Fostering Land Use Dialog: Community Preservation as a growth management strategy in Massachusetts

by

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ABSTRACT

The Community Preservation Initiative (CPI) was an innovative attempt by the Massachusetts state government to stimulate discussion about land use and growth management at the local level. Based on land use and zoning information, CPI relied on geographic information systems (GIS) to model a potential development scenario for each of the 351 municipalities in the state. The process for generating these buildout maps purposefully involved officials at local, regional, and state levels.

This thesis examines the success of the CPI process in evolving land use dialog within and between communities, and amongst planners at all three levels of government. Town planners in two different metropolitan regions of Massachusetts – Boston and Springfield – were interviewed about CPI's impact on local land use discussions. This research was supplemented by interviews with other regional planners and CPI staff. The results suggest that while CPI may eventually lead to changes in local land use, in the short term few changes have occurred to the dialog on growth management in the state.

The results of this investigation should aid state and regional decision-makers in determining what future policies and approaches are needed to promote smart growth and regional planning in Massachusetts and other states

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ABBREVIATIONS

ANR	Approval Not Required regulation
BIG	Blueprint for Intelligent Growth, a statewide land use policy in New Jersey
CDP	Community Development Plan, the outcome of the EO 418 process for each town
CPA	Community Preservation Act
CPI	Community Preservation Initiative
EOEA	Executive Office of Environmental Affairs, a state cabinet office in Massachusetts
EO 418	Executive Order 418, a program that provides funding for local land use planning
GIS	Geographic Information Systems
IT	Information Technology
I-495	Interstate 495, the outermost highway belt around Boston
KOC	Kind Of Community, a community tax revenue indicator used by Massachusetts
LULU	Locally Unpopular Land Use
MAPC	Metropolitan Area Planning Council, Boston's regional planning agency
MassGIS	Massachusetts Geographic Information System, a state agency in Massachusetts
MetroWest	A planning subregion of MAPC
MWRA	Massachusetts Water Resources Authority
NJSP	New Jersey State Plan
OCD	Office of Commonwealth Development, a new land use coordinating agency
OSG	Office of Smart Growth, specifically referring to the one in New Jersey
OSP	Office of State Planning, the former land use agency in Massachusetts
PVPC	Pioneer Valley Planning Commission
RPA	Regional Planning Agency
South Shore	The South Shore Coalition, a planning subregion of MAPC
SWAP	SouthWest Advisory Planning Committee, a planning subregion of MAPC
UGB	Urban Growth Boundary
40B	Chapter 40B, a Massachusetts law that promotes affordable housing statewide

Chapter 1
INTRODUCTION

I once asked a Boston regional planner, if you played a game with area residents where they had to position pieces that represent Boston's projected population growth onto a regional map, would they propose densifying existing suburbs or rather spread growth into the rural hinterland? He responded that, "they would throw the pieces out the window!"

When facing growth pressures that involve a trade-off between their lifestyle and unwanted social and financial costs, what do suburban residents do? Studies and experience indicate they have an aversion to many of the effects of growth, such as dense development, commercial land mixing with residential areas, high taxes, the loss of open space, and traffic congestion. One solution that works within a municipality – preserving open space and maintaining low-density residential development – is expensive. It also exacerbates the problems of growth by pushing it further from urban centers, leading to larger overall problems for society. Even more infrastructure needs to be built, more farmland is developed into housing, and people have to drive longer distances. Given that they do not want it next to them, but pushing it away makes it worse, where do suburbanites think growth should go?

The sprawling nature of suburbia increasingly appears to be financially, environmentally, and socially unsustainable, but it gets built anyway because we know how to zone, finance, build and sell it [Duany et al. 2000, Volk and Zimmerman 2002]. As a result, 21st century American land use planning may be increasingly organized around attempts to deal with "the sprawl, traffic, environmental damage, inequities, and placelessness of 20th century regional landscapes" [Wheeler 2002]. Some academics speculate that this urban form will fill in as it reaches geographic limits, still other writers see the development of outlying office and retail agglomerations that will form satellite cities, and a third group thinks we may just sprawl forever. Currently a combination of all three responses is taking place. However, one clear change is that the demarcation of the city limit, where "the artificial confronted the natural" [MacBurnie 1995] and the "town and country" pattern that used to be common in much of the US have been "obscured by the

unrestrained growth of highway retail and other disconnected single-use developments" [Volk and Zimmerman 2002, p.347].

Meanwhile, one concept that could help mitigate these negative effects, regional land use bodies, is politically fragile. These organizations lack a clear constituency and impose costs on those not used to paying for their advantages [Savitch and Vogel 1996]. Their potential beneficiaries are too few, too disempowered, and too ungrateful to provide adequate political support. However, unlike past regional planning campaigns which largely focused on the sharing of public services, the current movement addresses environmental concerns, traffic congestion, and problems of social equity, including affordable housing. These issues can bring in new supporters for regional land use reform. Unfortunately, these potential allies are usually working at cross-purposes and only participate out of self-interest. If only they could be linked…

I. BACKGROUND

From 2000 to 2003, the government of Massachusetts gave customized public presentations in all 351 municipalities of the state, showing local officials and residents the possible impact of future development on their community. These projections were based on the town's current zoning and showed a potential scenario of the demographic, resource, and financial impacts of that zoning being developed to its full potential. This program was called the Community Preservation Initiative (CPI). It was run by the Executive Office of Environmental Affairs (EOEA) and the state mapping agency, MassGIS, in partnership with all of the regional planning agencies in Massachusetts and with participation from officials in every city and town. EOEA saw CPI as an opportunity to quantify and illustrate the degree to which Massachusetts is zoned for urban sprawl. Furthermore, the architect and main proponent of CPI, Secretary of Environmental Affairs Bob Durand, believed GIS was an important and powerful tool that should be made available to all communities. Therefore the core of the public CPI presentations was "buildout maps" that could be recreated and adjusted by local planning officials using publicly available GIS data.

One of CPI's initial goals was to develop political support for legislation known as the Community Preservation Act (CPA). While the original motivation for the CPA was to

accelerate open space preservation at the local level, its scope was widened to focus on the land use elements that communities most wanted to support: open space, affordable housing, and historic preservation.[1] Enhancing these three areas became collectively termed "community preservation" by the state government. The intention of CPI was to spur a discussion of land use possibilities within each town, demonstrated by the question, "Do you like how you're growing?" Secretary Durand felt that many communities would answer "no" and view CPA funds as a way to make improvements to the status quo.

The ultimate goal of CPI, however, was not to enable funding for a scattered set of community preservation projects. Individual communities can only control those growth pressures that originate within their borders, so in order to truly support community preservation on a statewide level, regional issues like business development, housing prices, and transportation have to be addressed, and this can only happen through cross-border cooperation. Consequently, CPI hoped to inspire residents to think of the long-term land use picture for their own town and abutting communities. The aspiration was for towns to initiate open space preservation and land use planning cooperation across municipal borders and throughout their region.

II. MOTIVATION

CPI was a truly original program. No other state agency has ever produced such a comprehensive product for all the communities in Massachusetts. Its innovations included visiting every municipality in the state and encouraging local-level support for changes in land use policy and practice. CPI also introduced an integrated process whereby state, regional, and local officials worked together to gather, analyze, and present the buildout results. For these efforts, CPI received the 2002 National Award for Smart Growth Achievement from the federal Environmental Protection Agency.

[1] CPA works by allowing individual communities to vote on adding a 1.0 - 3.0 % surcharge on local property taxes. The funds raised are then annually matched by the state. This money has to be spent on open space, affordable housing, or historic preservation; each category must receive at least 10% of the funds, with the town determining how to allocate the remaining 70% across those areas.

Despite its unique deliverables and process, it is nonetheless unclear whether CPI has met its goals. It did not expect to alter land use practices around the state overnight. Nor did it attempt to impose the state's will upon municipalities. Rather, by showing the potential buildout of a town, CPI sought to bring growth management into public discussion so that communities could make the best decisions for themselves on how to grow. While this dialog would primarily occur at the local level and gravitate toward narrow interests, long-term success on many growth issues requires regional cooperation. Through its process, CPI at least created an opportunity for enhanced land use dialog between localities, regional planners, and the state.

III. Research Question & Approach

This paper is not about whether CPI was good at predicting land use or development patterns. Rather, this thesis investigates whether CPI accomplished its aim of fostering land use dialog both within communities and between planners at the state, regional, and local level.

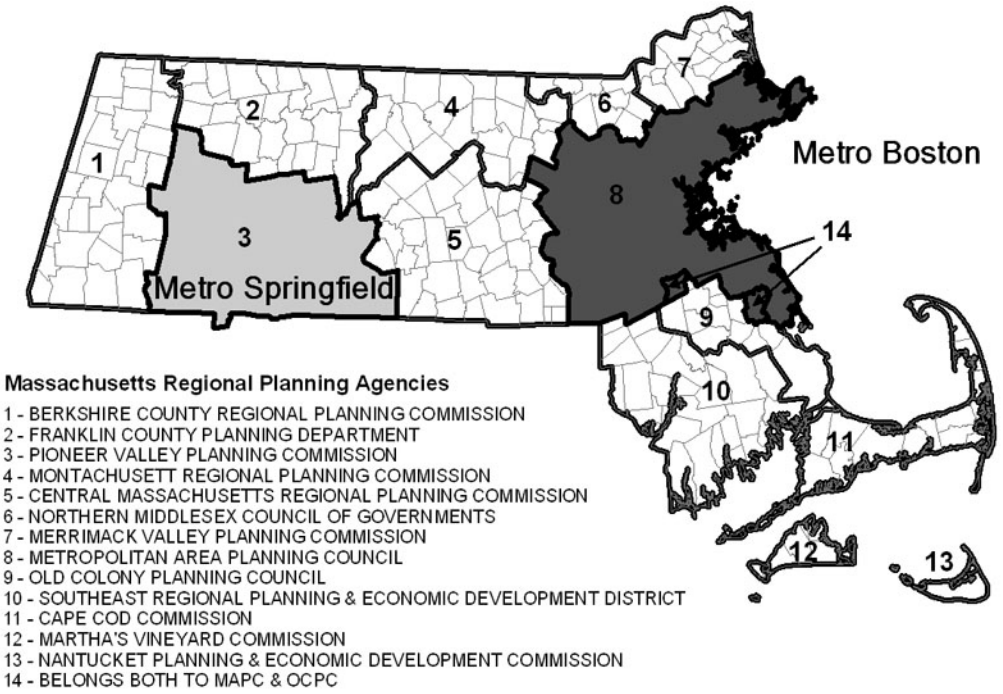
My **hypothesis** is that the CPI program influenced local dialog regarding 1) the implementation of growth management policies, 2) regional land use coordination, and 3) the role of the state in local land use planning.

This thesis argues that uncontrolled growth pressures are leading to calls for change in the rate and form of development. One growth management strategy – popularly known as smart growth – can alleviate many of these problems over the long term but requires adjustments in lifestyle as well as regional cooperation. State governments that wish to encourage smart growth need to establish grassroots support for land use reform. By providing somewhat value-neutral information about local development possibilities and ensuring local and regional participation in the process, CPI should have at least sparked public discussion about growth management within communities, across municipal borders, and upwards to encompass regional and state officials.

To test the hypothesis, interviews were held with state and regional officials and with municipal planners in a number of communities. Exurban communities and residential suburbs outside of Boston and Springfield, Massachusetts were targeted in order to

generate two case studies of how CPI affected different parts of the state. Support for the hypothesis could come through qualitative indications of an altered before-and-after working relationship or attitude between town, regional, and state land use officials. It could also come from direct local actions – such as changes in zoning or local funding priorities or renewed involvement in regional initiatives – that indicate a post-CPI discussion resulted in a new land use policy.

FIGURE 1.1: The Regional Planning Agencies of Massachusetts



Following Yin's Case Study Research [Yin 1984], the results were analyzed both through theoretical propositions that suggest what effects the CPI buildouts may have on attitudes at different scales of planning and via a case description that will be developed. This latter strategy allows for both linear story-telling and the highlighting of case-specific causal links.

Ultimately, this investigation will evaluate the success of CPI as a state attempt to a) foster land use dialog at the local level and b) encourage regional land use discussions by c) using commercially available visualization technology to d) create and deliver personalized information that educates the public, all through e) a vertically integrated process.

IV. SUMMARY OF CHAPTERS

The next chapter reviews the theoretical literature on incentives for and forms of growth management and regional planning, showing how the latter is a key element of the former. An explanation of resistance to regional planning is also included. Chapter 3 then examines theory and cases that inform methods of state intervention in local land use, focusing on the ways in which a higher level of government can use information to overcome barriers to change at the local level.

Chapter 4 provides specific context on the patterns and costs of land development in Massachusetts. It concludes with an account of the origins and evolution of CPI, as well as its process of vertical engagement and its acknowledged limitations. Chapter 5 begins by explaining the research methodology in detail, and proceeds to describe the results of the interview research in the two case study areas: the residential suburbs and exurbs outside of Boston and Springfield. These cases explain the metropolitan region and provide the growth and planning context faced by each set of communities.

These portrayals are followed by Chapter 6, an analysis and interpretation of the impacts of CPI on internal and external land use dialogs in each town. Chapter 7 evaluates the hypothesis, suggests recommendations for state and regional officials, and concludes with reflections on the research. The Appendix contains the questions used to guide the case study interviews.

Chapter 2
LINKING GROWTH MANAGEMENT & REGIONAL PLANNING

Effective management of metropolitan growth requires debate about the tradeoffs between lifestyle, equity, and built form at both the local and regional level. In many ways, regional planning and growth management go together. Following the work of Myron Orfield and others, sprawling development shifts public investment from existing areas of settlement toward new infrastructure construction at the urban fringe, a process that leads to inter-municipal competition, declining suburbs, and the destruction of open space and commonly enjoyed landscapes. This sprawling pattern of growth produces the low-density, single-family suburbs that many Americans desire [Ewing 1997, Porter 1992, Talen 2001]. However, this population also wants a low-traffic, low-cost lifestyle that runs at odds with the perpetuation of this development type. The inability to have the best of both worlds can lead to a sudden reaction to halt growth if further development imposes lifestyle costs deemed unacceptable by local residents. A longer-term solution, however, requires more fundamental changes in the pattern of regional land use.

I. THE PARADOX OF GROWTH

There are several contradictions in the type of development that suburban residents wish to see in their community. One paradox is that many people only want residential land uses around them, largely to limit the traffic caused by business customers but also to preserve tranquility or enforce a romantic image of suburban development. Many suburbanites have strong antipathy toward mixed-use developments [Grant 2002, Biddulph 2000]. However, commercial and industrial land uses pay large property taxes that in turn reduce the local residential tax burden. This is even more of an issue at the exurban periphery, where newcomers desire a rural retreat away from city traffic but also want costly public services, like good schools [Mansnerus 2003].

This is related to a second paradox of growth, as stated by a senior town planner: “Many people don’t want any more new housing near them, though they may say they want it somewhere else in town. They want a paradox…they want the land near them to remain

(or become) pastoral, yet want to be able to walk to high quality urban services." This attitude mixes support for densification with opposition to locating it anywhere. It is similar to the "shut the door" syndrome, where homeowners in fast growing towns – themselves often new to the community – want future growth to happen elsewhere and in a form that preserves open space, despite their own purchase of a single-family home on a large lot. As one exurban planner observed, "Homeowners want concentrated development in the center of town. Those looking to buy want a cul-de-sac subdivision."

Some of these paradoxes can be explained by the bipolar social concepts behind modern full-service suburbs. Suburban residential precincts are packaged and mass marketed as individualized products, while suburban commercial developments serve a collective clientele [MacBurnie 1995]. Suburban residents may therefore have an expectation that land use and government policy should be geared toward their personal needs, and oppose the impersonal nature of modern business developments. Not surprisingly, struggles over the form of suburban fringe development can contain strong elements of ideology. In studying the battle over a proposed subdivision outside of Sydney, Australia, Ann Forsyth created a few typologies of the stakeholders involved. She reported that the pro-development group saw growth as inevitable and strongly equated low density housing with egalitarianism and family values. In opposition, the "environmental" parties included both ecologists as well as local residents concerned with preserving the aesthetic beauty of the area. Both groups saw the development strictly through their own value system and had difficulty in conceiving of or understanding any households other than middle class, nuclear families [Forsyth 1997].

Still, there may be a discrepancy between what people think they want and what they will actually accept in terms of residential situations. For instance, surveys show residents are as satisfied at a medium level of housing density (3-4 units per acre) as at high densities (6-7 units per acre), and slight mixing of commercial uses even has a neutral-to-positive effect on residential property values [Ewing 1997]. Other research has found that, at least in metropolitan Seattle, people are naturally moving to mixed-use dense clusters without any government incentives [Moudon and Hess 2000]. Suburbanites may not actually oppose density, as such. A stated preference for "single-family homes" over apartment buildings may actually be code for a "middle-class, family-centered lifestyle," while an unspoken fear may be the reduced status of the automobile in a denser urban setting [Churchman 1999].

Resistance to change in familiar land use patterns is understandable given the large investment residents have put into their homes. Much of the work of growth management advocates may be to highlight current circumstances in a way that dispels romantic notions of the status quo. For example, one recent study found that suburban residents prefer public service delivery (such as trash collection, police, and schools) to be handled by their local municipality rather than by other public or private organizations. Most residents assume this is already the case, leading them to strongly resist any change to the status quo. In reality these services are often delivered by another entity, suggesting that suburbanites often place a premium on local control without just cause [Thompson 1997]. This is similar to the observation that many people adjust their views on residential preference to favor their current circumstances [Talen 2001], leading them to resist lifestyle changes due to inertia or misunderstandings rather than deep-seated beliefs.

II. Reactions to and Consequences of Growth

However, some people see that unbridled land development alters their cherished suburban lifestyle. The costs involved, which will be covered in Chapter 4, include the loss of open space and local character and increases in traffic and cost of living. These problems are driven by an auto-oriented development pattern and the replacement of suburban greenbelt settings with what Duany, Plater-Zyberk, and Speck consider the five main components of urban sprawl: housing subdivisions, shopping centers, office parks, large-scale agglomerate civic institutions, and roadways [Duany et al. 2000]. The result, in this view, is that the current pattern of fringe development is wasteful, unhealthy, and unappealing, but gets built because the American financial and political system is set up to duplicate it.

Meanwhile, campaigns to fix this possibly unsustainable development pattern have been ineffective for at least two reasons. First, many suburban residents are highly resistant to viewing the suburbs negatively and any perceived liabilities they see are likely to be form-based and not related to concerns about community, the environment, or equity [Talen 2001]. Their focus is on convenience and minimizing time spent in traffic. Furthermore, even when governments agree that growth has unwanted costs, there is disagreement on which costs are excessive and by how much [Forsythe 1997]. Through

the 1980's and early 1990's, frustration over governmental inaction on the deterioration in livability brought on by excessive and unsustainable growth spurred many communities toward an extreme reaction – slow or no growth. At the same time, support was gradually growing for a broader-based, more moderate yet deeper solution termed "smart growth."

Slow Growth Movements

This loss of undeveloped landscape in metropolitan areas has led to "slow growth" pressures, which often attempt to cap the influx of new inhabitants into a community by increasing the minimum lot size for residential units and banning apartment buildings. The fundamental motivations are avoiding the costs of growth as well as residents' frustration with their inability to stop what are often regional development trends – these movements tend to occur in the fast-changing suburban fringe of formerly rural and now exurban towns.[2] Some critics of slow growth observe that it financially benefits those who already own land and can cash in on the jump in real estate values as supply decreases [G. Miller 1981], but some studies show that economic self-interest is less of a factor in slow-growth support than displeasure with municipal services and the *perception* of rapid growth [Baldassare 1986]. A more abstract explanation is that people who move to the urban fringe are in thrall to a pastoral myth of rural life, often in reaction to the technological and industrial mindset of city living [Rowe 1991]. The slow growth activists who seek to protect this romantic image may simply be reinforcing the brand image for their locality, especially given that they often care little for issues of growth outside of their own home area [Ross 2001].

Indeed, local slow growth advocates are usually not inclusive, broad-based groups that want a better quality of life for everyone. Many suburban residents support growth controls in general and want to limit growth in their own community, but strongly support regional economic growth [Baldassare 1992]; they just want it to happen elsewhere. These grassroots movements tend to be defensive and reactive, focusing on strict conservation of their surroundings, behavior that Castells calls "collective individualism" [Castells 1997]. They do not have any solutions for broader regional growth issues, but simply want control of their own space.

[2] Even in the absence of growth pressures, zoning has historically been used to exclude certain types of people from towns, but that issue falls outside the scope of this thesis.

Regardless of the motivations, if local officials do not take action in the face of growth pressures, voters may approve simplistic measures to handle it [Detwiler 1992]. However, restraining fringe development is difficult and drastic measures can even be counterproductive. A study of Oregon's urban growth boundaries found that while they increased infill development in town, they inevitably created a low-density residential ring around much of the city, making future extension of urban services and higher density development difficult [Moore and Nelson 1994]. Some Massachusetts towns that have imposed growth moratoriums were flooded with pre-emptive development applications that elevated the average rate of growth above the norm.

More radical solutions may be successful and can be implemented quickly, but unless thoughtfully crafted they can impose unintended costs such as high housing prices or cuts in municipal services. As an alternative, a more fundamental shift in the style and goals of urban development can take longer to implement but have more desirable results.

Smart Growth

The past twenty years have seen suggestions from academics such as Allan Jacobs, Donald Appleyard, and Douglas Kelbaugh that a new design paradigm should arise that promotes more compact and land-efficient development, more equity, a finer mix of land uses and residents, sustainable development, and coherent and cohesive use of space that strengthens the public realm [Jacobs and Appleyard 1987, Kelbaugh 1997]. This concept has become popularly known as “smart growth,” a catch-all phrase sometimes used interchangeably with “sustainable development.”

Smart growth essentially encompasses support for changes in current development patterns and is often touted as saving money in the long term, but its true focus is on a) altering the suburban development monoculture in order to support different lifestyle options and b) avoiding market failures that destroy open space and historic communities. Ultimately, smart growth targets the somewhat vague notion of urban sprawl.

While sprawl is often visualized as a development style (low-density, strip, scattered, or leapfrog styles are all suspects), Reid Ewing proposes that the best way to identify sprawl is through a series of indicators, namely poor accessibility and a lack of functional open space. He also finds that blame for sprawl is mainly directed at distortions in the

land use market: land speculation, subsidies for single-family housing, and government regulations [Ewing 1997]. Besides the issue of lifestyle preference, there is certainly an economic basis for sprawl: lower density development occurs naturally on the fringe because lower land prices further away from employment centers result in greater land consumption in distant areas. In addition, numerous federal tax breaks on mortgages, property tax, and home equity investments make American metropolitan areas much less dense than they otherwise would be. For instance, the housing capital subsidy lowers metro density by 24%; land price subsidies lower density by 19% [Voith 2000].

Just as there is an economic engine behind sprawl, financial incentives can be made to push development in other directions. Smart growth advocates see the only beneficiaries of sprawl as suburban-fringe landowners [Richmond 2000], while society as a whole loses. For their part, developers appear to only pursue exurban development to make money, not as an end in itself [Forsythe 1997]. Their profits are often highest at the urban fringe because land development costs are borne by the local government and existing residents, or by shifts in funds from existing infrastructure to new ones [Orfield 2002]. Increasing the cost of land development at the fringe may subsequently look like an easy way of slowing growth, but this approach can result in more sprawl. Lifestyle preferences for a single-family detached home on a large lot in a rural setting work against economic rationality at the individual level. Rising incomes have enabled the purchase of larger homes on large lots, despite the declining average household size. Combined with population growth, this has lead to an accelerating demand for housing units.[3] The land available for such spreading out exists at the urban fringe, and has been made feasible by shifts in employment location away from urban center, technologies that make telecommuting possible, cultural anti-urbanism, and the afore-mentioned government policies.

To resolve these pro-sprawl socio-economic forces, smart growth exchanges small sacrifices in taxes and lifestyle for bigger and broader gains in the long term. For residents, this means behavioral changes like accepting a mixed land use and denser residential development, developing within existing infrastructure rather than at the fringe, and patronizing transit-oriented offices and shops. For government, smart growth entails changing current spending methods and amending laws in order to support

[3] If this sounds far-fetched, it is precisely the scenario painted by one planner interviewed, who explained that in her town, "the population has stayed the same but there are more housing units…the same number of people taking up more space."

development that costs less public money in the longer term. Specific examples include siting schools within walking distance of existing housing, changing regulations to encourage infill development, funding urban brownfield cleanup, and rejecting highway development in favor of public transit expenditures. Furthermore, governments and residents need to link open space protection with affordable housing programs in order to mitigate the impact of reducing the supply of developable land. Oregon, for instance, has attempted to balance growth restrictions outside of its cities with pro-development policies within the cities.

FIGURE 2.1: The Regional Principals of New Urbanism

1	Metropolitan regions are finite places with geographic boundaries derived from topography, watersheds, coastlines, farmlands, regional parks, and river basins. The metropolis is made of multiple centers that are cities, towns, and villages, each with its own identifiable center and edges.
2	The metropolitan region is a fundamental economic unit of the contemporary world. Governmental cooperation, public policy, physical planning, and economic strategies must reflect this new reality.
3	The metropolis has a necessary and fragile relationship to its agrarian hinterland and natural landscapes. The relationship is environmental, economic, and cultural. Farmland and nature are as important to the metropolis as the garden is to the house.
4	Development patterns should not blur or eradicate the edges of the metropolis. Infill development within existing urban areas conserves environmental resources, economic investment, and social fabric, while reclaiming marginal and abandoned areas. Metropolitan regions should develop strategies to encourage such infill development over peripheral expansion.
5	Where appropriate, new development contiguous to urban boundaries should be organized as neighborhoods and districts, and be integrated with the existing urban pattern. Noncontiguous development should be organized as towns and villages with their own urban edges, and planned for a jobs/housing balance, not as bedroom suburbs.
6	The development and redevelopment of towns and cities should respect historical patterns, precedents, and boundaries.
7	Cities and towns should bring into proximity a broad spectrum of public and private uses to support a regional economy that benefits people of all incomes. Affordable housing should be distributed throughout the region to match job opportunities and to avoid concentrations of poverty.
8	The physical organization of the region should be supported by a framework of transportation alternatives. Transit, pedestrian, and bicycle systems should maximize access and mobility throughout the region while reducing dependence upon the automobile.
9	Revenues and resources can be shared more cooperatively among the municipalities and centers within regions to avoid destructive competition for tax base and to promote rational coordination of transportation, recreation, public services, housing, and community institutions.

Smart growth efforts "inevitably raise questions of regional planning, since in the absence of regional coordination, initiatives by local jurisdictions could easily be undercut by neighboring communities" [Wheeler 2002, p.269]. Typical suburban development stresses the individual over community, and the pursuit of short-term self-interest by many single towns runs against the long-term cooperation needed to implement smart growth principals. However, as seen in Figure 2.1[4], advocates for changing America's urban development paradigm stress the importance of addressing an entire metropolitan community due to its economic, logistical, and social coherence.

III. THE CASE FOR REGIONAL PLANNING

Regional planning is critical to growth management in the US because land use and public services are the responsibilities of local jurisdictions, while the sources of many land use issues span municipal borders. One community acting alone cannot resolve clean air concerns or rush-hour traffic jams, for instance, and economic growth in a metropolitan region may lead to high housing costs in seemingly secluded nearby towns. However, localities face little incentive to take proactive steps that address regional problems: if one town provides affordable housing, it benefits low-income families throughout the area but no other community is compelled to help share the social and financial burden [Jackson 2000]. Case studies have indeed suggested that a high degree of municipal fragmentation leads to the avoidance of regional issues and subsequent inter-town economic conflict [Savitch and Vogel 1996].

Like smart growth, regional planning proposes that broader problems, affecting much of a metropolitan system, need a pervasive cooperative solution. In many areas it may seem that county governments, which lie between states and municipalities in the governmental hierarchy, could help engender cross-jurisdictional solutions. However, counties do not have much power in some states and are a local jurisdiction themselves; they administer unincorporated land. The major shortcoming with counties as regional planners, though, is that like cities they are restricted to fixed, arbitrary boundaries with no link to metropolitan development or transportation corridors. Metro Atlanta, for

[4] Table from the Charter of New Urbanism, found at www.cnu.org. Ratified in 1996, these concepts link smart growth to regional planning.

example, covers at least 7 counties and greater New York spreads across 3 states, while some central cities (Baltimore, Philadelphia, St. Louis, and San Francisco, for instance) cover an entire county on their own. County borders even limit the ability of cities to annex hinterland areas and create a unified regional government.

In contrast, Regional Planning Agencies (RPA's) can more readily fill the governance gap between states and municipalities. When they exist, RPA's vary greatly in their mandate and political power. Portland, Oregon's Metro has control over land use in and around the city, while Boston's MAPC is an advisory group that more serves than leads the metropolitan area. One benefit of RPA's over informal inter-city cooperation is that they serve as a permanent and clear "go to" organization for outside parties that wish to engage an entire metropolitan area. This could include the federal government, an adjacent region, or a business. RPA's can also serve as data clearinghouses and host an expensive shared resource like geographic information systems (GIS). Finally, they have professional staff focused exclusively on cross-border land use issues.

The 1990's saw renewed interest in regional planning by elected officials and the general public, driven by the shift of American cities from a monocentric to a polycentric model, "a patchwork assemblage of the traditional center, differentiated suburbs, and variegated exurbs, which are autonomous, highly competitive districts interconnected by a comprehensive network of arterials and freeways" [MacBurnie 1995, p.135]. The "new regionalism" that has resulted is not a monolithic approach but rather a multi-faceted examination of the economic impact of city-suburban differences that also examines the role of equity in the metropolis. The catalysts for new regionalism are lifestyle concerns such as sprawl, traffic, city-suburban inequities, environmental degradation, and the blandness of modern built form [Wheeler 2002]. While these themes can behave at odds with one another, they also serve to bring in new political support for regional planning [Henig 2002].

Goals

Depending on the source, regional planning is seen as a good way to meet a number of governmental and social objectives. Virtually all literature on the subject cites the efficient delivery of public services as a major goal of regionalism. By serving many people in the most effective manner, regional planners can use economies of scale to their advantage. The older regional goal of efficiency has largely been met, however, so newer goals stress environmental and lifestyle issues [Wheeler 2002]. Municipal

fragmentation leads to both uncoordinated land use policies and competition for sources of tax revenue, which leads to short-sighted, selfish decisions that cause sprawl and the loss of open space. Preservation of natural resources like clean water and viable ecological habitats requires the participation and commitment of jurisdictions that may not have a direct relationship with the feature in question. Solutions such as urban growth boundaries, infill development, and wastewater runoff programs only work when applied across an entire region in order to avoid a "free rider" syndrome. Applying the same concept, transportation projects stretch across many jurisdictions and affect towns without direct access to the initiative in question, and are thereby able to garner regional political and financial support.

A third goal of regional planning is the promotion of economic development. Municipal self-interest destroys long-term regional value because, "policies and uncoordinated investment patterns that are driven by narrowly construed jurisdictional interests can…diminish the productivity of the economic system as a whole" [Barnes and Ledebur 1998, p.88]. A classic example of this tension was recently featured in the New York Times. In that dispute, heightened by limited land and many town borders, a city facing a budget crisis is attempting to develop 81 acres of land on the border of a wealthier municipality, which is concerned about the impact on their community of proposed parking for 7000 cars. Calls for the poorer municipality to share the projected property tax revenue of this development with its wealthy neighbors have been rejected: "There's a tremendous amount of pressure for the municipality to do what's best for the municipality, and that rarely takes into consideration some of the regional concerns such as the impact on transportation" [Whitaker 2004].[5]

To counter this trend, projects such as Neil Peirce's Citistates[6] propose viewing and marketing metropolitan areas as the central organizing unit of economic activity. By utilizing the resources of an entire region, businesses can lower their costs and gain an entire geographic set of skills, markets, and infrastructure [Pastor et al. 2000]. This is a response to the argument that localities compete nationally and even globally for residents, businesses and institutions [Savitch and Vogel 1996]. No municipality can provide the transportation, education, natural resources, and cultural amenities to

[5] Quoting Sean Nolan, the director of the Land Use Law Center at Pace University.
[6] The Citistates Group is a network of leaders "focused on building competitive, equitable and sustainable 21st century metropolitan regions," according to their homepage: www.citistates.com.

contend and win these prizes on their own. Instead it takes the assets of an entire region to win these economic battles.

A closely linked argument is that regionalism can make the whole of a region greater than the sum of its parts. By working together on the provision of cultural facilities and public services, as well as on land use issues like transportation and parks, a region can become a much more appealing place to live and work. Generating this social and cultural capital would be difficult for a single municipality to finance, but through cooperation a region could meet the goal of providing housing, employment, and lifestyle options for its residents through every stage of their life. Cooperation is also needed to avert the negative impacts that a deteriorating central city inflicts on wealthier suburbs [Summers 2000, Pastor et al. 2000, Savitch and Vogel 1996]. An unhealthy urban core makes a region less attractive to outside people and businesses, particularly because many of the area's top cultural attractions – usually in the center city – are deemed inaccessible due to crime and neglect. Additionally, the huge public investment in central city infrastructure becomes underused and poorly maintained, making the metropolitan economy operate below its potential. In contrast, a recent case study observed that greater economic growth and more efficient land use was found in those regions with a high ratio of central-to-suburban income and more even distributions of wealth and poverty [Foster 2000].

Finally, regional planning aims to reduce fiscal and social inequities that are linked to geography. Local land use decisions can inflict negative externalities on neighboring towns but provide no mechanism or incentive to share the costs and benefits across municipal borders. At least one study has found that individual municipalities place no weight on the fiscal costs that their actions impose on neighboring municipalities [Wiewel et al. 2002]. Along these lines, Myron Orfield asserts that central cities, inner ring suburbs, and developing bedroom communities are financially unstable because, in part, their share of public investment dollars is being spent on subsidizing isolated development on the metropolitan periphery [Orfield 2000]. He argues that a coalition between these aggrieved communities, based on economic self-interest, can redirect public expenditures away from a small group of wealthy communities and towards the bulk of the regional population.

Just as the status quo fails to ensure that economic winners pay the full cost of their benefits, it also prevents the social costs of local decisions from being properly

distributed. Many communities face strong financial incentives to push out costly poor residents and bring in low-cost wealthy homeowners and businesses, a dynamic that often results in concentrations of economic extremes [G. Miller 1981]. These economically rational decisions are in the short term interest of small communities, but they ignore the health the region's overall population. For example, concentrated poverty in schools leads to underperformance for all students, regardless of the family income of a particular student [powell 2002]. Inequity also disrupts a key component of regional success: metropolitan social capital [Pastor et al. 2000].

By reducing the importance of municipal borders, regional cooperation can deconcentrate poverty, promote a broader tax base, and distribute local public resources more equitably by sharing gains in wealth across the metropolitan region [Pastor et al. 2000]. Tax revenue sharing in particular aims to reduce counterproductive interjurisdictional tax competition and fiscal disparity [Pagano 1999]. Social inequity is also related to municipal boundaries. Multiple jurisdictions tend to result in income and race segregation and the greater the fragmentation, the greater these separations [powell 2002]. In fact, more than in the past, racial and wealth segregation is by municipal rather than neighborhood boundaries [Committee 1999] and these inequities are increasingly distributed not just within cities but across swaths of entire regions. Simply improving race and class relations is not enough of a solution, since once society fragments across lines of racial and economic inequity those divisions continue to reproduce themselves even in the absence of overt animus [powell 2002]. While regional issues that deal with common values may be informally resolved, the divisive issue of socio-economic inequity must be addressed directly or it will be avoided as a problem [Savitch and Vogel 1996].

It takes a cross-jurisdictional force to tackle and redress these problems. In part this is because local political boundaries serve as cues for those making location decisions, which results in race and class differences across a metropolitan region [Committee 1999]. Politics has also played a role in this segregation – the unfair socioeconomic variation in American towns and cities is not random or natural but rather is determined by government [Jackson 2000]. Zoning that limits development to single-family homes on large lots creates a style and housing price acceptable almost predominantly to whites, while local political pressure restricts the ability of minorities to buy a suburban home in white enclaves [Danielson 1976b, Jackson 2000, powell 2002]. Government-

financed highway construction has played a large role in suburban-city racial inequity. Beyond its oft-cited responsibility for razing central city neighborhoods, it made middle-class suburbia affordable and convenient (although not necessarily sustainable) by enabling a long commute yet requiring a car to reach many jobs [powell 2002]. The resultant automobile-driven development pattern adds to poverty and inequality because "sprawl creates a greater degree of separation between the income classes…the new growth is exclusionary" [Jargowsky 2002, p. 51].

Forms of regional planning

Support for regional planning in general and RPA's in particular can take many forms, and the most effective approach will depend on the history, needs, and political culture of the region. There are three basic political responses to regional land use pressures: formal metropolitan government, a flexible process of mutual adjustment, or a mix of avoidance and conflict [Savitch and Vogel 1996]. Formal government can occur through permanent service authorities (like Indianapolis' Unigov) or elected regional bodies with legal powers (Portland, Oregon's Metro). A flexible process, meanwhile, may result in ad hoc working groups or single-use entities that tackle on particular issue (the Massachusetts Water Resources Authority around Boston). Regardless of its form, to achieve its aims any RPA must try to meet at least three key objectives:

1. Gather, analyze, and distribute information that identifies regional trends and regional values, and based upon it suggest appropriate and effective regional actions.
2. Build consensus between local policy-makers and regional leaders.
3. Make the typical resident think in regional terms.

There are several ways RPA success on these fronts could be judged. The siting of LULU's, locally unpopular land uses, is a key test of regional cooperation as it shows understanding of the costs and benefits of metropolitan needs, leading to the overcoming of local opposition [Detwiler 1992]. Similarly, increasing regional residential densities is seen as a strategy that supports many goals, such as energy efficiency, diverse housing and transportation options, and economic viability [Churchman 1999][7], but is typically resisted at the local level. Even when a community buys into the concept, they may ask, in the words of one MIT professor, "Why should we intensify development so that

[7] See Churchman 1999, pp. 398-9, for a larger list of the possible benefits of densification.

wealthy suburbs can stay fluffy green?" Opposition to regional land use coordination may in fact occur for a variety of political, social, and economic reasons.

IV. RESISTANCE TO REGIONAL PLANNING

Opposition to regionalism consists of both rational and emotional responses. This section highlights the most regular themes of the academic literature, although the details vary according to local circumstances. At least one study has found that the political culture of a city, a very local quality, has a large effect on the success or failure of regional planning efforts [Foster 2000].

FIGURE 2.2: Responses to Regional Planning Objectives

OBJECTIVE	MAIN CONCERNS	POLITICAL SUPPORT	POLITICAL OPPOSITION
Efficiency			
Provision of services Use of infrastructure	Low costs Level playing field	Business	Rigid gov't structures Local control advocates
Inter-jurisdictional Issues			
Environment Transportation	Preserve open space, limit sprawl, and reduce traffic congestion.	Middle class suburbanites concerned about quality of life.	Local control advocates
Economic Development			
Competition for business Shared tax revenue Paying fair price for public investment	Reduce inequalities in municipal revenue and services. Wasteful business subsidies Make better use of regional labor resources.	City mayors Declining suburbs Rapidly growing residential communities	Economic winners Opportunistic businesses that benefit from low tax deals
Social Equity			
Better public schools Jobs-Housing balance Safety Racial balance	Providing equality of opportunity. Reversing institutionalized segregation.	Low-income residents Unions Racial minorities	White homeowners

Political Barriers

Resistance to regional planning comes from a variety of sources (see Figure 2.2), but chief among them are governments unwilling to give up power, suburban voters hostile to central cities, and central cities' own reluctance to weaken their progressive electoral power [Wheeler 2002]. The specific issues that pose the biggest obstacles to regional

cooperation are schools and housing, which also bear most directly on inequity issues [Pastor et al. 2000] and likely contribute to the lack of grassroots-driven or suburban-oriented regional planning [Popper 1992]. Ultimately, the long-standing reason for this absence is resistance from suburban communities. As observed almost thirty years ago, "Given local autonomy, the nature and attitudes of suburban constituencies, the benefits that residents derive from exclusionary policies, and the dependence of local governments on property taxes, the suburban political system provides few incentives for its components to act in anything but their self-interest" [Danielson 1976b, p.3].

This balkanized system of local control became popular in starting in the 1950's when the "public choice" school advocated the multiplication of suburban municipalities as a means of providing a wide variety of residential choice. The theory is that if people must pay for public goods, they should at least be able to select the method and outcomes: public institutions should reflect the desires of local residents, which is best achieved through small homogenous municipalities with varied tax rates and public services. Local governments are more responsive to residents' needs and people will be happier as a consequence. The result appeared to be the libertarian dream: "minimal cities" with no entrenched bureaucracy and exclusionary zoning to maintain low costs by keeping economic losers out of the jurisdiction [G. Miller 1981]. Meanwhile, the free hand of "the market" would decide all of the major metropolitan issues about land use and distribution of wealth, without the need for regional governance.

Like other mechanical approaches to governance, however, public choice theory does not address issues of equity [Henig 2002] and has led instead to the segregation of the metropolitan population into homogenized groups, resulting in concentrations of poverty and wealth [G. Miller 1981]. Nor does public choice provide a means for communities to be billed for the negative externalities that their local land use choices generate, and they have no incentive to support any ad hoc system that requires them to pay. Nonetheless, economically irrational local political preferences prevent regional solutions from occurring. When New York's Regional Plan Association tried to help Westchester County residents reduce their high property tax burden, caused in large part by overlapping service delivery from multiple municipal jurisdictions, they withdrew from the discussion because, "most suburbanites…viewed the accountability of local officials to their needs as a fundamental and inviolable right. Consequently, citizens made it clear that they would strenuously oppose any proposals to eliminate or reduce the autonomy

or accountability of their own municipality or schools system" [Yaro 2000, p.67]. The strength of perception over reality in these local control issues is shown in the discovery that residents strongly resist change in their "local" service delivery, even though it often comes from regional or private agents [Thompson 1997].

It seems that for many suburbanites, "planning" is a pejorative term. It conjures up images like 1960's urban renewal, special favors for key business interests, and a bureaucratic mindset. Before a dialog about change can even begin, planners must overcome the impression that they are reactive and negative [Daniels 1999]. This is unlikely to effectively come from the local level: town planners are overwhelmed with paperwork, while mayors' field of vision extends just to the next two budgets. It is not only the suburbs who oppose regional planning. Central cities worry about the loss of their power to the suburbs, as seen when city-county consolidation was opposed in Miami because of city fears of domination by white suburbs [Yaro 2000]. There is some justification in this concern: Indianapolis' Unigov was created as a cost-saving, equitable regional public service provider, but since its creation has been dominated by wealthy suburbs, who arranged its public investment strategies to coincide with their own interests at the expense of the center city [Pagano 1999].

Social Barriers

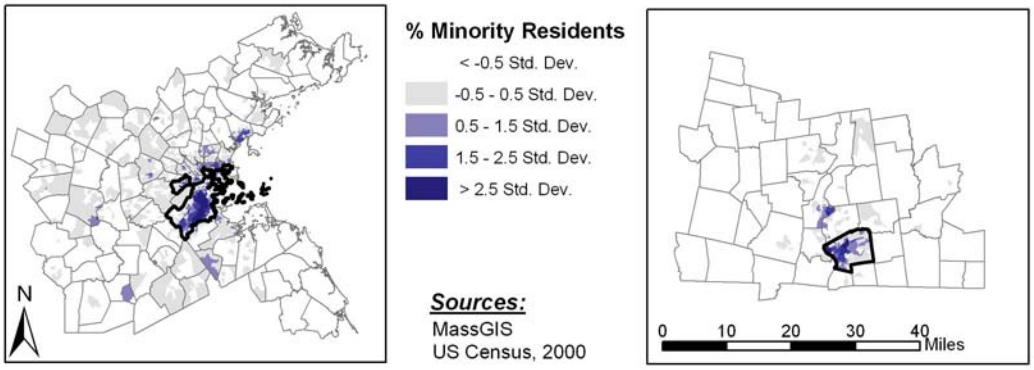
Even if political barriers are surmountable, attempts to promote a new vision of land use that affects lifestyle may confront significant cognitive obstacles. Novel concepts of how society can be arranged more effectively may not be appreciated because, "…our views of cities are suffused with a sense of spatial determinism. This view suggests that there is only one way of organizing economic life across space, generating only one set of community relationships, which is consistent with advanced industrial standards of living" [Gordon 1978, p.26]. This resistance to new thinking may be reinforced by the low capacity for social change in suburbs, manifested in their homogenous culture and design regime and the little individual objections to sharing with the regional community: dislike of apartments, the bad image of subsidized housing, fear of community change, worries about property values, and concern over local services and taxes [Danielson 1976b]. Indeed, recent surveys in the Dallas suburbs found surprise and skepticism at the suggestion that suburbia was the cause of any social problems [Talen 2001].

Overt racism also serves as a barrier to regionalism. White suburbanites fear that the culture of inner-city poverty will infiltrate their communities, "attributing the lot of

minorities to behavioral patterns and absolving themselves of any responsibility for institutional racism or white privilege" [powell 2000, p.227]. Subsequently, the spatial mobility of racial minorities that would come with regional planning is seen as a threat.

In essence, suburban boundaries feed the suburban consciousness, and to blur them would threaten their identity [Frug 1999]. Following this argument, it is no surprise that long-standing successes in regional planning, such as those Oregon and Minnesota, appear to have been boosted by minimal socio-economic divisions between central cities and their suburbs. It may be that newer cities with less of a suburban identity – like Portland and Minneapolis – avoid racial and social conflicts because the metropolitan area is seen as homogenous [Weir 2000]. This is supported by research performed in the 1960's that found regions with a lower city-suburban social differential (based on education, occupation, income, and racial makeup) were more likely to successfully annex their suburban hinterland [Dye 1964] and a similar investigation over 30 years later [Foster 2000]. However, the reality is that suburbs across the US are statistically less racially diverse and more affluent than the population of the central city [Katz and Lang 2003].

FIGURE 2.3: Proportion of Non-White Residents. Note the city-suburban split.



In any metropolis, this divide lends itself to a battle of perceived values between suburbanites and the others – living separately only adds to the sense of detachment and residents in this condition lose ways to identify with other groups. Following Ashton, suburbs possess the quintessential consumerist paradigm which is, by its nature, "individualized and privatized" [Ashton 1978]. People want security, predictability, and tranquility in their environments. They fear a mix of uses, as well seen in the compartmentalization tendency of 20th-century zoning codes, and value a secure, bucolic

homestead more than proximity to restaurants and shops, seeing the latter as mutually exclusive with peace and quiet [Biddulph 2000]. This battle is fueled by fear of the dangers that cities pose to family life have been, a concern to suburban and rural dwellers ever since the English Evangelical movement of the 19th century [L. Miller 1995]. These attitudes pose an obvious challenge to a regional planner attempting to promote more efficient land use: the people they serve want control, not social responsibility.

Indeed, local towns oppose regional planning because they fear it will restrain freedom of choice and action [Porter 1992]. The key power in local control is zoning because of its effect on land use, which consequently shapes tax revenue, public services, community character, and local schools [Danielson 1976a]. However, a crucial component of regional planning is taking away at least some – and maybe all – of that power from municipalities. Regionalists assert that communities have abused this power by unfairly excluding minorities, and making self-centered decisions that feed sprawl and housing prices. In fact, even when a minimum level of affordable housing is mandated by state government, as with Massachusetts' Chapter 40B provision[8], most communities simply do not comply. Most of the conforming towns in Massachusetts are urban centers with lower income households – generally those least able to supply subsidized housing.[9]

Localities directly respond to calls for regionalism with justifications for home rule powers, invoking the differences in demographics and culture across the state and asserting that local governments are more responsive and perceptive of local needs [Alexander 2000]. However, there is a

> …very real possibility that there may be a trade-off between the values associated with equity (in particular, the reduction of unequal opportunity) and values that have undergirded the traditional American system of local government, such as efficiency, choice, and local autonomy. Certainly such a trade-off is perceived by many of the opponents of various proposals for metropolitan reform [Committee 1999, p.105].

The decision has to be made between the benefits of regional planning – greater equity, economic benefits, improved livability – and local control.

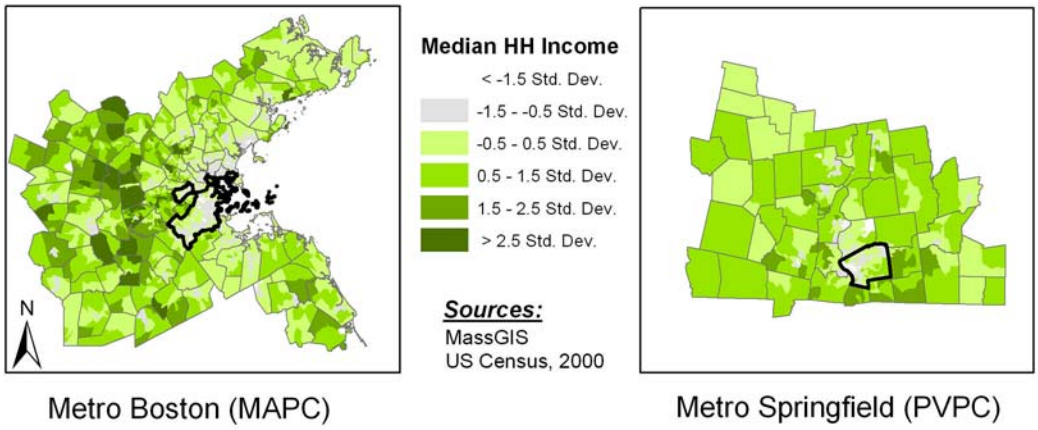
[8] 40B requires 10% of housing stock in all municipalities to be affordable to households with low-to-moderate incomes.
[9] Assertion based on a paper researched by the author for MIT course 11.520.

Economic Barriers

The segregation of municipalities into a few economic winners and many losers clearly serves as a obstacle to the success of regional planning. Three out of four types of regional towns (central cities, at-risk suburbs, and developing bedroom communities) have relatively high tax rates and low public spending, while affluent job centers – the only financially sound communities – make up no more than 10-15% of any region's population [Orfield 2002]. These winners have commercial support for property taxes and, due to exclusionary zoning, low social service costs.

This economic segregation happened as a result of the proliferation of municipalities driven by public choice theory. Again, this school of thought proposed that a politically fragmented suburbia offered choice – if a person must pay for public goods, they should at least be able to select the method and outcomes. Instead of a panoply of choices, however, municipalities have sorted out into two categories: low-tax "minimal cities" with contracted services and high-tax, high-service cities. The direct consequence has been the homogenization of metropolitan populations by income and even extreme concentrations of poverty and of wealth [G. Miller 1981]. Those well-off enough to leave central cities have generally done so, freeing themselves of tax policies that aid the poor and gutting central cities' tax base. This homogenization of regions by race and class has further broken down people's willingness and ability to pursue utilitarian rather than individual policies.

FIGURE 2.4: Division of city and suburbs by household income.



Not surprisingly, given the domination of the public choice approach and a preference for local control, individual municipalities place no weight on the fiscal costs that their actions impose on neighboring municipalities [Wiewel et al. 2002]. Rather, in order to preserve either their low taxes or high services, cities compete with one another for retail and industrial businesses that bring in municipal revenue. Ultimately, self-centered communities gain the most individual rewards, securing their socio-economic position rather than considering the less fortunate [Jackson 2000]. This internal focus even extends to the blue-collar towns that would benefit from revenue sharing; they are suspicious of regionalism because they believe they can develop their own property wealth and do not want outsiders interfering with it [Orfield 2002].

While the conditions that would support tax base sharing have not been well-studied, the literature suggests that it would require suburban legislators to see how their economic well-being is tied into the central city and the region as a whole. That understanding may come someday: while local organizations and leaders often think that residents are not aware of disparities across a metro region, a 1999 poll taken in metro Chicago supports Orfield's hypothesis that 60-85% of metro residents would support revenue-sharing, in essence because it would benefit them [Wiewel et al. 2002].

Chapter 3
LAND USE PLANNING BY STATE GOVERNMENT

Embedded in the question of overcoming barriers to regional planning and, ultimately, smart growth is a debate about the best strategies for implementing these ideas. Top-down imposition of new land use rules may bring the most effective and efficient results but may be politically infeasible. Therefore, given their position in the legislative hierarchy, state governments must be careful in their local land use involvement. They can do this through innovative approaches and by paying attention to the subtleties of how information delivery can affect planning.

I. FUNDAMENTAL DEBATE: TOP DOWN VS. BOTTOM UP

A basic question of land use planning is whether it is better performed from above by "wiser" levels of government with broad perspective and greater resources, or by local decision-makers who understand the culture and needs of communities in detail. Positive versions of both include mass transit systems and community empowerment in poor neighborhoods; negative examples are the "urban renewal" programs of the 1960's and exclusionary local zoning, respectively.

The municipal fragmentation of metropolitan regions and the blunt refusal of jurisdictions to cooperate with one another can make a top-down regional government tempting, particularly when communities make decisions at their neighbors' expense. Castells, in a more extreme view, says that "local/regional autonomy reinforces territorially dominant elites and identities, while depriving those social groups who are either not represented in those autonomous government institutions or, else, are ghettoized and isolated." This can lead to a process whereby a dominant group seeks to expand their social and demographic identity in order to include and control more people, or it can seek to exclude others if it feels under threat [Castells 1997, p.274]. He feels that the shift of power toward local levels of government removes higher governments' ability to equalize the interests of various groups.

However, top-down regional institutions are increasingly being discarded in the US in favor of more flexible strategies, such as ad hoc working groups, operating agreements, joint power authorities, and state-distributed incentives [Wheeler 2002]. This change recognizes the distinction between mere regional cooperation and regional governance – which includes private, academic, and civic leadership. In this view, even private business can play a positive role in metropolitan planning, building coalitions to advocate for regional goods that are communal, too expensive to fund alone, and have long-term benefits. In addition, business coalitions that focus on marketing the region are often the first leaders in promoting regional action [Kanter 2000].

This shift does not eliminate the need for states and RPA's to get involved in local land use decisions. Instead of behaving as top-down planners, they can be guides that promote bottom-up policies [Porter 1992]. This mixed approach is necessary because even if top-down approaches are ineffective, leadership from above is still needed to avoid segmentation of a region into pursuit of narrow self-interest. During the 20th century, land use planning shifted away from a visionary to a process-driven, pragmatic approach. However, "process emphasizes diversity, openness, and consensus but is not fully equipped to offer a shared vision in political arenas dominated by fragmentation and conflict" [Berke 2002, p.21]. As a result, there has been a loss of confidence in the existence of a common goal for metropolitan areas.

A mixed top-and-bottom approach is strongly supported by reviews of past attempts at regionalism. Margaret Weir asserts that regionalism in the 1960's and 70's often failed due to an overly top-down approach that lacked broad support. Rather, the two notable successes of the era, Oregon's urban growth boundaries and tax-sharing in Minnesota, have been sustained by bottom-up support [Weir 2000]. Fishman agrees and sees important lessons to be learned from past regional planning errors: distrust master design, recognize regional diversity, acknowledge local concerns, and plan through regional conversation rather than with top-down commands [Fishman 2000].

Success will not come by simply adjusting who has land use power. The literature generally suggests that a key to successful regional planning is to advertise self-interest rather than moral concerns, and to focus on economic rather than social appeals. Furthermore, a whole set of conditions favorable to regional planning have been gleaned from case studies, including:

- alliance with at least one politically powerful interest group.
- relatively weak political opposition.
- building of a bipartisan coalition.
- a moralistic political culture (government's role is to improve society).
- a newer metropolis with less entrenched suburbs.
- no more than a modest socio-economic divide between the central city and suburbs.
- flexible government structures.
- fewer local governments.
- a pro-regional state legal framework.
- a common heritage and similar pattern of growth amongst communities.
- active support from civic leaders and the media.

The literature presents these assets as prerequisites, although with no suggestions on how to overcome their absence. It is unclear, for instance, what an area that has large socio-economic inequities could do to enact successful regional planning. Perhaps in these circumstances the state government can play a vital role in overcoming barriers to land use coordination within regions.

II. MODELS OF STATE INVOLVEMENT WITH LOCAL LAND USE

Since Massachusetts has few general-purpose regional entities, the state government often acts as the de facto regional government [Euchner 2003]. This situation is aided by the small size of the state, although the government is very Boston-centric. Boston serves as the political, economic, and social capital of Massachusetts, although its large population and location put it at odds with the smaller cities and rural areas that make up the rest of the state. While Massachusetts' counties have no land use control, 13 RPA's cover the entirety of the state and help to promote regional cooperation on land use issues.

This setup is very unique to Massachusetts – across the US, most regional planning agencies concentrate around a major city and its suburbs and must deal with both municipal and unincorporated land. Massachusetts is currently reviving its active participation in land use issues, however, and can consider some of the approaches employed by some other states. Generally, these are states that behave like regional planners in that they work to coordinate land use across jurisdictions to produce public and private development that works for the state as a whole without unduly benefiting one location or population at the expense of others. However, they may do so through indirect methods to ensure inter-jurisdictional cooperation but without a top-down methodology. They also sometimes fill in the gaps between RPA's, which often focus on a single metropolitan area without inter-city cooperation or interaction with the rural hinterland.

The State as Regional Planner: New Jersey

New Jersey has an Office of Smart Growth (OSG) that proposes a new statewide land use plan every six or seven years, as mandated by state legislation. It goes through a complicated process to ensure that all the municipalities in the state – over 500 of them – have a chance to either adjust their local land use plans to the state's proposed plan or request adjustments to the state's plan. This system of Cross-Acceptance aims to ensure compatibility between state, county, and local plans. The process historically takes 3-4 years and is now in its third iteration. In essence, the OSG gathers data in a bottom-up fashion and then releases a preliminary plan for discussion. Meetings are scheduled with all of the counties in the state, and any other municipality can request an audience to appeal elements of the plan. If they do not, they are expected to comply with the terms of the New Jersey State Plan (NJSP). The state uses this Cross-Acceptance process as an opportunity to teach about and implement smart growth policy at the local level.

While the NJSP has legal precedence over local plans, the lack of an enforcement mechanism and the presence of home rule require the use of an incentive system. Municipalities and counties whose plans are consistent with the State Plan are eligible for endorsement by the OSG, which brings benefits such as certification on legally-mandated affordable housing obligations, priority consideration for certain state funding, and authorization to implement development impact fees and transferable development rights.

The New Jersey approach is ultimately about process and participation, in theory sacrificing speed and efficiency in exchange for greater local support. Cross-Acceptance is a mixture of top-down and bottom-up approaches: the state starts with a vision but then is open to discussion about it, and cannot enforce it directly anyway. It is unclear whether this ultra-participatory model translates into desirable results, or has built trust between the state and municipalities.

A recent attempt by the state to be more top-down regarding land use met with failure, suggesting that states should generally eschew connecting broader land use policy with geographic specifics, leaving the details up to locals. Building on the existing state land use efforts outlined above, current Governor Jim McGreevey published the Blueprint for Intelligent Growth (BIG) map in early 2003, showing all the land in New Jersey in one of three colors: green for areas where growth is encouraged such as depressed inner cities, yellow for possible development, and red for no development. While it was intended to leverage land developers' appreciation of certainty and supposed interest in profits over location specifics, resistance to the BIG map came from the New Jersey Builders Association, as well as localities who wish to maintain control of their land use and property tax revenues. The builders' opposition appears to be based in part on the large amount of "no growth" marked on the map – around 64% of the state's land. They felt strongly that there was too little developable area to accommodate future growth and that buyers would want a traditional suburban existence rather than an urban lifestyle. Meanwhile, localities were concerned for differing reasons. Suburbs marked green were worried about encouragement of development that will change their character, while some rural areas marked red feared a drop in property values. Support for the map came largely from old industrial cities looking for private investment and a few suburbs with slow growth sentiments [Swope 2003].

Within a year the BIG map project was ended, in essence because controlling sprawl, at least in New Jersey, "is a universally popular idea in the abstract but becomes politically fraught when it comes to telling builders where to build, towns how to zone, and residents where they can live" [Peterson 2003]. As a result, state officials were unable to gain any consensus on land use planning from the many local stakeholders. One reason suggested was that by directly targeting the Builders Association in speeches, the governor made that politically-powerful group resistant to changing their practices. A more abstract problem may have been the location-specific, top-down nature of the

initiative. While New Jersey has a state planning policy that emphasizes local participation, the BIG map came from outside of that process. Without being partners in the mapping process, municipalities had no incentive to support the plan in the face of business resistance.

Veto Power: Oregon

Oregon's oft-cited success in land use planning is a function of bipartisan coalition building between urbanists, farmers, and environmentalists, who support a state commission that has the legal power to reject local plans. The authors of Oregon's land use revolution were careful to balance state-level powers with local initiative. Planning is not done at the state level, but rather is delegated to county governments and a special multi-county district for metropolitan Portland, which write comprehensive plans that must be consistent with statewide planning goals and have to describe how the public can participate in each phase of the planning process [Weir 2000]. Besides these requirements, land use power resides at the local level. Project review decisions, for instance, are up to localities and cannot be appealed to the state or any other level of government.

One planning mechanism that Oregon requires of all its cities is an urban growth boundary (UGB). The aim of UGB's is to promote compact and contiguous development patterns that can be efficiently served by public services, and to also preserve open space, agricultural land, and environmentally sensitive areas on the urban fringe [Nelson 2000]. Indeed, one reason for broad support on land use issues in Oregon is that its best farmland and major cities are adjacent to one another, making "the trade-offs between urbanization and the limited supply of rural land much more starkly drawn than in most states" [Weir 2000, p. 131]. This created the initial interest in UGB's and, along with advocacy groups, the state built business support for them by pressuring local governments to remove obstacles for development within the boundary.

This system has required ongoing grass-roots political engagement to both maintain citizen engagement in land use and to defend and expand the state's planning laws [Weir 2000]. In short, Oregon's government found a key way to shape local land use – the UGB – without being directly involved. While this mechanism naturally appeals to the geographic and demographic attributes of Oregon, the state has had to nurture grassroots partners that maintain political and practical support for the program.

Other State Policies

A review of states with active planning involvement[10] reveals a few additional approaches commonly used to deal with local land use issues:

- A public face, and centralized entity, that handles land use planning for the entire state. For states with home rule, this may just be a coordinating agency.
- A focus on engaging citizens and municipal governments.
- Inter-agency collaboration at both the state and the local level.
- A state plan that is legally mandated to be inclusive of housing, transportation, and the environment, sometimes handled through a single office of smart growth.
- A predictable, transparent approach to land use policy that is applied consistently across the entire state.
- An attitude of partnership with citizens, rather than opposition to their lifestyles.
- Incentives rather than mandates for localities.
- The willingness to make tough, principled stands, and to endure a decade-long process of acceptance.
- Reflection on the values of the citizens in the state.

III. CAN INFORMATION OVERCOME BARRIERS TO SMART GROWTH?

How can a state government produce a public atmosphere that supports smart growth, and by necessity regional planning, especially without a legal impetus as possessed by New Jersey? Massachusetts lacks this legal power and must also contend with strong municipal powers, while possessing some, but not all, of the various "pre-requisites" suggested by academic research. The community preservation strategy was two-fold: to educate the public on policy costs and options so that growth issues would become more understandable, and to engage people at the local level to make the lessons of CPI less abstract and more personalized.

[10] The states reviewed were New Jersey, Maine, Rhode Island, Oregon, Maryland, and Pennsylvania. While not an exhaustive list, it is a sampling of different regions and methods.

Public Education

Three sources of resistance on smart growth are the conservatively inclined development industry, a political system that avoids pre-emptive action, and a skeptical public uncertain of benefits and afraid of cultural change [MacBurnie 1995]. However, "lack of knowledge about the causes of land-use patterns is mainly why change has seemed politically impossible for so long" [Richmond 2000, p.17]. To remedy this situation, balanced information provided by a trusted source can teach people about the trade-offs within complex policy issues. Interactive mapping workshops or density games can reveal the interaction between growth, open space, and density, making citizens more sympathetic to smart growth policies and regional planning. One approach is to give people a regional base map plus an envelope containing shapes representing either standard development patterns (subdivisions, office parks, apartments) or blocks representing a certain number of people. They are then asked to arrange these pieces on the map to accommodate a projected population growth with a defined timeframe. Working as a group, the participants discuss and experience the trade-off between familiar development styles and the loss of open space.

The idea behind games, workshops, mapping participation, and other small-scale learning events is that they work as a sort of intimate public hearing process. The hope is that when people are forced to make choices, they abandon ideological positions and begin exploring their fundamental interests. Some recent games that center on budget deficits provide encouraging results. Driven by the state fiscal crises that began around 2001, organizations such as Minnesota Public Radio posted budget balancing challenges on the internet. While noting the self-selection process of even playing the game, an MPR survey found that many participants who started the game opposed to tax increases became convinced that the state of Minnesota needed new revenues [Conte 2003].

Local Connection

In their call for a new style of urban design, Allan Jacobs and Donald Appleyard proposed that, "People should feel that some part of the environment belongs to them, individually and collectively, some part for which they care and are responsible, whether they own it or not" [Jacobs and Appleyard 1987, p.115]. Even if individuals feel ownership toward their town and region, a shared vision on issues such as growth trade-offs may not come readily. As Kevin Lynch's studies found, people naturally have "very

different visions of what their city and region looked like - and how the places where they lived, worked, and played fit into the larger picture. In short, people tended to live and work in relative isolation from the larger community" [Pastor et al. 2000, p.159]. This disconnection is accentuated in suburbs, which are physically and socially structured to permit a great deal of privacy. Furthermore, the frequent moving of suburbanites "restricts the number of shared experiences, contact, and knowledge among the inhabitants" [Baumgartner 1988, p.9]. Massachusetts may face a particular version of this problem, wherein the long-standing town system has created a shared local history and identity that serves as an obstacle to a sense of regional responsibility.

CPI agreed with the sentiment that for regionalism to be effective, real space needs to dominate over abstract space and different scales of planning need to be integrated with one another [Wheeler 2002]. The program worked to combine state, regional, and local governmental action, and presented town-level maps as a way of framing land use as an issue that personally affects the viewer. However, it is unclear that simply presenting local maps will personalize growth concerns. Land use maps themselves reveal little about the character and quality of places [Southworth and Owens 1993]. There is also a debate about whether government-driven GIS is good or bad for participation in planning. One side argues that GIS provides more accurate and confirmable information which allows for effective discussion, but an alternative view is that GIS dictates information rather than effecting a democratic approach [Talen 2000].

Indeed, there is a big difference between providing information, a one-way process, and dialog, which is two-way interaction [Hanna 2000]. Dialog is particularly important because of the criticism bestowed upon land use officials who do not have detailed community knowledge or an emotional connection to a place [Forsythe 1997]. This is because, "information becomes gradually embedded in the understandings of the actors in the community, through processes in which participants, including planners, collectively create meanings" [Innes 1998, p.53]. Subsequently, information does not influence people unless it is part of a socially constructed, shared understanding. It can only attain the status of "intellectual capital" through conversation, meaning that information from outside experts does not easily become a part of local decision-making processes. Dialog serves as a way for regional or state planners to overcome this barrier.

Ideally, the method of communication will not detract from using information to facilitate social interaction, interpersonal communication, and debates that attempt to achieve collective goals and deal with common concerns. In this "planning as reasoning together" approach, GIS is a natural vehicle for information delivery because it serves as a display and communication device and can perform spatial analysis [Klosterman 1997]. GIS also avoids mistakenly replacing discussions of place with discussions of process, as could happen with a model more focused on process than content [Berke 2002].

Still, to successfully engage citizens and inspire subsequent bottom-up action, GIS needs to incorporate local knowledge with a method that connects to the way that people think. If it is true that, "an individual's understanding of the metropolis is expanded through direct as well as mediated experience (and) each individual carries a personal 'schema' or mental map of urban knowledge" [Roberts et al. 1999, p.58], then a GIS presentation could update that mental map to include new understandings of why one's hometown looks the way it does and, given those dynamic forces, what it may become. However, planners – particularly ones in prominent positions like RPA's or the state – should not merely lapse into the "planning rhetoric" model of participation, where information is intended to guide stakeholder opinion rather than the planning process [Hanna 2000]. This approach risks predetermined decisions where participation serves as window dressing, and may provide an illusion of grassroots support for a policy where people are not invested in the approach but only in the interests.

Chapter 4
PLANNING & COMMUNITY PRESERVATION IN MASSACHUSETTS

While it is important to understand the theory and lessons behind state involvement in land use, the nuances of how to pursue smart growth and regional planning depend on local patterns of development, the major sources of this development, and problems it causes for area residents. Understanding these details is important for assessing the process employed by the Community Preservation Initiative.

I. LAND USE IN MASSACHUSETTS

Suburban communities around Boston have long opposed additional residential growth. A striking map in MAPC's 1978 report shows almost every suburban town desiring less growth than it had experienced. The report notes that the growth trends were "supported by local zoning and by myriad separate daily decisions by each of the region's municipalities acting alone" [MAPC 1978, p.1-1]. Through a combination of these regulations and economic incentives, development is continuing and inflicting notable costs on area residents. However, while the volume and rate of growth can cause problems, the core issue is ultimately the style of growth.

Current Development Patterns

Until the last century, the city periphery was a clearly defined border where the urban world confronted the natural world. Since then it has become a blurred boundary, both in terms of perception and form. Today's fringe landscape shows a "tendency towards repetitious placement of uniform buildings in a naturalistically cultivated context" as well as "little, if any, continuity established with past building practices, either local or otherwise" [Rowe 1991, p.273]. This is because American growth trends often occur as large-scale instant growth that results in the creation of an increasingly controlled and monotonous urban fabric [Southworth and Owens 1993]. Rapid suburban development even contains many elements of colonial settlement patterns: rapid and flexible building, quick achievement of legibility, practical yet limited aims, and even distribution of land. This characterless convenience of suburbia has resulted in what Irving Kristol called undifferentiated urbanized space: the provincial areas and cultures that once marked the

hinterland of a central city have been transformed into a general metropolis [Kristol 1974].

In Massachusetts, like everywhere else, lower land prices in distant areas result in greater land consumption at the urban fringe [Voith 2000]. Due to a state-wide zoning provision known as "approval-not-required" (ANR), which allows residential building on any lot with road frontage, subdivision development spreads housing along the length of rural roads, often in a cul-de-sac style. This pattern dilutes the community life that used to focus in village centers and heightens the visibility of new residential development. The pervasiveness of the houses is disruptive because, unlike the occasional farmhouse, "spread thinly and irregularly along the edges of fields, subdivisions leave a pattern of regular and complete coverage of the landscape" [Schuster et al. 1988, p.58]. Their repetitive and rigid design character results in a coarse and splotchy landscape [Southworth and Owens 1993].

FIGURE 4.1: Exurban development patterns often transform farmland into auto-oriented sprawl [Source: Campoli et al. 2002, p.71].

These fundamental changes to the rural look and feel of suburban Boston towns have been occurring for at least thirty years. Between 1971 and 1985 alone, metropolitan Boston lost 9% of its agricultural land and 7% of its forested land [MAPC 1989]. In reaction, during the 1990's some suburban Boston communities changed their zoning to encourage commercial development and large single-family homes in order to maximize property tax revenues and slow down the rate of growth [Buote 2003]. This practice of downzoning toward large lot development has increased the price of land by making fewer lots available. It has also led developers to build expensive mansion-like homes in order to turn a profit on such large pieces of property. Indeed, a recent study by the Massachusetts Audubon Society found that across the state since 1970, the average living space in single-family homes grew 44% and the average lot size grew 47% [Viser 2003].

Factors in Land Development

As the passages above suggest, there are several low-profile but important elements of land use in Massachusetts that affect the rate and style of growth in each community.

Single-use Zoning

Enthusiasm for single-use zoning sprang from the success of the City Beautiful movement of the late 19th and early 20th century [Duany et al. 2000]. This policy is predicated on a hierarchical view of land use that separates family housing from anything viewed as a noxious activity. In lieu of comprehensive planning, many communities rely upon single-use zoning as the local land use policy and, with some nuance, it can be employed as the local fiscal policy, managing tax revenues by limiting projected town expenditures on infrastructure or increasing the tax base by attracting low-cost commercial uses [Shlay and Rossi 1981].

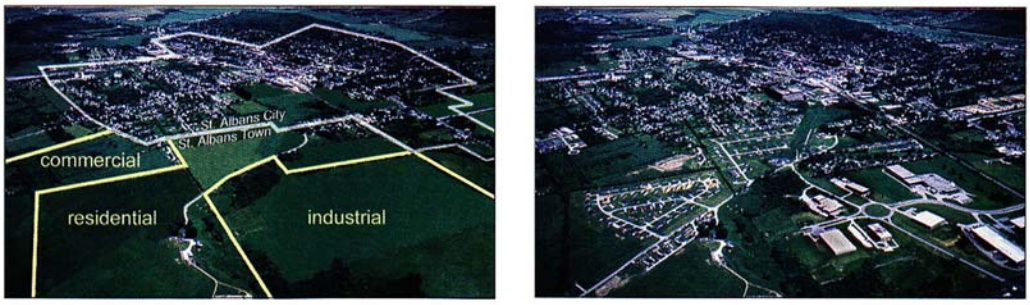


FIGURE 4.2: Single-use zoning can spread out urban development [Source: Campoli et al. 2002, p.97].

While intended to protect residents from unwanted land use, single-use zoning can produce undesirable aesthetic results. In Massachusetts, universally applied setbacks and large parking requirements have threatened the appearance of historic New England village centers [Schuster et al. 1988]. The single-mindedness of zoning can also cause problems if it is not updated as patterns of development evolve. Commercial-strip zoning that made sense back in the streetcar era now leads to excessively linear development along highways, discouraging clusters of activity and leading to an inconvenient and unworkable urban form [Barnett 2001]. However, single-use zoning is attractive to both land developers and home owners due to the stability and certainty it provides. People want security, predictability, and tranquility in their environments, often fearing a mix of uses. Indications are that wealthy suburbanites do not want to live in mixed-use settings – builders have had trouble selling high-end homes where mixing of housing types was

greatest [Grant 2002] – a tendency that may come from pre-war upmarket suburbs which did not have mixed-use residential areas [MacBurnie 1992].

Zoning in Massachusetts has several quirks. It is considered by the American Planning Association to be one of the most out-dated systems in the US, spurring current efforts to pass a Land Use Reform Act. Among other provisions, this proposed legislation would reduce the Approval-Not-Required provision and limit the grandfathering of land uses, while allowing the imposition of development fees by municipalities. Massachusetts also has no requirement for consistency between zoning and local land use plans. The situation renders master plans somewhat unimportant, making them more a wish list than a policy document. Furthermore, as one interviewed planner explained, "it means that people can ignore the master plan but must pay attention to the intricacies of zoning (including the often long and arduous process of enacting amendments to zoning bylaws). Successful planning areas in the US have that consistency requirement so people don't have to know the arcane language of zoning."

Home Rule and Town Government

Americans like to express their individualism by living in voluntary communities. Suburbanites see cities are involuntary aggregations of people that are too large to allow everyone's participation in decisions that affect their lives [Kristol 1974]. Conversely, the smaller scale and homogeneity of suburbs allows local policies to better represent the interests of their populations. To some degree a reaction against the urban agglomerations of the late 19th century, American suburbs have been created based on a romantic image of quaint family-based villages. This imagery appeals to both individuals and the private realm, contrasting against the group power and openness of the central city [Frug 1999]. Indeed, surveys show that Americans value small towns more highly than suburbs, and rank suburbs below other single-family detached housing environments such as villages and rural settings [Talen 2001, Ewing 1997, Duany et al. 2000]. Home rule feeds into this mentality by devolving any unrestricted legal powers to municipalities, thereby giving their wishes precedence over state requests on many issues, particularly zoning. Some justifications given for home rule include the variety in demographics and culture across a state, and a feeling that local governments are more responsive and perceptive of local needs [Alexander 2000].

This presents an opportunity to explain the unique governmental structure of Massachusetts, an oddity to people from most other US states. All of the land in the

state is incorporated into 351 municipalities, officially called either “city” or “town” based on the local style of government (a map of the political divisions is located in Appendix A). Municipalities that function as towns have an annual public meeting at which the public votes to determine policies and expenditures. Outside of the annual meeting, towns are operated by elected boards, and bigger towns may have some professional staff members. These boards are usually unpaid volunteers, leading to a notable criticism of town government: its amateur nature, perpetuated by voters that have little familiarity with complex issues and low turnout at town meetings [Euchner 2003]. Some communities have adopted a representative town meeting system in response. Regardless of these details, each municipality attends to all manner of public services, such as police, fire, schools, roads, and water. As a result, the local responsible government is clear at any location in the state, which makes county governments somewhat superfluous - several have even been abolished.

Perhaps as a result of this governmental structure, the hinterland towns of Massachusetts have a strong connection with local character and history. The town form of government has led to a different urban dynamic than in the rest of America. Even in rural areas, residents have a community to which they clearly belong. Unlike in the Midwest, for instance, where the area outside of a village has a purely personal identity, in Massachusetts residents throughout a town relate to its whole. A person can live in the village center but feel that the town’s lakes and woods belong to them and vice versa.

However, home rule and parochial town culture have led local residents to view the people in neighboring towns as being “different than us” even if they are only four miles away [Barron et al. 2004]. Boston area communities jealously protect their powers and are very reluctant to cooperate with one another because it is seen as disempowering and a loss of control. This gets to the point that regional coordination is seen as politically difficult if one town benefits more than others, even if they all gain from the arrangement [Barron et al. 2004]. This follows a basic tenet of behavioral economics: most people prefer to become relatively wealthier than their peers instead of all becoming richer by the same amount.

Due to strong sentiments around local control, coupled with the absence of county-level land use power in Massachusetts, RPA’s play a particularly unique role in the state. As one regional planner noted, “In other states, counties handle more regional issues. This

can also make it easier for the state. Any land use issue in Massachusetts has to be dealt with 351 times." Without any effective legal power, the RPA's largely act as coordinators and dispute resolution agents. While many communities seem to begrudgingly admit that regional planners play a necessary role, the belief that localities can always "do it better" permeates all land use discussions. Unfortunately, this attitude is not simply a celebration of local government, but is also expressed as distrust in other communities, resulting in minimal inter-town cooperation. Eventually, this is manifested in NIMBY (Not In My BackYard) attitudes when it comes to regional issues, a position invoked in part to protect local distinctions by allowing residents to feel superior to outsiders [Ross 2001].

Water and Sewer

Besides an absence of appropriate land, limitations on drinking water supply are the main physical barrier to development in Massachusetts. While the state has a temperate climate, many communities have come close to exceeding the supply rate of their wells and the Ipswich River, running through the northern suburbs, even goes dry during the summer due to municipal water consumption. Some towns are currently discussing the installation of a coastal desalination plant. There is a regional water supplier in the Boston area – the Massachusetts Water Resources Authority (MWRA) – which has been described by some as the most effective regional body in the state. MWRA water is costlier than wells or other traditional town sources but is a guaranteed supply. To join the MWRA system, municipalities have to implement policies that place restrictions on the rate and type of developments in order to ensure that the collective water supply is not overused by one community. Unwilling or feeling unable to implement these land use regulations, some towns around Boston have decided to not join MWRA.

However, some communities may not join MWRA in a passive attempt to limit growth. At least one Boston area community, Hopkinton, has a current moratorium on new connections to its water supply, forcing any new development to drill individual wells and use septic tanks. Undeniably, many exurban Massachusetts towns have foregone installing a sewer infrastructure in order to have larger minimum lot sizes that limit development and discourage density. The state mandates minimum lot sizes for effective filtration of septic systems. Depending on the local soils, this is often a two-acre minimum lot size for a single family home.

Schools

Massachusetts suburbs are also restricting new residents because, unlike commercial and industrial development, they cost more than they generate in tax revenue. Given their needs for public infrastructure, services, and education, new families often lead to higher taxes. Depending on the property tax formulas in the state, local land values, and the density of development, families with children can prove an onerous tax burden. The problem of financing local schools has become particularly acute in New Jersey, where formerly rural towns are being quickly populated by families with children looking for cheap housing and good schools. The problem is that these towns lack a commercial tax base and often have tiny schools that need to be replaced. Lacking any industry to pay for the schools and with low housing values, local property taxes quickly increase. As a consequence, some exurban New Jersey towns facing fast growth have implemented minimum lot sizes as large as ten acres. The reason, as the head of the New Jersey Builders Association noted, is to both inflate the price and diminish the amount of new housing [Mansnerus 2003]. Indeed, more expensive housing tends to result in fewer families with children moving in, possibly because these childless families have more money to spend on housing [Shlay and Rossi 1981].

While the above story takes place in New Jersey, it is the same situation in states like Massachusetts that rely heavily on property taxes to finance local schools. In a recent survey, some town officials in Boston area say their land use decisions are not based on planning but rather driven by fiscal pressures, with aims such as limiting the number of local students [Barron et al. 2004].

The Costs of Land Development

As a result of single-use zoning, strong localism, and large lot sizes enacted through various methods, Massachusetts developers are increasingly building large houses on large lots. Although it may reduce the number of people in a particular town by limiting the number of parcels, the downzoning strategy does nothing to reduce traffic congestion, preserve public open space, maintain community character, or provide affordable housing.

Traffic

While no one likes traffic congestion, pro-growth forces point to it as an acceptable and inevitable cost of mobility. However, for Massachusetts residents, the amount of time spent in traffic is large and growing. Commute times around Boston increased

significantly between 1990 and 2000. Meanwhile, ridership on the regional commuter rail system has gone up as driving has become a less viable option, almost doubling between 1992 and 2002 [Buote 2003].

This traffic comes from low-density greenfield development which, unlike urban infill, forces new residential units out to the exurban fringe where auto-oriented development patterns force people to drive to complete everyday errands. Around Springfield, in western Massachusetts, the transportation pattern is even more expanded, with people driving to entirely different metropolitan areas for work: Worcester, Hartford, and even Boston. The more rural environment in western Massachusetts also means a lower tolerance for traffic, so congestion wrought by new development is quickly noticed.

Loss of Open Space

Proximity to nature is one popular draw to living at the urban fringe. Exurban residents rarely have an interest in true wilderness, but do agitate to preserve the visual aesthetic of the landscape in its current state [Forsyth 1997]. From an efficiency standpoint, this is a desirable position because,

> The less development allowed in urbanizable areas in the absence of urban services, the better. Interim development creates several types of problems for the future higher-intensity urban development. Interim land divisions mean that land must be consolidated in the future for larger-scale, more efficient development and the presence of small-acreage tracts used for nonfarm purposes may impede plans for efficient conversion of this area into higher-density urban uses [Moore and Nelson 1994, pp.169 & 162].

Plus, while any community suffers when it lacks a public realm, the absence of public space in suburbia is sometimes intentionally arranged in order to promote family isolation and bonding [L. Miller 1995].

FIGURE 4.3: Suburban development patterns fragment open space
[Source: Campoli et al. 2002, p.67].

So in the context of strong growth pressures, the question for planners and residents alike is, "We know that we want to save farmland and open space, but what does that mean for urban form?" [Porter 1992, p. 197]. One option is open space preservation, often by public purchase and occasionally through usage limitations negotiated with property owners. Around Boston, protected open space is irregularly distributed; some towns have protected up to 36% of their land, others as little as 2.5%. This variation is partially the result of history, but also of cost. Open space preservation has a double expense for local towns, both in purchase price and the permanent loss of potential tax revenue. An alternative policy approach is to increase residential densities in order to preserve open space. This is not always accepted as a viable option, however. Community members often fear that higher densities will cause traffic congestion, stress, constraints on behavior, and a sense of reduced privacy and security [Churchman 1999].

Loss of Local Character

> One of the oldest debates in urban sociology refers to the loss of community as a result of urbanization first, and of suburbanization later [Castells 1997, p.60].

In Massachusetts, patterns of development that alter the appearance of any part of the community incite a strong reaction, often resulting in a battle to preserve the rural appearance and social culture that has long characterized a now-exurban area. Writing specifically about the Boston hinterland, an MIT research team observed, "An almost universal and passionate concern exists in these communities for the quality of the

environment and the impact that new development is expected to have on it. A major focus of this concern is the perceived loss of local and regional character" [Schuster et al. 1988, p.10]. The chief instruments of this deterioration are road traffic and residential subdivisions.

Fringe home buyers outside of Boston want their house to be both a "village house" and a "rural retreat" [Schuster et al. 1988], but the reality is that suburban and exurban beltways connect these home owners to the interdependent metropolitan network, making the single family home no longer a refuge but a convenient base of operations [Friedman 2002]. The frequent commutes and errand runs made by car from these home bases fill up the small rural roads and frustrate locals not used to waiting through more than one traffic light cycle. It is not that the newcomers like traffic either, but they want their new town to be more like the one they just left, while current residents want minimal change [Ellery 2003]. However, towns with scenic roads lined with stone walls are understandably loath to widen them in order to accommodate the out-of-towners and their cars.

This is just one component of how the homophily of exurban towns, based on shared history and values, is disrupted by the new urban residents. "The suburban ideal was always and explicitly about guarding against the encroachment of nonfamily members," [L. Miller 1995, p.398] and the newcomers are seen as outsiders. Newcomers bring residential development that transforms the look and feel of the town. In general, longtime residents dislike both the sheer volume of the new housing and the rigid way in which the subdivisions are built, without regard to setting. The loss of town character is not caused merely by new residential development but the way it is sited, grouped, and designed. In most Massachusetts towns, typical subdivisions disrupt the highly-coveted New England's rural character because, "Rather than a cluster of varied buildings, subdivisions are isolated individual buildings. Rather than buildings spread thinly and irregularly along the edges of fields, subdivisions leave a pattern of regular and complete coverage of the landscape" [Schuster et al. 1988, p.58]. Meanwhile, smaller ANR developments also accelerate the process of rural transformation by regularly spacing urban-style houses along prominent rural roads.

FIGURE 4.4: A residential subdivision in a formerly rural setting. Note how the regularity of the spacing and building style disrupts the rural landscape [Source: Campoli et al. 2002, p.157].

Increased Cost of Housing

The outer ring of suburbs and exurbs generally employ one of two mutually exclusive growth policies, the extreme natures of which tend to increase pressure on regional housing prices. One approach is to “downzone” the minimum residential lot size to two or four acres while restricting commercial development, thereby reducing the number of new homes built in town, keeping down traffic, and encouraging wealthier home buyers. This increases housing costs, though, and can lead to so-called "monster homes," far out of scale to neighboring houses, built to capture the maximum home value on an overpriced lot. Higher home values also lead to higher property tax bills, difficult for those with fixed incomes such as the elderly.

The second approach is to zone heavily for commercial office space in order to bring in large tax revenues, thereby keeping residential property taxes low. If successful, however, this strategy can impose considerable automobile traffic on the community and its neighbors. Practiced on a large scale, it could cause a regional job-housing imbalance because if all the commercial land is developed there would be nowhere for

the workers to live. There is a long history of this type of overzoning in America, and it has often led to speculative development and sprawling patterns of development. Los Angeles once zoned enough land for business uses to support the economic activity of the entire country and the business district of Duluth, Minnesota could have supported 20 million people if entirely built out [Friedman 2002].

Both of these approaches have led to higher housing prices in Massachusetts, especially around Boston. The first policy restricts residential supply, while the latter boosts demand. To date, low-density zoning has prevented the housing market from increasing the number of residential units in existing suburban areas, although some buyers do tear down existing homes and replace them with larger structures. Housing demand is thus largely being met at the urban fringe.

However, the state has an affordable housing law, Chapter 40B, that requires 10% of the housing stock in each municipality to be affordable to lower-income households. The enforcement mechanism is passive – if a town is not meeting its affordable quota, then zoning approval for qualified residential developments go through a streamlined approval process overseen by the state. Only a few communities in Massachusetts - mostly urban centers - meet the 10% requirement, and fully developed suburbs are largely immune from 40B because they have no developable land. As a result, many affordable units are being proposed for exurban towns with expensive housing and available land. These middle and upper class communities can be quite hostile toward 40B proposals, although those applying for suburban affordable units include Harvard and MIT professors and other white-collar professionals [Burge 2004].

II. Community Preservation

The factors described above were key determinants in the motivations and methods of the community preservation movement in Massachusetts, which evolved into CPI and related programs.

The Origins and Evolution of CPI

In the early 1990's, the advocacy group Historic Massachusetts linked open space and affordable housing to other community interests in order to gain support for historic

preservation. Their strategy was to identify and solicit input from key community leaders: business owners, religious leaders, local politicians and their sponsors, residents, historic preservationists, and others with local financial power. The intent was to identify and target the "200 people" that run every community, inviting them to one of six regional summits. Each meeting was held in the district of an important state senator in order to gain publicity and political support. During the meetings, Historic Massachusetts presented local examples of "good" and "bad" development and then asked attendees to identify what should be preserved in their own community. This strategy proved effective because attending state senators and other local politicians would listen to the feedback from their boosters. Preservation projects finally made it onto the state legislative agenda and between 1994 and 1998 the state allocated $35 million to historic preservation, after spending almost no money on it in previous years.

While this private sector lobbying was ongoing, the state government lacked a land use planning agency. The Office of State Planning (OSP) last existed during Governor Dukakis's administrations of the 1980's. The OSP produced statewide plans, including the most recent long-range plan on state transportation. After abolishing the OSP, Governor Weld (1990-1997) replaced it with the Planning For Growth (PFG) program. PFG supplied grant money for master plans and studies to local towns and RPA's. It also encouraged the creation of regional policy plans and funded smart growth efforts. However, PFG was a small program and limited in scope. To advocates of smart growth, it was evident that a more organized approach to growth management was needed on regional and state levels.

When named the Secretary of Environmental Affairs in 1998, Bob Durand immediately launched CPI to essentially campaign at the local level for the Community Preservation Act (CPA). During the 1980's, as a state senator, Durand conceived the CPA and evolved its provisions to build a political constituency around open space, affordable housing, and historic preservation. However, it had not yet been successfully signed into law. In June 1999, CPI was still focusing on using traditional legislative approaches to promote the CPA and was promoting a process that would transfer planning responsibilities from towns to the state. However, reflecting on the successes of Historic Massachusetts, CPI's goals shifted to sending a message of local empowerment and getting the "the communities to get better at what they do" as suggested in these maxims:

"Each community is the unique result of history and geography."

"Each community has the right to be what they want."

CPI began with several public summits, including 10-15 communities apiece. At each summit, Durand talked about sprawl, CPI staff showed regional growth maps, and then the heads of other state agencies spoke. The group presentation was followed by breakout sessions focusing on each town. CPI staff asked participants to answer two main questions: What to you want to preserve about your community? and What do you want to change about your community? Participants were most interested in preserving open space, water quality and historic structures and landscapes. They were also interested in changing transportation, land use development, and zoning and planning practices. Surprisingly, some of the summits presented the first opportunity for different leaders of a community to meet together.

The state officials interviewed felt that, during the breakout sessions, people became very interested in what their neighbors' buildouts looked like. This led CPI to hold Regional Super Summits where neighboring towns could look at one another's zoning, giving them a chance to think and plan beyond their own boundaries. One Super Summit even included nearby Rhode Island communities.

Buildout Process

The next step was to complete a personalized buildout analysis for each town in the state. As previously mentioned, the CPI buildout maps and impact statistics were based upon the development allowed by a town's current zoning, taking into account impediments to growth such as wetlands. When asked why the CPI maps did not just extrapolate historical patterns of development in each town, one regional planner noted that those patterns are not good for predicting the future and instead the assumption was made that zoning – not the market – rules land use decisions. To complete the buildout, undeveloped and underdeveloped land was identified and a "realistic" amount of new development was projected based on the town's current applicable zoning. This calculation was done on an "infinity" basis that demonstrated the maximum possible buildout. This obviated the need for determining the chronology of development, and also served as more of scare tactic to get the audience's attention.

Without a state planning office, CPI officials felt they needed to rely on regional planning agencies to encourage communities to be thoughtful about growth. Prior to CPI,

MassGIS had an ongoing relationship with the RPA's: they were the consumers and partial developers of MassGIS data. The RPA's provided CPI with expertise on zoning analysis, and many of them also had the capacity and to create buildout maps. As a result, given their relationships, knowledge, and technical abilities, the CPI process used RPA's as ambassadors to local towns.

Zoning and land use information was collected from each municipality by the appropriate RPA, involving the local planning office if possible. This procedure was the major way that CPI attempted to engage local officials in the mapping and analysis process. The RPA's encountered a lack of cooperation at the local level, largely due to busy town officials being slow in providing land use information. Although the buildout maps could have been created with minimal town involvement, CPI insisted on this step because they wanted the RPA's to get backing at the local level on the accuracy of the buildout data.

While some buildout maps were created by MassGIS and consulting firms, the bulk were generated by the RPA's. Once an initial map was made, the RPA worked with a target audience from the community to adjust it depending on recent developments, overlooked zoning bylaws, and elements of local land use culture, such as the typical size of buildings. The intent was to follow a standard approach for every community, but still ensure the buildout analyses were realistic for any individual municipality. A statistical analysis, estimating future increases in population, primary school students, and public service needs, was included with each buildout map. While several million dollars was allotted to CPI, this was a modest amount given that the annual state budget for open space acquisition has been as high as $20 million. An average of only $5000-8000 was available for each buildout analysis, so MassGIS had limited ability to pursue new data collection or model building.

Once the map and statistical analysis products were complete, the CPI agency gave at least one public presentation in that city or town. CPI worked with the state representative for each community to get time at a public meeting. Elected officials, local leaders, representatives from key state agencies, and residents were all invited to these talks. The RPA and CPI jointly presented the buildouts and introduced EO 418 (referred to as the "next step").

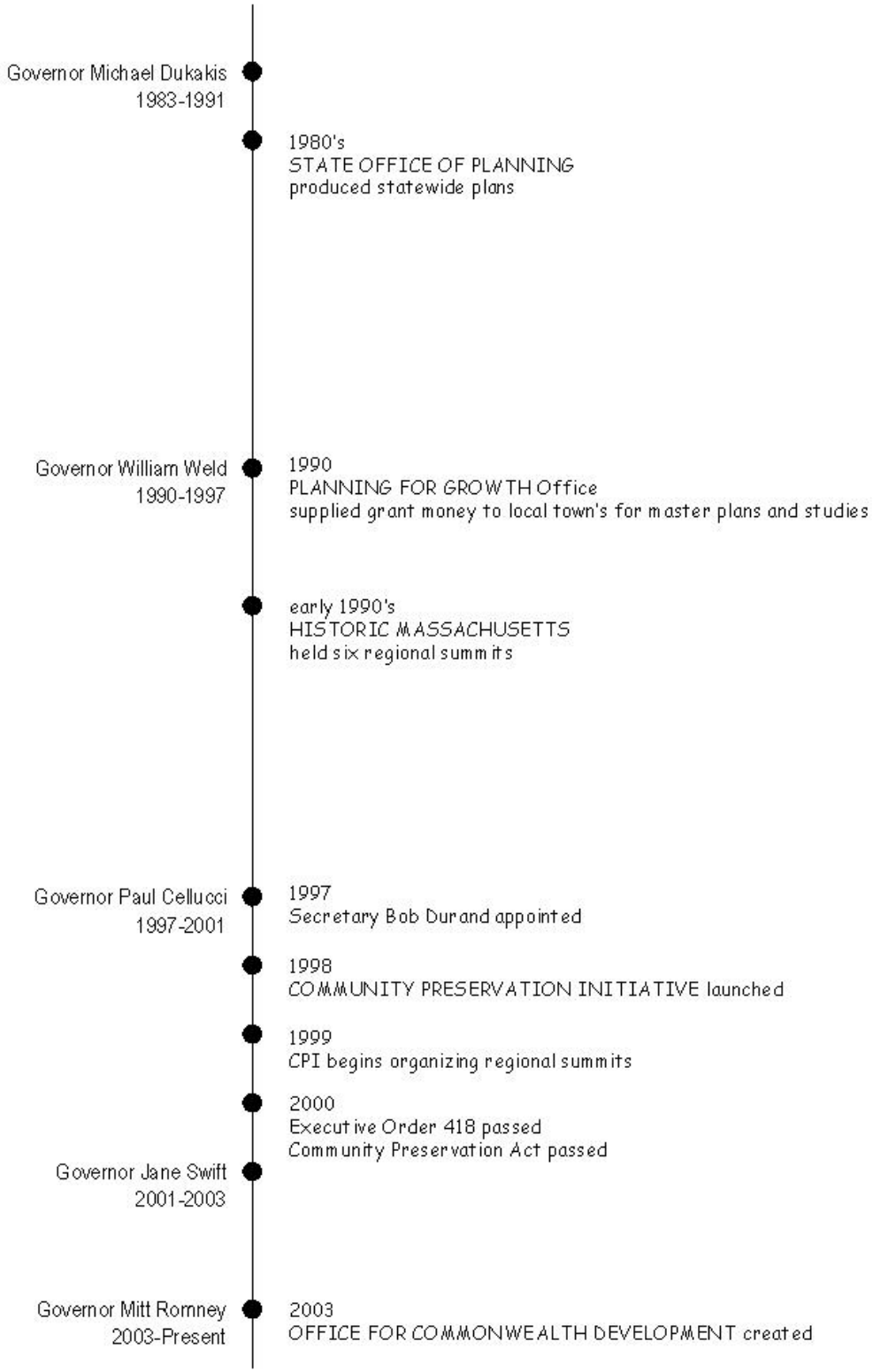
EO 418 originated from the CPI process. While the buildouts were being composed, it was suggested that communities should subsequently create plans that start with the buildout analysis. The idea was to have a program that encouraged towns to develop GIS-based plans that show how the community will address several key elements: housing, environmental protection, transportation, and economic development. The resulting program is commonly called EO 418, after Executive Order 418, although it is more formally named the Community Development Plan Initiative. The state offers up to $30,000 per municipality to be spent toward a EO 418 plan, with RPA's serving as the project managers for the process.

Another follow-up to the buildout maps was the Community Preservation Institute. EOEA officials believed that the most important outgrowth of CPI should be educational, and that the state needs to help their local allies to better understand smart growth and regional planning. The CP Institute attempted to create a school where smart growth advocates can learn from both teachers and other students. The aim was to find and train local leadership and get them to develop a great alumni association, so that there is an engaged, informed, and connected network of local level support for community preservation in Massachusetts.

Ultimately, each community was provided with buildout maps and analyses, information on the Community Preservation Act and EO 418, and future support through the Community Preservation Institute. In order to provide easy access to the buildout information, CPI made all of the buildout data available for download from their website.[11] Their hope was that local officials familiar with GIS could use the data to create their own buildout analysis and develop their own scenarios. Additionally, for each town, specific maps were made available: absolute development constraints, developable land and partial constraints, a composite of development opportunities, orthophotos, and existing zoning. Examples of the first three types of map are located in Appendix B.

[11] http://commpres.env.state.ma.us

FIGURE 4.5: Timeline of state planning programs up through CPI



Known Limitations of CPI

The state officials interviewed were aware of several shortcomings in CPI, based on data, methodology, and process. MassGIS and the RPA's were generally able to collect only zoning-level data from communities. The subsequent absence of parcel-level data posed barriers to two key analyses. For one, it was difficult for CPI to model potential lot assemblage, which impacted the final buildout numbers. Lot assemblage can turn unusable parcels into residential space. For example, a long narrow lot with street frontage can be assembled with interior lots and turned into a subdivision. Second, the CPI buildouts were unable to determine the underutilization of land, a prime indicator of potential redevelopment.

CPI's target of developing accurate and meaningful buildout maps also met with data interpretation difficulties. MassGIS relied upon data provided by towns through the state's 13 RPA's, and no good routines were in place to enforce data standards across all these sources. As a result of this diffuse process, there were wide variations in data quality and MassGIS had no way of knowing if all its data was correct. The CPI maps were additionally limited in their ability to take environmental constraints into account. The scale of the maps could not include all wetlands, and septic system requirements were not considered in the buildout calculations. The small scale of the zoning data also hindered calculations of the amount of buildable acreage in undeveloped areas. Larger lots require a small percentage of their land to be devoted to roadways, while small lots lose up to 30% of their footage. Finally, proper interpretation of town zoning and bylaws requires in-depth research and study, but limits on CPI's funds and schedule did not always permit it, making zoning interpretation inexact at times. Still, despite these problems, the data and the technology to perform this scale of buildout analyses at a credible level was not even available until the last few years.

Meanwhile, CPI's methodology was designed to best fit the first ring of suburbs and other communities with moderate but not full development. The "infinity buildout" approach sometimes generated outlandish buildout numbers for very rural towns, while an alternative redevelopment methodology was needed for urban areas. This latter effort required parcel level data, took a long time to analyze, and did not produce a standardized product.

The shortcoming most cited by state officials, however, was the lack of a follow-up procedure built into the CPI process. While EO 418 was supposed to provide this, it is

missing the real sense of follow-through needed and itself lacks a next step. CPI learned from this absence. In their subsequent Urban River Visions project, a follow-up plan was built in from the very beginning. Part of the project was identifying a core community group that would stay together and see the plan implemented, and the towns that took part in the project were selected based on their follow-up capacity.

Chapter 5
CASE STUDIES

To learn about the effects of CPI on local land use dialog, interviews were held with town and regional planners across Massachusetts. This chapter explains how the research was approached, characterizes the growth management and regional planning issues in each case study area, and reviews the local planning practices at the time of CPI. It concludes with a look at how CPI was experienced at the local level, in preparation for the subsequent analysis of its effects

I. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

It is important at this point to reflect on the lessons from the literature reviewed up to this point. Chapter 2 examined the contradictory attitudes that exist on how to handle growth and land use development at the local level. If growth pressures are strong enough, acceptance of the status quo breaks down and can lead to a fundamental shift in land use policy toward either "slow growth" or "smart growth." Smart growth can provide long-term improvements in land use and development patterns, but only if coupled with effective regional planning. This is due to the broad nature of many land use issues, which makes them difficult to tackle at the local level. Regionalism is able to address many different issues – economic, environmental, social – and comes in a variety of forms, but nonetheless there can be strong resistance to regional planning for political as well as socio-economic reasons.

Given opposition to the loss of local control that regional coordination is perceived to cause, Chapter 3 reviewed the ways that state governments can get involved in local land use planning. Based on a brief overview of planning theory and a few small case studies, states should actively pursue local acceptance of smart growth efforts instead of imposing them unilaterally. States may also need to push for social and political changes that will help to support regional planning. If, as with CPI, educating and engaging local residents through information on land use is part of the strategy, then state planners need to be careful of how they present it. Ideally, the state will not so much provide information as involve people in dialog about land use issues. GIS can be

a good way of approaching this goal. Chapter 4 then highlighted the main elements of land use development in Massachusetts and, within this context, explained the thinking behind the CPI process.

The community preservation effort is essentially Massachusetts' own version of smart growth, working to sustain those community elements that are most important within the state and to alter a system of growth that threatens them. By studying CPI, I explore whether the indications in the literature are accurate, namely whether a customized strategy of local engagement by state-level proponents of smart growth can work, at least in Massachusetts. While this investigation may be coming too soon after CPI to give a definitive answer, it should help highlight any clear successes and failures of the CPI process.

Approach to Primary Data Collection

The decision to hold interviews was relatively simple – it was the fastest and easiest way of discovering how people at the local level felt about CPI and whether it changed their approach to land use planning. Town planners were targeted for interviews because an important element of this research was seeing the shifts in the cooperation and operational paradigm among professionals that deal with land use at each scale of government. Consequently, regional planning agencies and town planners were interviewed rather than the elected officials who address a wider variety of concerns.

It was assumed that professional planners possess an oversight of a range of land use issues, and so would evaluate CPI and related programs with a broad perspective not wholly based on local desires. Indeed, as practicing professionals, they should be invested in the process element of planning, not just its outcome. Additionally, as town employees, local planners have some level of civic responsibility and can speak about the interests and experiences of the entire town. In those communities without a professional planner, the planning board was contacted to arrange an interview. In Massachusetts, planning boards often consist of five local volunteers elected at-large. The board members are usually well-versed in the zoning and development debates within the town and are sometimes professional planners employed elsewhere.

Local residents were not contacted for interviews because of the subsequent exponential increase in research time and diversity of responses. Also, I have previously encountered difficulty in identifying and contacting ordinary town residents who are

engaged in town planning but maintain a generally neutral position. Residents with an interest in town planning tend to be involved in advocacy of land use related issues, such as open space, affordable housing, or commercial development, and therefore evaluate planning efforts according to their personal interests.

I conducted a before-and-after (pre-post) test, inquiring about planning conditions prior to and after the CPI process, to determine whether and when local and regional attitudes changed regarding a) the role of the state in growth management, b) interest in regional planning, and c) the credibility of buildout maps as a long-range land use planning tool. This test was carried out through two case studies in the State of Massachusetts, each covering a different metropolitan area. In each case, interviews were held with the appropriate regional planning agency and with planning staff in targeted towns.

State Officials

Interviews were also held with current and former state officials that helped create and implement CPI. The directors of the CPI office and MassGIS, a former assistant secretary at EOEA, and the director of spatial analysis at a GIS consulting firm that helped create buildout maps were all interviewed.

Regional Selection

For the sake of comparison, it was decided that two metropolitan areas, as defined by a single regional planning agency, would be selected for study. The Boston region was immediately chosen on the merits that its regional planning area includes almost one-third of the towns in the state, contains the state's capitol and largest city, and has been experiencing tremendous growth for much of the past decade, especially in the suburban fringes near Interstate-495. The primary RPA for the Boston area is the Metropolitan Area Planning Council, or MAPC. Meanwhile, to contrast findings collected around Boston, a second area of study was desired that would possess:

- a central city with suburbs;
- character and culture distinct from metro Boston; and
- a mix of community types.

Of the thirteen planning regions in Massachusetts, the area around Springfield stood out on all three counts. Springfield is the third largest city in the state, located a two-hour drive from Boston with the city of Worcester positioned in between, and is completely

surrounded by residential and commercially-developed suburbs. The Pioneer Valley Planning Commission, or PVPC, oversees a great variety of community types around Springfield, ranging from the poorest urban areas in the state to almost unpopulated mountainous land to college towns.

Town Selection

Communities at the suburban fringe were targeted for research. In contrast to urban centers and fully developed suburbs, fringe towns will probably see greater development in the next 10-20 years and will experience a larger shift from their current, almost rural way of life. The determination of which specific towns to contact was based on a designation by the state Department of Revenue, which maintains a "Kind of Community" (KOC) indicator for Massachusetts municipalities. The state uses KOC to compare the property tax base and land values of communities across the state, placing them into one of seven categories. The KOC designations are a rough tool – the Town of Montgomery is listed as a residential suburb, despite having less than 1000 people and lacking any stores or traffic lights. However, it ultimately provided a quick way to identify those municipalities seemingly most vulnerable to urban growth pressures.

Using this basis, towns designated as "growth communities" or "residential suburbs" were contacted for interviews. As a result, the planning officials of 33 towns in MAPC and 12 towns in PVPC were initially sought for interviews. Additionally, a description of this research was posted on the MassPlanners email list, with the intention of eliciting responses from individuals with great knowledge or unique experiences with the CPI program, regardless of their town type or region. That posting resulted in 3 additional communities being engaged in the study. Ultimately, planners in the following towns were targeted and, if possible, interviewed:

FIGURE 5.1: Targeted & Interviewed Communities

METRO BOSTON (MAPC)			
Acton*	Hanover	Medfield	Sherborn*
Bellingham*	Hingham*	Medway	Southborough*
Bolton	Holliston	Millis	Stow
Boxborough	Hopkinton*	Norfolk*	Sudbury
Carlisle	Hull*	North Reading	Topsfield
Cohasset	Lincoln	Norwell	Wayland*
Dover	Lynnfield	Pembroke	Wenham
Duxbury*	Manchester-by-the-Sea	Scituate*	Weston*
Hamilton	Marshfield*	Sharon	
METRO SPRINGFIELD (PVPC)			
Agawam*	Granby	Ludlow	Southwick*
Amherst*	Hampden	Montgomery	Westhampton
Belchertown*	Longmeadow	Pelham	Wilbraham*

*A planning official was interviewed.

Ultimately, thirteen interviews were held with MAPC towns, 39% of those targeted in that region. The five interviews within PVPC led to a slightly better regional response rate of 42%. Overall, interviews were held with eighteen, or 40%, of the towns selected for study. A clear distinction marks the responding towns – they were much more likely to have a professional planner under contract. Only three planning boards responded to the author's request for a 30 minute interview with one of their members, and only one such interview was successfully held.

FIGURE 5.2: Profiles of interviewed municipalities

Municipality	RPA	Kind of Community	2000 Pop.	Gov't Type
Acton	MAPC	Economically Developed Suburb	20,331	Town
Agawam	PVPC	Growth Community	28,144	City
Amherst	PVPC	Growth Community	34,874	Town
Belchertown	PVPC	Growth Community	12,968	Town
Bellingham	MAPC	Growth Community	15,314	Town
Duxbury	MAPC	Residential Suburb	14,248	Town
Hingham	MAPC	Residential Suburb	19,882	Town
Hopkinton	MAPC	Residential Suburb	13,346	Town
Hull	MAPC	Rural Economic Center	11,050	Town
Marshfield	MAPC	Residential Suburb	24,324	Town
Norfolk	MAPC	Residential Suburb	10,460	Town
Scituate	MAPC	Residential Suburb	17,863	Town
Sherborn	MAPC	Residential Suburb	4200	Town
Southborough	MAPC	Residential Suburb	8781	Town
Southwick	PVPC	Growth Community	8835	Town
Wayland	MAPC	Residential Suburb	13,100	Town
Weston	MAPC	Residential Suburb	11,465	Town
Wilbraham	PVPC	Residential Suburb	13,473	Town

Interview Approach

The interviews aimed to establish the context of the CPI experience for the respondent, and to evoke a clear picture of the governmental interactions and reactions during and after the CPI process. Specific questions targeted included:

- What stage of land use planning was a town at immediately prior CPI?
- What was the history of their relationship with other levels of government on the issue of land use?
- From their perspective, who was involved in the CPI process and what were their roles?
- How did perceptions of process and participation differ across levels of government?
- What effect has CPI had on policy at each level, particularly regarding growth management and regional planning?
- What perceived benefits came out of CPI, for themselves and the other participants?
- What role did the use of GIS technology have in providing credibility for CPI?
- How has the relationship of towns with their RPA and the state evolved due to CPI? Has the state-RPA dialog changed?

Interview subjects were called or emailed with a request for a 20-30 minute interview and most were provided with the research purpose and a subset of questions ahead of time. The majority of the town planner interviews took 25-35 minutes, with a minimum of 20 minutes and maximum of 45 minutes. Interviews with state and regional officials generally lasted one hour, with the longer time due to more open-ended questions and the need to gather historical background information.

The interviews took the form of a semi-structured conversation directed by a set of around fifty guiding questions.[12] While there was occasional deviation from the framework to pursue a notable local experience, the core questions listed above were asked of all subjects, although the respondents were also advised that they were not required to answer every question. The Appendix contains the full set of guiding questions for the interviews at the town, regional, and state levels.

[12] Following MIT policy, approval to conduct these interviews was acquired from the Committee On the Use of Humans as Experimental Subjects (COUHES).

With the exception of some state officials, all but one of the interviews were conducted over the telephone. The exception was an email exchange with one town planner. I exclusively conducted every interview, taking notes that were emailed to each subject to give them a chance to correct any errors or misunderstandings, an offer taken up by approximately a half-dozen people. Those responses often included both corrections and an expansion on the ideas covered in the interview. In addition to interviews, printed materials from CPI were also reviewed to learn about the program's history, process, and presentation.

II. Case Study: Metropolitan Boston

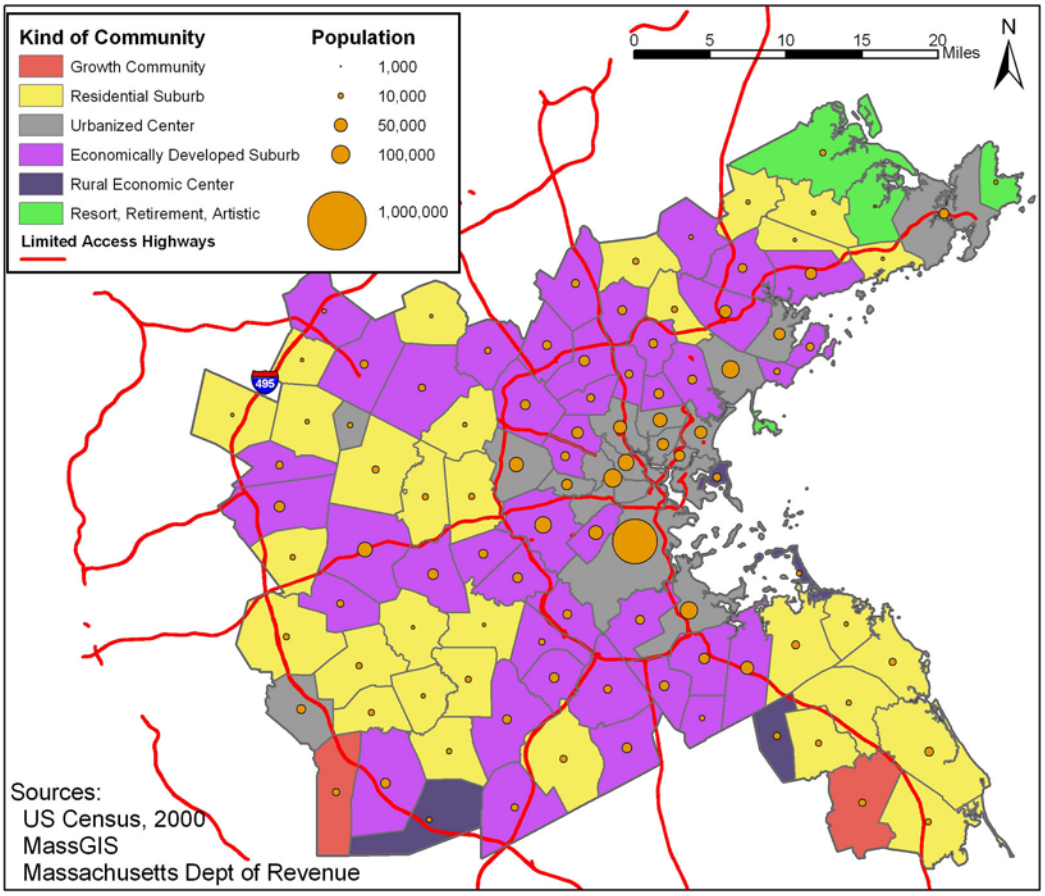
The Metropolitan Area Planning Council (MAPC) is the regional planning agency for greater Boston. It coordinates land use planning for just over three million people in 101 cities and towns – almost one-third of all the communities in the state – handling these through eight sub-regional groups. Boston is clearly the dominant municipality of MAPC, although inner-ring suburbs like Cambridge and Quincy have populations around 100,000 and are major job centers as well.

MAPC does not encompass the entire economic catchment area for Boston, with other RPA's covering outlying towns. However, it does include almost all the towns within Interstate 495, which constitutes a fast-growing ring of economically developing suburbs and bedroom communities. MAPC also includes some truly exurban areas that are becoming satellite suburbs, but are still largely rural.

It should be noted that metropolitan Boston possesses several other regional entities that have some land use power: a water supplier (MWRA), a public transit agency (MBTA), a port and bridges authority (MassPort), and a parks system (MDC).[13] All of these agencies are single-use in nature, however, and do not actively promote inter-town cooperation on land use planning.

[13] The Massachusetts Bay Transportation Authority (MBTA) provides bus, subway, and rail service to the Boston region, extending beyond MAPC's boundaries. The Metropolitan District Commission (MDC) administers parks and some roadways in the Boston area. It recently ceased to be a separate agency and became part of EOEA.

FIGURE 5.3: Profile of the MAPC Region



Growth Management around Boston

Since the mid-1990's the Boston region has had one of the faster-growing housing markets in the US. Within the urban core, this has spurred infill and redevelopment projects. However, the residential and homogenous nature of the second ring of suburbs impedes denser residential development in those areas. The consequence has been much higher home values in the region. This has enriched current homeowners, but also raised monthly rents and therefore excluded young families from many towns. Out-priced groups have sought housing in and beyond the I-495 corridor, and some are even moving to the adjacent states of Rhode Island and New Hampshire and commuting in.

The form of desired growth varies around the Boston region. The theme in the wealthy towns to the west is regulated growth, or as explained by one town planner, "Nothing too fast, and in the context of town character and surrounding neighborhoods. The

preference is maintaining scenic nature rather than seeing a plowed subdivision." Meanwhile, partially-affordable housing developments, filed under Chapter 40B, are themselves the largest growth issue in the southern seashore exurbs. Among other concerns, these developments are making it hard for towns to manage growth. One reason is that uncertainty over the location and size of 40B projects makes it hard to plan local infrastructure. Furthermore, town planners feel they need to be in control of the location and rate of building in order to effectively implement smart growth policies. However, meeting and financially supporting the municipality's 40B obligation requires market rate residential development to temporarily increase – a tough sell in towns already feeling pressured by growth. As the situation in one South Shore town illustrates, the only way to get political support for denser residential development in downtown,

> …is if we are producing enough housing to take 40B off the table. If we meet our production goals every year, we get a rolling moratorium every year. If we build up downtown and then get hit by 40B's out on the fringe, then you lose credibility with the public…We need to build a certain amount of affordable housing, and as well a certain amount of market rate housing in order to support it…and suddenly we are issuing many more annual housing permits than in the past.

Respondents also said that the ANR rule complicates smart growth policy around Boston even further. In order to get political support for densification in village centers, the town planner needs to show that it will lead to lower density and protected open space elsewhere. However, uncontrollable ANR developments result in build-up everywhere simultaneously. Additionally, monster homes and open space preservation are also major growth issues, and pass-through traffic has a high profile in certain towns.

Regional Planning around Boston

As seen below, regional planning is a more accepted concept around Boston than in the Pioneer Valley, and almost every town has an active relationship with MAPC. In addition, exurban Boston communities report a collegial atmosphere with nearby towns and have informal discussions over planning issues. While some planners indicated that towns look at ways to assist one another with zoning bylaws (although what this specifically meant was not mentioned), others claimed that cross-border impacts are not examined and are often outside of abutters' control. One community recently sued a neighboring town over the traffic impacts of a proposed movie theater, but the case was thrown out of court due to lack of standing.

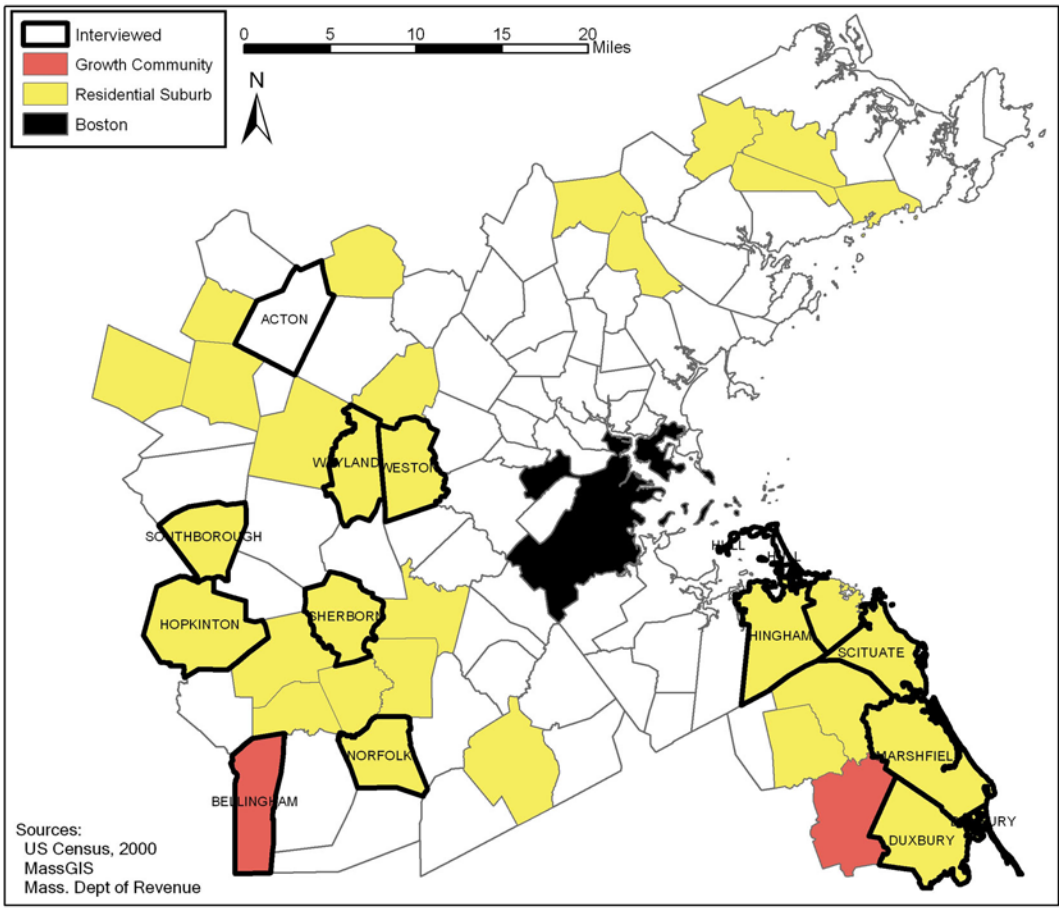
That said, the municipalities have a slightly antagonistic attitude toward MAPC. The impression given by several town planners is that their RPA should act as an information clearinghouse and a source of assistance, without much interest expressed in regional land use planning, coordination, or visioning. Several of the interviewees had previously served as regional planners in other states, but rather than use CPI as an opportunity to involve their community in MAPC efforts, they generally expressed wariness of state and MAPC initiatives and felt that regional coordination was fruitless in Massachusetts without significant changes to state legislation.

MAPC does appear to have a high public profile and is fairly respected among town leaders. One planner that previously worked under a different RPA praised MAPC's good technical assistance and resources, such as GIS, while another planner feels her town is more acceptant of new planning techniques due to the planning board's prominent position in the South Shore Coalition.

Towns Studied

Telephone interviews were conducted with the town planners of Acton, Bellingham, Duxbury, Hingham, Hopkinton, Hull, Marshfield, Norfolk, Sherborn, Southborough, Wayland, and Weston, while the town planner in Scituate responded to questions via email. Positive responses to interview requests were received from Bolton, Dover, Holliston, Lincoln, Millis, and Pembroke, but the limited timeframe and time-consuming nature of primary research prevented the author from speaking with them. Finally, an interview was held with the town planner of Bellingham, but she had just started in the position and attempts to reach the town administrator were unsuccessful. Given the limited information provided, the information from Bellingham was disregarded in the analysis.

FIGURE 5.4: Towns Interviewed in MAPC



To best describe the growth and land use planning experiences of these communities, they have been grouped according to the subregional advisory groups set up by MAPC. Many of the town planners expressed greater personal ties to these units than to the region as a whole and used the concept in their geographically identifications.[14] More importantly, to a remarkable extent, the responses and attitudes of each subregion's town planners were very similar to one another, thereby allowing their experiences to be described in such a grouped fashion. Due to its geographic separation from the rest of the respondents, the interview with the planner of Acton, a town to the northwest of Boston, is being used only for contextual information

Located directly west of Boston is the **MetroWest** subregion, which includes the towns of Southborough, Wayland, and Weston, among others. All three towns are largely residential in nature. While Weston is mostly built out, Southborough is experiencing

[14] One comment from a respondent, typical of the mood was, "Communities on the south shore have different priorities than those on the north belt."

strong residential growth, although this has been through infill subdivisions rather than rural sprawl. This area generally contains many of the wealthiest households in the state but still maintains vestiges of its rural past, partially by limiting the form of local commercial development and not allowing its character to define the town. As an example, according to their planners, one pride of Southborough is the presence of high-end office space rather than auto-oriented strip development on their section of Route 9, while Wayland works to remain a small town with local businesses.

The SouthWest Advisory Planning Committee (SWAP) is the home of Hopkinton, Norfolk, and Sherborn. Many of these communities have vacant land and easy access to Boston, Worcester, and Providence, resulting in tremendous growth recently. Hopkinton is aware of its fast growth rate, which has pushed its infrastructure to capacity and resulted in a temporary moratorium on new connections to the water main. In contrast, Norfolk is growing more moderately and has spent the past decade implementing a progressive master plan that included zoning for "55-and-over" housing and the creation of a traditional town center, which is now nearing fruition. The poor soil in Sherborn has minimized the growth rate there, and the residents like it that way: preserving the town's rural character is very important to them. As a result it is "like an island surrounded by faster growing towns."

Given the current growth pressures along the Massachusetts coastline, five towns were interviewed in the South Shore Coalition: Duxbury, Hingham, Hull, Marshfield, and Scituate. All of these communities front the ocean and, except for Hull, are feeling a large degree of growth pressure from both normal developments and affordable housing projects under Chapter 40B. Marshfield's planner, for instance, noted that the town experienced a 13% jump in population from 1990-2000, which has given its residents the perception that a lot of growth is happening everywhere. This growth is not always leading to a larger population. The size of Hingham has stayed the same in recent years, for instance, but there are now more housing units for the same number of people. Hingham may be in a unique position for the South Shore, however, as 30% of the town is publicly protected and even more is undevelopable wetlands. Hull is neither a residential suburb nor a growth community and in contrast is very built-up ("about 98%

developed" according to their planner), a characteristic that led them to respond differently to some of the interview questions.[15]

Planning Context

Around half of the targeted municipalities around Boston had a professional planner on staff, although some work part-time. One consultant serves as the part-time planner for at least two of the towns interviewed. Those interviewed often had a short tenure with their town: half started their current position during or after the CPI process and all but three have less than 10 years experience planning in their community. Many communities completed master plans and buildout analyses within the decade previous to the CPI project.

At the time of CPI, the state of planning in MetroWest was sophisticated. While there was less information available about Southborough's recent planning efforts, Wayland had not only completed their own buildout analysis, but already had a GIS department by the end of the 1990's. Weston had also done some buildout analysis for their open space and recreation plan, although at the time of CPI they were dealing more with the type rather than the quantity of growth. In response to "monster homes" and development along scenic roads, the town had implemented a residential growth floor area restriction, scenic road bylaws, and a cluster zoning option with the goal of preserving existing vegetation and stone walls. When CPI came to Weston, the town was in the midst of a visioning process that targeted these issues.

CPI found three of the SWAP communities with very up-to-date local planning. Sherborn was in the process of writing its master plan during the CPI process and had just done their own buildout analysis; Hopkinton completed a master plan in 1999, although they did not have any maps to support their planning efforts. Norfolk's master plan was done in 1992, but they also performed a buildout analysis in 1999.

Of the five South Shore towns interviewed, two communities held visioning exercises within a few years of the CPI process, while a third town completed a master plan in 1997. In this last community, buildout analyses formed a central part of their planning process, making the planning board very aware of the town's development potential even before CPI, although the town residents were generally not as informed.

[15] Hull was not originally targeted for an interview, but their planner contacted the author after a description of this research was posted to a Massachusetts planners email list.

CPI Participation & Reaction

All of the town planners played the same role in the CPI process: providing MAPC with the most current zoning and information on new development and open space changes, and providing comments on a preliminary buildout map. The time spent on these activities was not seen as a burden but rather as a worthwhile activity, and the planners felt involved in the process – it was not imposed upon them.

MetroWest residents turned out in good numbers to see the public CPI presentations, but their reaction was lukewarm. In both Weston and Wayland this may have been due to the town's own recent buildout analyses, which local residents reportedly felt was superior to the state's work. The planners there felt that the technology and process behind CPI did not enhance confidence in the buildout maps, although the use of GIS made them visually more catching to the public. The one MetroWest planner who participated in CPI had a wary view of the state's involvement. While she felt the town had enough control in the process, she questioned the relevance and application of the program. Having previously been a regional planner, she "suspected these programs were not from the largess of the state," and wondered how the resulting policies would be applied. The CPI maps were generally not used after their public presentation, although they provided the foundation for some of Wayland's town-produced GIS maps.

There was not much public reaction in SWAP either – no one was really surprised because, in the opinion of the planners, recent in-town buildout analyses together with the area's growth had taught residents that undeveloped land is not necessarily protected from development. Audiences understood what the maps meant and, at least in one town, were interested in the assumptions behind the CPI calculations.

Unlike in the other areas around Boston, the SWAP planners held the buildout results in very high regard, for a number of reasons. One was that, despite following dissimilar methodologies and using different data, the CPI results validated the outcomes of the towns' own buildout analyses. In addition, the planners found the CPI maps professionally useful: they showed Hopkinton – which lacks a GIS system – how much open space their cluster bylaw has preserved; Sherborn found the maps aided the siting of affordable housing projects, and Norfolk needed the current conditions map. Furthermore, in the words of one planner, "to graphically show growth is very important – people don't want to hear me talk about numbers." There was also praise for the approach of CPI. One planner felt like it was an actual project, instead of the "unfocused

series of discussions" typical of most state land use initiatives. It was also noted that the consistent statewide methodology allows towns to compare themselves to any other community, although there is no indication that any of the towns interviewed have done so. Finally, the planners hoped that the CPI presentations helped residents learn about both the importance of zoning and their own ability to control their town's land use destiny.

Since most of the South Shore planners were not in their current office during CPI, they could not comment on the process. The ones who were present confirmed that the process was consistent with the approach laid out by EOEA. While it appears that residents understood the CPI maps, public reaction to them ranged from apathy to dismay. Some negative reactions were due to expectations that the maps would have parcel-level detail. However, in one town the maps were controversial because they made information accessible to people about developable areas and "kicked off a race between developers and open space advocates." This had a direct effect on land use planning, as CPI affected the availability and sales price of priority parcels for public open space acquisition.

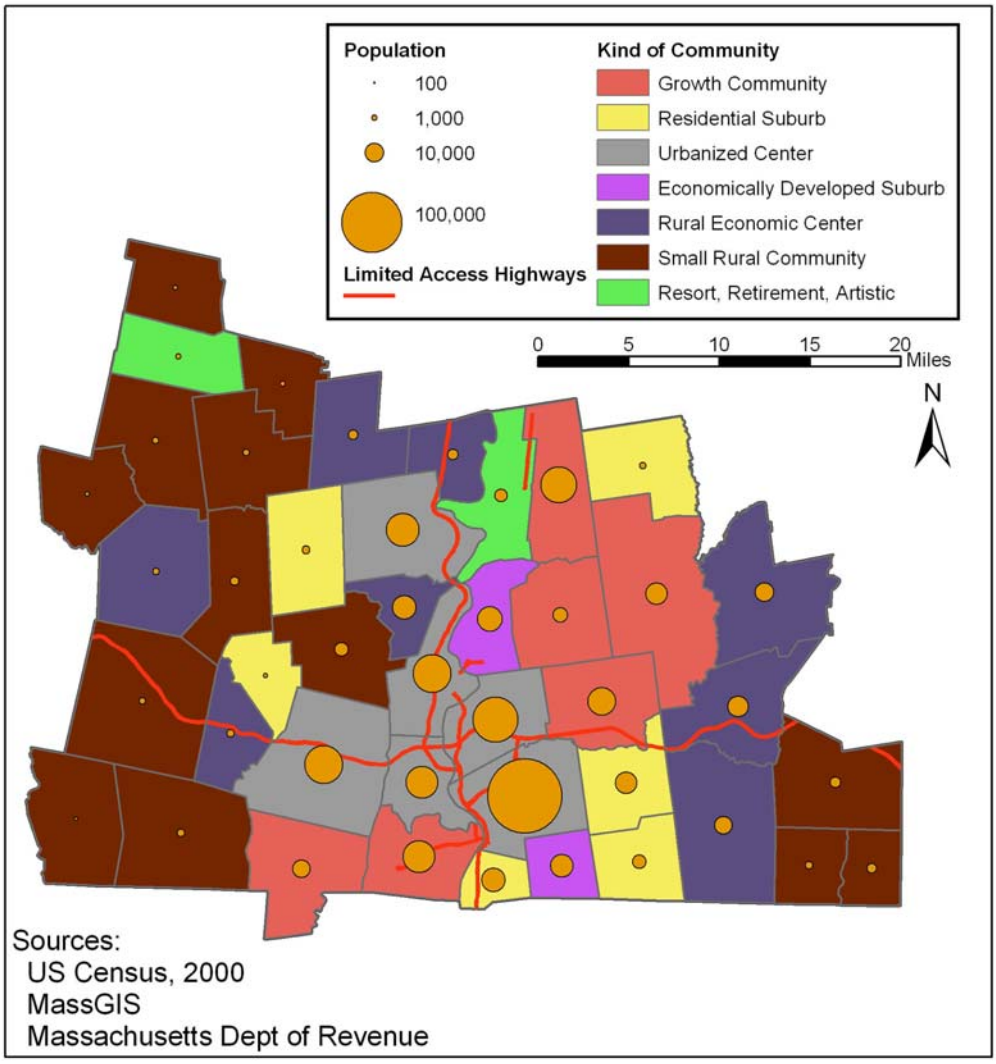
The South Shore planners themselves were highly critical of the usefulness of the CPI results, asserting that 40B developments render futile any attempt at buildout analysis or town planning. A comment typical of the criticism was, "You can't use conventional zoning as a base for buildouts because what gets built differs from zoning as a result of 40B projects." Redevelopment of built-up land is also making the South Shore's growth potential unclear. Due to these influences, CPI's maximum population projection for one South Shore community was actually attained within one year with much more growth still occurring. That said, these same planners confirmed that their own buildout analyses had come to similar results as CPI's results.

Since the CPI presentations, some of the planners have used the CPI maps for public presentations, although more as supplements than central features. There is a concern that the maps can be easily challenged due to the process in which they were created, although they are valued for being relatively easy to understand.

III. CASE STUDY: METROPOLITAN SPRINGFIELD & THE PIONEER VALLEY

The Pioneer Valley Planning Commission (PVPC) is the regional planning agency for greater Springfield and its outlying areas. It covers 43 cities and towns of great variation. The primary urban feature of the area is metropolitan Springfield, a population of roughly 592,000.[16] Beyond Springfield lie two college towns – Northampton and Amherst – that serve as additional economic and cultural centers, as well as a swath of exurban residential communities that are not rural but lack the commercial services of most suburbs. The remainder of the region consists of lightly populated rural land.

FIGURE 5.5: Profile of the PVPC Region



[16] Population of the Metropolitan Statistical Area from the US Census, 2000.

Growth Management around Springfield

The majority of housing in western Massachusetts is not built in subdivision developments, but rather through the ANR process. This has at least three notable effects on the pattern of growth. One is the continuous bleeding of development into outlying areas, which accelerates the process of rural transformation. Furthermore, studies have found that this low-density residential development outside of urban centers has a disruptive influence on later growth, making future higher density development difficult [Moore and Nelson 1994]. Third, while larger-scale subdivision development alerts residents to ongoing growth, the incremental nature of ANR development is leading to a "slow boil" effect in the Pioneer Valley, with the consequence that communities only become interested in growth management after the town's character has been irreversibly altered.

The interviews revealed two growth issues that appear to be shared by many people in the region: concern about the loss of open space and a low tolerance for traffic congestion. The most direct reaction to these changes have been "no growth" policies, but when Pioneer Valley communities have tried to restrict growth it has led to a counter-productive backlash. Past attempts in several towns, prior to CPI, to impose building moratoriums have led to a deluge of subdivision and single-lot plans that sharply increased growth in the short-term. To preserve open space, some PVPC communities enacted Transferable Development Rights (TDR) programs, allowing unbuilt development potential in rural areas to be "moved" to a more appropriate location for commercial and residential space. While this does not limit the volume of growth, it can preserve open space. Meanwhile, dismay about increased traffic appears to elicit very emotional responses from the respondents' constituents, but few remedies have been proposed. None of the planners interviewed felt like there was an alternative to the automobile, echoing the resigned position of one respondent that their town has, "already developed in an auto-oriented pattern, so we don't have the traffic infrastructure to do 'smart growth' initiatives." Following the findings in Forsythe's case study in Australia, Pioneer Valley residents may simply view automobile dependence as an acceptable cost of mobility [Forsyth 1997].

Regional Planning around Springfield

PVPC faces a more diverse and independent set of towns than seen around Boston. While a subset of the region is focused on Springfield, it is not enough of an urban center

to dominate daily life in further out towns. There is also a greater sense of independence in western Massachusetts, partially due to its rural nature and history, and somewhat because it has become a draw for people looking for that atmosphere. A regional planner explained the situation as follows:

> Part of the greater "independence" of towns in the PVPC area is because people don't feel like they are part of a region in the same sense that Boston does. Boston has a shared employment basin, sports, same problems. Out here, there is a greater diversity of issues and identities than in any metro area…some of this is perceived while some is real… The lack of shared identity many times prevents people from coming together on planning issues.

Because of small populations and an independent mindset, many Pioneer Valley towns use planning boards rather than professional staff. Consequently, PVPC is often the only resource available to a community for land use planning or coordinating development. There does appear to be a need for these services. In addition to the risk of overdevelopment due to outdated zoning, there is a tendency in the western part of Massachusetts to put higher impact land uses at the edge of the community, which often impacts the town next door. Given the region's limited civic resources and a lack of enthusiasm regarding inter-local dialog, it is PVPC that negotiates solutions and educates communities on land use. PVPC also distributes information and attempts to bridge gaps in inter-town governance. Besides the Pioneer Valley Transit Agency, the PVPC may be the only regional public body in the area.

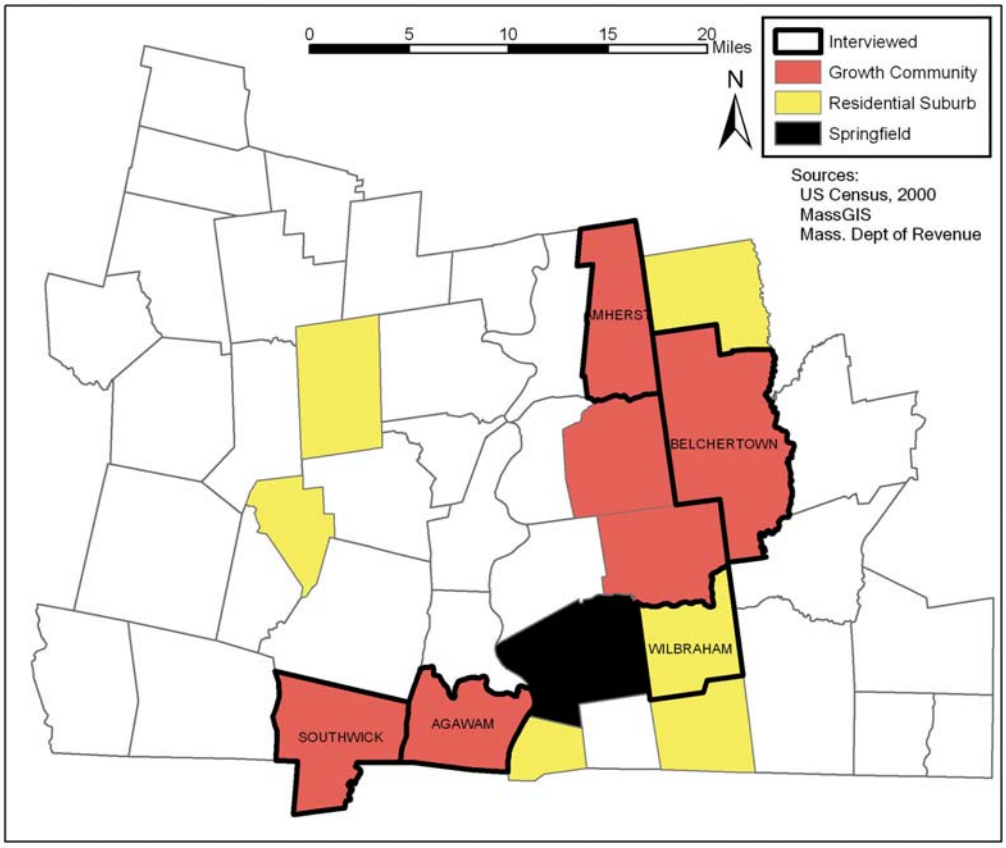
Roads are the one issue that seems to provoke any degree of regional planning discussion in the Pioneer Valley. Upgrades and economic development along State Route 9 and US Highway 20 have involved towns with the state and each other in planning, but these discussions have not spilled over into a broader land use dialog. Still, expanding commuting patterns may begin to provide a more regional perspective, as area workers are beginning to travel not just to Springfield but also to Hartford and Worcester.

Towns Studied

Interviews were conducted with the city/town planners of Agawam, Belchertown, and Wilbraham, a Senior Planner in Amherst, and a planning board member in Southwick. The planning boards of Hampden and Ludlow did not respond to an interview request, while contact information for the planning boards of Granby, Longmeadow, Montgomery,

Pelham, and Westhampton could not be readily found. Given the minimal response from planning boards during this research, the decision was made to not invest the time to find and contact them.

FIGURE 5.6: Towns Interviewed in PVPC



Despite the greater prevalence of professional planners in metropolitan Boston than in the Pioneer Valley, the former appeared more rushed than their western counterparts. The PVPC planners generally contributed more information about their towns and did not assume that the author already possessed extensive knowledge of their town's character and geography, readily offering local context and stories that described their environment. As compared to the Boston region, this information allows for a more detailed description of each Pioneer Valley community examined.

Wilbraham and Agawam are both fairly developed suburbs of Springfield. Wilbraham has advanced land consumption and a predominantly residential character – a bedroom community that has worked to maintain that composition. Major waves of development occurred in the 1950s-70s, leaving little developable land which, along with a high per capita income, has slowed growth and contributed to high land prices. Agawam is also

residentially built up but lacks a true bedroom community flavor. There is local interest in more retail, and the town character is greatly influenced by the presence of the Six Flags amusement park.

Removed from Springfield by the first ring of suburbs, Southwick is also experiencing strong residential growth, some of it spilling over from Agawam. Much like Agawam, town residents do not want to be just a bedroom community and are looking to balance residential and commercial development with open space preservation.

In contrast, the more distant Belchertown is a blend of suburban and rural styles and very residential in land use. A New England town look and feel is important to its residents although, "the type of people who have moved here want to be left alone – they want their little piece of land and good schools, but don't want to get involved or pay for it." In these respects, Belchertown seems like an exurban version of Wilbraham. In contrast, however, Belchertown is experiencing a significant amount of ANR development: 500 homes in the last eight years.

Amherst is home to three major colleges (Amherst College, Hampshire College, and the main campus of the University of Massachusetts), imbuing it with an academic atmosphere which "contributes to a distancing from reality and slow recognition of actual change." Combined with its town style of government, this results in thoughtful but gradual shifts in local land use policy and principled support for affordable housing development. The colleges have at least two other effects on land use. Unlike much of the Pioneer Valley, Amherst is a job center that draws commuters from adjoining towns, giving local residents some regional perspective. In addition, there is a large degree of institutional property ownership in town which, along with open space protections, makes only one-half of Amherst's land available for private development.

Planning Context

The Pioneer Valley planning officials interviewed had a much longer tenure than those around Boston, with their in-town experience ranging from 5 to 21 years, and an average of over 13 years. As a consequence, this case perhaps provides a broader perspective on the evolution of town-regional-state relations over land use.

At the time of CPI, only one of the towns had done a recent buildout analysis and none had an established GIS system. None of the communities had an up-to-date master plan

and most were working with vision statements written in the 1970's or early 1980's. Several of the planners expressed frustration with the inability to get a new master plan approved or funded, or to even make amendments to zoning done in the 1950's.

Prior to CPI, PVPC itself had been a partner with the state in funding specific land use programs. However, CPI was treated as a new joint approach because it was the first collaborative state-wide effort directly linking regions and the state in quite a while.

CPI Participation & Reaction

Each of the Pioneer Valley town planners interviewed had similar involvement with CPI: the RPA contacted the town to get information on zoning and new developments and would later send them a preliminary buildout map for comments. Ultimately, CPI and PVPC presented the community's buildout report at a public meeting – sometimes to the selectmen, sometimes to the planning board. People generally understood the concept behind the maps.

Public reaction to the buildouts at the presentation was characterized in a variety of ways. In some towns, attendees found the CPI maps interesting but not particularly surprising or revealing. Other presentations turned into a discussion of how to resolve potential pressure on schools and open space. In just one community was the atmosphere described as "oh my, that all could be developed?"

Meanwhile, all of the planners interviewed praised both the CPI concept and the quality of the analyses. They did note discrepancies or mistakes in the buildout maps, however, mostly involving misunderstandings of local practices such as patterns of development. They also felt that the uniform methodology and assumptions employed by CPI made the results better for statewide or regional analysis than for local use.

Subsequent to the presentations, three of the towns shelved the CPI reports, although in at least one of these communities, "despite its generalities, CPI got people thinking about planning," due in part to the unique newspaper coverage received for a planning event. In contrast, another planner used the CPI maps at public forums to illustrate the rate of current and potential growth in town and to communicate the urgency of master planning. On yet another level, the Town of Amherst was so intrigued by the possibilities for the CPI method that they subsequently contracted for a new buildout analysis tailored to their community.

Chapter 6
FINDINGS

Based on the literature about growth management, regional planning, and the role of information in planning, there is a primary expectation for CPI: public education on land use and development, highlighted by the loss of open space and large population increases seen in "infinity" buildout maps, will lead citizens and towns away from a development pattern focused on short-term gains and toward smart growth. The hope is that CPI would initiate zoning reforms as well as local debates over how to handle increasing housing costs, loss of local character, and traffic congestion. Ultimately, an ongoing dialog would begin between towns and regional planning agencies, and a sense of partnership would develop between towns, RPA's, and the state.

Based on my interviews, state officials believe that CPI has created several important benefits for both the state and the individual towns:

- an enhanced constituency on land use and other regional planning issues.
- better informed communities, leading to better land use decisions.
- a greater number and broader range of people involved in the public planning process.
- passage of the Community Preservation Act.
- a more accurate set of data on local land use, which has been put to use in the private sector such as the Audubon Society's report 'Losing Ground.'
- better coordination between state agencies, setting the stage for the Office for Commonwealth Development (OCD) – a powerful new committee overseeing and coordinating housing, energy, and transportation efforts in the state.

These benefits may all be true – this paper does not dispute any of them. Rather, this investigation evaluates the success of CPI in fostering land use dialog at the local level and encouraging regional land use discussions by using GIS to create and deliver locally customized information that educates the public. These attempts were run through a vertically integrated process that aimed to get state, regional, and local planners to work together and participate as a team.

While the research findings are complex, they clearly show that, barring some exceptions, these efforts have thus far been largely unsuccessful.

I. Actions Inspired by CPI

While this investigation mainly focuses on how CPI has influenced the public dialog around land use, it is worthwhile to consider more direct actions that may have occurred. These actions could include changes in voting patterns, shifts in town policy, or zoning amendments that affect the style of growth. Overall, the Community Preservation Act (CPA) was passed in many of the municipalities interviewed, but the respondents generally attribute that to their own work rather than CPI (although we are limited in our ability to determine the extent to which the local officials may have exaggerated their own roles). Beyond that, there have been almost no new actions to enact smart growth policies at the local level.

In the MetroWest area, CPI did not invoke any changes in town development or zoning. The Community Preservation Act later passed in all three towns examined, but the local planners felt their communities were already disposed toward the CPA due to past planning efforts. They felt confident that CPI had no influence in its passage. The SWAP subregion saw similar results despite their planners' enthusiasm for CPI. The CPA passed in two towns and the respondents felt CPI played no clear role in either case. Support for the CPA came from those drawn to its open space funds and, at least in one community, the need to support affordable housing locally. One negative impact occurred due to CPI – a downzoning of some areas to ostensibly help protect land near lakes and water supplies.

The South Shore planners explicitly stated that the CPI maps had little-to-no influence in the passage of the CPA, which succeeded in all but one of the interviewed municipalities. While the reasons for the strong CPA support are unclear, local residents are concerned about the fast rate at which open space is being lost to development. However, at least one planner noted that the CPA funds are just a "drop in the bucket" in the cost of open space acquisition. While one respondent spoke for many in saying, "there has been limited impact of the CPI maps on new development or zoning," at least one South Shore town is extending the buildout data for their own uses. The planner there has broken down the aggregate buildout numbers into a finer scale to provide

population impacts for each elementary school district, and is using a buildout-style analysis for the town's new housing and open space plans.

In the Pioneer Valley, CPI did not lead to any decisive actions on local land use. As in outer Boston, local passage of the CPA appears to have had no connection to the CPI buildouts. In Belchertown, despite the most public and sustained use of the CPI products of any town interviewed, the CPA surcharge was rejected and attempts to change zoning stalled.

II. Local Land Use Dialog

Since CPI, little change has occurred at the local level over growth management. At least in the towns studied, many residents were already aware of the growth in their communities due to local planning initiatives or simple observation, likely making the CPI buildouts less revelatory than expected.[17] The current growth management dialogs were largely in place prior to CPI, and furthermore appear to have been little altered by it.

Across all three MAPC subgroups studied, planners clearly stated that CPI had no impact on the growth conversation within the town. In MetroWest, discussions about the trade-offs of growth are still emerging and CPI appears to have not even played a role in speeding them up. This lack of progress appears to be frustrating to the local planners. One respondent was at a loss to explain the absence of growth trade-off discussions, and another fretted that her town had squandered a unique opportunity. There is some growth management going on in MetroWest, but the respondents felt it was not spurred by CPI. One town has even enacted a local growth management policy, but the planner attributes its genesis to the town's own previously-performed buildout analysis. In another town, some recent 40B projects have made residents aware of the high cost of local land, which has led to increased attention to affordable housing.

Similarly, the interviewees In the Southwest exurbs felt that CPI has had no effect on the local growth management conversation. In fact, even major problems caused by growth are not spurring dialog. One fast-growing town has had to impose a temporary

[17] This finding may be highly dependent on the kinds of communities interviewed. It may be that rural towns in particular would have found the CPI buildouts to be more of a surprise.

moratorium on new water main connections because their water system is at capacity.[18] However, instead of inspiring a discussion about the impacts of growth, this town's planner felt that, "until the water and sewer issue is resolved, there is no point in discussing smart growth in the town."

Nor in the South Shore did CPI lead directly to growth trade-off discussions, although the planners interviewed felt they may soon begin. Due to CPI, they said, South Shore residents are becoming more aware of their towns' buildout potential. One official noted that people are now generally more willing to accept cluster developments, trading off density for open space, and partially attributed this change to the attention being given to smart growth. However, South Shore residents' development priorities vary greatly, ranging from supporting good schools to maintaining local character to providing more convenient commercial uses. It is possible that this diversity of wants makes defining growth priorities in the area a necessary pre-requisite to discussing its tradeoffs.

Around Springfield, CPI appeared to expand existing growth discussions but did not spur any particular actions, due in part to the lack of consensus on the problems and the solutions of growth. For more established communities, the buildouts mostly demonstrated existing patterns of growth. Area residents were already aware of those trends, and no new dialog emerged on the matter. These towns are actually already pursuing more balanced growth than other communities – matching residential with commercial development – and as a result, there are not many local discussions about growth trade-offs.

In the more exurban areas of the Pioneer Valley, CPI was able to supplement ongoing growth management discussions. In one town, an increase in growth trade-off dialog has occurred but only within the context of a pre-existing public master plan process, which has used the CPI maps to illustrate the current and potential rates of local growth. That process has created support for growth management in concept, but as the local planner explained, when it comes to making decisions residents resist taking action. Meanwhile another community, Amherst, was already experiencing constant debate about growth within their town. The growth issues in Amherst are clearly visible – high housing prices and monster homes, both aggravated by significant open space preservation – and are occurring amongst an educated and politically-active

[18] While water and sewer infrastructure information was not included in the CPI buildout analyses, even obvious impacts caused by growth are not spurring local dialog on growth management.

constituency. The Amherst planning office found the CPI buildouts very useful and followed up by contracting a new buildout analysis better tailored to their community. Yet despite the presentation of both buildout analyses, and high profile problems with the pattern of growth, there has been little public reaction from residents. The senior town planner attributes some of this inaction to Amherst's academic culture, which often distances people from reality. He also noted a situation that seems to affect other towns in the state where land use issues are at the fore of public debate: "too many citizens will not accept anything less than a theoretically perfect outcome where there is only benefit and no cost to anyone."

While it appears that CPI was able to supplement land use discussions in Pioneer Valley exurbs, it was not capable of starting a dialog from scratch. For instance, in a different growing community around Springfield, many long-term residents are keeping quiet on the issue of growth. It is seen as inevitable, and the interviewee felt that the lack of public discussion may be because rural land owners are getting older and are looking to sell their land to support retirement. CPI was unable to start any dialog in that community.

The dialog on growth that is occurring contains fundamental schisms along the lines of length of local residence, and homeowners versus homebuyers. According to the respondents, many longtime residents love the New England town character of their community and want minimal change. In contrast, new residents want their home to be more like the Massachusetts town from which they came [Ellery 2003]. Meanwhile, most homeowners want new development to be concentrated in the center of town in order to preserve open space, while those looking to buy a new home simply want what the owners already have: a single family house in a residential subdivision. These conflicting desires can make a community's public position on growth appear to be ambiguous.

Views on growth are contradictory even at the individual level. One intention of this thesis was to discover how people react when faced with growth trade-offs. The answer appears to be that people want everything and are too torn to decide. As one local planner described the situation,

> At the time of CPI, the local view on growth was, and remains, contradictory. People wanted smart growth, a diverse economy and housing, and preservation of open farm land. They want those results, but when asked to have the consequences next door, they have a powerful NIMBY response… They want a paradox…they want the land near them to remain (or become) pastoral, yet want to be able to walk to high quality urban services.

As a result, residents may support growth management but when it comes to making decisions that may impose costs on them, they resist. That said, the discussions that are occurring seem to be about accepting growth as inevitable and managing it, not trying to stop it or push it further out. It should also be noted that the form of growth – particularly monster homes and the buildup of rural roads – was often mentioned as a bigger concern than the rate of growth.

FIGURE 6.1: Summary of CPI Effects

	Growth Issues	Planning at the time of CPI	Public Reaction to buildouts	Planners' Reactions to CPI	Impact on Local Dialog	Impact on State/ Regional Dialog
MetroWest						
	Keep growth moderate Maintain scenery	Sophisticated (GIS, buildouts, visioning)	Lukewarm, perhaps due to existing planning.	Guarded	Limited: confirmation of local work.	None
SWAP						
	Available land Varied growth rate	Up to date master plans	No surprise because of area growth.	Positive	Limited: useful maps for planners.	None
South Shore						
	40B development	Mixed	Apathy and dismay	Critical	None, except for land bidding.	None
Pioneer Valley						
	Facing sprawl	Out of date plans and zoning	Interest and discussion	Praise with professional critiques	Enhancement to existing growth discussions.	None

III. Regional Land Use Dialog

Whether called smart growth or community preservation, growth management is made more effective through regional coordination on land use. This can happen "horizontally," through individual communities working together or "vertically," through formal leadership of a regional planning agency. I found that while CPI enhanced the partnership between the state government and RPA's, it was unable to bridge the large gap between regional and town planners.

Horizontal: Inter-Town Dialog

CPI appears to have had no effect on informal inter-town dialogue. Even in the face of great inconveniences posed by externally-generated traffic, few planners or residents look beyond their town borders or actively cooperate with neighbors on land use. The message from towns is consistent: they do not want any interference in their affairs, nor do they plan to get involved in their neighbors' issues. It is quite telling that only a few planners mentioned that CPI gave them the ability to compare their town's buildout scenario with any other town in the state. This oversight does not appear to be limited to the interviewed towns; there has been little to no downloading of the regional buildout files available online.

Around Boston, despite good working relationships amongst local planners there are no explicit conversations about regional growth trends. Towns hold casual discussions with neighboring communities on coordinating transportation, open space, and drinking water issues, but the respondents did not feel CPI changed those conversations. Meanwhile, cross-jurisdictional action on non-traffic issues tends to be reactive in nature, such as a community dealing with a large 40B project built on their border by a neighboring town. Similarly, while the interviewed planners very much like MAPC's system of subregional groups, it tends to restrict broader regional engagement. Most towns do not interact with any communities outside of their subgroup, even if they are immediate neighbors. For example, the City of Waltham is the source of much of Weston's traffic, but there is no dialog about the issue between these municipalities because they are in different subgroups.

The only instigator of broader regional interest within the domain of MAPC appears to be drive-through car traffic. In the interviews, when asked about regional involvement,

planners frequently touted their work with neighboring municipalities on state and US highways that pass through their towns. This cooperation, however, only interests towns affected by drive-through traffic, which is not yet a common occurrence for the outer ring of suburbs. However, a regional planner said that, unlike with other issues, MAPC can usually get communities to support planning and improvements on a major traffic route, even if it does not actually pass through their town.

Meanwhile, around Springfield, the interviewed towns plainly refuse to interact with their neighbors on traffic issues, even if enduring debilitating congestion. One town experiences a "huge amount" of traffic passing between the University of Massachusetts campus in Amherst and Interstate 90, sometimes resulting in a two-mile backup. However, they are having no discussions with the Town of Amherst on this issue, explaining that, "No one in town looks beyond the town borders. No town in the area is good at cross-border agreements." Similarly, another community has rebuffed calls by its neighbors to discuss the traffic generated by a major destination within its borders. In fact, despite themselves being subjected to paralyzing traffic from a seasonal event in a neighboring town, they refuse to initiate any conversations over traffic flow. This community even resisted using EO 418 funds for a traffic study when told they would have to work on it with neighboring towns.

Vertical: Town-RPA Dialog

CPI appears to have had no effect on the dialogue between towns and their regional planning agencies. Beyond transportation issues, regional coordination on land use is virtually non-existent in Massachusetts due to provincialism, a legislative system that works against it, and a cultural gulf between RPA's and towns. While CPI did not worsen the situation, it was not enough to overcome organizational and legal barriers.

Similar to the reaction on growth management discussions, the MetroWest respondents asserted that CPI had no impact on the dialog between them and MAPC. These towns' relationship with their RPA is mostly funneled through the MetroWest subgroup, which discusses regional growth trends but does not appear to focus much on community preservation issues like open space, water resources, or land use compatibility. Instead it concentrates on traffic concerns such as intersection upgrades and Route 128.

The planners of SWAP definitely have a positive relationship with MAPC. They regularly attend RPA meetings and planning forums, and appreciate the information MAPC

distributes. However, CPI did not lead to any further local interest in regional planning, nor alter the towns' relations with MAPC. While the southwest communities like their RPA, the rare regional coordination that occurs does not involve MAPC as the towns prefer to casually cooperate amongst themselves. One notable regional action – the establishment of an economic target area across several towns – was handled by Norfolk County, not MAPC.

The South Shore communities have a somewhat critical, arms-length relationship with MAPC. This is part of a general disinterest in regional planning throughout the area. Since CPI, one planner has tried to get their planning board members or selectmen to go to MAPC or regional subgroup meetings, but gotten no reaction. There are even questions over whether a South Shore group makes sense: "Other than Route 3 we have little to talk to our neighbors about."

The clear answer from the Pioneer Valley interviews was that CPI has not compelled town residents or even planners to look beyond their borders. CPI may have contributed to a general education about regional issues, but there was no sudden upsurge of interest in regional planning. One respondent simply stated that, "regional planning is seen as irrelevant if the issue is not in the town's interest." Planners repeatedly stressed that residents only look cross-boundary if an issue affects them directly, or someone makes a lot of noise about it. There were no definitive explanations for this lack of cross-border involvement, just a lack of interest. Still, despite antipathy toward regional planning in general, most of the interviewed planners reported a good relationship with the PVPC.

IV. The Effectiveness of Information

In Chapter 3, this thesis asked whether information can overcome barriers to smart growth. It was noted that the CPI strategy was to educate the public with personalized information, delivered via GIS. The research findings suggest that the delivery mechanism, the process of sharing information, or both, were inadequate in meeting CPI's objectives on fostering dialog.

One goal of CPI, as stated in the introduction, was to generate GIS files that would be available to local and regional planners. They could subsequently recreate the buildouts on their own, making adjustments that better reflect their town's circumstances or test out different development scenarios. At the local level, this asset seems almost entirely unused. Some Boston area towns already had their own GIS departments and preferred internal work over what the state gave them, in part because of local access to more accurate parcel-level data. Communities that lacked GIS sometimes felt that they needed a GIS system to make any use of the maps, even though they were ultimately available in PDF format. However, some towns without GIS did appreciate the maps, as they did not possess the resources to create them.

Still, many of the respondents dismissed the practical usefulness of the CPI data because it lacked local parcel-level information, leading to inaccuracies noticed by local residents.[19] However, almost every planner that had previously done a parcel-level analysis admitted that the CPI results were similar to their own, and even admitted they were well done. That planners both criticized CPI's methodology and used it as a yardstick suggests that criticism of CPI was not so much about its output but rather directed at the effectiveness of buildouts in general. One planner's comments summarize the frustration over land use projections: "It's impossible to predict ultimate development because of Chapter 40B housing (built at densities greater than zoning), and unpredictable choices by individuals who choose not to develop at maximum density and restrict the remaining land."

In terms of educating the public, the earlier literature review noted that land use maps in general and GIS in particular may not meet CPI's goals. One concern is that the buildout maps may lack the vital non-geographic information about character and context needed to engage people; the other worry is that the top-down nature of GIS is seen as simply providing information rather than inciting two-way interaction. In the case of CPI, it appears that the attributes of GIS failed to serve as a major attraction at the local level, although interviewed officials did not have anything negative to say about the use of GIS

[19] Interestingly, while many planners criticized CPI for not being more sensitive to local growth patterns, few brought up the absence of water and sewer data in the buildouts. As mentioned in Chapter 4, this infrastructure is in many ways the primary brake on growth in exurban Massachusetts – sewage capacity determines where new developments can go and how big they can be. The reason for the absence of criticism is unclear. Then again, at least in the case of one SWAP community, the town planner's own buildout analysis did not include water and sewer limitations because he figured that the technology will eventually exist to allow micro-level sewage treatment.

for the buildouts, and a few expressed gratitude for this graphic means of showing growth to the public. The respondents did feel confident that the public could read the maps and grasp the meaning of the buildout data. But while the use of GIS made the buildouts visually more appealing, the respondents consistently felt that the technology behind CPI did nothing to enhance confidence in the buildout maps.

Still, the buildout analyses could not have been done without GIS given the limited time and money available for the project. Even though respondents at the local level said GIS played no role in their regard for CPI, that could be because they were not thinking of the alternatives such as a purely numeric presentation. It should also be noted that regional planners were excited about the information gathered through CPI. For MAPC, this data allows them to build a more accurate growth model for the entire region. They are already using the buildout information to help communities make and implement zoning changes. In addition, the RPA's can now create alternative futures models from a realistic base (instead of just extrapolating demographic data) and show how adjustments in local land use policy could modify the impacts of regional growth.

V. Vertically Integrated Process

Besides the way the CPI reports were delivered, the process through which information was collected and composed was an important component of the project. In general, the process of information gathering and distribution may be more important than participation in shaping the perceptions, choices, and the ultimate outcome of land use planning efforts [Hanna 2000]. In the CPI endeavor, did the process of having state, regional, and local representatives work together lead to a sense of partnership?

Town-State Dialog

CPI has had an interesting effect on relations between towns and the state. CPI originated when the state reconsidered their approach toward local land use planning; their new paradigm sees communities as the best agents of land use change in Massachusetts. To accomplish this strategy, the state has worked to respond to town complaints about limited powers at the local level. However, despite many conciliatory gestures embedded in the CPI process, the town planners interviewed seemed appreciative but unimpressed with the state's new tactics. In general, town planners see

no need to meet the state government half-way on larger land use goals. Rather, they appear to feel that 'the mountain should come to Mohammad.'

To the credit of CPI and its RPA partners, the process of engaging municipalities was seemingly identical in all the towns interviewed. This was a deliberate but at times problematic approach, given slow local responses. The buildouts could have been created without any local involvement, but state officials felt local participation was a critical component of the project. At the least, no respondent complained about having to participate and some said they were happy to supply the information because they saw the usefulness of it to the state.

Nevertheless, it appears that local officials were not fully engaged in the CPI process. They provided land use information to their RPA and commented on preliminary maps, but never engaged in a true two-way dialog with state and regional planners. In fact, it appears that many of the local planners just "went through the motions" during CPI. A key indicator of this problem is that while respondents said they felt involved in the CPI process, only one requested a redevelopment analysis. This was an option that CPI offered instead of the regular map; it may have been more useful for some of towns that were already fully developed. One respondent even criticized MAPC for not undertaking an infill analysis of their town, which suggests they may not have understood that it was an available option. Furthermore, the disinterest that many interviewees demonstrated toward additional uses of the CPI maps suggests they did not feel vested in their usefulness.

Due in part to this shallow investment, at least in the short term, CPI did not positively change local planners' attitude regarding the role of the state in land use planning. The subjects responded that CPI gave them no new interest in dealing with the state on land use. This attitude was sometimes a result of a town having adequate planning resources on their own, such as their own GIS department. More often, however, merely asking about the state's policies brought forth several frustrations from town planners. One aggravation is the state's abstraction from local land use policies, largely a result of the more theoretical policy direction the state often employs. Many town planners felt that smart growth initiatives fell into this abstract area where it is unclear what their community is supposed to do in response. As one planner said, "there is currently talk about sustainable development but it is very amorphous…it doesn't suggest much action at the local level."

Similarly, respondents expressed disappointment that the state does not understand localities. One complaint was that the state's Department of Housing and Community Development, as an example, is not as "in tune" with communities as the RPA's. Another objection was made towards the "one size fits all" approach of the state, a phrase invoked by several planners. While some planners recognize the legislative reasons behind this policy style, people react negatively to blanket initiatives because they feel controlled. Criticism along these lines was leveled at state mandates like Chapter 40B, but also at informational programs like CPI. Overall, local planners would rather see practical policy proposals that relate to municipal planning, and work with a higher authority that understands more of their local culture and needs.

A few planners were also frustrated over what they see as inconsistency from the state on land issue issues. The volume and often temporary nature of state initiatives leads to a "proposal of the day" syndrome. As one planner explained, "It's hard to keep track of state planning-land use initiatives. State planning seems to change month to month depending on the administration, so there is not a lot of faith at the town level regarding state planning efforts, because things come and go – they never get followed up." There was little acknowledgement of the state's adapted approach – a clear land use agenda presented through one umbrella agency, the OCD, with programs that directly target local land use but leave decisions up to communities – although some planners did laud the state for "following the lead of communities" with CPI and EO 418.

Along those lines, many communities fail to give state officials much credit when in fact those officials are quite aware of structural flaws in their programs. State officials seem aware of the limitations and shortcomings of CPI, are generally in agreement with town planners on them, and are possibly even more critical. Respondents at the state level are also of the opinion that top-down planning will not work in Massachusetts, and that towns need to be leaders on land use change – a position the towns both want and resist: they want to keep local control, but are reluctant to lead cooperative efforts with neighboring towns.

Overall, despite their dislike of the status quo, towns did not have many suggestions on what the state could do better. In some communities there is a simple disappointment that the state does not just give them money and leave them alone. Indeed, town officials are generally very reluctant to allow the state any local land use power. Some planners expressed, "we don't want the state to get too involved in local land use

planning." Instead, across all the interviewed towns there was a strong "we can do it better at the local level" attitude. In this view, RPA's and the state should simply support local-level efforts without question. Nevertheless, when asked what the state should do on land use policy, local planners seemed to support the status quo. Many planners simply could not think of anything the state should have done differently with CPI, and seemed resigned to state programs being stalled by provincialism. As one planner said, "The state government's role is to look across the state, but at the local level things get territorial. Communities on the south shore have different priorities than those on the north belt. It doesn't always work the way the state wants it to."

State-RPA Dialog

Meanwhile, CPI appears to have strengthened the relationship between the state and the regional planning agencies. The state officials interviewed stressed how valuable the RPA's are as allies, and the feeling appears to be mutual. PVPC was particularly pleased with the CPI process, with one regional planner noting that,

> The state went out of their way to put together good materials to show what and how they would accomplish. They went to the RPA's to see how they could better craft programs for regions. I would encourage the state to do more of that in the future!

Ultimately, CPI attempted to awaken a latent interest in planning issues, and consciously pushed these new constituents for land use reform toward the regional planners. The RPA's understand that the state put forward a lot of goodwill in terms of town relations and made sure that RPA's would reap whatever benefits.

The state gained as well. Through the CPI process the state reclaimed its leadership on land use planning back from the RPA's, after losing that role when the Office of State Planning was eliminated. EOEA also may have headed off a turf battle over GIS data. The RPA's were in the process of requesting money to start up regional GIS offices that would have made MassGIS somewhat superfluous. Funding was already designated for the RPA's, but was used to start the CPI program instead. Even though the RPA's were denied this money, that they still see the CPI program in such positive light says a great deal about the influence of CPI on state-RPA relations.

Chapter 7
CONCLUSIONS

The creators of CPI came up with a well thought-out program that had clear aims and novel methods. Through its regional summits, a vertically-organized process, and an educational focus, CPI worked to build social movements that can support smart growth and regional planning, bring together local power brokers to find common ground on growth issues, strengthen regional planning agencies, and show citizens and local governments the interdependency of growth problems. Furthermore, intentionally or not, CPI follows the best practices from other states and many of the prescriptions of theoretical literature

However, the outcome of the research suggests that despite its thoughtful approach, CPI did not meet some of its fundamental goals. Still, it was not a step backwards in the state's promotion of smart growth and can serve as a policy foundation. The CPI program was consistently executed, had few negative effects, and taught people more about land use. The public did not appear to synthesize the information in a way that has led to new local dialog, let alone action, on land use, but these issues are long-term processes. CPI may actually be remarkable for the absence of rancor around it, denoting it as a plausible first step in local land use change.

I. EVALUATING THE HYPOTHESIS

My hypothesis was that the CPI program influenced dialog regarding 1) the implementation of growth management policies, 2) regional land use coordination, and 3) the role of the state in local land use planning. This premise was tested by investigating whether CPI accomplished its aim of fostering land use dialog both within communities and between planners at the state, regional, and local level.

The research findings did not support the hypothesis. Less than two years since the program ended, the growth management and regional planning dialog in those Massachusetts towns most affected by growth has been seemingly unaffected by CPI. However, lessons from other states show building effective smart growth and regional

planning to be a long term process. CPI was perhaps a necessary step to change the vocabulary around which regional planning occurs. It was a credible program due to its consistent approach and statewide execution, contrasting well with the state's other fragmented land use programs. Additionally, it gave the state's interest in smart growth and local land use a higher profile – every town planner knew what CPI's topic and methods were.

Ultimately, despite the absence of changed dialog between communities and RPA's, this relationship did not worsen, while CPI succeeded in improving state-RPA relations.

Growth Management Dialog

The buildouts may have helped teach people about growth but, on their own, they failed to get people talking about it. When combined with an ongoing public process – like master planning – CPI did enhance in-town dialog but this only occurred in the Pioneer Valley, not in metropolitan Boston.

One reason for this stunted response could be a flaw in the CPI process, such as limited engagement of local planners and residents. Another possibility is that the extensive planning, visioning, and buildout efforts occurring in many exurban Boston towns in the 1990's lowered CPI's profile. Maybe, as one planner said, "before CPI, people were already well aware of the growth happening in the region," thereby limiting its capability for change. Meanwhile, the less-planned communities of exurban Springfield found the CPI reports more novel, although not so much of a catalyst that they alone could spark growth management discussions.

FIGURE 7.1: Effect of CPI on Land Use Dialogs

STATE ⟺ RPA	Dialog clearly strengthened.
Intra ⟳ TOWN	Existing growth management dialog was enhanced in some towns. Stage was set for further promotion of smart growth.
RPA ⟺ TOWN	No change in these dialogs, which exist at less than desirable levels.
TOWN ⟺ TOWN	
STATE → TOWN	No change to this dialog, which only exists as a one-way provision of information without reciprocation.

Regional Land Use Dialog

Given the findings, it appears there is local opposition to almost any kind of regional cooperation, whether it originates from the towns or from RPA's. As covered earlier, this attitude makes long-term growth management difficult, and can hamper efforts to save money, promote business, protect the environment, and moderate housing costs. However, in most of the towns interviewed, public opinion seems to fervently support local control, even to the point of making its preservation the priority of the community. CPI did not overcome this sentiment. The research found no related change in land use coordination between adjacent communities. The respondents had not looked at their neighbors' projected buildouts and many strongly resisted the idea of inter-town cooperation, despite some clear advantages in doing do.

There are also major disconnections between local and regional planners. The responses to CPI at the town level are at odds with the perceptions of regional planners and state officials, who felt that there was a lot of curiosity about regional growth. The RPA's believe that, thanks to CPI, ordinary citizens know more about growth within their own town and understand the real threats, opportunities, and responsibilities on local land use issues. This may be true. However, while the RPA's think that the next policy step is for communities to understand what to do with the buildout information, many towns have a disinterest in even doing something as simple as looking at their neighbors' buildout projections on the CPI website.

It will take much more than CPI to spark inter-town or regional dialog. Its lack of impact is due in part to deep-seated legal and cultural issues within Massachusetts. Those need to be directly addressed in order to provide clearer incentives for regional planning. One problem is the way information is delivered in our society.

> It is difficult to 'think and act regionally' when the information we are provided fragments our world into geographic bits and pieces, such as regional editions of newspapers… People with partial information will only have a partial understanding of the region and how they fit into it. [Pastor et al. 2000, pp.159-60].

Along these lines, at least around Boston, it could be that the MAPC subgroups are part of the problem. While popular, they may actually further split apart the Boston region because communities feel comfortable in the subgroups' localism and do not consider the resources and needs of the entire metropolitan area. A recent study of town officials within MAPC found that many view their home region as being composed of their

immediate neighbors, rather than greater Boston. As the authors point out, though, "this idea of the region is problematic, however, because job markets, housing markets, and commuting patterns actually encompass the larger area in which the 101 towns (of MAPC) are located" [Barron et al. 2004, p.82].

Another source of this disconnect is the one-dimensional nature of the current relationship between town and regional planners. The RPA's perceive a much higher level of municipal interest in regional planning than truly exists; MAPC in particular exhorts communities to attend meetings and get more involved in regional discussions. Meanwhile, most of the town planners say they are very busy and do not have time to add regional planning meetings to their schedules. They feel that MAPC needs to better understand their own communities. As explained by one town planner,

> MAPC wants understanding to flow the opposite direction than it needs to…rather than ask town officials to inform them, they need to take the time to read the local newspapers to understand the political dynamics and demographics in the communities.

Ultimately, there is governmental tension over regional planning because towns want their RPA to be a support organization, not a supervisor.

Even if planners see the benefits of regional planning, they do not know how to make it happen. Many respondents emphasized that Massachusetts legislation actively discourages regional cooperation. Metrics for affordable housing and state payments, as well as school financing needs, discourage effective regional land use planning. Meanwhile, a new state law would be required for many cross-jurisdictional initiatives, such as revenue sharing. In the words of one planner, "state statutes and local tax reliance work against regional LULU siting and other inter-town cooperation on land use." When asked if the proper legislative changes would lead to regional planning, the respondents felt it was possible, but only if a lot of time was invested into education and discussion within and between towns.

CPI did have a noticeable impact on the dialog between the state and RPA's, however. To some degree, this should be expected because CPI was a land use program that helped enhance the profile and skill set of the RPA's, which are primarily land use agencies. These common interests were a factor in the dialog improvement, yet state and local planners also share many similar goals and made no short-term progress in their relationship. Rather, this sense of partnership and mutual appreciation between the

state and the regional planners was driven by in-depth interaction and two-way exchanges of information during CPI.

Role of the State

Meanwhile, there is also great resistance to state involvement in local land use issues, an opposition bordering on hostility. As previously discussed, many town planners criticize the state government for its uncustomized and disorganized approach to land use. However, many of the specific complaints given by respondents actually appeared to be misunderstandings of the state's intentions. For instance, one town incorrectly asserted that the EO 418 process requires them to expand commercial development.

This simplistic resistance may extend from local sentiments that their town should be eligible for all state distributions of money, without the thought that some state programs are targeted to communities in need. One unseemly outcome of this attitude, found during research, is wealthy communities protesting their lack of access to CDBG funds.[20] Local officials also complained about being required to work with adjacent communities, despite any apparent injury to their own town. Ultimately, while some chafing against state mandates is likely justified, local planners at times appeared to lack reflection on the reasons for some state policies. If anything, this underlines the lack of perspective at the local level of Massachusetts government, and presents a compelling case on its own for regional planning.

II. Understanding CPI in Broader Context

Beyond evaluating the hypothesis, the research revealed two trends of interest. These observations, together with small local achievements, suggest CPI may eventually have success in the long term. They show that local planners can be influenced in their actions by conditional funding, and that opportunities can be created that raise the profile of regional planning.

The Popularity of Executive Order 418

In contrast to CPI, EO 418 was very popular with local respondents. They often volunteered their excitement and regard for the program. As one interviewee indicated, EO 418 has had a huge impact on local land use planning because, "many towns that

[20] Community Development Block Grants, distributed by federal and state governments to aid cities that have concentrations of poverty.

have never done a master plan are now doing one." This may give an entirely new perspective to the results of the research. Since EO 418 effectively serves as the state's follow-up program to CPI, its popularity may indicate a greater CPI effect than the planner interviews directly indicated. This is supported by one regional planner's feeling that, "The buildouts primed a lot of communities for the EO 418 process…many communities that would not have been interested previously now were. Not that CPI maps were always incredibly pertinent, but they 'stoked the fire' of interest."

However, the motivations of local governments for participating EO 418 are not entirely clear. There was strong resistance from the respondents toward some key elements of the program, with frequent hostility directed toward the comprehensive requirements set by the state. Local planners usually did not want to cover the four efforts required of an EO 418 plan – transportation, affordable housing, open space, and economic development – but rather wanted to concentrate their efforts on just one of the issues. The interviewees essentially wanted no strings attached to the EO 418 money.

Following planners' comments regarding state involvement in local land use and this dislike of restrictions on spending the money, it is possible that EO 418 is popular simply because it is a distribution of planning grants. Yet, because of the attached conditions, the towns are addressing local and regional growth issues in order to get the planning money.

Publicity for Regional Planning Agencies

While the previous chapter showed that town-RPA dialogs have not changed, CPI may have provided RPA's with a foundation upon which to re-establish themselves with communities. The CPI process gave them opportunities to visit towns that had fallen out of the regional dialog, and to showcase their GIS abilities. As a result of its approach, local planners often referenced CPI as a regional initiative rather than a state program. PVPC, at the least, felt they consequently gained visibility amongst town leaders and some of the public due to their role in CPI and EO 418. These programs also gave RPA's and towns a chance to work together and talk about planning issues more and, as a MAPC planner put it, "Anytime I appear in front of a town council, it's a great advantage." Finally, CPI gave RPA's consistent metrics with which to measure both municipal and regional growth, providing enhanced credibility to their development models.

III. Recommendations for State and Regional Officials

The research findings are fairly clear but, at first glance, do not contain a lot of nuance. Few of the interviewees provided concrete reasons for the lack of growth management dialog at the local level. Furthermore, the interviews did not generate much help in identifying common ground between state, regional, and local land use parties – in fact, one hope of this thesis was that the benefits of inter-town cooperation on growth management would be so clear that regional planning would naturally develop.

Still, throughout the interviews, little insights appeared that can inform a few pointed recommendations. Some of these suggestions are specific to Massachusetts, but others apply to the broader setting of this thesis: how state governments can promote smart growth policies and regional planning at the local level.

Recommendations for Massachusetts

The state should sponsor a follow-up program to EO 418 that promotes the implementation of master plans into town zoning. There is a compelling reason for this. As one regional planner explained,

> There is no requirement for consistency between a master plan and zoning. It means that people can ignore the master plan but must pay attention to the intricacies of zoning (including the often long and arduous process of enacting amendments to zoning bylaws). Successful planning areas in US have that consistency requirement so people don't have to know the arcane language of zoning.

Furthermore, EO 418 maps are the result of years of state, regional, and local efforts to learn about, consider, and address land use development patterns. It would be a tremendous waste of the state money spent on CPI and EO 418 to not leverage these comprehensive plans. As seen with EO 418, even small amounts of money with conditions attached can serve as an incentive for local land use engagement. The state could offer a cash bounty to communities that adjust their local zoning to match their EO 418 plans, which may be a powerful incentive for endorsement of zoning changes by town leaders. This program should be sure to involve the RPA's, who can help local planners campaign for the changes and provide technical assistance on zoning reform.

Responding to local pressure, state policies could be modified from unpopular "one size fits all" mandates by moving away from policy positions and instead emphasizing

common interests. For instance, a number of communities have resisted any redesign or improvement of state highways in their town because state policy called for applying a standard width to the redeveloped road, regardless of local desires and the aesthetic impact. However, the state's new Footprint Roads Initiative allows roads to be enhanced without being widened. Perhaps there are other "initiatives" like this that can be undertaken. The state also needs to send a more consistent message on land use, and not overwhelm towns with many different programs. On the former point, the state cannot contradict itself over which land use patterns it is promoting. It cannot support infill development while simultaneously funding new schools built on undeveloped land at the urban fringe. Meanwhile, the state could also have fewer programs and package them in a clearer format.

In Massachusetts, local governments and RPA's need to have a conversation about their relationship. Each side has a very different understanding of the other's role and responsibilities, and they do not seem to be communicating these expectations well. For their part, RPA's need to better understand local issues and provide more customized assistance to communities. Town leaders need to educate their electorate on the benefits of and even obligation toward regional coordination. As long as this dialog can be enhanced, state-local interaction can largely remain in its current state. Local resistance to the state government is deep-seated and involves many issues besides land use planning. Rather than expend valuable resources in an attempt to enhance its image, state officials should continue to use RPA's as their ambassadors for land use.

General Recommendations for State and Regional Planners

CPI appears to show that there is little harm in a statewide land use education campaign. Very few drawbacks occurred as a result of the program: slow growth actions did not suddenly take hold, almost no cost was imposed on the towns, and the state did not damage its image. It is worth noting that the main source of credibility for CPI was ultimately its consistency: using almost identical procedures with each town and going to every town in the state. All of the respondents respected that equality and no one subsequently accused the CPI program of unfairness.

Many of the lessons learned from CPI regard the process of educating and engaging the public on land use issues. For one, while knowledge of development patterns may be important, it appears that local planning efforts are the key to residents' attitude toward

smart growth. Programs like CPI may be the most effective when a local dialog around land use already exists. Local planners can then act as guides, taking advantage of the enhanced public understanding of growth issues to try out new policies like cluster zoning. Furthermore, the inability of many towns with growth management dialogs to enact a related policy appears to stem from a fractured sense of how the town should develop. The town planner needs to mediate a community discussion to determine what residents truly want; otherwise inability to actively choose a growth management style may eventually push the town toward slow growth in an attempt to at least hold on to the status quo.

It appears that towns are unlikely to naturally develop an interest in their neighbors' land use or growth potential, only getting involved when an undesirable development appears on the municipal border. The interviews do not suggest much that would change this situation at the local level. The most realistic suggestion may be for RPA's to regularly distribute land use conditions and projections in adjacent towns to all of the local planners under their jurisdiction, including those in other RPA's. Simply having the information available on a website may not be enough – regional planners may need to come to public meetings and present the information before handing it over to the town.

Another way of getting local attention on regional planning may be to market the issue differently. Traffic congestion and road usage appear to be the most powerful regional issues at the local level. State governments and RPA's can provide a higher profile for their efforts on smart growth and regional planning by making traffic and transportation the primary issue of their land use reform efforts. By simply reframing smart growth and regional planning as effective methods of improving traffic flow, political support may be quickly gained from the local level.

Finally, the use of GIS as a analysis and presentation tool appears to be a great supplement to discussing growth and regional land use. It is cost effective and allows state and regional planners to gain credibility through a process that can be consistently performed for multiple locations. Still, technology and information on their own are not sufficient for generating public dialog on land use issues. Local residents need to be deeply engaged for these discussions to be effective. CPI was definitely on the right track in recognizing the importance of local participation in the process of developing the buildout analyses. However, it seems that making the state buildouts more "local" may have been necessary. To turn land use information into shared intellectual capital, the

state and regional officials may need to hold several conversations with town planners and residents in which both sides exchange information in order to assign value and establish meanings around the issue at hand.

IV. Reflections on the Research

While confident in its research structure and results, I feel this investigation faced some limits that may have affected my conclusions. Taking these into account, the findings suggest additional areas of research beneficial to the urban planning field.

Study Limitations

Foremost, the timeframe for researching and writing this paper was quite limited: less than four months. This restricted the number of interviews that could be pursued, especially given the difficulty in obtaining interviews with planning officials in many targeted towns. Despite cooperation from a range of communities, requests to speak with planning staff were not responded to by all towns and no positive reply came from attempts to interview other town officials who affect land use. Furthermore, contact information for planning staff could not always be easily found. One town even posted incorrect phone numbers for their entire municipal government on their website.

Similarly, it was very difficult to get in touch with Planning Boards – only one successful interview was held with a board member. This may skew the research results because communities with town planners tend to be more urban and better equipped for land use planning. When a residential suburb or growing community lacks a planner on staff, that suggests a lower local priority placed on active land stewardship and a greater reliance on zoning – precisely the types of communities that may have experienced the greatest reaction to the CPI buildouts.

The town planner position itself had limitations as an effective subject. At least around Boston, turnover is high amongst town planner positions. One-half of local planners interviewed within MAPC started within the previous 5 years. This may have contributed to less interest conveyed in the interviews toward CPI, a program that many of them missed. There is also good reason to question whether town planners are well connected to local decision-makers. A 1964 national study found that municipal

planning boards and staff had minimal interaction with other organizations in their communities and that, despite the supposed multi-disciplinary nature of planning agencies, they often functioned as single-purpose agencies disconnected from land use stakeholders. Furthermore, the volunteer, part-time nature of much local planning staff limits their capacity to maintaining good communications with the public or with other governmental departments, or with both [Bolan 1965]. It could be that, 40 years later, circumstances are not much changed. Finally, local planners are naturally biased toward defending their own efforts in light of state involvement in local land use. This may have pushed the interviewees to prefer their own buildout analyses, for instance, over any work the state or RPA's have done.

Suggestions for Further Research

Building on the findings of this thesis, there are several lines of research that would further expand the planning field's understanding of effective smart growth and regional planning policies:

1. Towns within the same MAPC subregion carry on land use conversations, but do not reach out to adjacent towns in other subgroups. Why is this? How strong are subregional identities and what drives them? How can MAPC take advantage of them but instill the bigger picture of a metro Boston identity?

2. One town planner explained that the CPI presentations led to intensified bidding between the town and developers for open space acquisition. While unfortunate, this consequence is understandable, but why did it happen elsewhere?

3. CPI was about the volume rather than the style of development, although the latter is perhaps a bigger issue in towns. How successful would a second CPI be if it focused on growth patterns and design guidelines, particularly in combination with CommunityViz or other visualization techniques? Also, what might be the response if the state or RPA's made a clear case for regional planning, showing the benefits of revenue sharing and coordinated zoning for a particular town, in order to gain grassroots political support for reform? Trial research could be conducted with mayors, citizens, and business leaders.

4. Judging from the respondents' comments, towns with a greater proportion of protected open space than other communities seemed to possess less anxiety about the effects of growth. Perhaps local residents are amenable to growth, no matter its form, so long as

they are placated by open space. Consequently, are the state's large-scale efforts to push open space preservation leading to local complacency on all other growth issues, notably the cost of housing?

5. Given the more noticeable effects of CPI in the Pioneer Valley compared with the Boston metropolitan area, it may be that CPI was actually more effective at promoting local land use dialog than this paper indicates. Based on state officials' comments about the very positive reaction they received in the Berkshire region in the far west of the state, this research should be extended to more remote areas of Massachusetts that lack planning resources for financial or political reasons. Similarly, in five years a second iteration of this same research could be undertaken in order to evaluate CPI's long term effects upon land use dialog. This would also allow the comparison of key CPI features with those of more recent state land use programs.

In Closing

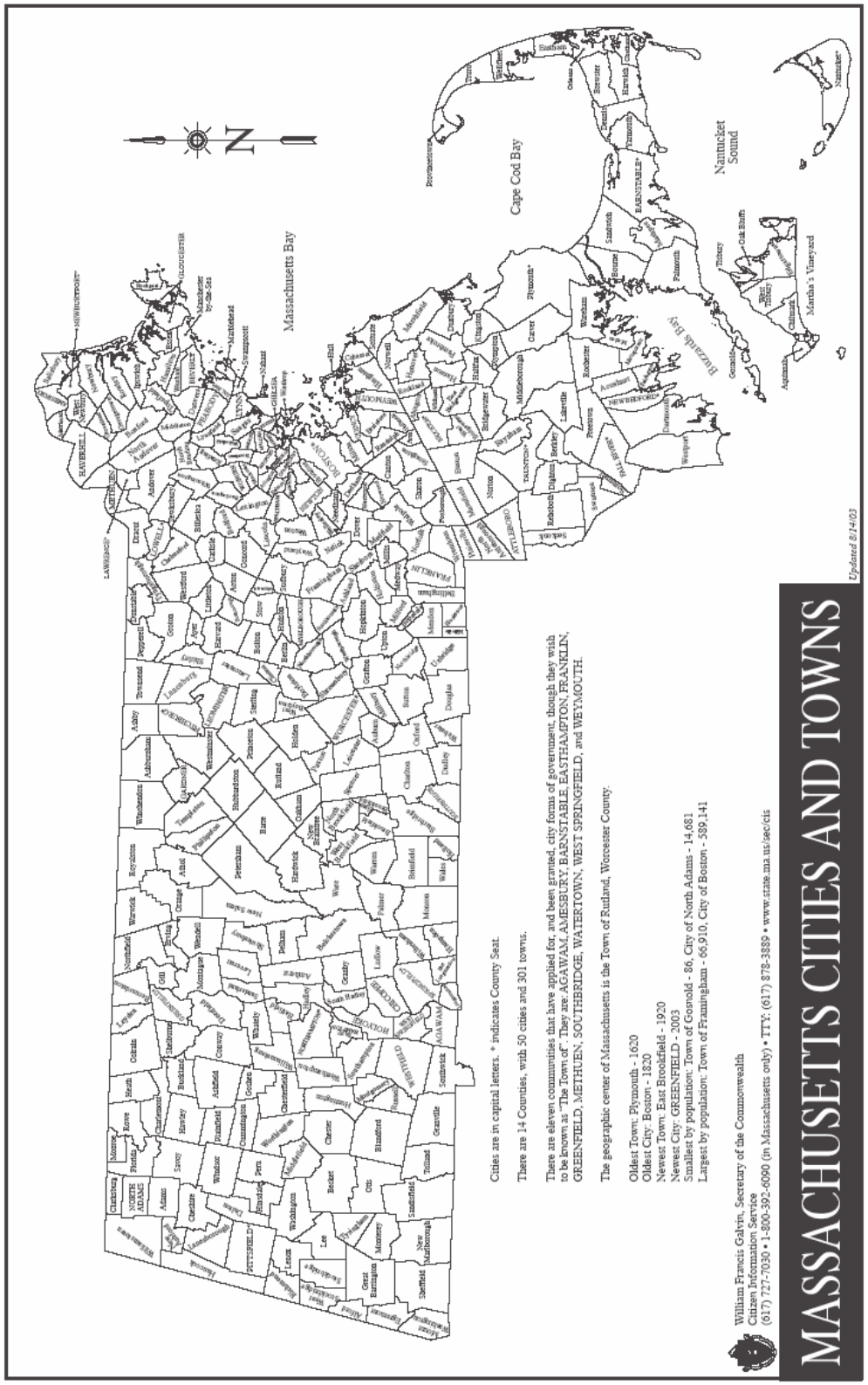
Returning to the opening lines of this paper, regarding where to put the development "pieces" that are sure to come, would Boston area residents still "throw the pieces out the window" when confronted with new residents, or has the state of Massachusetts successfully begun a more thoughtful discussion around the trade-offs of growth and land use development? While this research suggests there is no need to be overly optimistic, the results also indicate there is hope. The Community Preservation Initiative may have caused little change in land use dialogs for now, but it was always meant to be the foundation of a longer term effort to promote smart growth and regional planning.

The research suggests that exurbanites are largely aware of growth issues, and may be open to small changes in development styles. However, at least in Massachusetts, they are also opposed to the loss of local control, which limits the capability of state government to impose a more sustainable land use pattern. Rather, the state may be able to lay the foundations for progress by engaging local residents in discussions over methods of managing growth, and the connection between local control of growth patterns and regional land use cooperation.

CPI could have been better at truly engaging local planners and leaders in a two-way dialog on land use, much in the way it enhanced the relationship of state and regional planners. That said, it is impressive that the state created a process that could potentially affect hundreds of millions of dollars in fringe development with just several

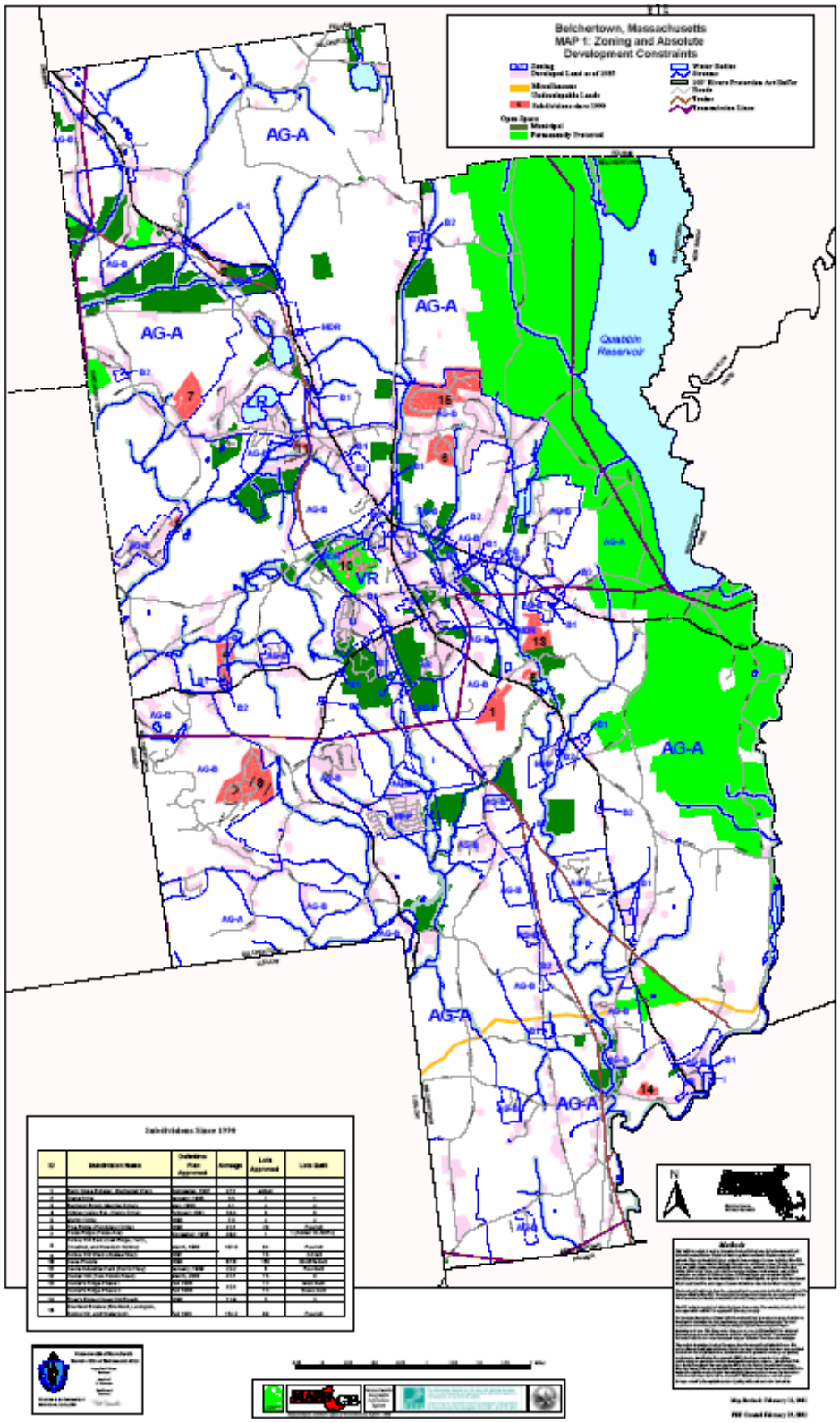
million dollars to fund data analysis and publication. There are also indications that more rural towns reacted better to the CPI program. Boston residents may not know where to put new development, but at least now they can talk with one another about growth, zoning, and land use.

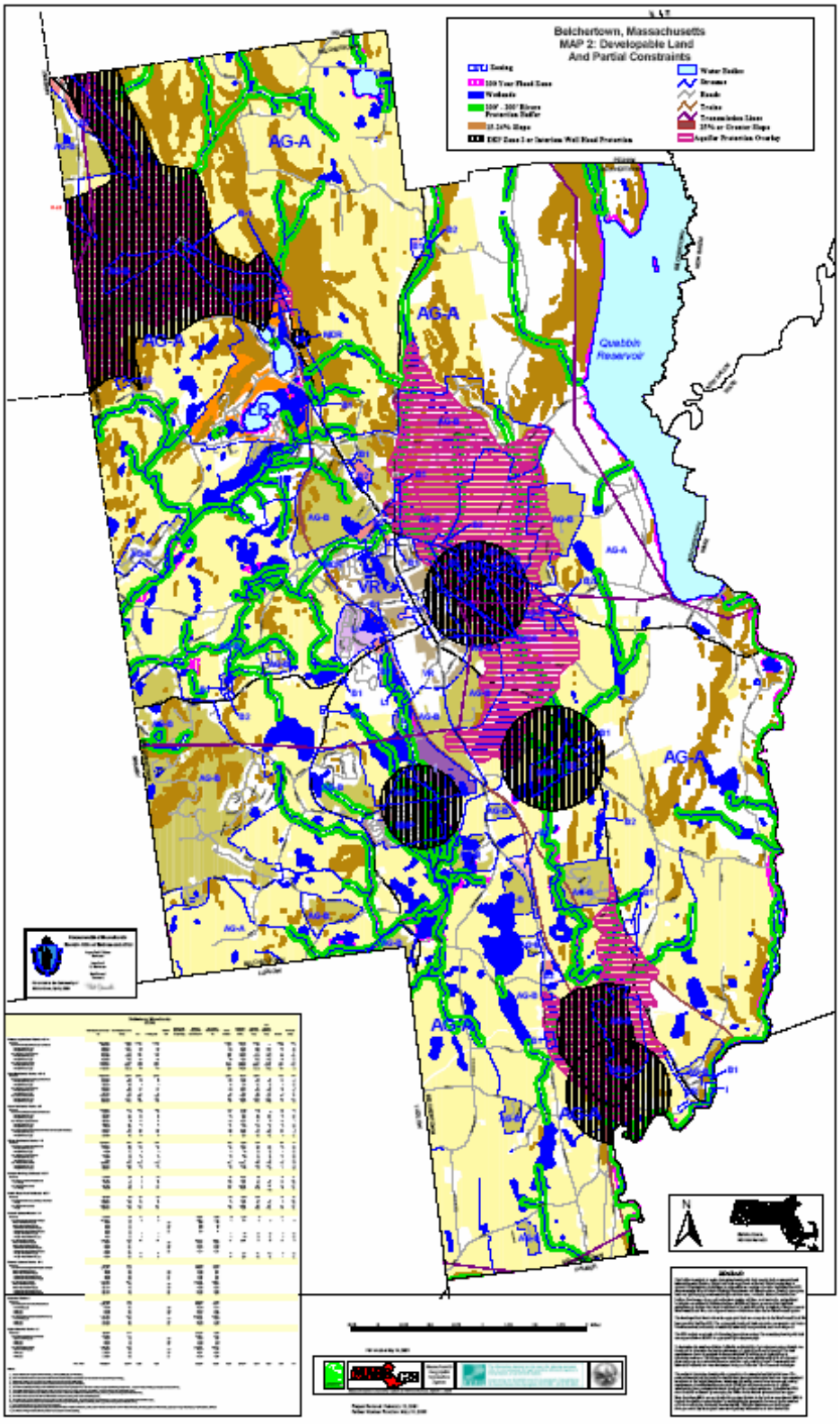
Appendix A
MUNICIPAL DIVISIONS IN MASSACHUSETTS

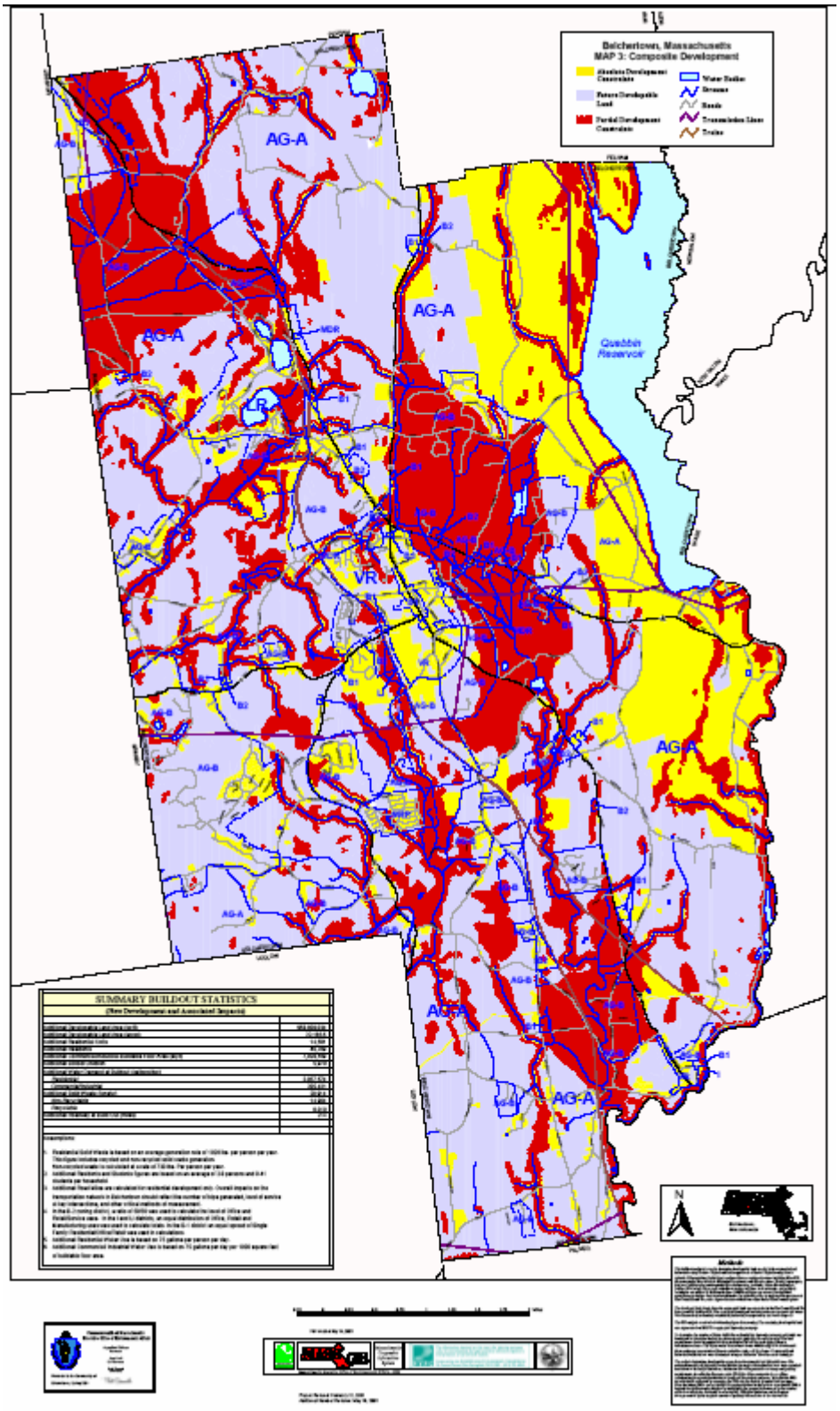


Appendix B

CPI BUILDOUT MAP EXAMPLES - BELCHERTOWN




Belchertown, Massachusetts
MAP 2: Developable Land
And Partial Constraints
AG-A
AG-B
VR-A
Quabbin Reservoir



All three maps show Belchertown, MA
Source: The Community Preservation Initiative homepage
http://commpres.env.state.ma.us

Appendix C
GUIDING QUESTIONS FOR TOWN INTERVIEWS

CONTEXT

Length of time in position?

How sophisticated were their planning tools at the time of CPI?

What visioning/forecasting had the town done on their own before CPI?

CPI PROCESS & FOLLOW-UP

Subject's experience of the process

- To what extent did CPI engage the town, rather than imposing a process upon them?
- Who was involved in the CPI process for the town?
- What local issues did CPI consider?
- Did the subject feel like the process was out of their hands?
- Who came to the presentations? Who was aware the CPI effort was going on?
- How confident does the subject feel about the development possibilities portrayed?
- How did people react to the spatial buildout impacts vs. the numeric data?

Impact of the CPI on local land use

- Does the town still have the maps? Do they like them? Use them? Find them constructive?
- Did town residents understand the maps?
- What residual effects has CPI had, such as changes to zoning, etc?
- Was the CPA voted on and what was the result?
- How did the maps factor in passing/rejecting the CPA?
- Is the town participating in EO 418? How is it spending the funds?

Result of the approach (technology used, state-wide initiative)

- Did MassGIS provide information and analysis that the local town cannot do?
- Is GIS seen as more credible than other technologies, including earlier versions?
- Did the computational approach provide confidence in the outcome?
- Were the participatory process or the technological abilities of CPI (or something else, like RPA relationship) major factors in providing local confidence in the buildout results?
- What else could the state have done to improve participation or interest?

GROWTH MANAGEMENT

What are the big growth issues, if any, in town? Check if these issues are important to local residents:

- Traffic
- Housing cost
- Open space
- Character
- Taxes

How did CPI change attitudes about local growth?

- Serious discussion about growth trade-offs both locally and regionally?
- Have recent zoning variances been controversial?
- Willingness to accept denser development in order to preserve open space?
- Where people surprised to found out how little open space was preserved in town?

What are the local attitudes regarding development in further-out towns?

- How can traffic be reduced by just focusing on in-town growth?
- Are people moving further out to avoid the perceived problems in town?
- Was the attitude different before CPI?

Did CPI spur residents to action regarding local development?

- Any zoning changes to reduce population buildout?
- Greater support for open space acquisition?
- Any attempts to handle new development in different ways, like focusing it to particular locations or applying design rules?
- Have zoning changes been proposed that qualify as "smart growth", like TOD/transit, more density, mixed-use, or open space preservation?

What kinds of development, if any, do local residents want?

- What is attitude of residential vs. commercial development?
- Are there concerns about the cost of public education?
- What are residents' opinions about mixed-use and density?

Get an explanation of local zoning

- What is the historical rationale/support for the various zones in town?
- Why support further residential development at all?

Is there any connection between the town's local growth management and participation in regional planning?

- Is there a sense of common responsibility for the town's future look and land use?

REGIONAL PLANNING

Historically, how involved has the town been in regional planning?

What relationship does the town planner have with their RPA and state agencies?

- Do they know who at the RPA is assigned to their town?

Did CPI have any impact on local interest in regional planning?

- What is the current local view on regional coordination of land use?
- Versus the view in the past?
- Is there any informal planning or coordination with neighboring towns now?
- What is the town planner's view on regional planning? Local residents' view?

Appendix D
GUIDING QUESTIONS FOR REGIONAL PLANNER INTERVIEWS

CPI HISTORY

Before CPI, what kind of involvement did this RPA have with the state?

What, if any, state projects similar to CPI occurred in the past? Did the RPA have any similar engagements with towns before or since?

How was the RPA involved in CPI? Describe interaction with the state – which agencies and people were involved?

What was the RPA's goal for CPI…what did they want to get out of it?

CPI PROCESS

Describe the RPA's process of engaging the towns. How did they get local buy-in? What was in it for the towns – what did they get for their effort?

What kinds of towns had the most positive reaction to CPI? Most negative?

What were some notable challenges?

Explain the role of the data collection in town participation. Was this a unique endeavor for the RPA? Did it lead the RPA to having new or different contacts in towns?

Was the CPI process driven by the state or by the RPA?

Were the towns full participants in the CPI process?

Who did the RPA interact with in each of the targeted towns?

CPI OUTCOMES

Did the RPA feel confident in the buildouts? What would they do differently in terms of data used and method of analysis?

Has there been a shift in the growth management dialog within the RPA's jurisdiction? Is it a bigger issue now than in the past? Is it being approached differently?

Explain the relationship between CPI, the CPA, and EO 418.

What was the value of CPI for the towns? For RPA?

Has the RPA's relationship with the towns changed? If so, is that based on skills or on policies?

REGIONAL PLANNING

What is the RPA's realistic goal regarding local action toward regional planning?

Has town action on regional planning shifted? More participation? Any new local actions?

CPI seemed to support local action toward growth management. Does this work at odds with the mission of regional coordination?

Appendix E
GUIDING QUESTIONS FOR STATE OFFICIAL INTERVIEWS

CPI HISTORY

How did the idea of CPI come about?

What was CPI's original intent?

What was the perceived value of CPI to the state? RPA's? Towns?

Prior to CPI, what state land use projects had engaged regional planners? Town planners?

In the 1990's, what was the relationship of towns with the state over issues of land use?

CPI PROCESS

Did the original intent of CPI evolve over time?

Why was CPI done through RPA's?

Besides the final presentations, did the state engage individual towns?

What state agencies were involved in CPI? What were their roles?

What were the reactions like in the public presentations to town residents?

CPI OUTCOMES

How confident does the state feel about the development possibilities portrayed?

What would the state do differently? In terms of process? In terms of data used?

Did any towns get in touch with the subject's office? Any members of the public?

What was the value of CPI for the state? What does the state think the value was for towns? For RPA's?

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Interviews with the following individuals provided the information for the description and analysis of the research questions, as well as comments used directly in the text of the thesis.

All interviews conducted by Christopher Hodges.

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Albertson, Douglas	Town of Belchertown	Town Planner	Telephone	25 February 2004
Bartl, Roland	Town of Acton	Town Planner	Telephone	8 March 2004
Bergeron, Arthur	EOEA	Former Special Asst. Secretary	Telephone	4 March 2004
Carlucci, Gino	Town of Norfolk	Planning Consultant	Telephone	3 March 2004
Carlucci, Gino	Town of Sherborn	Town Planner	Telephone	24 February 2004
Dachos, Deborah	City of Agawam	Director of Planning and Community Development	Telephone	9 March 2004
Gaertner, Kurt	CPI	Director of Growth Planning	In Person	8 March 2004
Geigis, Priscilla	CPI	Director	In Person	2 March 2004
Haber, Susan	Town of Weston	Town Planner	Telephone	2 March 2004
Harbottle, Laura	Town of Scituate	Town Planner	E-mail	3 March 2004
Jacqz, Christian	MassGIS	Director	In Person	3 March 2004
Jennings, Angus	Town of Marshfield	Town Planner	Telephone	7 March 2004
Kolias, Vera	Town of Southborough	Town Planner	Telephone	26 February 2004
Lacy, Katy	Town of Hingham	Town Planner	Telephone	24 February 2004
Laydon, Joe	Town of Wayland	Town Planner	Telephone	24 February 2004
Lazarus, Elaine	Town of Hopkinton	Town Planner	Telephone	1 March 2004
Pearsall, John	Town of Wilbraham	Town Planner	Telephone	20 February 2004
Racicot, Mark	MAPC	Manager, Government Services	Telephone	9 March 2004
Salzer, Paul	Town of Southwick	Planning Board	Telephone	25 February 2004
Stickney, Christine	Town of Duxbury	Town Planner	Telephone	3 March 2004
Superczynski, Denis	PVPC	Senior Planner	Telephone	16 March 2004
Sutton, Richard	Applied Geographics, Inc	Director of Spatial Analysis	Telephone	11 March 2004
Szklut, Jay	Town of Hull	Town Planner	Telephone	10 March 2004
Tucker, Jonathan	Town of Amherst	Senior Planner	Telephone	11 March 2004

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