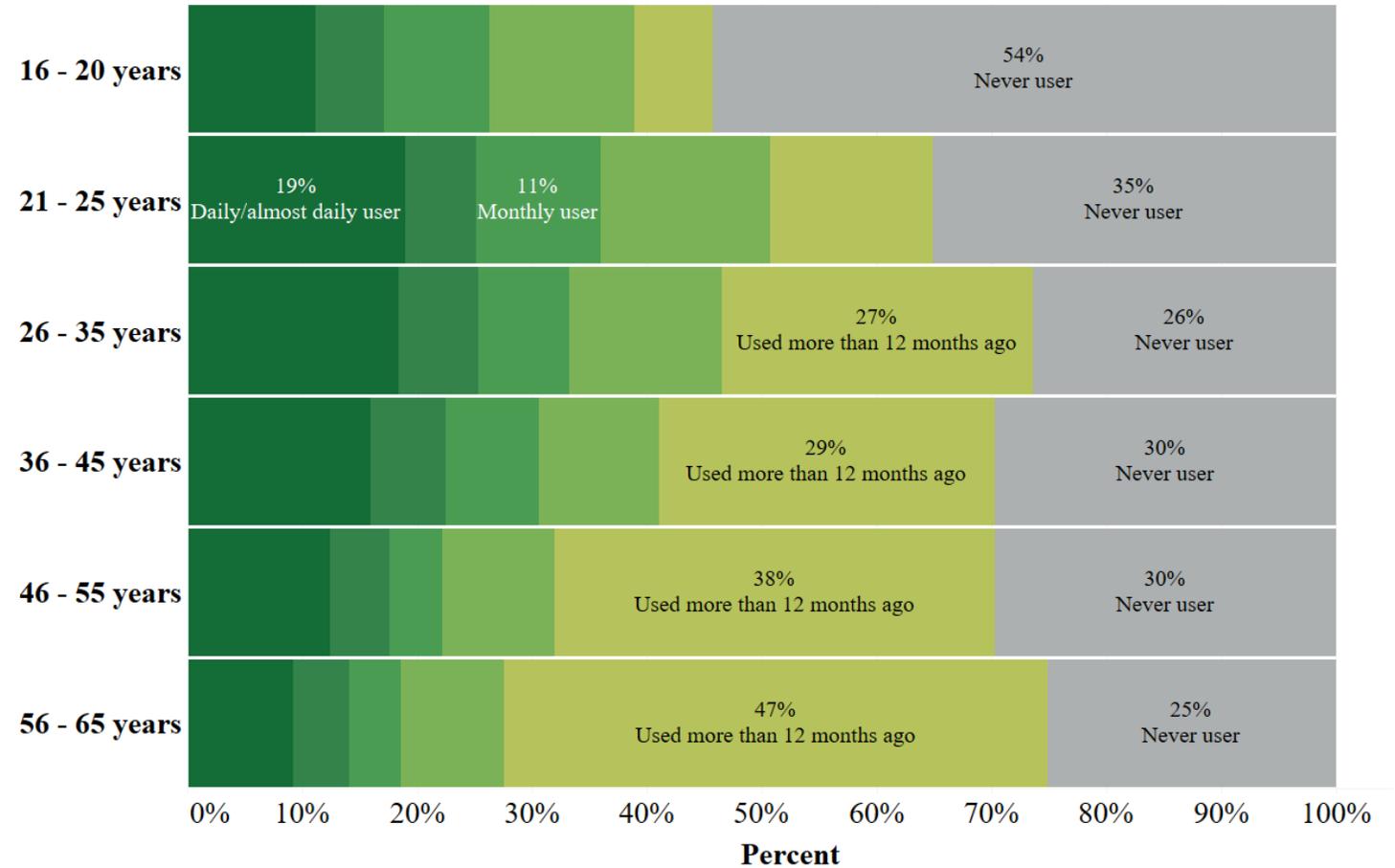
Age of Cannabis Initiation

- Among all who reported any prior cannabis use (70% of sample):
  - Mean age of first cannabis use: 19.48 years old
  - No notable differences by sex, gender, race, ethnicity, or income adequacy

Table: Age of Cannabis Use Initiation: Age

Use Frequency	16-20	21-25	26-35	36-45	46-55	56-65
N	287	545	1,643	1,782	1,649	2,288
Age of initiation (SDp)	15.9 (1.8)	17.6 (3.5)	18.7 (5.2)	20.3 (8.2)	20.5 (10.0)	19.6 (10.3)

- Age
  - Mean age was somewhat lower among 16-20 group (15.9) and 21-25 group (17.6) compared to older age groups, who reported mean ages of first use between 18.7-20.5 years of age

- Student status
  - Students currently enrolled in high school or university had a lower mean age of cannabis initiation (18.5) than non-students (19.7)

Methods of Consumption

- Among all who reported using cannabis within the past 12 months (37% of sample):
  - "Flower" (70%), "Edible" (67%), and vaporized oils (39%) were most reported as used within the past year

- Age
  - Vaporized oil and "Concentrate" were more popular with younger cohorts
  - "Topical" and "Tincture" were more popular among older cohorts

Figure: Methods of Consumption, by Age Cohort
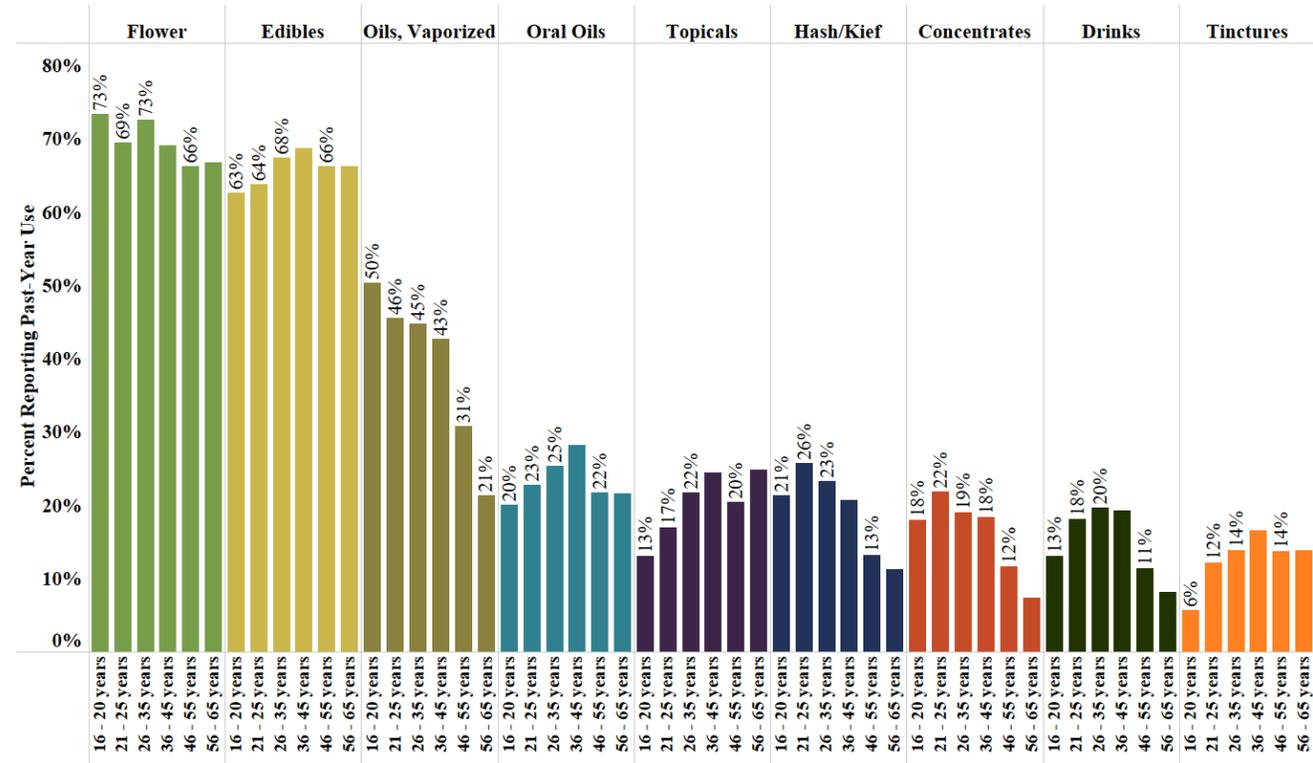
Sources of Cannabis Access

- Among all who reported using cannabis within the past 12 months (37% of sample):

  - Sourcing from a "Store" (61%), "Family member or friend" (56%), and "Dealer" (24%) were most frequently reported sources

  - Results by Survey Year suggest noticeable decline in dealer sourcing, increase in family member or friend sourcing

  - *Note: This ICPS question did not specify "Store" as meaning a licensed adult-use dispensary within Massachusetts. As a result, participants may have visited smoke shops (which fall outside of the Commission's purview), or dispensaries (licensed or unlicensed) outside of Massachusetts, or may have been registered patients in the Medical Use of Marijuana program.*

Figure: Source of Cannabis Access:

Percent Reporting Dealer or Store by Age and Year
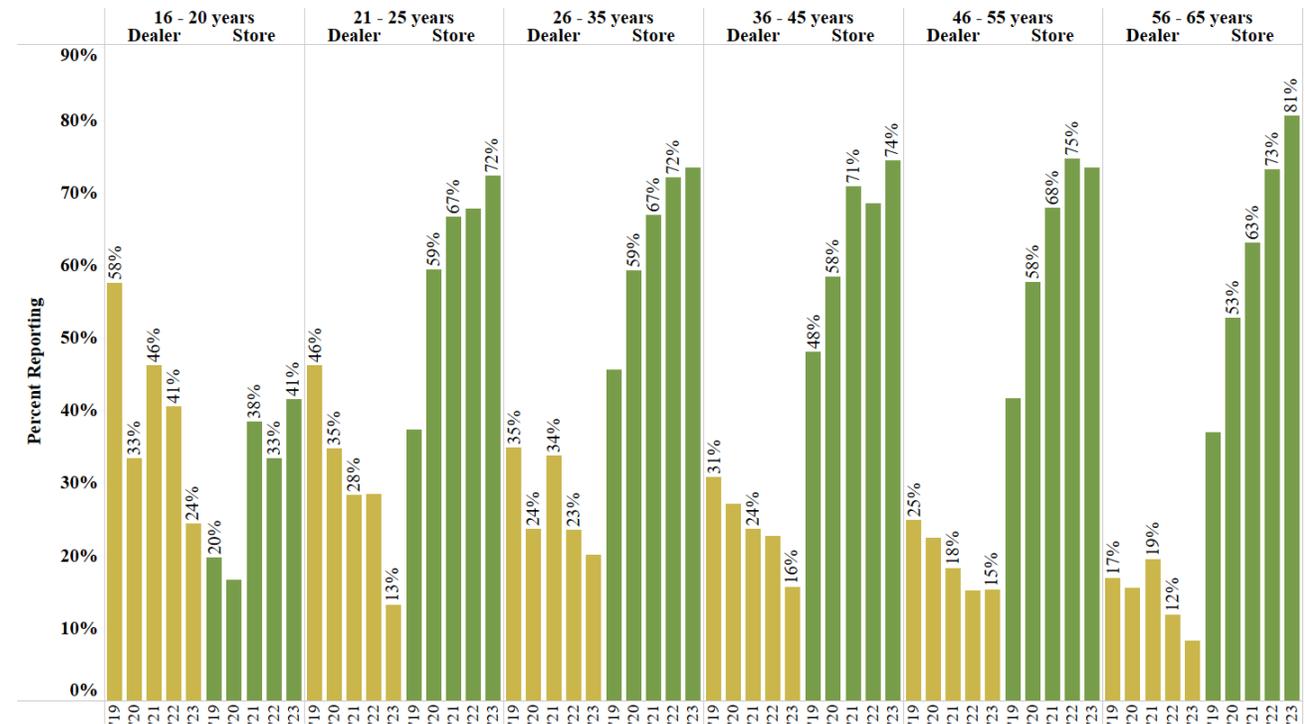
Legal vs Illicit Market Sourcing (Sources continued)

- Among those who reported past year cannabis use, participants report sourcing 74% of their cannabis from legal sources, on average.

- Age:
  - Dealer sourcing was more frequent in younger cohorts (16-20 years, 21-25 years)
  - Store sourcing was more frequent in older cohorts
  - Lower percent of cannabis sourced legally among 16-20-year-olds (54%) compared to other cohorts (72-78%).

Figure: Percent of Cannabis Purchased Legally, By Age Group
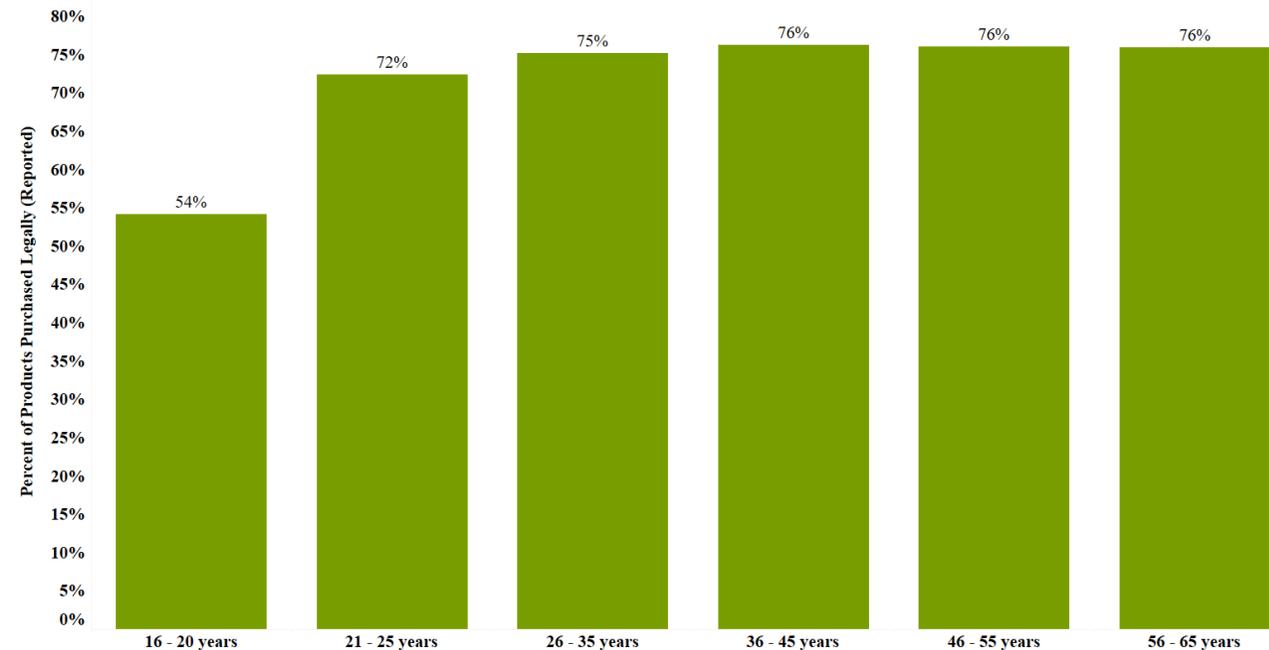
Legal vs Illicit Market Sourcing (Sources continued)

- Differences by method of consumption/product type
  - "Topicals" (86%), "Oral Oils" (83%) more frequently sourced legally
  - "Hash/Kief" (55%), "Concentrates" (65%), "Flower" (65%) less frequently sourced legally

Figure: Percent Purchased Legally by Product Type
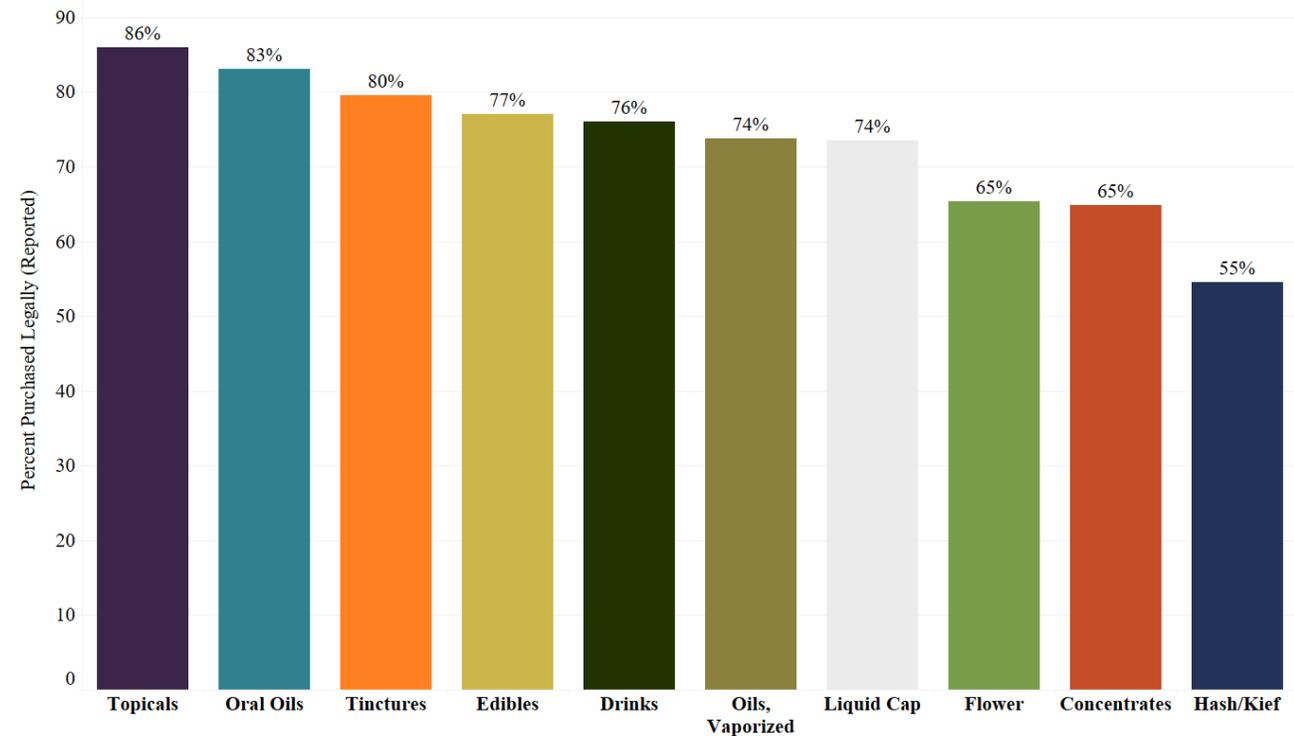
Reasons for Avoiding Legal Cannabis Purchase (Sources continued)

- Most frequent reasons:
  - "Legal sources have higher prices" (33%), "Legal sources were less convenient (17%)", "Loyalty to my dealer (13%)" were most frequently reported.
  - "Legal sources were less convenient" – downward trend from 2019 (22%) to 2023 (12%)

Figure: Reasons for Avoiding Legal Cannabis Purchase:
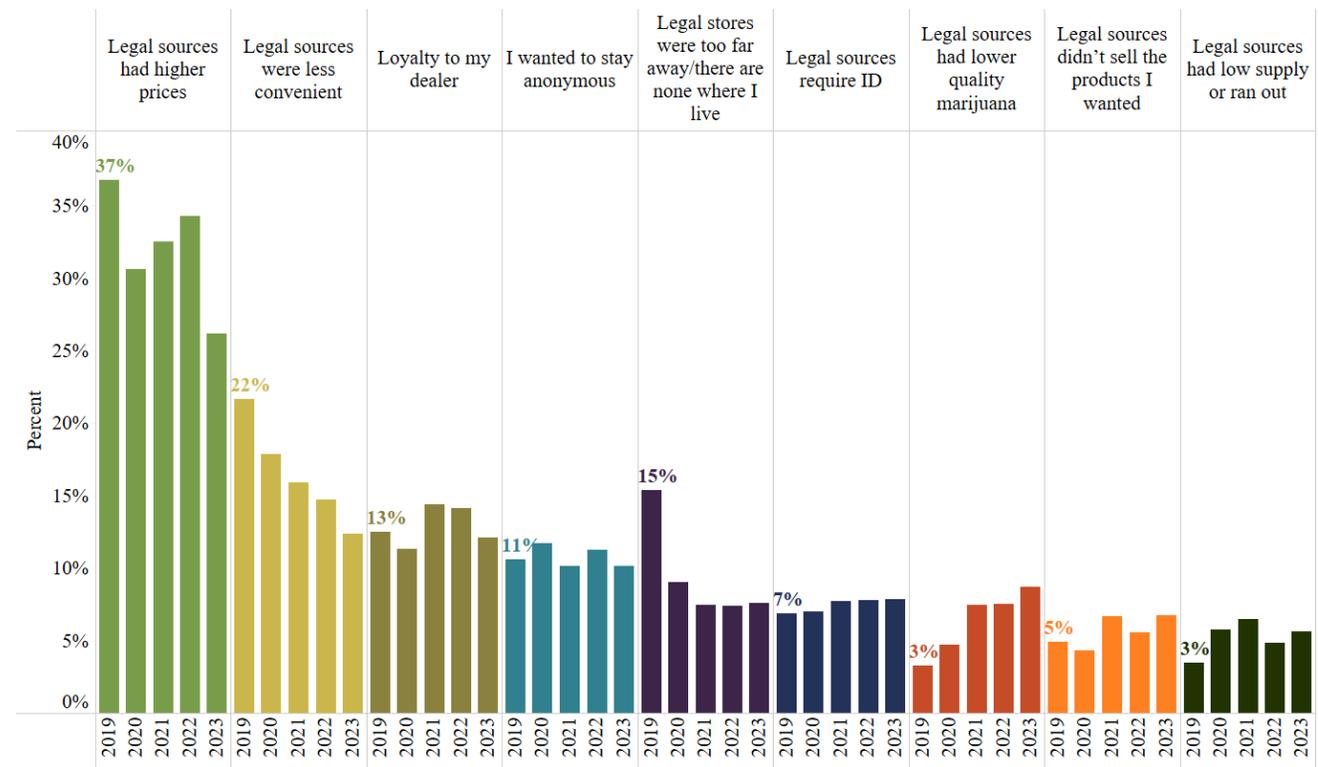
All Participants

Cannabis Knowledge

- All participants were asked nine questions about the effects of cannabis

- The Research Department grouped these questions to form a general knowledge of cannabis index represented by percentage of questions answered correctly

- Across all nine questions, participants answered 48% correctly on average

- There were no substantial differences over time for any of the questions

Figure: Questions about Side Effects:

Percent Correct by Question

Question	Percent Correct
Can it be dangerous to drive or operate machinery after using marijuana?	72%
Can it be harmful to use marijuana when pregnant or breastfeeding?	62%
Can marijuana be addictive?	50%
Can marijuana smoke be harmful?	48%
Are teenagers at greater risk of harm from using marijuana than adults?	48%
Can high-THC marijuana products negatively affect memory and concentration?	44%
Can using marijuana cause diabetes?	43%
Can marijuana or CBD help cure or prevent cancer?	37%
Can regular use of marijuana increase the risk of psychosis and schizophrenia?	20%

Percent Correct

Cannabis Social Norms

- All participants were asked whether they believed cannabis should be legal, and how many of their closest five friends used cannabis

- Legalization:
  - The question served to gauge the public's support for current adult use policies in Massachusetts
  - Participants were overwhelmingly in support, with 78% of participants in favor of legalization

- Top five friends:
  - Participants reported that 2.02 of their top five friends, on average, used cannabis
  - Rates were higher among younger cohorts

Figure: Cannabis Social Norms:

All Participants, by Year

Should the use of recreational (non-medical) marijuana be ... ?
Percent reporting "Legal"

Year	Percent
2019	70%
2020	76%
2021	80%
2022	83%
2023	81%

How many of your 5 closest friends use marijuana?

Year	Number of Friends
2019	2.04
2020	1.86
2021	1.94
2022	2.10
2023	2.11
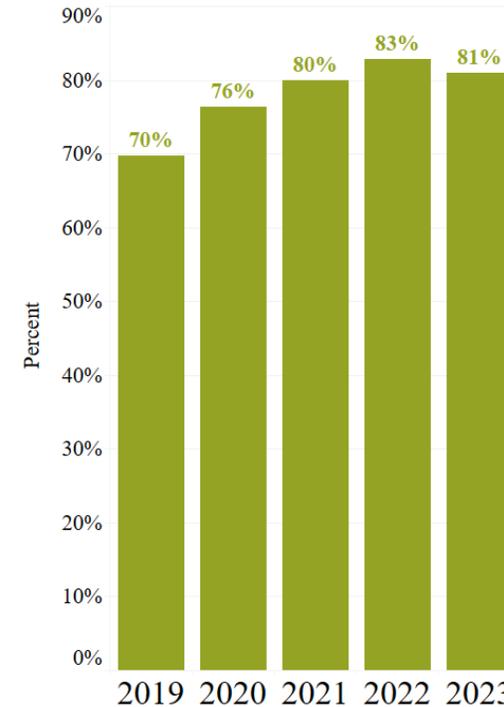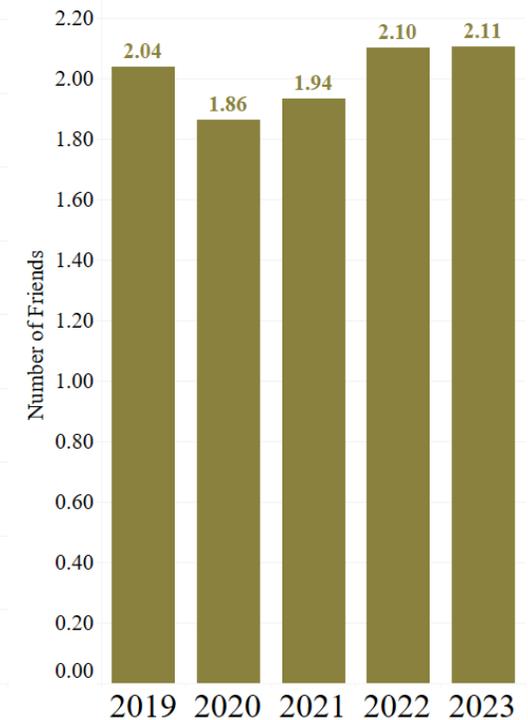
Risky Behaviors: Driving Behaviors

- Cannabis Driver: 14% reported they had driven within 2 hours of cannabis use

- Passenger to Cannabis Driver: 21% reported they had been a passenger of a driver who had used cannabis

- Driving Plan: 46% reported having previously made a plan to avoid driving high or to not drive

Age:

- 16-20 group were most likely to report driving after using cannabis and second-most likely to report being a passenger
- 56-65 group were the least likely to drive after cannabis use and least likely to be a passenger, but also least likely to report a driving plan
- 21-25 group were the second-most likely to report driving after cannabis use, most likely to report being a passenger, and most likely to report having a driving plan

Table: Driving and Riding: Age

Risky Behavior	16-20	21-25	26-35	36-45	46-55	56-65
Cannabis Driver	22%	21%	19%	18%	12%	8%
Passenger to Cannabis Driver	29%	33%	28%	23%	15%	13%
Driving Plan	51%	59%	56%	49%	42%	36%

Risky Behaviors: Use at Work

- Participants who reported cannabis use within the past 12 months (37% of sample) were asked whether, within the past 30 days, they had used cannabis at work or within 2 hours prior to work

- 13% of participants reported cannabis use at or shortly before work within the past 30 days
  - This may include registered medical use of marijuana patients

Risky Behaviors: Poly-substance Use

- The most commonly reported co-used substances were alcohol (48%), cigarettes (38%), and e-cigarettes (23%)

- Illicit substances were less prevalent, with 11% of this subset reporting use of any other illicit substance with cannabis. Among these substances, cocaine (7%), hallucinogens (6%), prescription painkillers (6%), and other prescription drugs (6%) were the most frequent

Figure: Poly-Substance Use, by Age Group
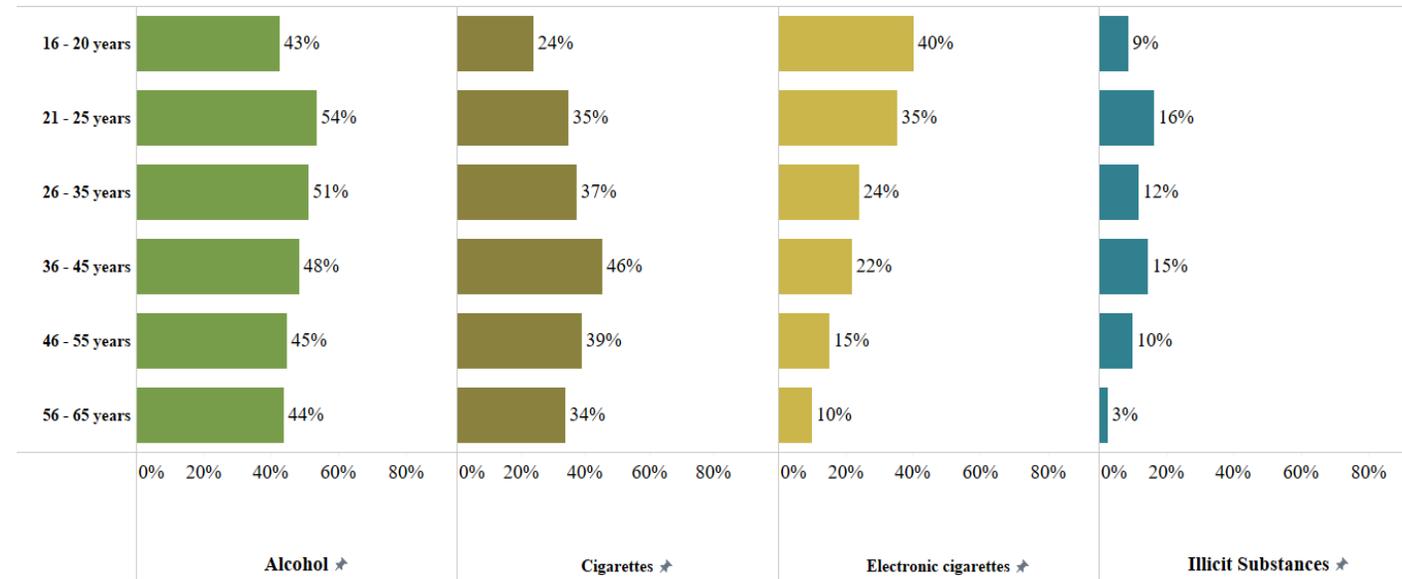
Health Care: After Cannabis Consumption

- 9% of these participants reported seeking medical treatment for adverse health effects following cannabis consumption within the past 12 months

Figure: Seeking of Medical Treatment, by Cannabis Use Frequency

Daily/almost daily user: 10.2% (n = 92) | 89.8% (n = 812)

Weekly user: 10.4% (n = 38) | 89.6% (n = 326)

Monthly user: 11.5% (n = 53) | 88.5% (n = 406)

Past 12-month user: | 95.4% (n = 709)

% of Total
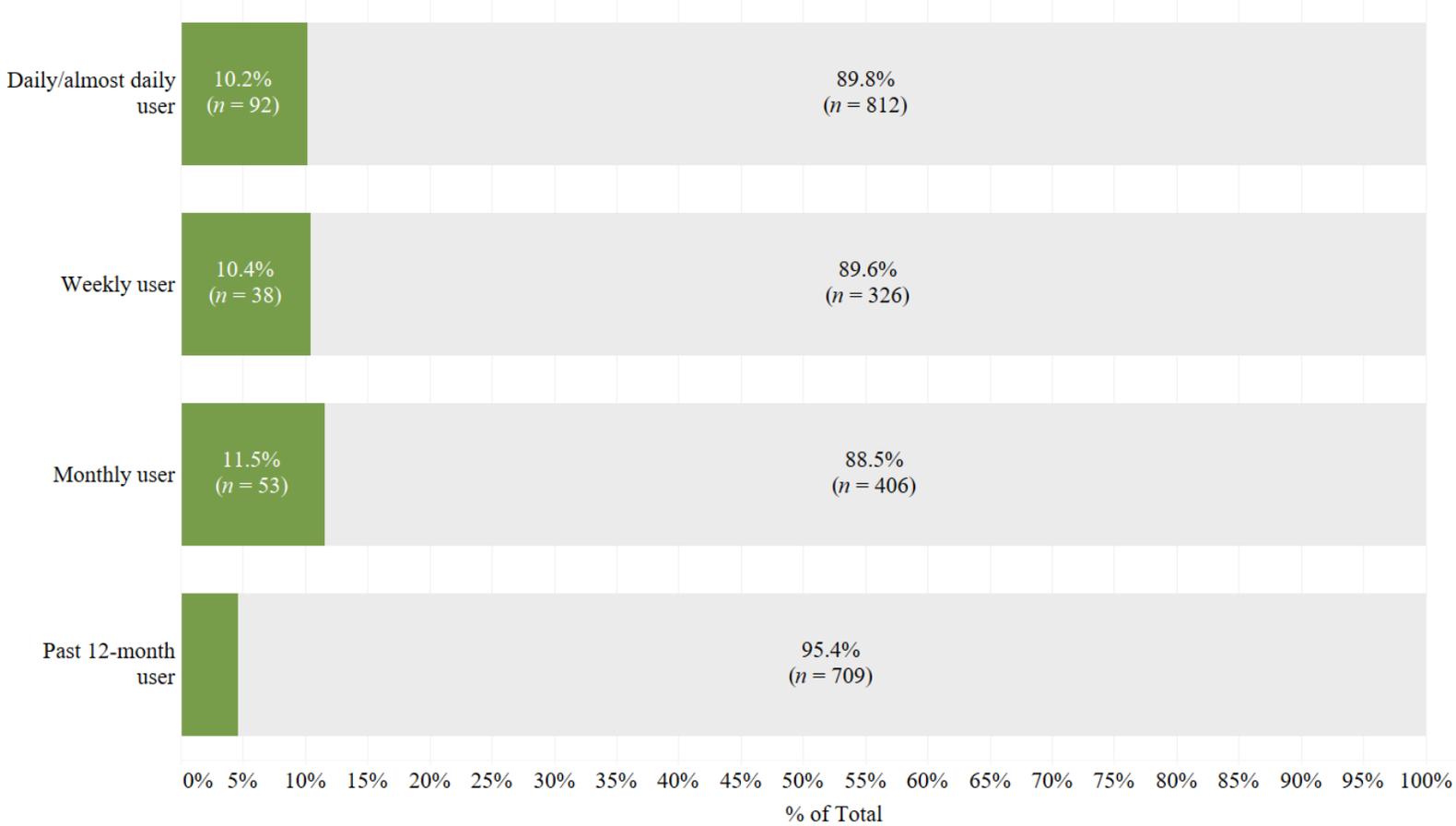
Health Care: Cannabis for Health Treatment

- 43% reported using cannabis to help manage mental health symptoms

- 51% reported using cannabis to treat physical health symptoms

Figure: Cannabis for Mental Health Treatment, by Use Frequency
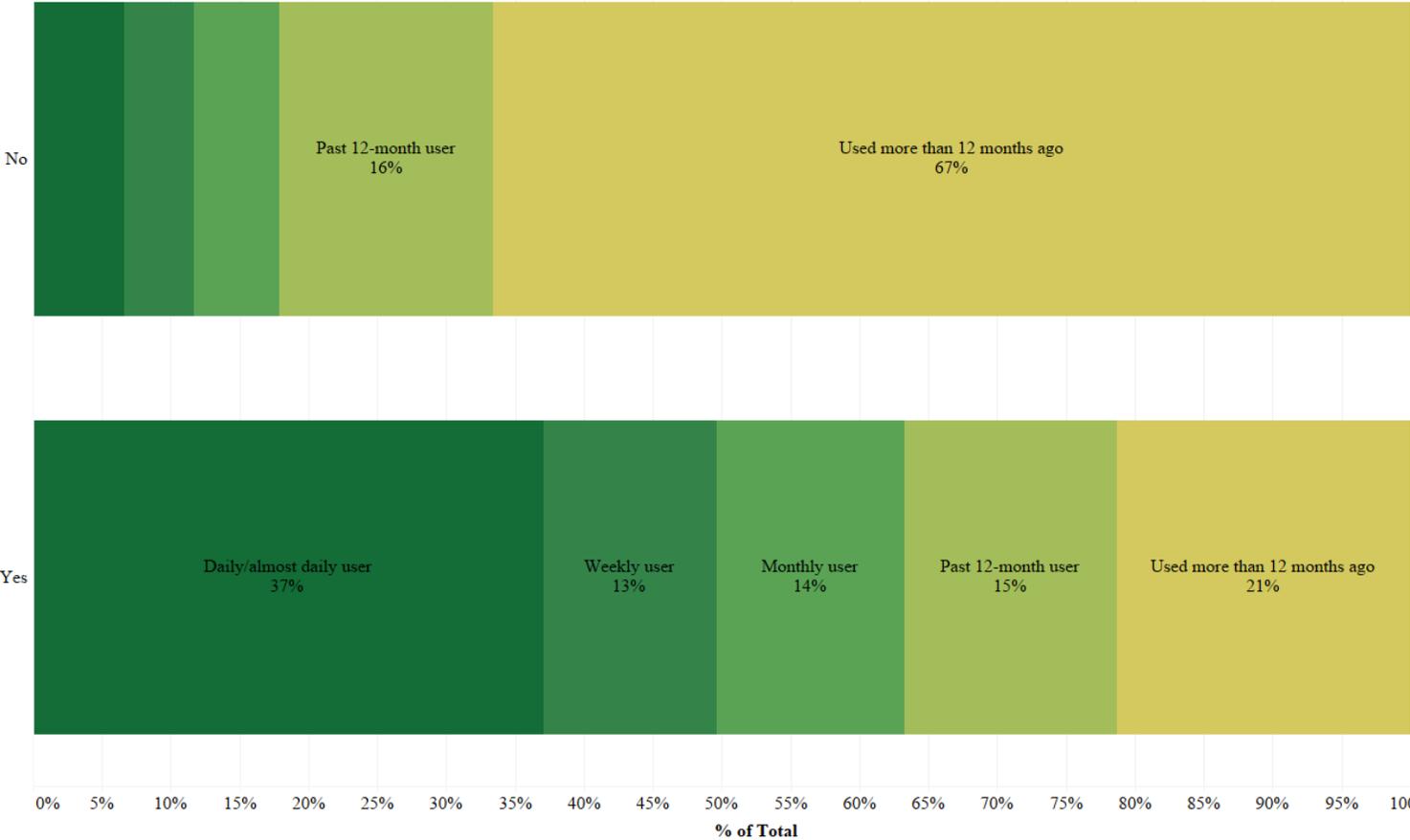
No

Past 12-month user
16%

Used more than 12 months ago
67%

Yes

Daily/almost daily user
37%

Weekly user
13%

Monthly user
14%

Past 12-month user
15%

Used more than 12 months ago
21%

0% 5% 10% 15% 20% 25% 30% 35% 40% 45% 50% 55% 60% 65% 70% 75% 80% 85% 90% 95% 100%

% of Total

History of Cannabis Arrests

- All participants were asked whether they had ever been arrested for (1) cannabis possession, (2) cannabis trafficking, cultivation, or importation, or (3) cannabis-impaired driving [added in the 2021 survey wave]

Figure: Cannabis Arrests (Any) By Survey Year
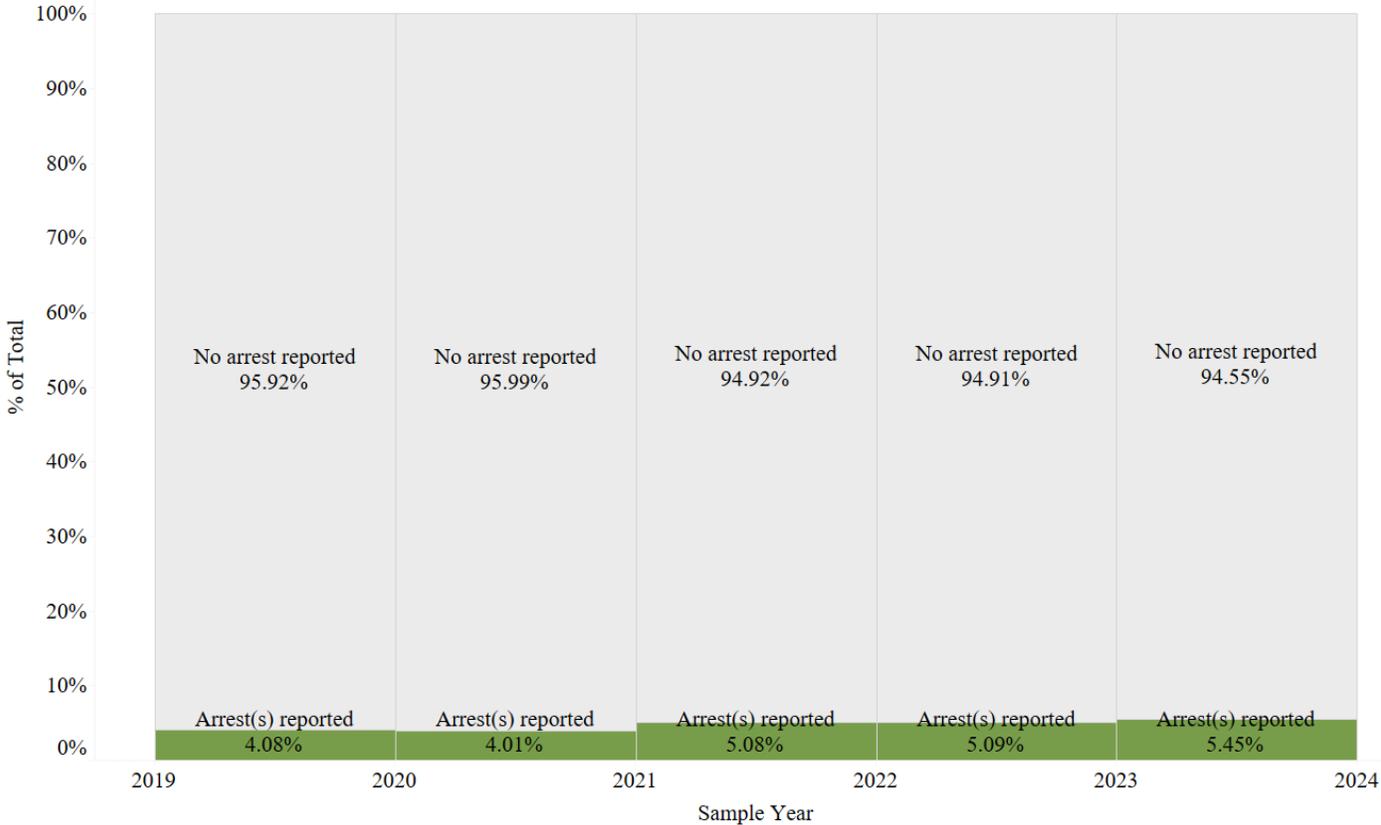
Results: Limitations and Overall Findings

Limitations

- Small and varied sample sizes across survey years in Massachusetts: Total sample from 2019 to 2023 reached 11,635 participants, ranging from 1,763 in 2021 (15% of total sample) to 3,389 in 2022 (29% of total sample)
  - Smaller sample sizes make it difficult to assess the results of smaller subgroups
  - Any findings that involve a small subset of the data are highly limited in their generalizability and insight

- This data relies on self-reporting, which opens the possibility of:
  - Bias, such as social desirability or recall bias, even if unintended
  - Survey participants not accurately understanding a question or misunderstanding specific parts of a question

- Results will also be influenced by external factors, such as municipal-level policies or secular trends occurring at the national level

Overall Findings

- Use frequency
  - Slight upward trend over time (37.08% within past 12 months in 2019 to 42.78% in 2023)
  - 43% of participants in the 2023 wave reported cannabis use within the past year

- Age of cannabis initiation
  - Slight increase in age of initiation over time (age 18.57 ± 7.25 in 2019 to age 19.92 ± 8.92 in 2023)
  - Variation greatest between age groups (age 15.9 ± 1.8 among 16-20-year-olds compared to age 19.6 ± 10.3 among 56-65-year-olds)

- Methods of consumption
  - Small decreases over time in popularity of "Flower" and "Oils, Vaporized;" small increases over time for "Concentrates," "Drinks," and "Edibles"
  - Large variation between age groups for "Oils, Vaporized" (50% reported past-year use among 16-20-year-olds compared to 21% among 56-65-year-olds)

- Sources of cannabis
  - "Store" is the most popular source, increasing in popularity over time; 73% of participants in the 2023 wave reported sourcing from a "Store"

Overall Findings

- Cannabis knowledge and social norms
  - Knowledge varied, with participants answering questions correctly 20-72% of the time
  - 81% of participants in 2023 supported legal cannabis
  - On average, participants reported that two out of their five closest friends use cannabis

- Risky behaviors
  - Among past-year cannabis users, 14% reporting driving after cannabis use, 46% reported making a driving plan, and 13% reported that they had used cannabis at or shortly before work within the past 30 days
  - 21% of all participants reported that, within the past year, they had been a passenger to a driver who had recently used cannabis
  - Among participants who had used these substances, the highest rates of poly-substance use were reported for alcohol (48%), cigarettes (38%), and e-cigarettes (23%); 11% of these participants reported poly-substance use with any illicit substance

- Health care and cannabis
  - 9% of participants reported seeking medical services to treat adverse health effects following cannabis consumption
  - 43% reported using cannabis to manage a mental health concern, and 51% reported use to manage a physical health concern

- History of cannabis arrests
  - 5% of participants reported that they had been arrested for one or more of the listed offenses; arrests were more commonly reported among men, People of Color, and students

Policy Recommendations

Education and Prevention

Education about cannabis policy, regulations, and safe use continues to be crucial to mitigate potential adverse effects, especially as Massachusetts moves to implement social consumption regulations.

- **Recommendation 1:** The Commission should continue to support and seek funding for public education, such as the previous "More About Marijuana" public awareness campaign.

- **Recommendation 2:** In the absence of allocated funding for comprehensive public education campaigns, the Commission should collaborate with other Massachusetts state agencies and educators to continue to create and disseminate evidence-based educational materials across Commission websites and social media.

- **Recommendation 3:** Provide funding to monitor constituent knowledge of cannabis products and policies, risks, and social norms to understand how state policies intersect with behavior, including youth use, health care usage, and impaired driving.

- **Recommendation 4:** Protect cannabis industry workers by implementing a multi-tiered approach to worker safety, including both education and regulation, to ensure policies follow best practices and current science.

Hemp-derived Cannabinoids

Hemp-derived cannabinoid products are policy, research, and public health and safety concerns due to their lack of regulation and scientific study and their accessibility to youth. The Massachusetts House of Representatives has passed a bill that aims to task the Commission with regulating hemp. While this bill has not yet passed the Senate, it is critical to understand the complexities of hemp and secure baseline data and research to inform policy decisions moving forward.

- **Recommendation 1:** The Commission should collaborate with other Massachusetts state agencies and researchers to assess hemp market products and availability within the Commonwealth, analyze available data on use trends, and compare to cannabis availability and use.

- **Recommendation 2:** The Commonwealth should launch a public awareness campaign and accompanying surveys to gauge public knowledge of hemp-derived products (particularly of intoxicating products and their availability to youth) and to remedy public knowledge gaps.

- **Recommendation 3:** Researchers, regulators, and the public must address large knowledge gaps, and researchers must standardize metrics for future research and policy comparisons.

Future Research, Monitoring, and Data

Research is critical to safely and effectively regulate the fast-paced cannabis industry, but it is impeded by the federally illegal Schedule I status of Delta 9-THC. The Commission's legislative research mandate empowers it to address some of the gaps created by federal obstacles to cannabis research.

- **Recommendation 1:** The Commission should continue collaborating with regulators and researchers, including epidemiologists and public health professionals (e.g. CSTE, CANNRA).

- **Recommendation 2:** Research should build on the Commission's most recent Industry Report to conduct a comprehensive supply and demand study to further assess consumer and patient preferences, as well as sourcing of cannabis and cannabis products.

- **Recommendation 3:** The Commission should contract a comprehensive study of cannabis-related impaired driving and hospitalization or other health care usage pursuant to M.G.L c. 94G Section 17(a)(ii).

- **Recommendation 4:** Research should assess heterogeneity of municipal-level policies and their differential impacts, such as access to recreational and medical dispensaries, variations in host community agreements, and permission for social consumption sites.

- **Recommendation 5:** Research should further assess cannabis criminal justice involvement using self-report surveys in conjunction with criminal justice databases, such as the National Incident-Based Reporting System and municipality law enforcement data.

Future Research, Monitoring, and Data

- **Recommendation 6:** Given the varying data collection mechanisms implemented across the Commonwealth and its agencies, Massachusetts should add metrics to preexisting surveillance systems to more accurately assess types, methods, frequency, and quantity patterns of cannabis use among different population groups (e.g., age, sex/gender, race/ethnicity, urban/suburban/rural, and socioeconomic status), and partner with health systems to assess adverse clinical health effects, such as Cannabis Use Disorder (CUD), Cannabis Hyperemesis Syndrome (CHS), psychosis, and co-occurring mental health and cannabis use disorders.
  - Collaborate with researchers in municipal government, health care systems, and university health centers to monitor cannabis consumption adverse events.
  - Collaborate with the primary and secondary educational systems to comprehensively assess impacts on educational systems.
  - Assess metrics in ongoing data collection mechanisms in the Commonwealth, including groups not assessed in the current study.
  - Fund a contract to procure the research study on hospitalizations and use of other healthcare services related to marijuana use that was chartered and approved by the Commission's former Executive Director but does not have the funding to move forward.
  - Collaborate with the Council of State and Territorial Epidemiologists to assess optimal Internal Classification of Diseases (ICD) codes.
  - Continue reviewing cannabis testing practices and industry safety standards, which have become critical research areas.
  - Continue collaborating with Dr. Hammond at the University of Waterloo on reviewing and crafting ICPS metrics to assess cannabis use and behaviors.
  - Continue collaborating with academic researchers with expertise in areas of interest pursuant to M.G.L. c. 94G Section 17 and Commission policy priorities, such as social consumption, youth prevention, and medical efficacy.

Acknowledgements

Acknowledgements

Cannabis Control Commission

- Travis Ahern, Executive Director

- Lisa Schlegel, Chief Financial and Accounting Officer

- Matt Giancola, Director of Government Affairs and Policy

- Kajal Chattopadhyay, General Counsel

- Maryalice Curley, Director of Communications

- AnnMarie Burtt, Director of Digital and Creative Services

University of Waterloo

- David Hammond, PhD, Professor and Research Chair

Commission Discussion and Votes

3. Exit Interviews Overview *Chief People Officer Debbie Hilton-Creek*

Update on New Product Catalogue Launch Date

Chief Technology and Innovation Officer Paul Clark

Metrc Product Catalog Background

- Initial Product Catalog hosted by Metrc launched in April 2021

- The current version of the Product Catalog retains all products indefinitely.

- The current Product Catalog searching capability is limited and searching for active products more difficult with all the older products included.

- The indefinite retention of all items is consuming significant amount of storage

New Metrc Product Catalog

- The new Metrc Product Catalog includes ability to display COAs and enhanced display and search capabilities.

- Adding the COA's will rapidly increase storage requirement and slow performance of the catalog.

- The new Metrc Product Catalog allows the specification of a retention period based on the item's last sold date. This will allow removal of older items to make searching for products faster and easier as well as reducing storage.

- To implement the new Product Catalog, Metrc is requiring the Commission to institute a retention period.

- The retention period impacts only items in the Product Catalog it does not remove sales history or details with the core Metrc Seed to Sale Tracking system.

Next Steps: Metrc Product Catalog Update

- Finalize policy and set Metrc Product Catalog Retention Period to 18 months (~545 days) from a product's last sold date.

- Metrc will run process job to remove all older content meeting the policy criteria.

- Metrc will implement new Product Catalog.

Aggregated Open Data

Chief Technology and Innovation Officer Paul Clark

OpenData – Testing Data

- Previously Posted Testing Data Apr 2021 – Dec 2024
  - Yeast & Mold
  - THC, THCA

- During Oct. 2025 – Feb. 2026 Data Team working with Microsoft built out new Data Warehouse, integration with Metrc Snowflake Datawarehouse and data automation for OpenData

- Feb. 2026 began operational new automations for OpenData

- On 3/10/2026 posted de-identified testing data for 2025 in CSV and JSON formats in Data Catalog
  - Yeast & Mold
  - THC, THCA
  - Heavy Metals (Arsenic, Cadmium, Lead, Mercury)

- Will be posting in reverse chronological order the updated testing data with Heavy Metals starting with 2024.

- Ongoing: Quarterly updates with 60-day delay (Next update will be Jan 1-Mar 30, 2026 posted in early June 2026.

Commission Discussion and Votes

6. Executive Director CY 2026 Goals

7. Executive Director Management Oversight Group

8. Non-Enforcement of Red Tape Items Discussion

9. Biennial License Renewal Study Group

10. Addition of Vernon Hill to the List of Disproportionately Impacted Areas (Vote)
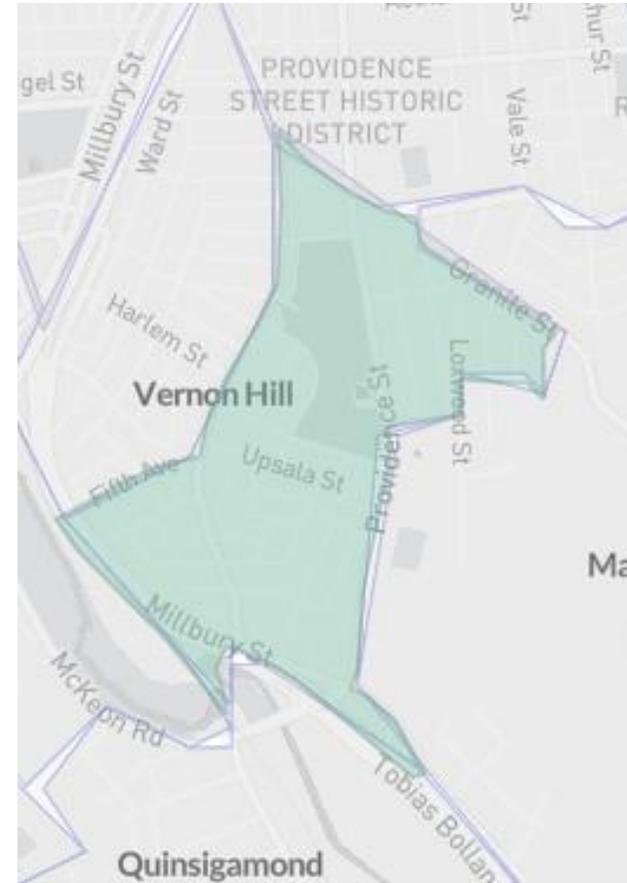
Addition of Vernon Hill to the List of Disproportionately Impacted Areas

Census Tract 7326, Worcester, MA

Census Tract 7327, Worcester, MA

Update on Petitions Process

Update on Petitions Process

Draft Change Request Form available in Public Meeting Packet. The form would collect the following information from the petitioner:

- Petitioner's Information
  - Status: Applicant, Licensee, Registered Agent, Qualifying Patient, Personal Caregiver, Certifying Healthcare Provider, Caregiving Institution
  - Contact Information
- Request Information
  - Specific regulations
  - Reasons regulation should be adopted, amended or repealed
  - Any proposed language
  - If the change will pose a risk to health, safety or welfare of any registered qualifying patient or the public
  - If the change would need a waiver of a statutory requirement
  - Any files

Petition for Regulatory Change Request Form

Instructions

Pursuant to MGL c. 30A sec. 4 and 935 CMR 500.830 and 501.350, any interested person may request from the Cannabis Control Commission (Commission) a petition for the adoption, amendment or repeal of regulations. This form shall be used for general petition requests.

Only one adoption, amendment or repeal of regulations may be the subject of each petition request form submitted to the Commission. In other words, Petitioner must submit a new form for each individual petition request. However, if Petitioner is requesting an adoption, amendment or repeal of regulations from a section under both the adult- and medical-use cannabis regulations, the Petitioner may use one form and state the relevant provisions.

The Petitioner must submit written documentation for the Commission to evaluate the petition request. Documentation must specifically state the name, address and current contact information for Petitioner or Petitioner's representative; Petitioner's request for the adoption, amendment or repeal of a regulation, including proposed regulatory language; if the request is to amend an existing regulation, a copy of the existing regulation with amendments clearly marked on paper and electronic copies; and the reasons for the request, including, but not limited to, citations to any relevant legal authority, arguments and evidence, including data, that support the request. Additional documentation may be submitted along with the petition form if it directly addresses the regulations to be adopted, amended or repealed.

All requests must be filled out electronically and signed. If Petitioner is an entity, the form must be signed by an individual who has authority to act on behalf of the entity ("Petitioner's Representative"). Once the Commission receives signed documentation pertaining to the petition request, staff will evaluate the request.

Please note: The Commission may need considerable time to complete its due diligence review, depending on the nature of the petition. Petitioner or Petitioner's Representative will be notified once the Commission has completed its evaluation and made its determination.

Review

Failure of Petitioner or its Representative to fully complete the form may result in denial of the petition request. When completing the form below, Petitioner should use additional documents and/or pages if needed and reference addendum appropriately. Once complete, this petition request form and all supplemental documentation should be combined into a single PDF document and emailed to Petitions@CCCMass.com.

I. Petitioner Information

1. Petitioner's Name

[ ] First Name
[ ] Last Name

2. Petitioner's status:
- Applicant (MTC, ME, CMO)
- Licensee (MTC, ME, CMO)
- Registered Agent Applicant (ME, MTC, CMO)
- Registered Agent (ME, MTC, CMO)
- Qualifying Patient
- Personal Caregiver
- Certifying Healthcare Provider
- Caregiving Institution

Commission Discussion and Votes

12. 30A Public Process Including Independence of Legal Team Fire Wall, Deadlines to Investigate and Appeal

    Co-Chief of Investigations and Enforcement and Enforcement Counsel Timothy Goodin

13. Update on Attorney General's Office Meeting Regarding Coordination and Referrals

Upcoming Meetings & Adjournment

Upcoming Meetings and Important Dates

Next Meeting Date
March 16, 2026 Public Meeting Remote via Teams 10:30 am
March 18, 2026 Public Listening Session Hybrid via Teams 10:00 am

2026 Public Meetings	
March 26	June 23
April 16	August 13
April 30	September 10
May 7	September 24
May 21	October 8
June 11	October 29
June 25	November 12
July 9	December 10

Additional Licensing Data

Licensing Applications | March 12, 2026

The totals below are all license applications received to date.

Type	#
Pending	227
Withdrawn	1,817
Incomplete	9,802
Denied	5
Approved: Delivery Pre-certifications	243
Approved: Delivery Endorsements	5
Approved: Licenses	1,443
Total	**13,542**

Licensing Applications | March 12, 2026

The totals below are number of licenses approved by category.

Type	#
Craft Marijuana Cooperative	4
Marijuana Courier	30
Marijuana Delivery Operator	42
Independent Testing Laboratory	20
Marijuana Cultivator	393
Marijuana Microbusiness	42
Marijuana Product Manufacturer	321
Marijuana Research Facility	2
Marijuana Retailer	573
Marijuana Third Party Transporter	6
Marijuana Transporter with Other Existing ME License	10
Total	**1,443**

Licensing Applications | March 12, 2026

Status	#
Application Submitted: Awaiting Review	5
Application Reviewed: More Information Requested	246
Application Deemed Complete: Awaiting 3rd Party Responses	8
All Information Received: Awaiting Commission Consideration	1
Applications Considered by Commission (includes Delivery Pre-Cert)	1,691
Total	**1,951**

Applications Submitted *(Awaiting Staff Review)* → Applications Reviewed (More Information Requested from Applicant) → Application Deemed Complete (Awaiting background check or response to municipal notice) → All Information Received (Awaiting Staff Recommendation) → Applications Considered by the Commission

Licensing Applications | March 12, 2026

The totals below are applications that have submitted all four packets and are pending review.

Type	#
Craft Marijuana Cooperative	2
Marijuana Courier Provisional Licensure (Part 2)	14
Marijuana Courier Pre-Certification (Part 1)	22
Independent Testing Laboratory	1
Marijuana Cultivator	43
Marijuana Delivery Operator Provisional License (Part 2)	12
Marijuana Delivery Operator Pre-Certification (Part 1)	18
Marijuana Microbusiness	6
Marijuana Product Manufacturer	35
Marijuana Research Facility	5
Marijuana Retailer	51
Marijuana Transporter with Other Existing ME License	5
Microbusiness Delivery Endorsement	1
Third Party Transporter	12
Standards Laboratory	0
Total	**227**

Cultivation Applications* | March 12, 2026

Type	Pending Application	Initial License Declined	Provisionally Approved	Provisional License	Final License	Commence Operations**	Total
Microbusiness w/ Tier 1 Cultivation (up to 5,000 sq. Ft.)	6	0	7	18	1	16	48
Cultivation Tier 1 (Up to 5,000 sq. ft.)	14	0	3	38	4	27	86
Cultivation Tier 2 (5,001-10,000 sq. ft.)	8	0	7	58	3	33	109
Cultivation Tier 3 (10,001-20,000 sq. ft.)	5	2	7	44	1	31	90
Cultivation Tier 4 (20,001-30,000 sq. ft.)	1	0	3	13	2	15	34
Cultivation Tier 5 (30,001-40,000 sq. ft.)	2	0	9	7	1	10	29
Cultivation Tier 6 (40,001-50,000 sq. ft.)	2	0	4	7	1	8	22
Cultivation Tier 7 (50,001-60,000 sq. ft.)	2	0	1	4	1	3	11
Cultivation Tier 8 (60,001-70,000 sq. ft.)	1	0	0	1	0	4	6
Cultivation Tier 9 (70,001-80,000 sq. ft.)	3	0	1	3	1	2	10
Cultivation Tier 10 (80,001-90,000 sq. ft.)	1	0	1	0	0	6	8
Cultivation Tier 11 (90,001-100,000 sq. ft.)	8	0	5	13	0	11	37
Total	**53**	**2**	**48**	**206**	**15**	**166**	**490**
Total Maximum Canopy (Sq. Ft.)***	**1,810,000**	**40,000**	**1,640,000**	**4,610,000**	**365,000**	**4,675,000**	**13,140,000**

+64.5%

+11.4%

** Note: The percentage represents all-time Cultivation "Commence Operations" licenses and may include licenses that are no longer active.
***Note: Totals under "Total Maximum Canopy" do not reflect current canopy in use; rather the maximum that could be in use.

*As of 2/23/26

Licensing Applications | March 12, 2026

Type	Pending Application	Pre-Certified Endorsement	Initial License Declined	Provisionally Approved	Provisional License	Final License	Commence Operation	Total
Marijuana Cultivator (Indoor)	37	N/A	1	36	171	12	124	**381**
Marijuana Cultivator (Outdoor)	10	N/A	1	5	17	2	26	**61**
Total	**47**	**N/A**	**2**	**41**	**188**	**14**	**150**	**442**

Licensing Applications | March 12, 2026

Of the 1,691 applications approved by the Commission, the following applications have Economic Empowerment Priority Review, Social Equity Program Participant, and/or Disadvantaged Business Enterprise status. Please note, applicants may hold one or more statuses. ***Please note that the end total represents the total number of applications/licenses at that step in the licensure process.***

Type	Economic Empowerment	Social Equity Program	Disadvantaged Business Enterprise	Total
Pre-Certified/Delivery Endorsed Microbusiness	45	209	32	**286**
Provisionally Approved	9	22	28	**59**
Provisional License	27	105	107	**239**
Final License	2	4	5	**11**
Commence Operations	33	78	82	**193**
Total	**116**	**418**	**254**	**788**

-0.9%   **+17.1%**   **0.4%**   *Note: This represents the difference since March 2025

Licensing Applications | March 12, 2026

The totals below are distinct license numbers that have submitted all required packets.

The 1,951 applications represent 1,134 separate entities

Type	#
MTC Priority	265
Economic Empowerment Priority	142
Expedited Review	775
General Applicant	769
Total	**1,951**

Type	#
Expedited: License Type	84
Expedited: Social Equity Participant	440
Expedited: Disadvantaged Business Enterprise	192
Expedited: Two or More Categories	59
Total	**775**

Licensing Applications – EE Only | March 12, 2026

Type	Pending Application	Pre-Certified Endorsement	Initial License Declined	Provisionally Approved	Provisional License	Final License	Commence Operation	Total
Craft Marijuana Cooperative	0	N/A	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
Marijuana Courier License	5	N/A	0	0	5	0	4	**14**
Marijuana Courier Pre-Certification	4	31	0	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	**35**
Independent Testing Laboratory	0	N/A	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
Marijuana Cultivator	1	N/A	0	2	7	0	0	**10**
Marijuana Delivery Operator License	1	N/A	0	0	3	0	3	**7**
Marijuana Delivery Operator Pre-Certification	3	14	0	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	**17**
Marijuana Microbusiness	0	N/A	0	1	0	0	0	**1**
Marijuana Product Manufacturer	1	N/A	0	3	3	0	3	**10**
Marijuana Research Facility	1	N/A	0	0	0	0	0	**1**
Marijuana Retailer	8	N/A	0	2	8	2	23	**43**
Marijuana Transporter with Other Existing ME License	1	N/A	0	1	1	0	0	**3**
Microbusiness Delivery Endorsement	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
Third Party Transporter	1	N/A	0	0	0	0	0	**1**
Standards Laboratory	0	N/A	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
Total	**26**	**45**	**0**	**9**	**27**	**2**	**33**	**142**

Licensing Applications – SEP Only | March 12, 2026

Type	Pending Application	Pre-Certified Endorsement	Initial License Declined	Provisionally Approved	Provisional License	Final License	Commence Operation	Total
Craft Marijuana Cooperative	0	N/A	0	0	1	0	0	1
Marijuana Courier License	13	N/A	0	0	11	1	10	35
Marijuana Courier Pre-Certification	20	97	0	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	117
Independent Testing Laboratory	0	N/A	0	0	0	0	0	0
Marijuana Cultivator	7	N/A	0	5	22	0	9	43
Marijuana Delivery Operator License	12	N/A	0	0	19	0	17	48
Marijuana Delivery Operator Pre-Certification	17	107	0	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	124
Marijuana Microbusiness	3	N/A	0	0	7	0	2	12
Marijuana Product Manufacturer	10	N/A	0	12	16	2	8	48
Marijuana Research Facility	1	N/A	0	0	0	1	0	2
Marijuana Retailer	18	N/A	1	4	27	0	28	78
Marijuana Transporter with Other Existing ME License	1	N/A	0	1	1	0	2	5
Microbusiness Delivery Endorsement	1	5	0	0	0	0	2	8
Third Party Transporter	5	N/A	0	0	1	0	0	6
Standards Laboratory	0	N/A	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	**108**	**209**	**1**	**22**	**105**	**4**	**78**	**527**

*As of 2/23/26

Non-Active Licenses By Stage | March 12, 2026

Type	Provisional License	Final License	Commence Operation	Total
Craft Marijuana Cooperative	2	0	0	**2**
Marijuana Courier License	8	1	4	**13**
Independent Testing Laboratory	2	0	5	**7**
Marijuana Cultivator	138	6	27	**171**
Marijuana Delivery Operator License	12	0	2	**14**
Marijuana Microbusiness	8	0	4	**12**
Marijuana Product Manufacturer	92	8	23	**123**
Marijuana Research Facility	0	0	0	**0**
Marijuana Retailer	54	1	26	**81**
Marijuana Transporter with Other Existing ME License	2	0	1	**3**
Third Party Transporter	0	0	1	**1**
Standards Laboratory	0	0	0	**0**
Total	**318**	**16**	**93**	**427**

Marijuana Establishment Licenses | March 12, 2026

The totals below represent entities in each county that have achieved at least a provisional license

County	#	+/-
Barnstable	33	0
Berkshire	116	0
Bristol	118	1
Dukes	7	0
Essex	82	0
Franklin	81	0
Hampden	162	2
Hampshire	80	0
Middlesex	179	1
Nantucket	6	0
Norfolk	47	0
Plymouth	133	1
Suffolk	82	1
Worcester	317	4
Total	**1,443**	**10**
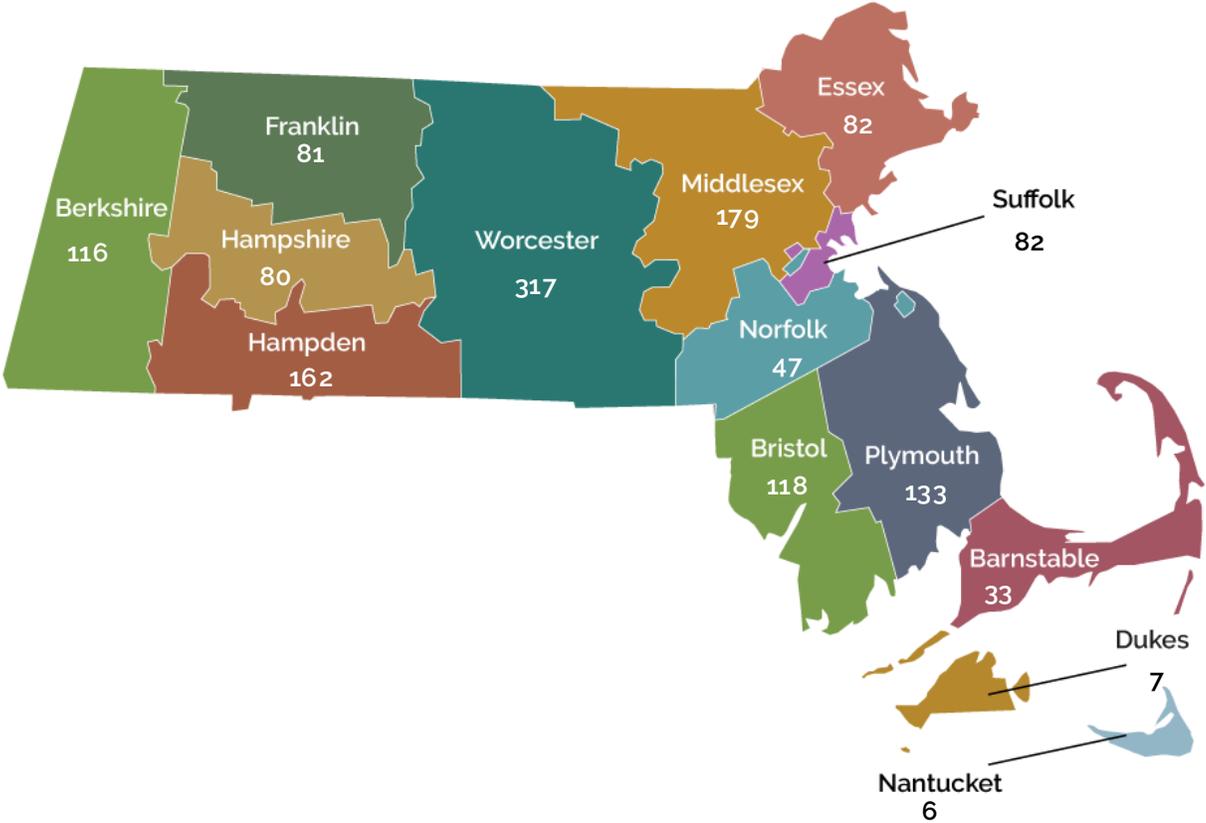
Marijuana Retailer Licenses | March 12, 2026

*The totals below are the total number of retail licenses by county.*

County	#	+/-
Barnstable	21	0
Berkshire	42	0
Bristol	57	1
Dukes	3	0
Essex	37	0
Franklin	21	0
Hampden	45	0
Hampshire	33	0
Middlesex	94	1
Nantucket	2	0
Norfolk	15	0
Plymouth	46	1
Suffolk	64	0
Worcester	93	1
Total	**573**	**4**
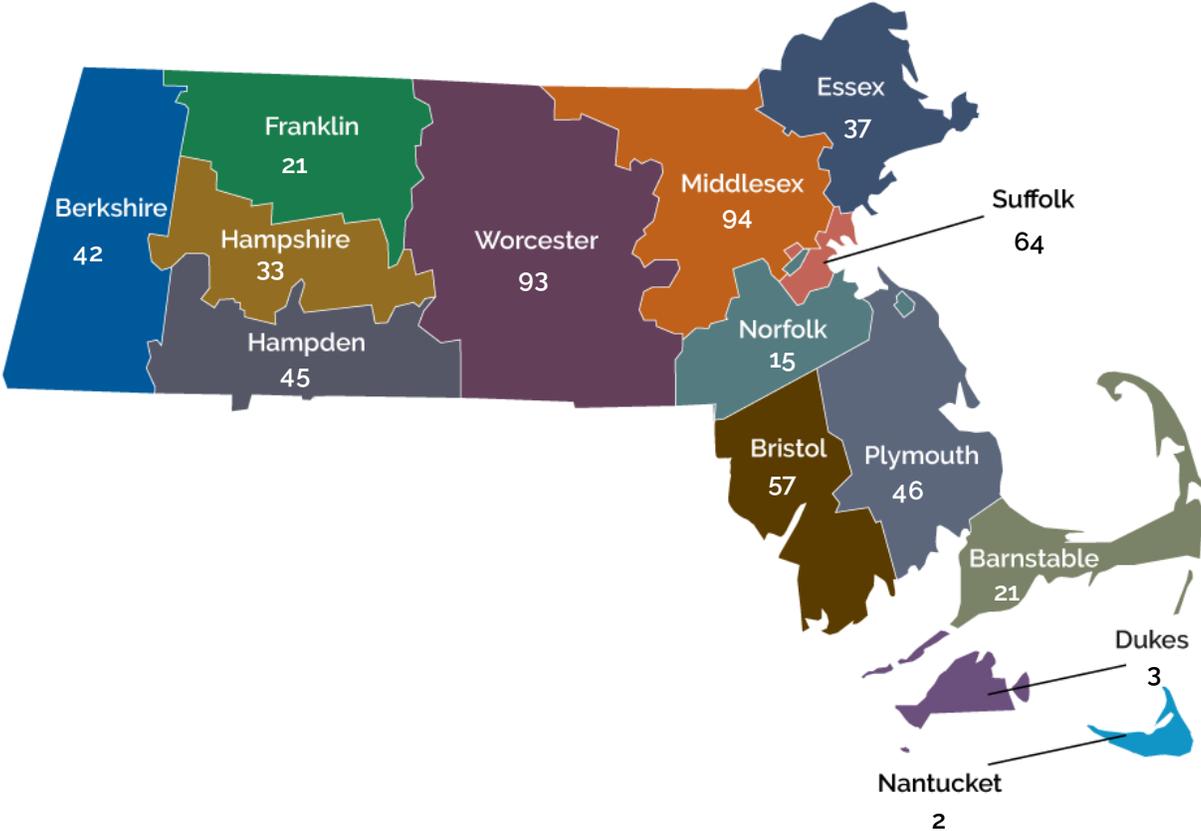
Medical Marijuana Treatment Center Licenses (Dispensing) March 12, 2026

The totals below are the total number of MTC (Dispensing) licenses by county.

County	#
Barnstable	6
Berkshire	5
Bristol	15
Dukes	1
Essex	12
Franklin	1
Hampden	13
Hampshire	10
Middlesex	30
Nantucket	2
Norfolk	10
Plymouth	14
Suffolk	14
Worcester	25
Total	**158**
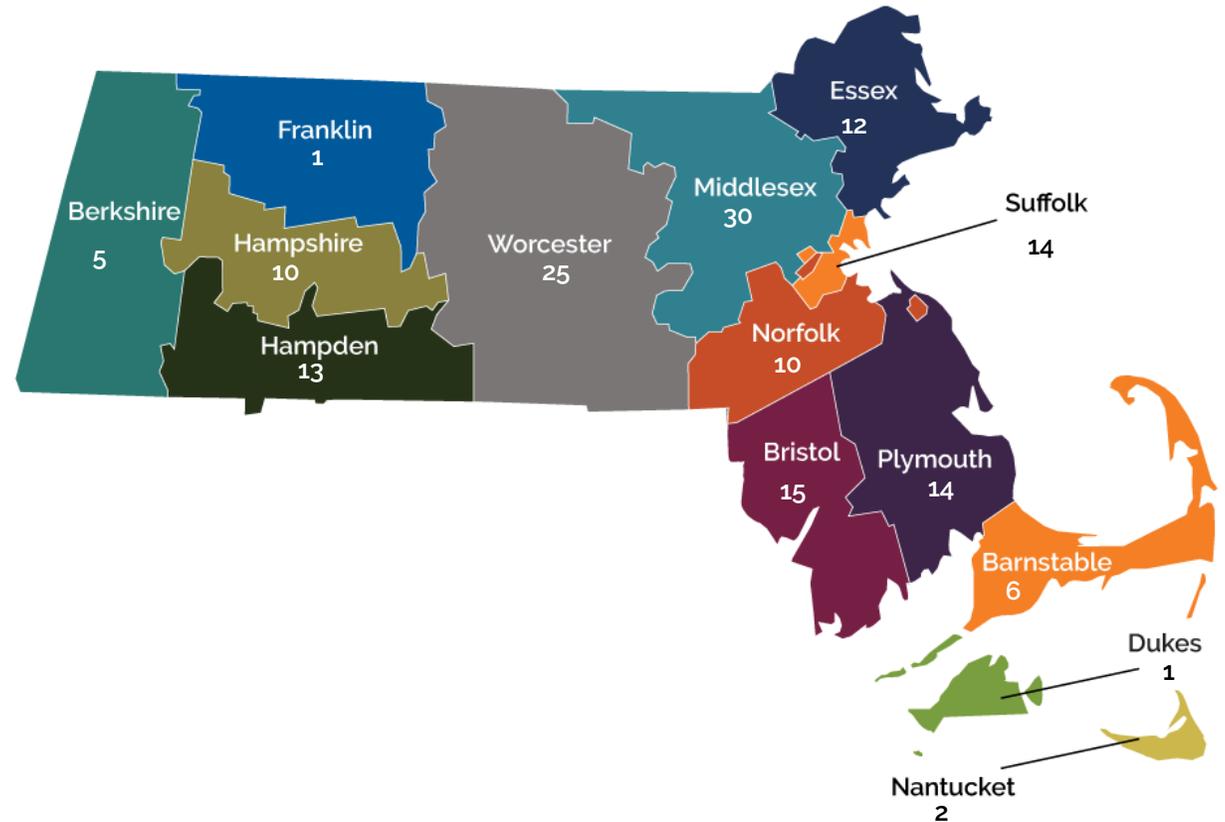
MMJ Licensing and Registration Data | March 12, 2026

The numbers below are a snapshot of the program as of the month of February

MTC Licenses	#
Provisional	1
Final	2
Commence Operations	**91**
License Expired	97
Surrendered	4
Total	**195**

MMJ Program	#
Certified Patients	79,466
Certified Active Patients	75,860
Active Caregivers	5,317
Registered Certifying Physicians	351
Registered Certifying Nurse Practitioners	132
Registered Physician Assistants	7
Ounces Sold	84,614

Agent Applications | March 12, 2026

Demographics of Approved and Pending Marijuana Establishment Agents

| Gender	#	%
Female	7,454	36.3%
Male	12,673	61.7%
Declined to Answer	256	1.2%
Gender Defined by Applicant	155	0.8%
Total	**20,538**	**100.0%**

Gender of Approved and Proposed Agents
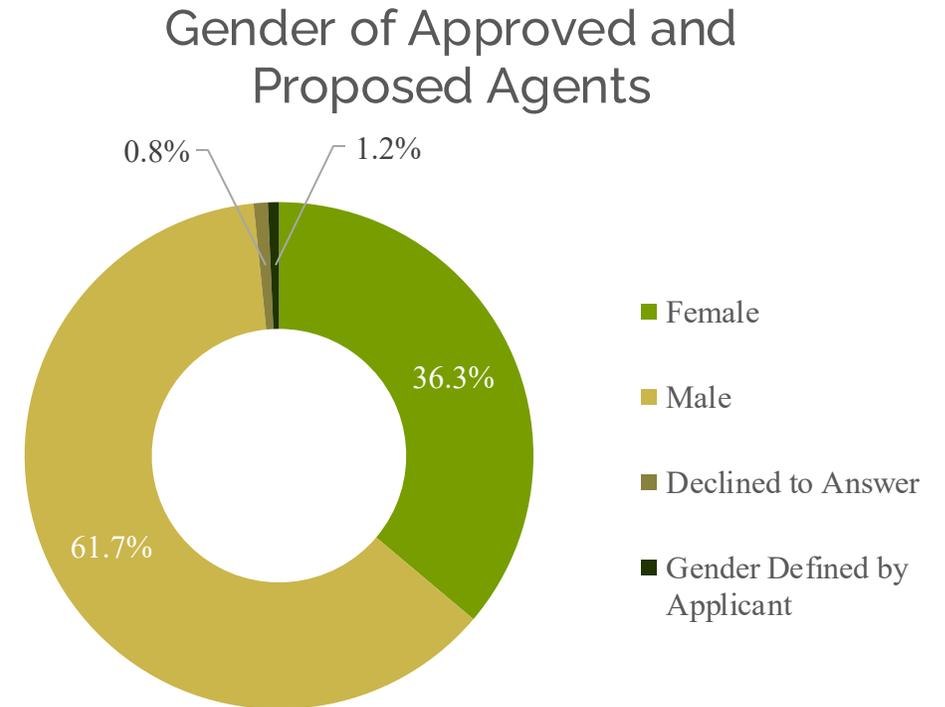
Agent Applications | March 12, 2026

Demographics of Approved and Pending Medical Marijuana Treatment Center Agents

Gender	#	%
Female	1,892	37.9%
Male	3,074	61.5%
Declined to Answer	0	0.0%
Gender Defined by Applicant	31	0.6%
Total	**4,997**	**100.0%**

Gender of Approved and Proposed MTC Agents
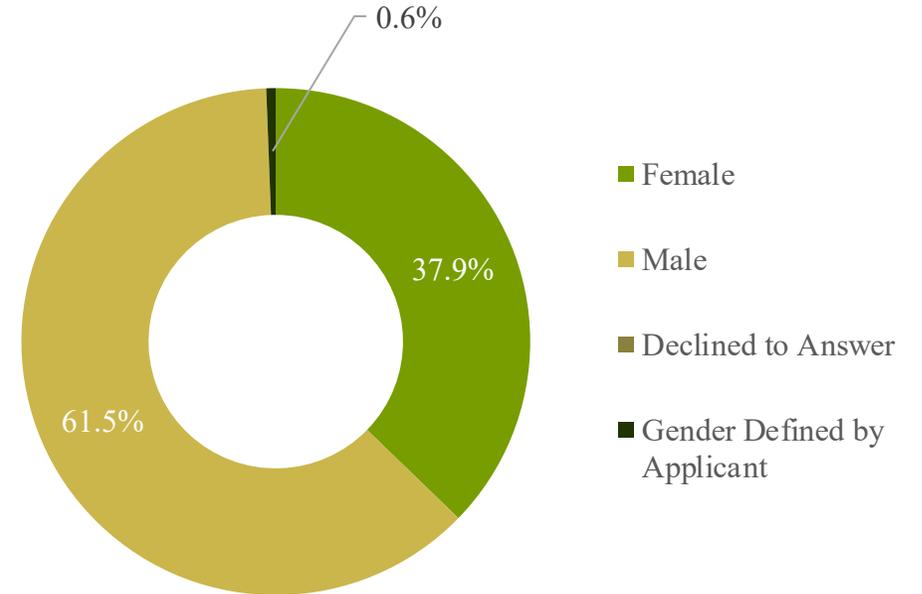
- Female
- Male
- Declined to Answer
- Gender Defined by Applicant

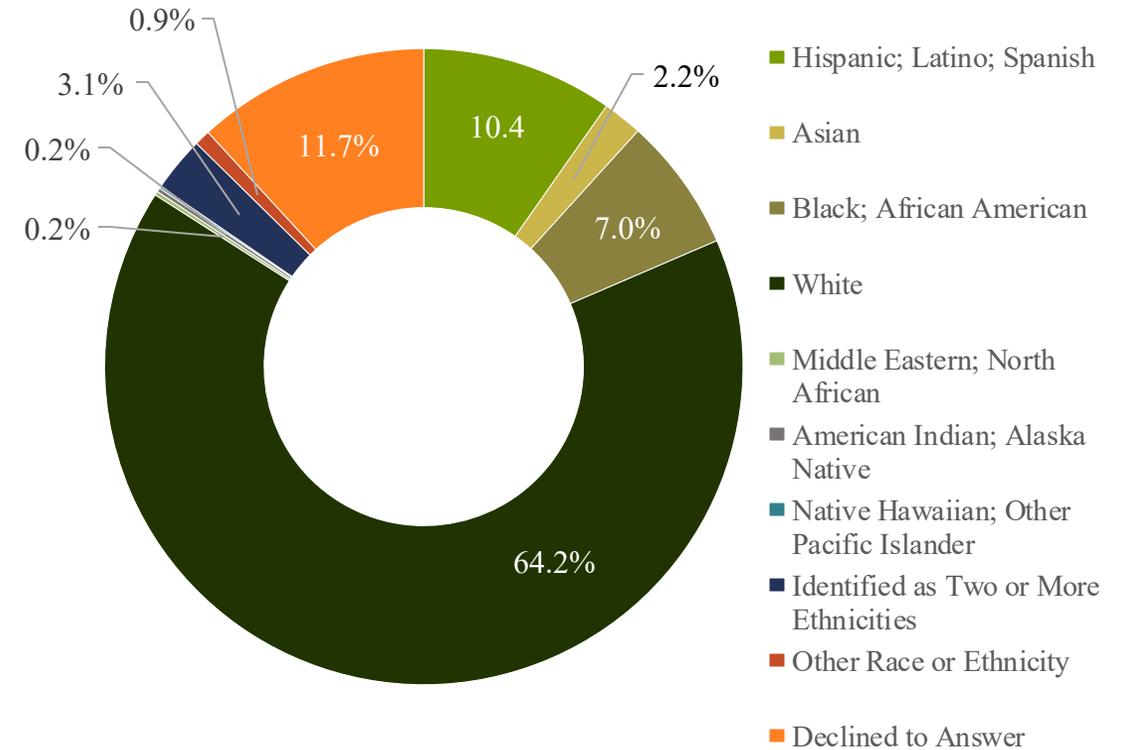# Agent Applications | March 12, 2026

Demographics of Approved and Pending Marijuana Establishment Agents

Race/Ethnicity	#	%
Hispanic; Latino; Spanish	2,129	10.4%
Asian	456	2.2%
Black; African American	1,439	7.0%
White	13,181	64.2%
Middle Eastern; North African	48	0.2%
American Indian; Alaska Native	38	0.2%
Native Hawaiian; Other Pacific Islander	25	0.1%
Identified as Two or More Ethnicities	635	3.1%
Other Race or Ethnicity	186	0.9%
Declined to Answer	2,401	11.7%
Total	**20,538**	**100.0%**

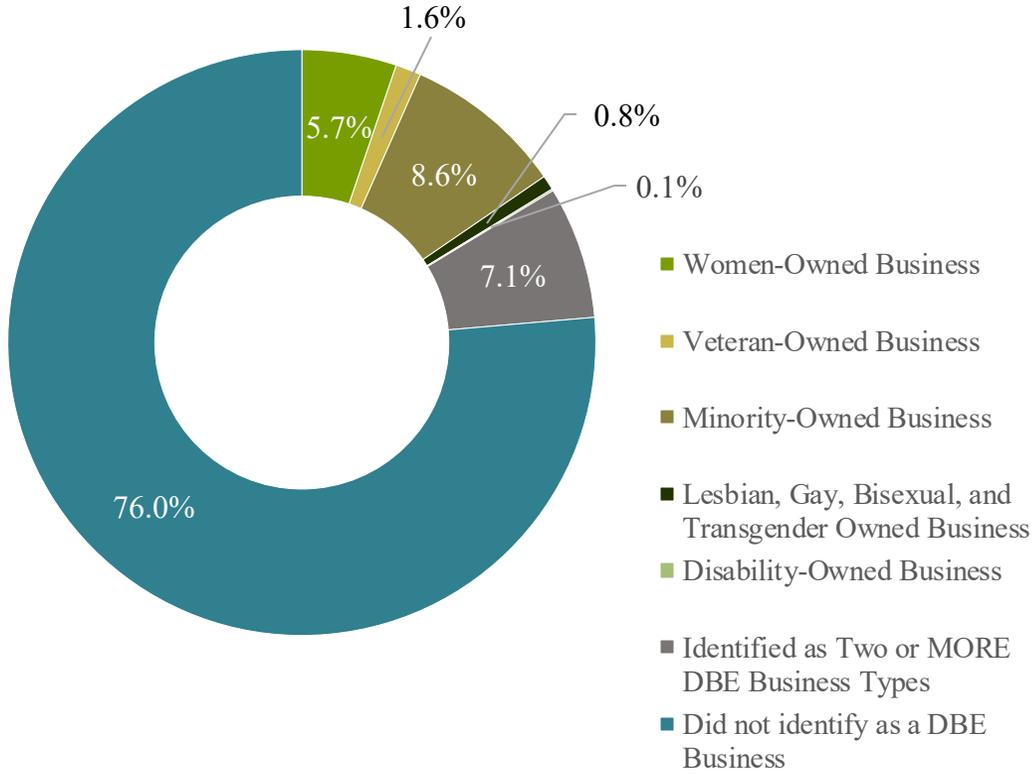Race/Ethnicity of Approved and Proposed ME Agents

*As of 2/23/26

Licensing Applications | March 12, 2026

Disadvantaged Business Enterprise Statistics for Approved Licensees

Type	#	% of Group
Women-Owned Business	98	5.7%
Veteran-Owned Business	27	1.6%
Minority-Owned Business	148	8.6%
Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Owned Business	14	0.8%
Disability-Owned Business	2	0.1%
Identified as Two or MORE DBE Business Types	122	7.1%
Did not identify as a DBE Business	1,302	76.0%
Total	**1,713**	**100.0%**

DBE Statistics Approved Licensees

- Women-Owned Business
- Veteran-Owned Business
- Minority-Owned Business
- Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Owned Business
- Disability-Owned Business
- Identified as Two or MORE DBE Business Types
- Did not identify as a DBE Business
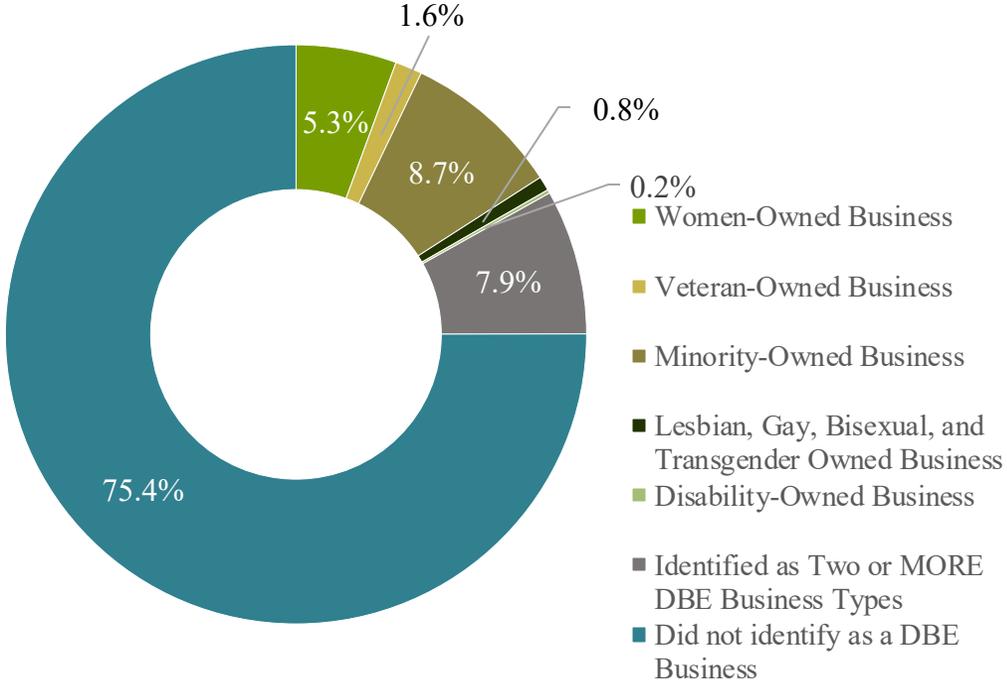
Licensing Applications | March 12, 2026

Disadvantaged Business Enterprise (DBE) Statistics for Pending and Approved License Applications

Type	#	% of Group
Women-Owned Business	103	5.3%
Veteran-Owned Business	32	1.6%
Minority-Owned Business	170	8.7%
Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Owned Business	16	0.8%
Disability-Owned Business	4	0.2%
Identified as Two or MORE DBE Business Types	154	7.9%
Did not identify as a DBE Business	1,469	75.4%
Total	**1,948**	**100.0%**

DBE Statistics for Pending & Approved License Applications

1.6%
5.3%
0.8%
8.7%
0.2%
7.9%
75.4%

- Women-Owned Business
- Veteran-Owned Business
- Minority-Owned Business
- Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Owned Business
- Disability-Owned Business
- Identified as Two or MORE DBE Business Types
- Did not identify as a DBE Business

Adult Use Agent Applications | March 12, 2026

Total Agent Applications: 95,566

- 202 Total Pending
  - 197 Pending Establishment Agents
  - 5 Pending Laboratory Agents
- 4,515 Withdrawn
- 3,165 Incomplete
- 9,116 Expired
- 58,198 Surrendered
- 6 Denied / 2 Revoked
- 26 Suspended
- **20,336 Active**

Of the 204 Total Pending:

- 46 not yet reviewed
- 155 CCC requested more information
- 1 awaiting third party response
- 0 review complete; awaiting approval

Medical Use Agent Applications | March 12, 2026

The total number of MTC agent applications received by status.

MTC Agent Application	#
Pending MTC Agent Applications	8
Pending Laboratory Agent Applications	0
Incomplete	38
Revoked	13
Denied	31
Surrendered	23,633
Expired	4,056
Active	4,988
Total	**32,767**