

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A-1: Letter of Introduction

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To Whom It May Concern:

The intent of this letter, email is to introduce myself and a project I intend to undertake. My name is Richard Marucha Omwenga, I am a Ph.D candidate in Southern New Hampshire University. I am undertaking to understand the perceptions staff Community Development Corporations (CDCs) on the issues of brownfields redevelopment. I am seeking your cooperation in undertaking this study for my Ph.D dissertation.

This study is of importance to us in the academic fraternity seeking to understand how the movement of community economic development (CED) functions. This particular study seeks to understand how your CDC views brownfields issues by interviewing the executive director and one other member of staff concerning these issues. We do acknowledge that you are a busy organization thus we value your time. We understand that brownfields are an important aspect in neighborhood revitalization. By participating in this study you will be contributing in educating us on issues that are of importance to your organization in respect to brownfields. This knowledge will in turn help in educating CED practitioners that join our school and graduate to go and join efforts of poverty alleviation in a variety of fields. Thus your input is indeed very valuable, and we look forward to your participation.

The interview will not take more than 1 hour. It is an open-ended interview in the sense that you will not be filling a questioner. Instead I will engage you, and later on a second member of staff, in a discussion on issues in respect to brownfields.

Thank you.

Marucha Omwenga

APPENDIX A-2: Consent Form

SOUTHERN NEW HAMPSHIRE UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF COMMUNITY ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

BROWNFIELDS REDEVELOPMENT: VOICES FROM THE COMMUNITY ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT (CED) MOVEMENT

CONSENT FORM FOR RESEARCH

I have been asked to take part in a research project described below. The researcher will explain the project to me in detail. I should feel free to ask questions. If I have more questions later, I can contact Marucha Omwenga, at 603-669-3508 or 603-867-5345, email maruchao@yahoo.com. I can also contact the chair of the Institutional Research Review Board, Dr. Peter Frost at 603-668-2211 Ext. 2249, email p.frost@snhu.edu with questions or concerns.

Description and purpose of project:

I have been asked to take part in the study that seeks to understand my organization's perspective on issues of brownfields redevelopment. I understand that the purpose of the research is to inform the principle researcher how practitioners of the community economic development (CED) movement frame brownfields issues.

What will be done:

If I decide to take part in this study, here is what will happen: I will schedule an interview with Marucha Omwenga during which he will engage me in an open-ended interview and discussion on issues pertaining to my organization's involvement in redevelopment of brownfields. I understand that I will be involved for about one hour in the discussion and thereafter, Marucha may make follow-up interviews in person, by phone, or email on issues he may need clarification. I understand that if need arises I may arrange to give Marucha a tour to the brownfields sites for observations that may involve taking photographs.

Risks or discomforts:

I do not anticipate any risks or discomforts in participating in the project.

Benefits of the study:

Although there will be no direct benefits to me for taking part in this study, the researcher may learn more about my organization's perspective on brownfields.

Confidentiality:

I understand that I can choose to request Marucha not to identify me by name as a participant in the research. I understand my records will be held only by Marucha in strict confidentiality.

Decision to quit at any time:

The decision to take part in this study is up to me. I do not have to participate. If I decide to take part in the study, I may quit at any time. Whatever I decide will in no way penalize me. If I wish to quit, I will simply inform Marucha at 603-867-5345 of my decision.

Debriefing:

I understand that I will be debriefed about the study when it is completed and a summary of the research will be provided if I need it.

I have read the Consent Form. My questions have been answered. My signature on this form means that I understand the information and I agree to participate in this study

Signature of Participant

Signature of Researcher

Typed/Printed Name

Typed/Printed Name

Date

Date

APPENDIX A-3: Interview Protocol

After introductions of the purpose of the research the interview started by asking the interviewee the following questions:

1. What is the goal of your organization in relation to redevelopment of brownfields?
2. Why are brownfields a problem from your perspective as a community development organization?
3. To what or to whom do staff of your organization attribute the problems of brownfields?
4. What solution do CDCs suggest to solve the brownfield problem above?
5. What plan and strategies of attack to the problem do the CDCs offer?
6. What justification do you have for participating in the redevelopment of brownfields?

APPENDIX A-4: List of Interviewees

	Interviewee	Name of CDC	Position
1.	John Wood	Allston-Brighton CDC	Director of Housing Dev.
2.	Corienn Williams	CDC of Southeastern Massachusetts	Executive Director
3.	Steve Cook	Oak Hill CDC	Housing Director
4.	John Waite	Franklin County CDC	Executive Director
5.	Amy Shapiro	Franklin County CDC	Program Manager
6.	Richard Thal	Jamaica Plain Neighborhood Development Corporation	Executive Director
7.	Jen Faigel	Jamaica Plain Neighborhood Development Corporation	Community Dev. Director
8.	Noah Maslan	Urban Edge CDC	Senior Project Manager
9.	Chrystal Kornegay	Urban Edge CDC	Director of Real Estate
10.	Evelyn Friedman	Nuestras Comunidad	Executive Director
11.	Mark Norton	Dorchester Bay Economic Development Corporation	Director of Commercial Development
12.	Jeanne Dubois	Dorchester Bay Economic Development Corporation	Executive Director
13.	Madeline Nash	Salem Harbor CDC	Director Real Estate Dev.
14.	K. Robertson	Main South CDC	Dev. Project Manager
15.	Laura Buxbaum	Coalition for Better Acre	Executive Director
16.	Lynn Bernat	Coalition for Better Acre	Environmental Programs
17.	Bill Trynor	Lawrence Community Works	Executive Director
18.	Andre Leroux	Lawrence Community Works	Neighborhood Planner
19.	Ana Luna	Arlington Community Trabajando	Executive Director
20.	Maggie S. Church	Lawrence Groundworks	Executive Director
21.	Timothy Galliger	CDC of South Berkshire	Executive Director
22.	Marcia Hopper	Greater Gardner CDC	Executive Director
23.	Lauren Curry	Just a Start (JUS) CDC	Housing Dev. Manager
24.	Stephen Busby	Mattapan CDC	Project Manager
25.	Paul Lischetti	Westfield CDC	Executive Director
26.	Marshall Stores	Action for Basic Community Development	Executive Director
27.	Carlos Vega	Nueva Esperanza CDC	Executive Director
28.	Daniel Ross	Nuestras Raices CDC	Executive Director
29.	Susan Rutherford	Quaboag Valley CDC	Executive Director
30.	Jeanne Pinado	Madison Park CDC	Executive Director
31.	Joan Campbell	Valley CDC	Executive Director

Appendix B: Analysis of Diagnostic framing

Question 1: What is the problem with brownfields redevelopment?

Diagnostic Framing: Problem Identification

CDC	Indicator	Problematic Explanation
Interviewee2	blighted, contaminated property distressed properties	“...low-income minority neighborhood...” “...present environmental concerns...”
Interviewee3	Property with filth; contaminated either with lead or anything that had some factory; contaminated ground water, coal, lead paint is what washes into the soil around all the older homes	“...contaminated either with lead (because there was lead in old homes)...”; “...brownfields with a small ‘b’ and brownfields with a big ‘B’ - anything that had some factory that contaminated ground water, and resulted in large brownfields.” “But again lead paint is what washes into the soil around all the older homes in Boston. So everything even in Jamaica Plain, is old buildings and they all have lead paint on them. That washes to the soil. People can’t readily garden around those homes because they have tested the soil and found levels of lead. With that sort of home you just don’t just plant tomatoes outside.”
Interviewee4	Former gas stations; Old buildings; Distressed houses Lead paint; asbestos	“Former gas station property; old building...”; “... distressed houses that have not been managed/maintained over time.” “lead paint, asbestos”
Interviewee5	contamination; abandoned factories health problems	“These sites which have been factories that used to employ people but have been abandoned, but they left behind environmental hazardous, that pollute the community and leave people with cancer; leave people with health issues, takes the jobs away. It is the community that is victimized all the time.”

Interviewee6	vacant land; an old school building; environmentally contaminated properties; presence of asbestos; lead paint and asbestos Lead in the soil; underground storage tanks; industrial sites; former industrial sites	“We know that 90% of the buildings that we rehabilitate have lead paint because they were built 100 years ago.”
Interviewee7	dumping ground; abandoned ground storage tanks; substantial contamination. shoe plants, factories; Abandoned land; underground tanks, asbestos; issues of lead or environmental hazards or they have drug issues or dumping.	“We also found people who had thrown oil tanks on to the site. Somebody threw part of a car on to the site. There were tires on the site. There were all sorts of bottles, and cans and all sorts of junk on the site. that had a variety of contamination, whether they be chemicals on the ground. Shoe factories had a variety of oil based solvents that they would use in the ground. I would say that we look at a brownfield as anything that has some environmental challenge, whether that be something that was an abandoned building that has its own environmental issues that needs to be renovated or has a been a dumping ground. We see that a lot of abandoned land that is in our neighborhood with all sorts of things are dumped on the land - an hazard and makes it difficult to do development on the site. This are the projects which no one really wants to do because of drug issues and dumping.”
Interviewee7	“I call a brownfield any plot that contains pollution above the norm of the neighborhood. lead is ubiquitous throughout our neighborhood. It is a contaminated piece of property. If we have a house in which there is a huge oil spill, certainly that is a brownfield.” Health concerns.	“Over 50% of people in our community have respiratory problems. A huge amount of that could be environmentally triggered. So we have profound health issues that are directly related to our environment. So it is impossible for us to have to look at healthy communities, in order to have a prosperous healthy community, and do not address those issues.”
Interviewee9	lead paint;	“Brownfields usually refers to a certain

	heating oil; heavy metals; chemical spills. Dry cleaners.	level of contamination- ...” Most typical is lead paint and heating oil, heavy metals. And chemical spills. chips of lead paint got into the soil; oil, from oil tanks that were not removed when the buildings were taken down; ...a lot of manufacturing plants and other kinds of companies leather tanning companies and things like that. Dry cleaners had chemical spills; oil and the lead paint.
Interviwee10	Industrial mill properties.	“Developed sites have don’t have potential for contamination - the industrial mill properties. That is where you find really big brownfields sites that were developed for the textile industry and other industries later on that have...”
Interviwee11	dilapidated buildings; vacant lots. PCPs in the land and in the Houstonic River; Dumping; Health issues.	“-high rate of cancer that came for the dump. Not only did it contaminate the soil but the people that were working in it. It was not known that this may have side effects, until lately, 5 or 10 years ago when they closed the other G.E. when this surfaced.”
Interviwee12	Abandoned buildings; a former factory site; an old building ; buildings look dilapidated.	“Brownfields I would say, there is some need for environmental remediation, is usually what I think of as a brownfield. There is some need for cleanup.”
Interviwee16	Industrial sooth; other kinds of contaminants. vacant properties; vacant lots with buildings in very bad shape and condition. abandoned property; asbestos; pigeon droppings.	“Essentially all of this area is a covered by industrial soot and lot of it is filth and a lot of other kinds of contaminants. - wherever there is this kind of material. Which qualifies it as brownfields. So we have to deal with basically every project we deal with has issues of contamination.” “...vacant properties; vacant lots with buildings in very bad shape and condition. This property had been abandoned for such a long time, that it become a brownfield. It is a brownfield because we have asbestos, and interestingly enough pigeon guano – droppings. Pigeon droppings are toxic.”
Interviwee17	Contaminated sites; the are dirty;	“Sites that are contaminated; the are dirty; significant level of lead in the soil.”

	lead in the soil.	
Interviewee18	Contamination; lead contamination; leaky storage tanks from gas stations; former auto- garage sites; illegal activities – drugs	“A lot of drug activity and other illegal activities.”
Interviewee20	contamination; vacant land, ugly looking and distressed land; Safety concerns Illegal activity concerns – drugs & dumping Bad perceptions	“It is just too much and it causes as safety problems. And drug dealers come in and hang out there. We also have problems of dumping - illegal dumping. Like people will come and throw their garbage because they see the open land and they just dump their garbage on there. Illegal dumping of oil can accidentally start a fire in the neighborhood. ...There is bad perception about our neighborhood. And we think it is because of all the vacant land.”
Interviewee21	Pollution,	Soil and water-table contamination
Interviewee21	vacant building; pigeon droppings. oil tank; lead paint, and PCPs. hazardous materials; Old mills buildings; factory buildings	“The reason that it is a brownfield is because it has been vacant for about 30 years. The main hazardous material there was pigeon droppings. It also had some oil from an oil tank, lead paint, and PCPs. So it had several different hazardous materials in there and that is what qualified it as a brownfield.”...The building had a strong smell. Chemical leaks and oil leaks to the ground ...”
Interviewee22	Old factory building; old welding shop.	“I imagine because it was a welding shop they assumed there was contamination ...Environmental problems.”
Interviewee23	lead Former factory; former dry cleaner; former hazardous waste site	“Environmental problems due to presence of lead which raised concerns on safety of groundwater. Vitro organic compounds (VOCs) that was used as a cleaning solvent and caused soil and ground water problems. Presence of asbestos. Issues of contamination due to oil seeping to the ground. Hazardous waste ..”
Interviewee24	Vacant lots; abandoned properties	Contamination of buildings
Interviewee25	Former dump sites Lead	“Contamination by lead and other hazardous materials ...”
Interviewee26	Environmental	“It is a site that suffers from environmental

	contamination	contamination often as a result of neglectful practices in the past and that has to be dealt with before it can be put back into productive use.”
Interviewee27	land that has some kind of hazard; contamination to the land. Factories; old construction material; oil and industrial contaminated fields. Vacant lots	“We do not a particular definition except what the state says that: It is land that has some kind of hazard, usually because of something that was there before factory or some kind of facility that was there that caused contamination to the land. We find two kinds here. One is industrial, because this is the old industrial core of Holyoke. Factories were running our here for almost 100 years and during that time there was very little pollution control or any kind of control over dumping or any kind of that stuff. In a lot of these sites including the vacant lots research has found out that they are contaminated. ...Environmental contamination entails the presence of old construction materials, oil among others. The issue of contamination is that it causes an increase in rehabilitation costs. Empty buildings in the neighborhood which can’t be used they way the are problematic because they are an eye sore. It becomes unavailable for any kind of development. Factories that are brownfields, they too you can’t sell them. You have to decontaminate them to do anything to them. So then they become potentially hazardous to the neighborhood because they are contaminated and because if a factory is abandoned, it would cause kids to go and fires to start. That has happened in Holyoke where some of these factories have burnt down and it has released a lot of contamination in the air. Even exposed areas may pose health risks to the residents, but what is not known is how. For example you can’t use certain areas in these neighborhoods to have gardens in there. They say the contamination in there will get in the food.”
Interviewee28	old building; old oil tanks;	Contamination of buildings

	mouldy buildings; lead paint and asbestos	
Interviewee29	Vacant site; land adjacent to railway tracks; underground tanks; former gas stations; old auto repair facilities; old brick yard	Contamination due to petroleum and PCPs.

Appendix C: Analysis of Diagnostic framing – Problem Attribution

Question 2: To what or whom does the staff attribute the brownfields problem to?

Diagnostic Framing: Problem Attribution

CDC	Indicator	Attribution Explanation
Interviewee1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Zoning factor (<i>Regulatory factor</i>). - cost factor (<i>Economic factor</i>). - ambiguity of regulation (<i>Regulatory factor</i>) 	<p>- "... a resistance to sort of giving up the concept of the former industrial land being used again for residential purposes ...";</p> <p>- High acquisition cost associated buying land, plus unknown costs associated what it would cost to clean it up,</p> <p>"The level of ambiguity in some of the regulations. I think it would, it would be difficult for a private developer to do it. I feel ... that a lot of it is sort of arbitrary and what is considered acceptable verses unacceptable. So the regulations are often interpreted by an individual DEP staff. ... I think it just makes it a little harder to plan."</p>
Interviewee2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Land title factor (<i>Regulatory factor</i>) cost factor (<i>Economic factor</i>). 	<p>"In its initial planning study of the area the Main South CDC identified a total of thirty-six parcels of vacant land within the entire thirty acre site that needed to be assembled to accommodate the development of the new affordable housing. Many of these lots had significant title problems."</p> <p>"The difficulty with restoring urban brownfields is that often the cost of the work and site assembly often far exceeds the economic value of the site. "</p>

Interviewee3	<p>- urban renewal program <i>(political factor)</i></p> <p>Property Owners <i>(Uncertainty factor)</i> <i>(Regulatory factor)</i></p> <p>Costs factor <i>(economic factor)</i></p>	<p>“Urban renewal was a program that the federal government came up with in the 1950s and the 1960s to get rid of slums and redevelop big areas of inner city neighborhoods. They basically did that by demolishing everything and coming up with new plans. ... They demolished a bunch of homes. They took people’s homes by a process, where the government would take your property. They tore a whole community and they said they were going to put a highway through it and build this big school campus complex. The community basically opposed all of that, but a lot of land was still demolished. So they stopped the highway and this huge campus plan. Instead they got this land back and places like Madison Park Village were rebuilt. 540 units were built and in some places some of that land is still vacant.”</p> <p>- “I think the biggest challenge is all the unknowns. ... You do an initial Phase I environmental assessment that gives you some clues about the prior uses, the underground tanks and a variety of things. That may lead you to a few more tests. Then you make a decision to buy the land. Then you buy the land and do a phase II assessment which is more money and more involving, which the owners won’t let you do before you buy it. They won’t let you figure out all kinds of liabilities that they have. They sort of let you buy it with a minimum amount of information on what you are getting into. When you get into it, you find you are right as to what is there and sometimes it is more expensive than what you anticipated. ... There is a fair amount of risk because until you start digging in different places and unless you have all that money and a co-operative seller to let you do all that up front, you wouldn’t know until when you have site control and now you can scramble for resources that are out there to deal with the problem.”</p> <p>“No one is defining the scope and no one is finding the money to pay for that cost. There aren’t many places that we go to get funding for environmental contamination.”</p>
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Interviewee4	<p>Private sector (<i>Uncertainty factor</i>)</p> <p>Developers- High cost of remediation (<i>Economic factor</i>)</p>	<p>-“In other parts of the city, there are properties that have been sitting dormant for a long time and nobody has moved them for sale and nobody has moved to purchase them, partially because of the knowledge that they will require some remediation. They are probably owned by private owners, who are no longer using them. They are just sitting on them and they are for sale and nobody is acting on them. “</p> <p>-“Because they are brownfields and we know they were used for manufacturing, we know that they have a history that makes us feel nervous, about proposing development on a factory. ...I mean I think that one thing that made it easy for us to buy this property, is that I think there was a public perception that there had been, it was in everyday news that there was a gas station there at one time, and nobody was interested in buying the property. Plus it was in a very low income neighborhood.”</p> <p>-“knowing that there is environmental remediation, and the real estate market in Salem until fairly recently, has been slack and that there hasn’t been enough economic pressure on private developers to develop those sites I think. I think that if the real estate market continues the way it has been, we will probably see those dormant sites finally getting developed. ... That it is driven by the market. If the prices are high enough ...For example, if you are doing residential development, and market rates/prices are high enough, to offset the cost of remediation, that is what is the determining factor.”</p>
Interviewee5	<p>- Local Government (<i>political factor</i>)</p> <p>The Community (<i>Community factor</i>)</p>	<p>“Well, political favor. There is a preference for working with the private sector less of a willingness to hear alternative use of community members. Those community members can potentially decide what might be the best uses of brownfield sites. As you know, there is a whole community participation process build into brownfields redevelopment that is again, a bottleneck that is holding up. ... They [Local authorities] find it more difficult to deal with community residents. ... There just needs to be a community driven process to represent neighbors that have been affected by this participation in the process. A lot of it happens behind closed doors right now.”</p> <p>“It is an issue around capacity and organization and the commitment of the people in the community to follow</p>

	Lack of resources (<i>Political factor</i>)	<p>with that stuff. That has to do with the resources to make that happen. We had some momentum when we had a consultant moving us through the process but as soon as the funding left and the position ended in City Hall, the brownfield coordinator, who was a federal employee, when he left, we kind of lost momentum again. It is a question of resources as well.”</p> <p>“For people to get organized it takes resources. Unfortunately this part of the state we do not enjoy this level of resource that Cambridge does or Boston does. We are in a backwater of Massachusetts. The government hates us. We are too much aligned with democratic party. It is a long political thing. That is may take on brownfields.”</p>
Interviwee6	<p>Property title (<i>Regulatory factor</i>)</p> <p>Property owners disinvestments (<i>Economic forces</i>)</p>	<p>“It is really a matter of getting to the home owner and if there is a title issue with the property then we and the owner have to clear the title issue.”</p> <p>“Going back 10/15 years ago, there were a lot of disinvestments in the neighborhood. There were a lot of vacant buildings. A lot of fires where a lot of buildings were being burned and then they become vacant. That is going back 10/15 years ago. For the last 2/3 years there aren’t been vacant buildings because the economy is such that those buildings are now occupied. It isn’t much of a problem.”</p>
Interviwee7	<p>Private Sector (<i>Economic factor</i>)</p> <p>Public Sector-MBTA (<i>Regulatory factor</i>)</p>	<p>“There is a lot of pressure on the market. But even when it wasn’t, the easy sites are the ones which get done first. They are the ones that are clean and flat and open. Those are the ones private developers always want. The harder it gets the more expensive it gets and the harder it gets to figure how to deal with it.”</p> <p>“One other interesting phenomenon that is happening is that a lot of land that is adjacent to public infrastructure along the MBTA trucks there is a lot of parcels, and we are involved in several of the parcel, that are going for public disposition; that are presumed to be contaminated and there is these issues that the state does not want to test for contamination because once they know they test, they are responsible for the clean up.”</p>
Interviwee8	Private Sector (<i>Economic</i>)	“The Neponset River the first industrial river in the United States, not the Black Stone. We also had a lot

	<p><i>factor)</i></p> <p>Public Sector – Railway tracks <i>(political factor)</i></p> <p>Private sector - Banks <i>(Political factor)</i></p> <p>Public sector <i>(Political factor)</i></p>	<p>of tanning businesses along the river, with heavy arsenic use. The river has significant PCP contamination.”</p> <p>“The railway tracks that passed through this community the rail people mixed oil and arsenic to keep weeds down during the last century. Everywhere you have railway tracks; you have significant lead and arsenic pollution. ... We have long industrial history.”</p> <p>“Because we have had significant demographic changes, this entire community was redlined by the banks. They couldn’t write mortgages for this neighborhood and this was not secret policy. It was written that actually they would not. When you have that sort of disinvestments, the person who delivers oil to your house, will not be nearly as careful whether he spills five or ten gallons. They are not nearly as careful where they park their trucks. ... We still have difficulties with people from other neighborhood bringing significant amounts of oil and things in bails and dumping them in the river, because they have been able to do it in the past. This is because we didn’t have levels of enforcement other better connected, political, neighborhoods had.”</p> <p>“In America, if you are a community of color, you are on the outside. It is beginning to change, but we have a long history. We were a Jewish community from the beginning of the century until the 1950s and 60s. Overly never a majority Jews, probably 45% or something like that. Mattapan is one of the few Boston neighborhoods that were always ethnically mixed. But Jews were just as an outsider in 1920, as are today or 20 years ago. Consequently, we have been disconnected from the center of power, as a community. Consequently we don’t have major investments from the city in the community. We don’t have many municipal buildings. We don’t have, except a library and Police Department; we don’t have any municipal building here. Our Police Department is</p>
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		actually not in our community but in the next community. So that lack of connection to power for over 100 years has left us on an environmental justice level at the bottom of the dumping heap.”
Interviewee9	<p>Private sector (<i>Economic factor</i>)</p> <p>Liability legislation (<i>Regulatory factor</i>)</p> <p>Cost (<i>Economic factor</i>)</p>	<p>“In Roxbury, in the 1960s and 1970s there was much disinvestment in the neighborhood. There was so much flight from the neighborhood that buildings were worth more if they burnt. They were worth more for their insurance than they were actually worth in the market. So a lot of buildings burnt for some reason in Roxbury.”</p> <p>“It was maybe 10 or 8 years ago. The legislation changed. If you owned a contaminated site and you did clean it up, you were liable from the time you knew there was contamination. So nobody wanted to own these sites even for a few minutes because you would be in the chain of liability.”</p> <p>“Well, there are two big problems with brownfields. In terms of development. One is the obvious one the expense of cleaning up the contamination. It is very, very expensive to clean up the contaminants. “</p>
Interviewee10	<p>Lack of markets (<i>Economic factor</i>)</p> <p>Private sector -back taxes (<i>Economic factor</i>)</p> <p>Property owners (<i>Regulatory factor</i>)</p>	<p>“I do not want to make it look that it is always easy, working with these issue as we do. But there is really no market in Lawrence right now in a lot of ways. I mean it is growing; it is getting there, but is particularly in the redeveloping of the red buildings which is where brownfields come in... “</p> <p>“In addition to being a brownfield site, it was the largest single property tax title in the city, with a huge back tax burden and their was a dispute between the city and the owner about exactly how much that amount was. There was not much engagement with the owner about doing anything with the site. ... It has been an ethically complicated problem because ethically complicated project because it has tax title issues, it has ownership issues.”</p> <p>“Of course there is this fear of liability that if you create a park, and some kid, God forbid, got sick, that the company will get sued. So sometimes, companies would rather not touch a site because they figure that if they just mouth-balled it and hope that people just</p>

	Private sector (community factor)	<p>don't get in there, then that will limit their liability."</p> <p>"So I think that the more the private sector can see the benefit that working with community based organizations to move these projects through the pipeline, Instead of seeing participatory planning as an obstacle; seeing it as a path that can help them achieve their objective as well as neighborhood objectives as well. That will be tremendously valuable. It is not always the case that every community organization has that goal. Some people it is hard to say stop it, I do not want development. Period. And sometimes it is harder to get this level of corporation. But should be automatic assumptions that if it is community group we do not want to deal with them. It is going to be on our way. I have heard that from high level people of involved in industrial property developed who go like community participation is just going to slow things down. I think that certainly that is not the case in a lot of places. Certainly it doesn't have to be the case if the conditions are right to create a working relationship."</p>
Interviwee11	Private Sector (Economic factor)	"Some of the lots fell vacant when people moved and the economy was bad five years ago. A lot of people just gave their houses up and stopped paying their mortgage. So houses were not cared for. For some of the lots, the city has recently torn down about 15 houses on this part of town."
Interviwee12	<p>Economic factor</p> <p>Investors (Regulatory factor)</p>	<p>"I guess one way the down town had customers was the industrial buildings which were integrated right into the center of town. I guess in terms of modern usage it was not considered appropriate to have a factory that was spewing all kinds of smoke stark waste into the air. Generally the use of real estate in down town has been changing. There are no longer as many retails. There are more of restaurants and that sought of thing and it is struggling to come back."</p> <p>"I just know that whatever the factory uses that were there, they were worried that there was going to be chemical in the ground water. That there was going to be contamination of new sites. The new owner was going to be liable for that. The way the new law is now it does not matter whether you created the mess or not. If you end up owning the land you end up paying for it. They did not want to take that risk so long as it was a</p>

	<p>Private investor -liability (<i>Regulatory/Economic factor</i>)</p> <p>Back taxes (<i>political factor</i>)</p>	<p>factory.”</p> <p>“People investigate and go away and say I can get virgin land outside at the Turnpike. It is a lot easier to develop out there. If they see where they are going to encounter liability for brownfield in the down town areas then they are not going to pursue it. Then the issue of parking. Why would they want to build here and then you have to deal with the issue of parking. On the one hand everyone likes the down town for what it was 40 years ago. On the other hand no one is going to spend the money to make it that way, unless a group like the CDC or the city can come in with subsidy of some kind and say you know what, it is for the community interest to bring this place back because it is the center of our community and it gives us an identity. Otherwise there are nice historical buildings down there but it is cheaper for private developers to go somewhere else.</p> <p>...City Hall likes the development because it adds to the taxes.”</p> <p>The owner is in arrears in his taxes. The city would like to identify a developer who would purchase that property and pay some of those taxes.</p>
Interviwee13	<p>Liability legislation (<i>Regulatory factor</i>)</p> <p>Market forces (<i>Economic factor</i>)</p> <p>Space/location factor (<i>Economic factor</i>)</p>	<p>“Because people were afraid of owning it or being held liable for contamination. And actually the private market wasn’t working. People were afraid of being liable. That is a huge deterrent for brownfield work.”</p> <p>“Well, that is one way the private market wasn’t working... O.K. I think probably the private market just walking away from these things that created all these brownfields. They are the ones that polluted them in the first place. But then they are the ones that were afraid to take them on. So CDCs have been able to step in now. So that is a huge factor. They were not there investing.”</p> <p>Well, many manufacturers have left the city, or they are going to China. But there are still people making things in America. And I think too many times a company will need a new facility, it would go out to the suburbs and build in a big office park. But to get them come back to the city or to not leave the city where this company worked, until recently people were</p>

		<p>not coming to the city. They were leaving to stay in the big office parks. ... So that is another restriction for brownfields that is there aren't large enough sites to put these sprawling facilities that some manufacturing needs.</p>
	Back taxes (<i>Regulatory factor</i>)	<p>"A second way was there were millions dollars of back taxes. So whoever was going to buy had to have the taxes forgiven or pay them."</p>
	Cost (<i>Economic factors</i>)	<p>"They didn't want to be held liable or they didn't have the money that is another reason. I mean there were no resources to clean up this thing, other than your own money. So now we have State Brownfield Fund, which I am a board of."</p>
	Environmental Protection Agency/Department of Environmental Protection (<i>Regulatory factor</i>)	<p>"Well actually there is another variable ... the actual regulatory environment the Environmental Protection Agency and the State Department of Environmental Protection. The EPA and DEP are enforcers. Once you know you have a problem in your ground, it is now a reportable condition. They can force you to clean your site. So that is why a lot of property owners don't want to know what is in the ground. Because the EPA or DEP can make you spend money. So I can think of 2 or 3 properties where the owner ... The dry cleaner owner could not let us test his land until we owned the land. He would not let us figure out what was in the ground. I want to show you a picture. There is the picture here. This is the dry cleaner building. This is contaminated. But the owner couldn't let us test the land. If we knew what it was, it would have cost us 200,000 - 300,000 to clean it up. We would have gotten it ourselves, but the board could not let us because we could be stuck with \$2 million clean up."</p>
	Angry Neighbors (<i>The Community</i>)	<p>"That is another challenge angry neighbors. Angry neighbors are your friends but they are also a challenge because just because you are going to clean the brownfield, doesn't mean they like what you are going to do. So you have to present this to them they are afraid of the contamination or they are afraid of dangerous building with fires and drugs. But they didn't just any company to come there. They had to approve this company. So that is another big, big challenge is how does your redevelopment fit with the</p>
	Private	

	Companies (<i>Economic Factor</i>)	<p>surrounding homes and businesses.”</p> <p>“Because I think 20, 30, 50, 40 years ago, companies were making things and either they didn’t know what they were dumping or it was the cheapest way to run their business. If you produced some product and it is cheaper to throw them in the ground than to take it to some landfill or some chemical hazard place, I do not think there was environmental education for both the community and the owner as there are now.”</p>
Interviwee14	<p>Liability legislation (<i>Regulatory factor</i>)</p> <p>Property Owners (<i>Regulatory factor</i>)</p> <p>Property owners (<i>Regulatory factor</i>)</p>	<p>“...the problems/some of the challenges in the very early stages when you are trying to acquire a property or when you are trying to get the owner of the property to fix it up or to redevelop is the lack of knowledge or perception of the problem. If there is a property in the neighborhood that is blighting the neighborhood holding back often times the owner of that property won’t test it to see what type of the contamination there is because they do not want to know. Because if they know they will be forced to clean it up. So one of the general problems we have is people or property owners holding on the property and leaving them vacant because they don’t want to be held liable if they test it to see what is in that property.”</p> <p>“We have others too where you have got empty or unutilized properties that current owners leave just the way they are because they are afraid if the test them and the state catches them they will be forced to clean it up. That is a kind of general problem we face in trying to redevelop the entire neighborhood and revitalize blighted areas. This fear of current owners to be held liable.”</p> <p>“If there is a property that we want to buy and is up for sale, often times the current owner will not let us enter the property and test it before we can buy it. Usually you have to buy it before knowing what contamination problem there is. I will give an example of a situation like that where we got lucky and we were buying a property and the property owner did let us get on the property before hand and test it. There was contamination and we used that to bargain down the price. We got about half the price of what we would have to pay. There are still problems to clean up in order to ... So that one worked out to our advantage</p>

		<p>that it had contamination, and luckily the owner let to the property and tested it.” ... “There are also liability reasons. If there is a spill on the site, next door to a home with kids - the kids are getting cancer or wherever- they can quite possibly trace the source back to this property. So they do not want to be held liable for things that result from contamination on their property. The less they know the better. There is nothing forcing them to test their own property. There is no legal - no law that says you have to test your own property. So they are just holding to it and sell it later to make money, there is no reason to test that property.”</p>
Interviewee15	<p>Cost <i>(Economic factor)</i></p> <p>Private sector <i>(Economic factor)</i></p> <p>Private/local government <i>(regulatory)</i></p>	<p>“So the challenges are really, you know it just makes the whole process of redevelopment all that expensive, complicated, time consuming. It forces us to go out and get additional funding sources to pay for that. You know, currently the funding sources we need to pay for that are different from the ones going to finance or fund a straight real estate deal. So it adds a lot, whole layer of complexity in costs.”</p> <p>“If you have got a contaminated site or brownfield, then that places a big kind of level of uncertainty that ... The last thing that lenders want is uncertainty. And uncertainty is a bad thing to people in real estate deal. That is why people have title insurance. That is why banks require title insurance. They want to be absolutely sure that what they are financing that value is there. When you have a site that is contaminated, then you got to work real hard to turn that uncertainty to a certainty. And the way you do, one, you do an extensive assessment of the site. Assessment testing, then you got to ... clean it up to the standards it ought to be for the specific use. Then you got indemnify everybody from liability. So, in other words, if I am the lender, I need to know that, no matter what happens - if somebody gets sick, or there is any problem - I am not going to loose money. ... It costs money in terms of lawyers that is another whole legal process. So in addition to the money to, let us say the cost of assessment to clean up that would be one cost. Then you have got the cost to structure the deal to indemnify, to protect everybody. That is legal and in some cases it costs extra money. And the third cost is, you know, sometimes what you got to do is design around some of</p>

	<p><i>factor)</i></p> <p>Private sector <i>(regulatory factor)</i></p> <p>The Local government <i>(Economic/regulatory factor)</i></p>	<p>the problems. ... So there are really three kinds, three types of costs.</p> <p>I think money is a big thing; I think liability; I think the level of energy and let me put it this way. If you are a commercial real estate company or a bank, which or a city government (this are the folks who end up owning brownfields), once you decide to do something with that property, you open a whole can of worms. Let us say I own a brownfield, I decide that I am going to do something with this site. The first thing I am going to do is I become an active EPA or EQ file. Which means now I have people looking at me.”</p> <p>“It is different for different parties that own it, but if you are a real estate company and for instance you have a lot of other deals you would be doing, you are not forced to do anything with that piece of property. You are a bank, and it is in your kind of portfolio, you know, you don’t want that liability, but you just assume and mouth ball it.”</p> <p>“If you are a city, and you don’t have an aggressive strategy for redevelopment and resources, then you are going to mouth ball it. So most of the incentive is to mouth ball not to act. Once you act, it is going to cost money, you are going have to meet regulations, and people are going to watch you - you got to do it right. People don’t want to deal with that.”</p>
Interviwee16	<p>Private sector <i>(Economic factor)</i></p> <p>Private sector <i>(Regulatory factor)</i></p>	<p>“The ... in addition to that, obviously many of the interest, this is a textile mill city. Over the years many of the textile industries sort of went a way. Other industries came in as well and they are essentially very dirty industries. ... The GenCorp site was a mill complex, of five acres large that manufactured tires. You can imagine the contamination that there is - quite deep into the soil. A lot of times, the contaminants would be damped into the waterways ... So you had a lot underground contaminations which were sort of difficult to figure out the subsoil contaminations. This was sort of challenging in terms of engineering.”</p> <p>“I think the corporate - the private sector, - that own these brownfields are afraid to have public discussions about them. Because they are worried about legal liability, and as a result of that, they are very concerned about controlling information about the site and access</p>

	<p>Lack of markets <i>(Economic factor)</i></p> <p>lack of ownership <i>(Regulatory factor)</i></p>	<p>of the site. So I think that is challenging. I think that it slows down the process for getting the community involved in planning and redesigning the site. And in building the public will necessary to find funding ... Because a lot of these brownfields require some subsidy of some kind (public subsidy), to cleanup. And unless you have a strong public process around them, ... it slows down getting that funding.”</p> <p>“In a market like Lawrence, that is an unproven market, where you are not going to get a lot of money, if you sell a house for example or whatever, or not so much as you would get like in Boston, or any other place in the area. It is still just as expensive to do the project.”</p> <p>“Lack of ownership of alleyways makes it difficult to redevelop. So what we have been doing, we have been - because nobody wants them, we have been . I wouldn’t say taking them over. In some cases, we have taken them over. In other cases we are just improving them without resolving the ownership issue. So that is the only reason why we have to raise funds public funds be able to do that, because there is no revenue involved anywhere here.”</p>
Interviwee17	Lack of financing <i>(Economic factor)</i>	“They are the challenges of getting financing for a site that has environmental concerns. It is the challenge of affording to clean them up, and the resource constrain with affordable housing.”
Interviwee18	Lengthy permitting process <i>(Regulatory factor)</i>	“To get through the whole permitting process ..., it takes a very long time. And that all time, it costs you money, because you have to carry all the costs of developing all that for a very long time. And so it is much quicker to get permits in smaller towns and cities around Boston, where land is much simpler. A lot of times the state sometimes will subsidize sprawl development. Through providing services to the new development. Through providing roads, infrastructure. If you look at it from a broader perspective it is cheaper to clean up old sites that already have existing infrastructure than new sites. If you look the total cost, I am not looking at the cost of development. If you look at it from a policy perspective, it is generally cheaper to do that. And most likely you can say that it is cheaper from a local perspective.”

Interviewee18	<p>Zoning regulations (Regulatory factor)</p> <p>Back taxes (Regulatory factor)</p> <p>Fall in property values (Economic factor)</p> <p>Long vacant property acquisition process (Regulatory factor)</p>	<p>“The zoning rules don’t let us develop all of them unless we go through requesting special permits to build on what the city considers to be too small lots.”</p> <p>“I think the connection there is that a lot of those lots that are empty is because the owners who use to be absent land lords. They own so much taxes that they don’t care. People outside like them cause a bad perception of our neighborhood. Because they create these problems for us. We are here to deal with the problem they left us. Because they gave up on these properties.”</p> <p>“We had a lot of problems with arson, back in earlier 90s. My understanding is that people had purchased these houses very expensively in the 80s. Then in the 90s, they just couldn’t afford them. And that caused a lot of arson problems. Because people wanted to get out but they couldn’t sell it at the price they got it for. Because the market had come down a lot. For example people had bought the houses a few years ago like in the 80s at \$200,000. But in the 90s these houses were worth \$70,000. So you see they were losing \$130,000 there. That caused some problems with people, I do not know who. It was proven by the police that many of these houses that burned down were arson. And that is how we ended up with 125 vacant lots. ...I have to say that all of them did because we didn’t have many vacant lots. Everything was build on and then you know, within a few months, it was like within a year, we just had a lot of fires. ... So most of the vacant lots we have, at least 95% I will have to say were arson.”</p> <p>“Some of them are owned [vacant lots] by people who have never lived here. They now live in Florida, Pennsylvania, wherever. They live all over the place. Some of it is tax title, where the city is trying to take them over but the city does not have the capacity to deal with so many lots at the same time. So what that does is, these vacant land has to go through a whole process. Let us say that this one in particular is owned by you. You don’t live here any more and you don’t want the property. So you are basically hiding from the city, because you don’t want them to find you and you have to pay the taxes. The city has to look for you. If they go through a process where they diligently try to find you and they can’t, then they have to go to court</p>
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Interviewee19	Potential investors <i>(Economic factor)</i>	<p>“In the first place, they [potential investors] were afraid because they didn’t know what the contamination was. So we entered the game to administer it. ...It was sold by an organization called New England Log Homes. They made prefabricated log homes. They got the logs and soaked them in chemicals. That was the cause of the pollution. That company that corporation no longer exists. The CDC has site control of the site but does not own it.”</p>
Interviewee20	<p>Environmental regulations <i>(Regulatory factor)</i></p> <p>Property owners <i>(Regulatory factor)</i></p>	<p>“It is not easy to buy this properties, not because it is a brownfield, or because it is not clean. It is because of the location. It is next to a river and actually several of our buildings are by a river. But now they have a new law. You can not build by the river. You have to build a way from it. So the size of the building lot is smaller. It makes it more challenging for somebody to build.”</p> <p>“One of the biggest challenges has been to find out for sure what the contaminants are. Because there is always a lot of roamers. It is this or it is that. So you have to get an actual licensed site assessment professional in there and actually do a study. Until they do that, no one knows. Getting people to know what is really there was a challenge. But we are overcoming with most sites. There are a few people who do not want this program, although it is free. We can use EPA money to do the assessment but some people still don’t want it.”</p>

	<i>factor)</i>	“They think they will be liable. It is true, but when they want to sell the property, they will have to do it. So it is better to know it now and they can have time to clean it up. Besides they can use one of these programs. Right now the best program is this loan program where 30% of it is forgiven. It is from the EPA (Environmental Protection Agency) through the Regional Planning group.”
Interviewee21	Lack of development funds	“Because we have such a small capacity and we are struggling financially since the state cut the program that was assisting CDCs. We have been struggling for funds. We do not have the money we don’t have the in-house capability to be dealing with brownfield sites.”
	Back taxes	“Originally it was owned by whoever that run the welding shop. It was privately owned, but the owner defaulted on taxes.”
Interviewee22	Back taxes Liability <i>(regulatory factor)</i>	“Eventually the town took the property back for back taxes.”
	High cost of cleanup <i>(Economic factor)</i>	“My board is so much cost conscious. They are very concerned about liability.” “We talked to a fellow in Hardwick. He owns a manufacturing property by the river. ... There was a transformer outside there that a utility company had left behind. When it caught fire, it created a huge mess spewed PCPs. The whole site is now a toxic site. He is stuck with the need to clean it up. He can’t. Here is a good example of a property he can’t do anything about. Unless he has a very good plan for the re-use of property. Most of the public funding aren’t going to come forward to help him. It is a \$1 million clean up probably. ... It is just too expensive. ... “The projects aren’t feasible to clean up. This fellow in Hardwick, ... He owns this property. He has got a small manufacturing plant. ... He cannot do anything with the property, so to speak until he cleans that up. He talked to the state senators in order to obtain money and they referred him to Mass Development. He is a private citizen. Mass Development is not in the business of giving private citizens big money if they do not have a good re-use plan. Even if the got money for assessment, clean up is even a bigger problem. If
	Cost of redevelopment	

	due to geographical disparity (<i>Economic factor</i>)	<p>somebody came and gave him a million dollars for clean up, he is still stuck in the dead of the water.”</p> <p>“Let me say that the economics in this part of Western Massachusetts is different from Eastern. For instance the property in Monson if it got fixed up it would probably be valued at \$500,000 - \$600,000. The same property in downtown Boston would probably worth several million dollars. So if one would afford to invest it there it would have a good return on investment. That is not going to happen in this part of the state. To clean up is going to be high. So we have a geographical issue here.”</p>
Interviewee23	Discrimination (<i>political factor</i>)	<p>“One is that Holyoke is a city of immigrants. It was an industrial city. Waves of immigrants came from Ireland, Poland and French Canada to work in these factories. The latest waves of immigrants (not precisely immigrant because they are USA citizens), but the new comers came from Puerto Rico. Like any other immigrant group they were treated with distrust, racism, by the more established immigrants that came before them. As the inner city of Holyoke considered moving in other tenants, the white establishment didn’t like it very much. The white establishment had an unwritten plan that they were going to let establishments be demolished and burned down. They wanted to keep the industrial development and expand in their place. That has continued to this day. There were some other factors too. There was an investor that began buying up building. He was getting loans because of these properties. People started getting money and sneaking the money to different accounts and after a few years they skimmed that money off and then disappeared. All these properties nobody had invested in them. They were in terrible shape. They had been neglected. They city had not imposed any code on them. So they were just left to be burned and to fall apart. Nobody could do anything with them.”</p>
Interviewee24	Economic turn down (<i>Economic factor</i>)	<p>“It was condominium that were developed in 1988 and there was a turn down cycle in the economy in 1980s and these market rate condominium was foreclosed on. He wasn’t selling them due to the economic turn down. Valley picked up 10 of these condominiums from the FDIC when the developer had gone under. With that we purchased the development rights to built at that time another 24 units of housing on vacant land of the</p>

		Mill River that used to run down town North Hampton.”
Interviewee25	Remediation/cost/policies (<i>Economic factor</i>)	<p>“One thing that is interesting in the supermarket and the health center project site; I have heard that in the mid 1990s; has it happens in many of these abandoned sites, every several years there will be an attempt to do something with it. Apparently in the 1990s the Polaroid Company was trying to do another inner city facility. During that era, any contaminant had to be hauled off site. The first estimate the Polaroid Company got was in the neighborhood of \$15m to clean up that site. They left those plans. I mean that was off the charts. It was still quite a contaminated site, but because of some of the changes in procedures, when we remediated it 10 years later, it cost between \$2.5m to \$3m. Which is still a lot of money, but we were able to get a clean site at a price that made it possible to do it. If it was \$15m, it would still be the 25 high weed, with all the drugs. ... What made the different I think they [environmental regulatory agencies] realized the standard of having to take any contaminant and haul it off site was absurd. It was prohibitively expensive and not really necessary. So that made a huge difference.”</p>
Interviewee26	Lack of resources (<i>Economic factor</i>)	<p>“... there is not much money available to do something about them or to build on them. We know that they are around. There hasn't been really something like a problem. We know that you can't go and dig up in a brownfield. When an industry wants to expand, they have to get 21E studies done. If anything were to happen we would be called to any kind of hearing and any kind of stuff like that. But we don't have the resources and money to go round and correct brownfields.</p>

Appendix D: Analysis of prognostic framing – Progress

Question 3: What solution do CDCs suggest to solve the brownfield problem above?

Prognostic Framing: Suggested Solutions

CDC	Indicator	Solution
Interviweel	<p>Policy advocacy – legislation for zoning reform</p> <p>- Research & Awareness)</p> <p>Policy advocacy – legislation for grants rather than loans</p> <p>Market based approach - Insurance against liability</p>	<p>“It is sort of to go through that transformation of people who think of it as traditional land and has being industrial land. In fact there are some initiatives in the city that tried specifically to maintain or continue that industrial use. ... That transformation I think is an ongoing process.”</p> <p>“MASS Development that administrates brownfields program makes loans to people. That majority of the times. What may work for us they said: Forget about making a loan to you. We will make it in a form of grant. Provided the end result of this is the creation of affordable housing. So it was a very bold and innovative approach that MASS Development took. You know the incentive associated with providing a low cost loan, I do not think is enough for a developer to have taken that project.”</p> <p>“...an insurance program. We took advantage of it, and it gave us an insurance policy, so that, God forbid, if this contamination that we knew about, were to go outside of our site, there was a limit to our liability. And there was another component that I thought was interesting. It is a thing called cost cap. Cost cap insurance policy. And what that was, was an insurance policy that you would provide or that you would pay for that you would limit your potential cost beyond the estimated</p>

		cost.”
Interviwee2	<p>Partnerships with local city authorities - Litigation Policy advocacy for legislation for grants</p> <p>Research & Education</p>	<p>“The CDC was able to work cooperatively with the City administration to clear title in land court and arrange for their transfer.” “State grant funding is in place for this work and construction will begin in July.”</p> <p>“...coordinating efforts to determine the extent of environmental contamination within the project area and arrange the necessary clean up. Like many urban brownfields, it is often the fear of the unknown that prevents productive reuse. A critical element of the CDC’s predevelopment efforts was to quantify the extent of the contamination and to coordinate the most cost efficient development of the site.”</p>
Interviwee4	<p>Partnerships with Private sector</p> <p>Market based approach - Insurance against Liability</p> <p>Policy advocacy for Interest free financing</p> <p>Policy advocacy – legislation for zoning relief</p> <p>Community Organizing - Community support to get policy reform</p>	<p>To handle the start up cost, remediation cost. Somebody to partner with to make it economically feasible.</p> <p>We are contemplating getting insurance that will cover us. There is a form of insurance out there for CDCs which are doing development on marginal properties, that will protect us from any kind of liability from environmental problems that may come up. So we were looking into doing that.</p> <p>“Perhaps MASS Development could provided, you know, interest free financing, ...”</p> <p>“The city is looking at the zoning along the North River Corridor. This is basically an area in Salem that does have most of the brownfields properties. The city is trying to encourage the development of that area. So they are looking at zoning, trying to provide incentives to developers.”</p> <p>“we always feel that we have to have community support and that we do. Partly because it is part of our mission to respond to community needs and desires but also we too get concessions from the city. Take for example for zoning relief, with the new construction of home ownership it did not</p>

		comply with local zoning. So we needed to have municipal support in what we were doing. And when you get municipal support you change the zoning, get zoning relief, and in order to have that we had to have neighborhood support. We can never do anything in a vacuum. Everything we do, we need neighborhood support, pretty much.”
Interviewee7	Policy advocacy – Legislation for funding	“One of the things is we are involved in a coalition of CDCs The Massachusetts Association of CDCs around legislative issues with the state. Actually one of the issues this year has been around brownfields funding and increasing the amount of funding. So we do a lot of policy work to say that it is more than our community. It is about the entire Commonwealth of Massachusetts where we need to look at this. Certainly also at the Federal level but it is harder to make changes at the Federal level. And doing work with our politicians some of our local politicians have been tremendously successful at accessing dollars for remediation.”
Interviewee8	Partnership with the private sector Policy advocacy to hold polluters accountable	<p>“One, we have access to money for remediation than for-profit do. So we can partner with for-profit and bring them tremendous advantage in terms of bringing them available land at minimal cost to them. At the same time, improve the quality of remediation that is done in the community. It is not a role we want to play but it is a role we think we have to play. No we can’t develop every brownfield in Mattapan, but we can partner with everyone who is developing a brownfield in Mattapan, and work with them better manage it for the communities.”</p> <p>“So along the line, there is serious, not just pockets, of massive contamination and the entire line itself, is massively contaminated. We have been trying to get MBTA to acknowledge that and remediate that, is not something they plan to do. The MBTA is always finding ways to exempt itself from its own regulations.”</p>
Interviewee9	Research – Information on risk and understanding the risk involved	“We try to get as much information as we can, as soon as we can so that we can try to ... you know ... Development is about managing risk and saying: “How do you balance it?” There is no

	Minimizing development	<p>such thing as totally risk free real estate project. ... we do everything we can to look at old maps of the site to know what was there. Was there a factory there before? Is it on an aquifer something beneath there? Trying to understand the history of the site..... We tried to understand how to manage the risk because we knew there was contamination. O.K. how much permeable surface? What if we just cover it and not do the remediation because we can't afford it? What if we take it out and get rid of it? What other ways can we design the building so that the contamination stays where it is, but not be an environmental hazard for the people that are living there?....But in some places, like this piece of land we ended up not buying, there were parts in the area that were so contaminated, that it didn't make sense to clean it up. So that affects your design. Then what you do is making it a parking lot where it is really contaminated. So that part, you know, you clean it as much as you can, but it is so contaminated that you really, it will be so expensive to clean it. So you build a parking lot so that the soil never gets disturbed."</p>
Interviwee10	Policy advocacy – Legislation – Covenant-Not-To-Sue	<p>"So sometimes, companies would rather not touch a site because they figure that if they just mouth-balled it and hope that people just don't get in there, then that will limit their liability. So our strategy is to say we can find ways to transform this site. Get it away from underneath you, because you are no longer interested in owning it and limit your liability in the process. So working with the Attorney General's office for a Covenant-Not-To-Sue program, was really an important piece of that in early stages of that."</p>
Interviwee12	<p>Education on existing resources</p> <p>Leverage funds from different sources</p>	<p>"We are very grateful that there is legislation that allows us to get some funding to do just that - whether it is to do a study or to do remediation. There are all sorts of funding out there and we are not familiar with them because we have not gotten into them but we will at some point."</p> <p>"The city contributed funds for the project for the demolition of existing buildings and then we used State HOME funds and Affordable Trust Fund money to build 4 single family homes. That was</p>

	Policy advocacy for subsidy from the city	<p>also an abandoned site that we got involved. ... There was one other project that was a mill, which again a HUD section 108 loan funds that the city to the CDC to a private developer, who was redeveloping this mill.”</p> <p>“On the other hand no one is going to spend the money to make it that way, unless a group like the CDC or the city can come in with subsidy of some kind and say you know what, it is for the community interest to bring this place back because it is the center of our community and it gives us an identity. Otherwise there are nice historical buildings down there but it is cheaper for private developers to go somewhere else.”</p>
Interviwee13	<p>Policy advocacy for Legislation on liability protection</p> <p>Policy advocacy for taxes forgiving</p> <p>Community Organizing – self-advocacy</p>	<p>“And that has been solved by the new law. The 1998 Brownfield Law, which gives liability protection for people who are not the polluter. So, if you didn’t cause the contamination, you have legal coverage. You do not have to worry about someone suing you. Especially if you are the one cleaning it up. And that is why the Brownfield Law is very important because it gave us \$30,000 million and in 5 years it is almost gone. It down to \$5 million now.”</p> <p>“A second way was there were millions dollars of back taxes. So whoever was going to buy had to have the taxes forgiven or pay them.”</p> <p>“So I think the answer to - how do you keep our low income and minority neighborhoods from getting more pollution, - have them organized. If they are well organized they will protect themselves.”</p>
Interviwee14	Research/Information gathering	<p>“You can find some basic information about the property. You can go back and look at the history onwhat type of business and industries were there. You can look up in a DEP databases, and see if there was a reported release/ contamination on the property. You can find out some information, with a little digging, if you know where to look. If there isn’t a lot of information</p>

		then you are stuck. Then hoping there isn't a big problem you got to go out, have it tested and you have to raise some money."
Interviwee15	Legislation – Covenant-Not-To-Sue	"We have been working with the Attorney General because we have been facing that situation here. Where we have got big institutions like Bank of America, that we want them to dispose of the property, give us the property or give the city the property, do the clean up and then go away. And that is what they want. But the past, you are never able to get away, because you have this residual liability. The Covenant-Not-To-Sue, will at least loose Bank of America from liability. And for that, Bank of America would be willing to put extra money into the building of the park. So it is like a three party deal: you have the city, you have got us and you got Bank of America, and this instrument Covenant-Not-To-Sue. And that helps it all work. ... those kind of things that put a cap or limit liability, create a whole different set of dynamics, and make it more likely to ..."
Interviwee16	Community Organizing – bonding residents to the community Policy advocacy – removal of subsidies Market based	<p>"So what we have been trying to do is to get people bonded to the neighborhood itself and build assets - family and community assets.... This, as they started building this community planning effort just talking to people, and they started doing community organizing, they built a community planning initiative that was called Reviviendo Community Planning Group.... It is part of a bigger movement. It is not just a houses or playing ground it is a movement ... together transforming in a positive way in creating a movement of people who were joining together to change their neighborhood and redevelopment. So that planning - the Reviviendo planning group was sort of a group of residents, community leaders, other stakeholders, small business people in the neighborhood who met on a regular basis to where the neighborhood was going and talk about issues related to the city and the neighborhood."</p> <p>"Federal Government subsidies make it cheaper to develop land outside the city due to market forces and policies. Federal government policies extend subsidies on mortgage tax credit, which enable middle class people to off Other federal</p>

Interviewee29	Market based approach – insurance policy	<p>“The state has a program called BRAC Brownfields Redevelopment ... It is an insurance program where you can buy a policy that essentially provides insurance to your lenders. That is a problem sometimes people can’t get banks to lend on contaminated land because they feel that it is an open ended liability. So the Brac insurance program is a step towards giving lenders the assurance through the insurance that they will repay their mortgages.”</p>
Interviewee22	Partnerships – with municipalities	<p>“So if one of the municipalities had a site and they cleaned it up and they contacted us that they wanted affordable housing on it, then we could participate with them. We would partner with them. That is the only way at this point in time that we would consider doing any thing with brownfield sites to partner with the municipality.”</p>
Interviewee23	Policy advocacy – grants rather than loans	<p>“I would like to see clean up money available as grants. I am not sure how the mechanism will be, but not much is going to happen until money is available. Either through the town, or the CDC or any other nonprofit. Some of these properties are going to languish. They are just going to sit there.”</p>
Interviewee26	<p>Research & Education</p> <p>Partnership</p> <p>Community organizing – public support</p>	<p>“If the partnership that worked on those projects didn’t have a strong vision, and a lot of support and another financing in place to bring a state of the art health center and a supermarket, there is no way we would have gotten the public support we needed. We did our homework and we did have that support. People understood that if this site can be cleanup, it is a benefit in that way then there are greater things to happen.”</p> <p>“I would say that the key to our success is in having neighborhood support. In several of these larger and more challenging projects we were working in partnership with other community organizations sometimes with private developers has meant that we are able to bring both financial support and the kind of political community support we need to make these projects happen.”</p>

Appendix E: Motivational Frame Analysis – Justification

What justification do CED practitioners claim for their participation in redeveloping brownfields?

In this section, the research sought to understand what motivates CED practitioners to engage in brownfields redevelopment.

Interviewee1	Affordable housing Facilitating factors – housing crunch	<p>With the housing crunch that has really gripped the area of Allston-Brighton for a long time, we started looking at non-conventional places to put residential properties. One of the logical places is the industrial base - the industrial zone properties that are not being utilized now. Of course with their former uses you are going to be running into some with concerns of environmental conditions.</p> <p>You know here in Allston-Brighton we have a very specific set of market conditions that are exacerbated by the universities. The apartments here are often occupied by 3 or 4 students who pitch in \$400 a piece and it makes it more difficult for families to find housing. So as supply and demand issues create additional problems, we start looking at non-conventional ways of converting land. In particular I think Harvard has bought a lot property out here. So the number of vacant units, the number of vacant pieces of parcels - because of good economy around here, there are few opportunities for tax foreclosure or a bank foreclosures, because the value is so great here. That is why we have branched out here to look at this industrial lots.</p> <p>Lack of other options in terms of places to build. So that is what forced us really to look at. Was the lack of opportunities elsewhere. We would have avoided the problem all together if there was another viable site we would have created housing on.</p>
Interviewee2	Neighborhood improvement	<p>All of this work has required significant fundraising. The difficulty with restoring urban brownfields is that often the cost of the work and site assembly often far exceeds the economic value of the site. We would not</p>

	Facilitating factors – grants and political support	<p>have undertaken this project if we relied purely on market economics to drive its feasibility.</p> <p>The project is an estimated \$32 million. To date with the help of our Senator and Congressman, the Main South CDC has successfully secured a \$1 million “Neighborhood Improvement Program” grant from HUD, a \$1 million federal “Brownfield Economic Development Initiative Grant”, a \$200,000 EPA Brownfield Pilot grant, \$975,000 of federal earmarks and a \$5.8 million Section 108 loan to retire the existing debt and to fund the clean up and demolition. Our legislative delegation remains strongly committed to the project and a sizeable earmark request will be submitted in this year’s appropriation cycle.</p>
Interviwee3	<p>Affordable housing</p> <p>Not environmental clean up</p>	<p>Yes, there is definitely a preference. I don’t think we are environmentalists just trying to clean brownfields for the sake of cleaning brownfields. Usually it gets cleaned up in conjunction with a development project. I think that is a double win, if you are cleaning a Brownfield and if you are building affordable housing you have two choices of land you would build one or the other. You would pick the clean land. Then go to the contaminated land when you have run out of the clean land.</p>
Interviwee4	<p>Affordable housing</p> <p>Facilitating factors – high housing prices</p>	<p>Because no body else in Salem is developing affordable housing. So housing prices have tripled in the last 10 years in Salem. So there is certainly a need but Salem, unlike a lot of the smaller communities in the north shore, Salem/there there has been a public perception that they have more than their fair share of affordable housing. They do not need to create any new affordable housing. And I think that public perception is changing a little bit, as housing prices have risen so dramatically, and there has been a public outcry for the city to support affordable housing initiatives. So that, with that change of mentality, gives us the opportunity to maybe to pursue the redevelopment of some of these larger sites. It would have been very hard for us to do it politically in the past.</p> <p>Well, we ... because there is no other alternative, there is no other open space, and because it would be hard for us to develop a site that market rate developers are interested in. Because we couldn’t compete for it financially, then if brownfields are perceived as less desirable, more expensive to develop, that may create an opportunity for us.</p>

	Stabilize the Neighborhood	<p>afford it. We have two motivations.</p> <p>One is to stabilize and keep the neighborhood strong the other is to provide affordable housing to low/moderate income families. It is really two things; one is to keep the neighborhood nice and the other to redevelop the building but on the other side to make sure we are redeveloping them to be affordable to low/moderate income. Both the home ownership and the rental properties are affordable.</p>
Interviewee7	<p>Quality of life - stabilizing neighborhoods</p> <p>Environmental quality - Open space Development</p> <p>Quality of life - Safety concerns - Crime prevention</p>	<p>Quite simply it is because there are blights in the neighborhoods. For the most part they are sites that were dumping grounds. It is a major issue around stabilizing a neighborhoods and trying to take all abandoned sites that nobody has on them and nobody feels any ownership to them. They are overgrown by weeds. They are safety hazards. In the most case that is what brings us as an organization to say that we need to do something to clean up those sites.</p> <p>It is not necessarily always the case that every time we find a brownfield site, that we immediately say that we are going to turn it to affordable housing. Clearly that is the mission of our organization, but there are times, like in a new project that we did, where there is a project that we did where there was 24 units of new construction of affordable home ownership. One of the parcels that was there which was a contaminated site partly because it was so contaminated and partly because people wanted some open space; we actually capped it and converted it to open space for the community. That was based on what the forks/stakeholders in the neighborhood wanted to see on the site. So a lot of the work that we do is going out and looking at those sites in the neighborhood. What do we do to bring them back as resources to the neighborhood and to provide right services to the neighborhood. What does that entail in terms of development? Is it simply trying to clean them up or to go beyond that and do development?</p> <p>It is a good question and I am going to give you my guess. I am going to guess that the concerns were about a combination of issues of water contamination, of soil contamination that was there and kids were going there and playing with it. Of an abandoned building that was in the neighborhood. People were getting hurt going in</p>

		there. There was some bad activity/drug activity and crime that was coming from there. So it was seen as this negative presence in the neighborhood. Even by just leveling down the building and cleaning up the site, was going to make a difference. To go beyond that there and you know and to turn that into a resource back into the neighborhood is something that people felt strongly about.
Interviewee8	Healthy Concerns	No, we focus mostly at development. Brownfields are a peripheral issues, but they are a key peripheral issue because nothing can be done unless they are dealt with. Ultimately our goal is a vibrant healthy community. We can't have a healthy community with pockets of toxic contamination throughout our neighborhood. There is no way you can be healthy and have areas where you can't go in your neighborhood.
Interviewee9	Health concerns	Mostly people are worried about health. People are very, very worried all the time about contaminations.
	Environmental concerns	They are also concerned about or they really don't want us to build on soil knowing that it is contaminated. There main concern is that it is cleaned up.
Interviewee10	Open space	transform those liabilities into assets for the neighborhood. So if you have a vacant lot which has been dumped on for 10 years so may be that can be a community garden or park. May be there is a brownfield that has been abandoned, may be that can be transformed into a beautiful riverside common lot.
	Technical assistance	We might be providing technical assistance to say anyone who wants to be in green development, but we won't be doing the development work ourselves. Whereas we actually get out and do planning design construction for open spaces and public grounds improvements like streetscapes and you know anything that is in the public domain.
	Safety, crime - Stabilized Communities	Those benefits are: Increased property values of surrounding properties; stabilized communities around things like reduced crime, or public safety; increase pride of investors to ownership of the neighborhood among the people who live there; certainly environmental health benefits which down the line have economic benefits because you are spending less money to do things like runoff. Less people need air conditioners. There are all kinds of economic matrix

	<p>Social capital</p> <p>Build social capital</p>	<p>around that. Some are pretty touchable some aren't. The other point that often gets missed is the process of a neighborhood, and a city and a community coming together around a brownfield and if it happens well in and of itself creates new set of relationships, trust and confidence that are very difficult to measure but have tremendous long term benefits. As people learn to solve problems together because brownfields are hard problems to solve. If you can solve brownfields redevelopment sites I think it gives a lot of people a sense of confidence about tangling other problems in that community whatever they may be.</p> <p>for certain impacts there are tangible examples because a lot of residents from the street came together to talk about the park, but in the process of talking about the park, they identified many other changes they thought were important. Like they wanted better signs and lighting in the street; there were problems with snow when storms drain. A lot of issues in the street which had not been addressed. Once they knew each other, and getting together in meeting more regularly to address those issues. Then they started saying here is another problem may be we can tackle. They then got organized to contact the city, and advocate for those changes.</p>
Interviweel1	Affordable Housing	<p>. I guess that you would say that the only thing that we had talked about is addressing lack of housing and use the vacant lots that are available to put up to do some of these low income housing and putting some of these vacant lots into use.</p>
Interviweel2	<p>Downtown revitalization</p> <p>Safety concerns</p> <p>Tax base</p>	<p>I guess one way the down town had customers was the industrial buildings which were integrated right into the center of town. I guess in terms of modern usage it was not considered appropriate to have a factory that was spewing all kinds of smoke stark waste into the air. Generally the use of real estate in down town has been changing. There is no longer as many retails. There is more of restaurants and that sought of thing and it is struggling to come back.</p> <p>Well it was just an abandoned site. It would be an hazard. Children would be hurt by it.</p> <p>Then the second thing the city wants to do is to increase its task base.</p>

	Downtown revitalization	As time goes on, if we are successful in bringing revitalization in the down town area and the down town area becomes a striving area, then property values are going up. Then what will happen private property developers will become interested.
	Historical buildings preservation	Down here you have these nice historic buildings. If public money is not available to rehabilitate them, no one else will do it. Eventually what will happen is that prices will go way down then people will be getting the properties for free. They will then start knocking them down, and putting a starbuck and whatever. We will loose the historical character of the down town. Westfield will be a bedroom community for Springfield and you won't have that nice down town that you have now.
Interviwee13	Facilitating factor - Liability protection laws	Because we are a nonprofit, it could be like the City of Boston taking it. Because we are a nonprofit we have extra protection. It is even to the advantage for a for-profit person to have a CDC to be involved. Now with the law, even the for-profit has protection, but we have extra protection. So there could be a plume of contamination in groundwater, going down somebody's property and making them sick. People may still try to sue for-profit company, but they will not likely sue a nonprofit development company.
	Economic development	Always redevelopment. We just don't clean for the sake of cleaning. Because it costs money and you have to do something with it that will make you money. I am sure there is contamination around about here that we do not know about, but we are not going to clean it just to make it clean. We will have to be able to get the money to borrow and then we will pay it back from a development financing. Or from a CDC we don't have to pay it back.
	Health Concerns	For you then this CDC, brownfields a part from looking at them as market opportunity that have going in for economic returns, you are also looking at them as solving environmental health problems. Absolutely. We don't do only for that. We do it partly for that. Our new house we are not putting even rugs in, because we are of asthma. Because many children in inner city have asthma in the inner city. They are living in older houses with lead paint. So when you talk of environmental justice, the other reason of putting houses

		on and improve public health.
Interviwee14	<p>Revitalization of the city</p> <p>To supplement the market forces</p> <p>Facilitating factor – access to grants</p>	<p>Well we feel like we have to deal with brownfields because Lawrence is, you know, built Lawrence is one big brownfield, in a lot of ways. Every thing that, every piece of property that we touch, is going to have some low level or worse of contamination. And whether it is an official brownfield or not we have to deal with kind of a 21st reality of using old land to build new things on. That will requires us to built in the time and the cost of turning that land into usable or the building it into usable property. It is a fact of life really. I think for us, we are not shocked, disappointed surprised by it. It is a fact of life, because that is part of what we are doing. You know when you are compelled to reinvent or want to rebuild a city like Lawrence, that was that is old ... housing stock is old. Property has been used in a lot of ways. That is just what you got to do.</p> <p>I guess, my opinion is that we got to deal with it because we are market failure, we are market failure instruments so to speak. In other words, we shouldn't be doing that which the private sector is going to do on its own. Because that is duplication and is not good investment of public or private sector's money. What we should be doing is take on situations that the market is not going to solve. And try to solve those situations. I think that, it is a kind of moral, ethical obligation do not go for the easy stuff, but to go for the hard stuff. Because no one else has the interest to fix that situation. It is our mission and our obligation because we are a public charity - to try to take on that difficult to fix stuff that the market is not going to fix.</p> <p>We have access to money that other parties may not have access to because we are nonprofit. So, access to resources, as a nonprofit I think is a factor.</p>
Interviwee14	<p>Public Health concerns</p> <p>Public participation</p>	<p>And what we did - we knew we had these three major brownfields sites adjacent to the neighborhood and we knew that the contamination and the cleanup was obviously to be a big issue to the public health in that area and secondly that the redevelopment of those enormous parcels of land, was going to have a tremendous effect on the neighborhood. And we obviously wanted to make sure that the cleanup and redevelopment happened with the participation of the neighborhood and the input of the neighborhood</p>

	Access to public space – waterways	Also there is not a lot of access to the waterways in Lawrence. Even though Lawrence is blessed with the Merrimack River which is the major river, two canals - the North Canal and the South Canal, on either side of the river... The Spiket River running the north side of the city and the Shosan River, running the south side of the city. The Spiket River in particular - if you map ... take the map of the city and you map the levels of poverty in the city - you will find that the Spiket runs through the poorest areas of the city. And also areas that are most underserved by public, by open space, and recreation areas. So really, this is a public health issue.
	Environmental Concerns	First of all, we need the site to be cleaned up and we need it to be cleaned well. Secondly, we want them to get out of the city, because they are holding up, a lot of, a lot of money. Essentially they are sucking up a lot of money that could be used for more beneficial things for the people who live here. So we want them out. And we need the project to be done because they cannot just close it off and leave it contaminated. Right! We do not want that to happen. And so thirdly, we wanted to be part of the process - the planning process to figure out what was going to happen to the site and make sure that was served the needs of the community here. So all those reasons we said we will support you. We will help you advocate to get the funding that you need to do this project. In return, you are going to let us run a real community planning process around this site and this side of the city.
	To get the corporate owners to give land to the community	
	City revitalization	We wanted to improve the way that people did things in the city. We wanted to - particularly in planning and development - and we wanted to raise the standards that people had. Because at this point, everybody was so desperate for anything to happen, that they would take bad development.
	Community involvement	Because they know we are accountable. The city is not accountable. Like basically what goes to, ... they get money, they can get millions of dollars to the city then they have no idea what happens to it. Because the city does not keep records. Nobody can figure out their accounts.

		<p>So it is important that they be part of that dialogue. That too often, you have planning processes that come from top down where the needs of the community are interpreted for them, and it does not necessarily match what people really want or need. So we want them to be involved from the very beginning so that they, themselves, can articulate that, because they are the best ones to do that</p>
Interviewee16	Crime prevention	<p>The community identified this site, as a problem. There was a Property Task Force, years ago made of different community members. It was part of other community members from like people from Ford. They identified the site as being a problem. They got the city to shut down the business, because they knew that they were illegally spray painting cars and there were a lot of illegal activity. So essentially the community identified this site. As a community development corporation, we serve the community. We took the cue and the community and said well, we will move forward and we try to redevelop the site into an active, vibrant sustainable use.</p>
Interviewee17	<p>Asset ownership</p> <p>Quality of life improvement</p>	<p>So this is where we think we are going to have a problem because, those people who bought the land are trying to develop 17 units of housing on the land. But they probably didn't know that the land was already contaminated. And that can't really built there until they go through the whole process of conservation commission, civic council, and at this point now, DEP has to be involved also. What I don't know is how much the current owners know. All I know is that if they are willing to give it up, we are willing to do something with the land. You know, in terms of public open space.</p> <p>We are going to own the land. What I know is that Groundworks ... told already.But we are working together to make sure that what the residents prefer there get done. And right now they had rather have the green space because they do not have nice ... space to ...go and hang out by the park.</p> <p>And you know that will increase the quality of life, So we will make something that is seen as a negative area, the incinerator, would change to a positive area and hopefully that will change the perception of Lawrence. And also the perception of the neighborhood because instead of having this empty ugly land, we will have a</p>

	Affordable housing	So those are the issues we are addressing not only saying how can we afford more affordable housing but how can we build more healthier affordable housing those are easier to clean and stay.
	Health concerns	Another concern that CDCs have in looking at brownfields is that, is that asthma rates are really going very high. That is often blamed on indoor air quality.
	Affordable housing	It was the old building style with stores downstairs and living units upstairs and it went for almost 4 different levels. Because of really private investors buying income property, and not maintaining the property, these properties started to be condemned. People got forced out. Where do these people go? That is an essential part of what our organization is doing to make people aware of the need for more affordable housing. To get people out of shelters. To reduce literally the homeless population people that live down by the river in tents. When you have a property like that all over a sudden you buy it. A CDC can buy a property like that for just the taxes that are owed and start raising money and getting grants, getting funding to renovate these properties. Make them into affordable housing. There are two kinds of things that we are doing: They are getting away from projects.
	Crime concerns	
	Safety concerns	Some of these houses just sitting there get broken by people who are drug users. Then you have a situation where you have drug activity going on and fires can start.
	Aesthetics	The resource aspect of it is here is a property which is standing there and it is taking up space, nobody is using it for anything.
	Speak for the poor	There is also aesthetics. People ride to up to Lowell and see old building that are totally un-maintained. From a point of view of economic development it is certainly better to provide housing even if it is for people who are relatively low income than for it to be totally useless obviously. Private developers, not CDCs, - and they are many in this city- are buying up this old mill buildings and making them into luxury condos which are unaffordable

	Economic development	<p>to low income people. Then if nobody speaks for the poor people, then CDCs like Coalition for Better Acre, Community TeamWork, House of Hope and International Peace.</p> <p>Basically that is not our primary focus. We got involved in brownfield issues because of economic development.</p>
Interviwee20	Economic development	<p>Basically that is not our primary focus. We got involved in brownfield issues because of economic development.</p> <p>Some years ago they had a brownfields committee. They had some money from EPA to do site assessment work. So as one of the regional organizations, they asked me to be in that committee. There are like 12 sites in Franklin County and we had to decide which one to use EPA money to do site assessment. At the same time, the town of Greenfield was doing a massive plan of down town redevelopment. What was interesting was that there is a building in downtown Greenfield that is both important for the economic development of down town and it also happened to be a brownfield site.</p>
Interviwee21	Asset ownership	<p>So ... we look for properties that are deteriorating and are hard to sell to anybody or it will be too costly for them to rehabilitate. Or we look for lots which either somebody can give to us or we can pay for and we can afford to.</p>
Interviwee22	Economic development	<p>Well, when you look at the region, and the resources, there aren't a lot of "buildable" land for economic development purposes. There are some but it strikes us as more resource efficient to look at existing structures and make the effort to improve existing structures, knowing that community development corporations in Massachusetts is one of the two entities that can take ownership and develop property with limited liability</p>
Interviwee23	<p>Community Gardening</p> <p>Crime and Poverty</p>	<p>We do a lot with vacant lots throughout the city - abandoned properties throughout the city. We do community gardens, market gardening and farming, helping people not only to grow food for their families, but for people with dedicated skills we hare helping them start farms.</p> <p>We are talking of neighborhoods that deal with high levels of drugs of violence with high levels of drugs of violence, of poor health, bad schools in comparison to neighborhoods around us. The vacant lots that sit all around us are part and parcel of the same thing. They</p>

		are part of the poverty, disinvestments, part of segregation, racism. I think that vacant lots are a part of those issues.
Interviewee25	Drug dealing concerns	If you talk to people who remember what the supermarket and health center was like, after the old factory burned to the ground; it was basically after 20 years, there was 15 to 20 feet weeds. It became the cocaine capital. There was a lot of heroin dealing there.
Interviewee28	Development	The fact is that, that is the only land left in an urban environment. We mostly work in Cambridge. Almost every site we work on has got some environmental problems.

CURRICULUM VITAE

Marucha was born in March 8th, 1965, in Kisii, Kenya. He is the fifth born child of Mr. and Mrs. Omwenga. He started school in Kisii Primary, proceed to St. Mary's Boarding School, Mosochi from where he graduated in 1980.

For his high school, Marucha attended and graduated from Cardinal Otunga High School in 1986. He proceeded to join the University of Eastern Africa, Baraton in 1987 and graduated from there in 1991 with a BSc in Agricultural Science. Between 1991 and 1993, Marucha tutored agricultural sciences, and mathematics at Chebwai SDA High School. He proceeded to Massey University in New Zealand in 1993 to study agricultural sciences majoring in Environmental Economics and graduated in 1995 with a Msc. Agriculture.

Marucha joined KEIPET Consultants, a Nairobi based consulting firm and Regional center for Socio-economic Studies and Development (RECSSAD) in 1995 as a development consultant and research associate respectively. He joined Kenyatta University, Department of Environmental Studies in 1996 where he taught environmental economics, agriculture and the Environment and research methods.

Marucha joined Southern New Hampshire University, School of Community Economic Development in 1999 for his doctoral studies and graduated in 2006 with a degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D) in Community Economic Development. His research interests are in the areas of community resource development, agriculture and environment and community health.

In pursuit of his education, Marucha has traveled widely – New Zealand, Australia, Britain, Scotland, Spain and the USA. Marucha got married to Dr. Janet Aoko Odondi (MD) in May 2005 and serves as the First Church Elder of the All Nations SDA Church, Lowell Massachusetts.