

RENT CONTROL IN CAMBRIDGE: WHO REALLY BENEFITS?

BY

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SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF URBAN STUDIES AND PLANNING ON MAY 28, 1984  
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## ABSTRACT

This thesis contains the results of a random sample conducted to determine the characteristics of residents of rent controlled units. Specifically, the identified variables were age and occupation, drawn from the 1983 Street List Book.

An historical overview of rent control indicated that rent control was originally enacted to protect the low and moderate income families and elderly residents of Cambridge. In 1970, an emergency housing situation existed with respect to these groups finding and maintaining adequate rental housing arrangements.

The recent random sample results, however, demonstrate that rent control is not effectively protecting the intended groups, in fact, the majority (55.2%) of the residents sampled were professionals and students. Ironically, the professionals and students were, in part, responsible for creating the emergency housing situation that was the impetus for the enactment of rent control. In addition, the rents for the sampled units were drawn and an overall rent analysis for all controlled units was obtained from the rent control board. It is clear that the rents for controlled units are well below market levels.

Current control and related issues are also discussed. They are: the political strength of Cambridge tenants, rent control as a form of political patronage, the view of housing as a right, the emergence of a new political group of condominium owners and the effects of rent control on property maintenance, tax revenues and rental housing construction.

Possible alternatives to modify the current rent control system are also discussed. Two alternatives, a direct subsidy program and an occupants means test could be implemented to directly target benefits to the intended groups. Two other alternatives, decontrol/recontrol and vacancy decontrol are gradual means of decontrol. The latter alternatives are possible options, but considering the political strength of the city's tenants groups, they are the least viable.

This thesis is not advocating the termination of rent control. Rather, considering the stated objectives of the rent control legislation: to protect low and moderate income families and elderly residents; and considering the sample results which indicate that the intended groups are not effectively being protected, than the need for modification to the current rent control system is evident.

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## INTRODUCTION

In the late 1960's, a housing emergency existed for low and moderate income families and elderly residents. The reasons for this were varied. Cambridge was experiencing an influx of students, other university affiliates, and people who enjoyed the university environment, a decline of rental units due to demolition and deterioration, and an overall lack of rental housing construction. The response to this situation was the enactment of residential rent control in 1970, which, at that time, was imposed as a temporary measure to alleviate the housing crisis.

Today, fourteen years after its enactment, rent control still exists in Cambridge, more strongly than ever. Few attempts have been made to examine the effects of rent control or to determine whether it is protecting those for whom it was originally intended. This thesis examines age and occupation variables of current residents of rent controlled units, to determine, in fact, the elderly and low income residents are being protected.

Chapter One provides an historical overview of rent control and outlines the reasons why rent control was enacted. Chapter Two contains the results of a recent random sample conducted to determine the characteristics of residents of controlled units. It also examines the rent levels for the sampled units and an overall analysis for all controlled units. Chapter Three focuses on current notions about rent control and related issues, including housing as a public utility, rent control as a form of political patronage and the consequences of rent control on the physical condition of the controlled stock. Chapter Four discusses alternatives to modify the current rent control system with



the intention of targeting the benefits to households as opposed to housing units. The conclusion contains an overall evaluation and suggests general housing goals for the city of Cambridge.

## CHAPER 1

### AN HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF RENT CONTROL

In 1970, rent control was enacted due to "a serious public emergency that exists in Cambridge with respect to the housing of a substantial number of the citizens of Cambridge".<sup>1</sup> There were no comprehensive studies conducted to determine the existence or extent of a housing emergency. But, in fact, an emergency did exist.

This emergency was created, in part, by the "demolition and deterioration of a substantial portion of the existing housing stock, insufficient new housing construction, increased costs of construction and finance, and high inflation."<sup>2</sup>

This shortage of affordable housing was intensified by the increased number of students attending Harvard and M.I.T. The students, by doubling and tripling up in apartments could afford to pay a higher rent than the average Cambridge family could afford or was used to paying. Therefore, some landlords were evicting long-term families and the elderly to rent to students. Specifically, the concern was for the elderly and low income families, that they "should be protected and allowed to remain in Cambridge".<sup>3</sup> Carl Barron, President of the Cambridge Property Owners Association responded to this claim with "rent gouging landlords operating in Cambridge represent a very small minority of the total number of landlords".<sup>4</sup>

This claim could very well have been true, however, Cambridge real estate has been owned by a majority of smaller landlords, and even if a minoirty of the smaller landlords were "rent gouging" it could be enough to warrant the need for some form of action.

City Councillor Al Vellucci, at a March 1969 council meeting charged that rents in the area were running wild, he cited an example of one family whose rent had been raised from \$90.00 to \$200.00 with one months notice. Father Richard Butler of the Blessed Sacrament Church testified before a hearing of the Senate Local Affairs Committee in January of 1970. He spoke of "the people who disappear," who could only be protected by rent control, he stated that his parish had lost two hundred of eight hundred families...in checking their reasons, more than 90% had left because of major rent rises.<sup>5</sup>

The universities were also expanding into established Cambridge neighborhoods, by purchasing existing housing and available land. Some neighborhoods were destroyed to make way for high rise dormitories and other university related facilities.

In response to the housing crisis in Cambridge, the Cambridge Housing Convention (CHC) was created. The convention first convened on September 14, 1968, and nearly one thousand residents attended. Most of the people attending the convention agreed that Harvard and M.I.T. deserved a large part of the blame for the housing crisis and Harvard and M.I.T. were openly criticized for their poor performance in providing low rent housing.

Many CHC subcommittees were created to study the various housing issues in the city. The subcommittee on rent control received the most attention. It was comprised of thirty citizens of varying ages from all parts of the city.

The CHC's coordinating committee on rent control reported three issues to the city council in October of 1968. The first issue dealt

with the overall reduction in the supply of moderate rent housing. The second issue stated:

"The number of students, faculty, and employees of our universities has grown and will continue to grow, and since a large proportion of these persons, who can pay more than the older Cambridge residents, want to live in the city, and ever increasing number of Cambridge homes and apartments will be taken over by these people, unless some kind of protection is forthcoming."<sup>6</sup>

And their conclusion stated,...there can be no question. Quite simply, if present trends are to continue, students, faculty, and white collar employees will take over most of the housing supply, driving out older Cambridge residents who can't afford to remain in the city with drastically inflated rents.<sup>7</sup>

Both CHC members and Father Butler expressed their concern for the Cambridge residents that were being forced out of the rental housing market. They both stressed the importance of ensuring a diverse population in the city.

In March of 1970, the citizens of Cambridge organized a long rally with CHC members at Harvard Yard to protest the added pressures upon the housing market. Their purpose was to demonstrate that "the city will not tolerate being used by the universities without getting some responsible help in return."<sup>8</sup> This group later issued a bulletin insisting that they help the low-income community that their students are displacing. The obvious concern displayed by the citizens and members of CHC resulted in a series of negotiations between the universities, citizens, and local officials.

In response, Harvard University appointed Donald Moulton, Assistant to the President for Community Affairs, who immediately announced "Harvard is determined to make a real contribution to helping to meet the housing needs of low and moderate income families and elderly in

Cambridge and Boston,"<sup>9</sup> he pledged that he would personally devote his full efforts to help in the solution of the housing problems.

M.I.T. responded with a commitment to "stand ready to share in a determined community effort to facilitate the construction of additional housing for all income groups."<sup>10</sup>

Both Harvard and M.I.T. announced elaborate plans to assist the Cambridge community in providing housing. Housing units were constructed as a result of the pressure placed upon the universities. However, considering the extent of the housing emergency and the fact that construction takes a great deal of time, those were long term rather than short term solutions.

M.I.T. made a further attempt to lessen its impact on the housing shortage by issuing a statement that they would not solicit apartment listings within the city. They offered a small number of Institute owned rental units to the Cambridge Housing Authority for inclusion in the authority's leased housing program. In addition, they leased three buildings outside of Cambridge for housing for Institute personnel.

These attempts to ease the housing crisis by Harvard and M.I.T., although commendable, were neither immediate nor extensive enough and the residents wondered if "they simply wanted to appease the people of Cambridge with good intentions."<sup>11</sup>

The day to day crisis still existed. Long-term residents were being displaced. The majority of Cambridge residents demanded immediate action. Immediate action meant some form of controls. The question now became, should the city of Cambridge adopt some form of rent control? The debate began. The City Council encouraged all interested parties to voice their opinions.

Cambridge has traditionally been a city with the majority of residents comprised of renters. The tenants organized quickly, and become quite vocal. They were concerned with protecting their right to remain in their units at reasonable rents. At one point, after the council had defeated a proposed rent control law, tenants along with CHC members conducted a demonstration on the city hall steps in protest of the death of rent control. This emotional group of citizen's displayed a casket which purportedly contained the remains of the proposed ordinance. A banner, over the casket, read "Here lies the people of Cambridge because you, the city council, didn't care."<sup>12</sup>

The property owners, clearly a minority, organized and formed the Cambridge Property Owners Association, headed by Carl Barron. They were also vocal with their concerns. Barron, at a rent control hearing before the State Local Affairs Committee stated, "rent control will not add one new unit to the housing market, but will shrink that market as old units become unusable and are not replaced."<sup>13</sup> The logic being that a housing emergency required the construction of additional units to relieve the shortage as opposed to controls of the existing rental stock.

The Cambridge Jaycees in an article that appeared in the Cambridge Chronicle, characterized rent control as "a horrifying example of public encroachment on private property and in no way a solution to the housing problem that we indeed recognize exists in our city today."<sup>14</sup> One landlord representative requested that the city council establish rent controls based on the ability of a tenant to pay. "Why should a couple who makes \$24,000 a year have their rent controlled."<sup>15</sup> Carl Barron further added that "these people (low-income households and elderly)

deserve every bit of assistance, however, it is not the landlord, in most instances, who charges them an unreasonably high rent for the premises. The latter is simply a victim of circumstances beyond his control, largely inflation."<sup>16</sup>

An editorial that appeared in the Cambridge Chronicle further raised the issue "if rent control were adopted here for a limited period, would our city officials really use this time for a crash program of building low and moderate income housing, or would they, once the heat was temporarily off, promptly proceed to fall asleep?"<sup>17</sup>

The city councillor's views were mixed. Councillor Barbara Ackerman, at a special meeting of the Senate Local Affairs committee, began her testimony with a description of the special problems of Cambridge, and a plea to "let us keep ourselves as a balanced city, not a wealthy city."<sup>18</sup> Before a local city council meeting, Councillor Alfred Vellucci "charged that rents in the area are running wild,"<sup>19</sup> and gave the example of a family whose rent had been more than doubled with one months notice. He further stated that "we want low-cost housing, not for the \$16,000-\$18,000-\$20,000 a year man".

Three councillors responded to the League of Women Voters question, "what are your views on rent control?", that was printed in the Cambridge Chronicle on October 30, 1969. Councillor Daniel Clinton responded, "The injustices of the housing crisis demand that Cambridge in addition to legislative measures that will ensure reasonable and just rent levels, should support any program that will alleviate the problem, including rent control."<sup>20</sup> Councillor Thomas Coates stated "In the face of our rapidly spiraling rents, it is quite clear that some form of control is absolutely essential. I, therefore, favor rent control."<sup>21</sup>

Councillor Robert Moncreiff further added, "I am for a rent control measure tough enough to protect tenants from unjustified rent increases, but fair to responsible landlords."<sup>22</sup>

In spite of opposition, the pressure was on the city council to enact rent control. Testimony had been heard from all interested concerns. The issue of rent control was now before the Council. A specific proposal from the rent control sub committee of the CHC was being considered. Its purpose was "aimed at stopping speculators."<sup>23</sup> This proposal was defeated on June 30, 1969 by a 5-4 vote of the council. This defeat sparked more action. The Cambridge Rent Control Referendum Campaign along with the Peace and Freedom Party circulated an initiative petition to collect the necessary number of signature to place the proposed rent control ordinance as a referendum question on the ballot of the next municipal election. After the group had collected the necessary number of signatures, a new issue arose. Did the Cambridge city council, have within its jurisdiction the power to enact rent control? The issue was forwarded to the City Solicitor for an opinion. The City Solicitor declared that the proposed rent control ordinance "should not appear on the ballot in any form."<sup>24</sup>

Meanwhile, Governor Sargent and Senate President Maurice Donahue had announced that they were jointly working on enabling legislation for rent control. And, if this enabling legislation was passed, Cambridge could enact rent control. The pressure for rent control was transferred from the city to the state level.



However, Governor Sargent cautioned that:

"rent control is an interium and not a permanent solution to the rental housing crisis. The permanent solution is new housing construction. But until new housing is built, this legislation is essential to permit local officials to act to relieve the serious distress already afflicting a great many of the citizens in the Commonwealth."<sup>25</sup>

Effective August 31, 1970, the Massachusetts Legislature adopted Chapter 842 of the Acts of 1970. This act enabled communities with populations of 50,000 and greater to adopt rent control if so voted by the city government. On September 16, 1970, the Cambridge City Council adopted the states rent control bill. Councillors voting in favor of the passage were: Ackerman, Clinton, Coates, Mahoney, Montcreiff, Sullivan and Mayor Vellucci. Councillors voting against were: Crane and Danahy. The opponents never stood a chance of blocking rent control.

This enabling legislation was adopted as a tempory measure intended to expire in April of 1975. This time limit was placed on rent control as many people felt that...rent conrol might be needed as a tempory band-aid, it would be disastrous as a long-term tourniquet.<sup>26</sup> However, the legislation was extended until December 31, 1975 and in 1976 the state legislature passed a home rule petition which allowed Cambridge the right to continue rent control for an indefinite period. The continuation was granted on the basis that the city was still in the midst of an emergency housing situation:

A serious public emergency exists with respect to the housing of a substantial number of the citizens in the city of Cambridge, which emergency has been created by housing demolition, deterioration of a substantial portion of the existing housing stock, insufficient new housing construction, increased costs of construction and finance, inflation, influx of young people and the desirability of Cambridge as a place to live, and which has resulted in a substantial and increasing shortage of decent rental housing accommodations especially for families of low and moderate income and for elderly people on fixed income and abnormally high rents. That unless residential rents and eviction of tenants are regulated and controlled, such emergency and the further inflationary pressures resulting therefore will produce serious threats to the public health, safety and general welfare of the citizens of Cambridge and in other adjacent communities; that such emergency should be met by the commonwealth immediately and with due regard for the right and responsibilities of the city of Cambridge.<sup>27</sup>

This act, unlike the act passed in 1970 to enact rent control, clearly states the need to protect low/moderate income and elderly residents. In the 14 years of rent controls existence, little evaluation has been conducted to examine, if in fact, these residents are being protected.

The next chapter of this thesis contains an analysis of a recent random sample conducted to determine the characteristics of occupants of rent control units.

## CHAPTER 2

### SAMPLE RESULTS

According to the 1980 census, there were 41,300 housing units in Cambridge, of which 38,836 were occupied. This represents a 16.9% increase in total housing units from 1960. Of the total number of occupied units, 77.1% were renters as opposed to 22.9% that were owners.

The total population in 1980 was 95,322. 56.7% were classified as living in family households, 30.3% in non-family households and 13% lived within group quarters, including college dormitories. In addition, of the total population, 43.3% were Massachusetts natives, 37.7% were natives of the United States and 18.4% were foreign born. The median age of Cambridge resident was 28.6 years old. More specifically for females the median age was 30.2 and for males 27.1.

However, the important question to be answered is, what is the occupancy status of the approximately 16,946<sup>28</sup> rent controlled units in Cambridge, and who is rent control really benefiting?

A random sample of the entire list of rent controlled units was taken to examine such variables as age and occupation of household heads in rent controlled dwellings. The sample was drawn from the February 1984 computer printout of all rent controlled units. This listing was obtained from the rent control office. The units were selected at a numerical interval, so that a sample of 260 units could be chosen and the entire list would be exhausted.

The selected units were then matched to the 1983 Cambridge Street List Book (SLB) so that characteristics of the inhabitants could be determined. The street list book, is a listing of Cambridge residents, updated yearly and includes such information as

address, occupation, date of birth and whether or not they voted in the last municipal election. The SLB is at present the best available means of identifying inhabitants of rent controlled dwellings and examining the occupation and age variables.

With these variables, occupation and age, assumptions can be made to answer the question, of whether or not rent control is benefiting those groups it was originally intending to benefit, namely, low and moderate income families and the elderly.

The age variable was straight-forward as dates of birth are listed. Elderly was defined as those individuals 65 and older. To categorize occupations, the census classification system<sup>29</sup> was utilized. The occupational groupings used were:

1. Managerial and Professional Speciality Occupations
  - Executive, Administrative, and Managerial
  - Professional Specialty
2. Technical, Sales, and Administrative Support Occupations
  - Technicians and Related Support
  - Sales
  - Administrative Support Occupations, Including Clerical
3. Service Occupations
  - Private Household Occupations
  - Protective Service Occupations
  - Service Occupations, Except Protective and Household
4. Precision Production, Craft and Repair Occupations, Operators, Fabricators, and Laborers
  - Machine Operators, Assemblers, and Inspectors
  - Transportation and Materials Moving Occupations
  - Handlers, Equipment, Cleaners, Helpers and Laborers

For the purpose of the research two further categories were added:

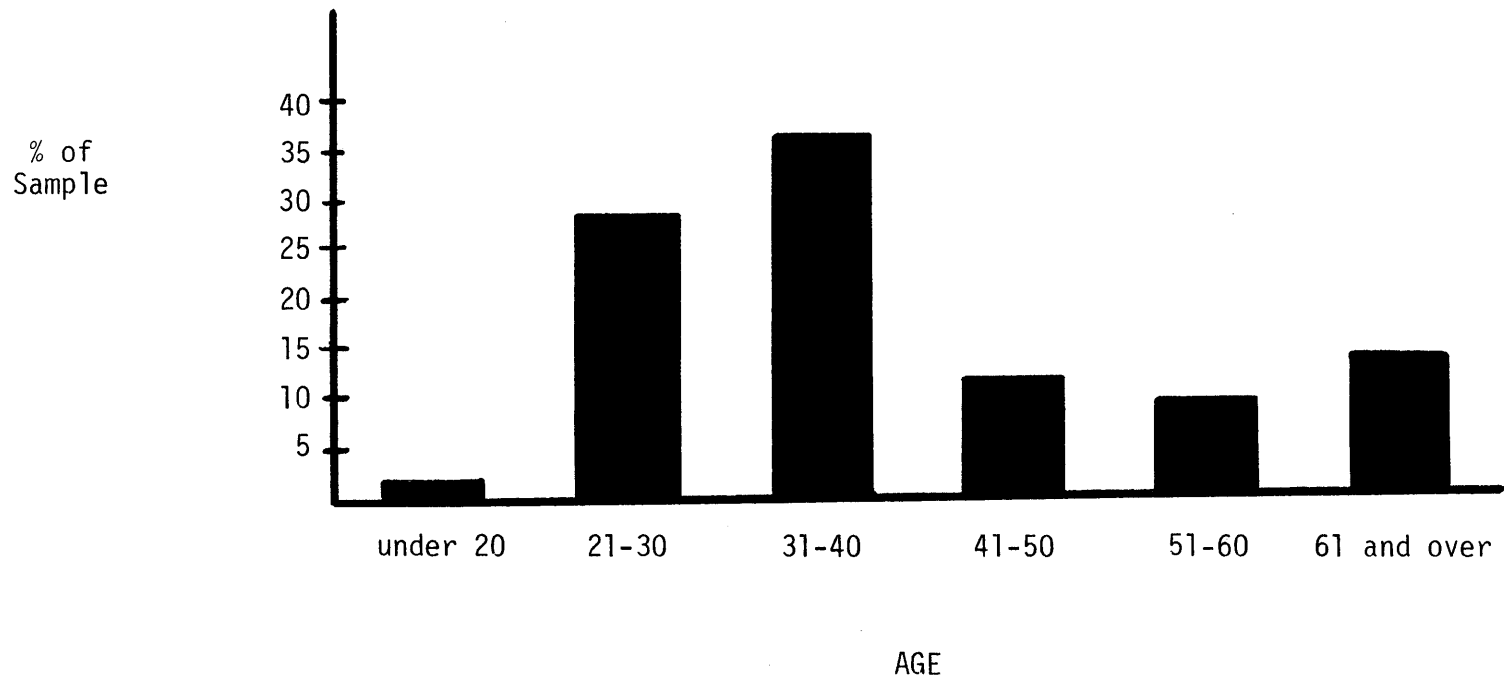
5. Students
6. Other
  - Retired
  - At Home Or Housewife
  - Unemployed
  - Disabled
  - Self-Employed

Self-employed was included in this category because there was not further information as to what kind of employment it was.<sup>30</sup>

Of the total sample of 260 units, 351 inhabitants were identified. When an exact unit number drawn from the listing of rent controlled units could not be matched, a random number was chosen from a list of random numbers and the inhabitant(s) was recorded.

In the sample, only 8.8% of the household heads were elderly. This fact stands in direct contradiction to the stated purpose for the enactment of rent control, in as much as rent control was enacted, in part, to protect elderly residents. It's not clear whether the elderly population tends to live in non-controlled units, or if they own their own homes. However, the sample indicates that they do not represent a large percentage of the inhabitants of rent controlled dwellings. A few hundred units of publically funded elderly units were constructed over the 1970's. It is safe to assume that many elderly residents who once occupied other housing arrangements in Cambridge now reside in the these units. Considering the median age of Cambridge residents, 28.6, it appears that as the elderly residents of Cambridge pass away, that they are not necessarily being replaced with elderly moving into the city.

TABLE ONE  
AGE DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLED RESIDENTS\*



\*DATA SOURCE DOES NOT INCLUDE RESIDENTS UNDER 18 YEARS OF AGE

In this sample, the occupations of inhabitants of rent controlled units were also examined by means of the classification system. There was only one instance, with the self-employed individual, where there was any question of which category to use. It can be somewhat difficult to imply salary levels to occupations, although a comfortable range could be identified. However, that was really not a major concern. Since the idea is to examine the status of inhabitants and to see, if, in fact, they are the group that rent control was originally intended to protect.

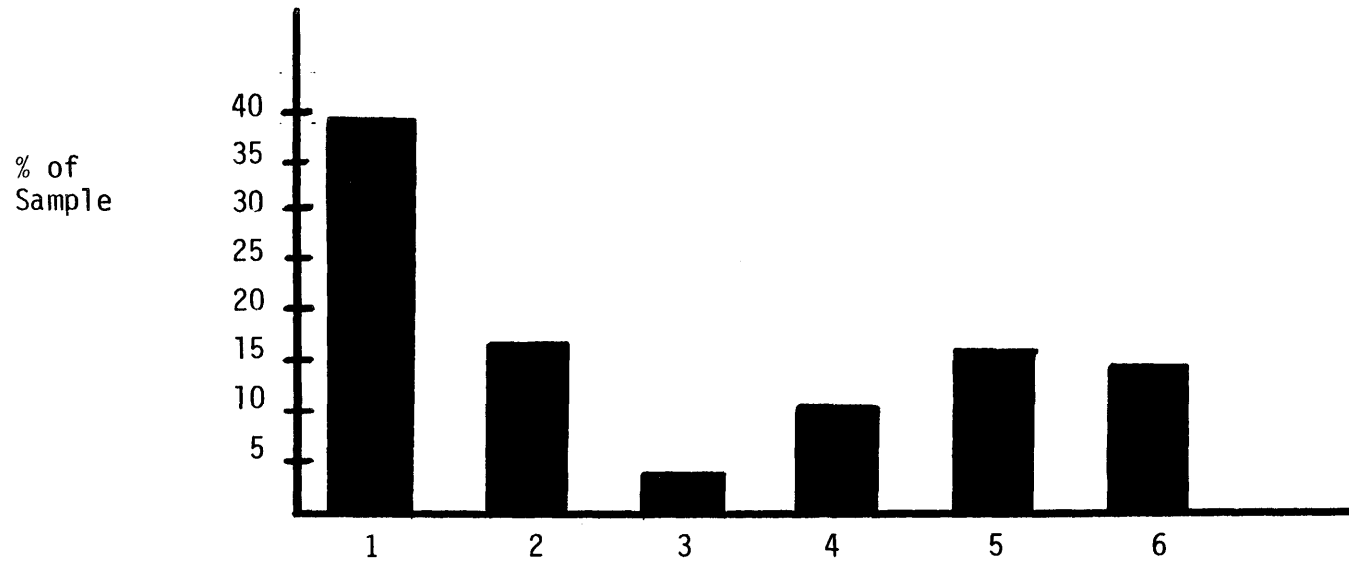
Given the initial reasons for enacting rent control, it is quite ironic to examine the sample results. Professionals accounted for 39.8% of the 351 individuals in the sample. Moreover, students represented 15.4%. Consequently, over 50% of the individuals in the sample are not within the target group intended to be protected by rent control.

The following chart contains the sample results for the occupation variable:

-Managerial and Professional Speciality	39.8%
-Technical, Sales, and Administrative Support	15.7%
-Service Occupations	4.3%
-Precision Production, Craft and Repair Operators, Fabricators and Laborers	10.5%
-Student	15.4%
-Other, Retired, at Home or Housewife, Unemployed, Disabled, and Self-Employed	<u>14.3%</u>
	100%

TABLE TWO

OCCUPATIONAL BREAKDOWN OF SAMPLE RESULTS



OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1. Managerial and Professional Speciality      | 4. Precision Production, Craft and Repair Operators, Fabricators and Laborers |
| 2. Technical, Sales and Administrative Support | 5. Students   |
| 3. Service                                     | 6. Other, Unemployed, Self-Employed At Home, Retired, Disabled                |



Therefore, excluding professionals and students, 44.8% of the individuals sampled were potentially within the group intended to be protected by rent control. However, there are exceptions. For example, a plumber, electrician or a salesperson technically fall within the targeted group by occupational classification. But, it is possible that anyone of their incomes could be comparable to or exceed that of a "professional". Also, conversely, because one has the title that falls within professional classifications, it does not of necessity mean that the income would fall within the range for that occupation for varying reasons, although it is more likely that the target groups contain more individuals that could remain in Cambridge without the controls. It is less likely that those individuals within the professional classification would fall within the low/moderate income grouping. And if this did occur, it would most likely be temporary in nature.

Obviously, the student group could fall within the range of the groups to target due to educational expenses and the low income of most students. However, it is not a policy of the City of Cambridge to provide affordable housing to students attending the local universities. Furthermore, it is very unlikely that this would ever become a city policy as it is more within the universities jurisdiction to provide housing for students. Protecting professionals was also not a major concern of the city council. In fact, it was both these groups, professionals and students, that helped create the housing emergency that existed in Cambridge in the late 1960's. This housing emergency was the major impetus for enacting rent control.

The rents of the sampled units were analyzed to further demonstrate the inequities of the rent control system. The following chart, drawn from the sample, displays the most obvious abuses (see next page).

Clearly, whoever can secure a rent controlled unit receives the benefit of the low rent, regardless of their ability to pay. For example, as indicated in the chart, a four room apartment with no utilities is occupied by an assistant professor, for \$61 a month. A nine room apartment, with no utilities is occupied by two landscape architects, their rent is \$187. a month. Further, a student has a five room apartment with no utilities for \$95. a month. If this student wanted, he/she could rent out one room to someone else for more than the rent for the entire unit. These abuses further reduce the number of units available to the people who are intended to benefit. Moreover, since rent control units tend to be passed through word of mouth, this further lessens the ability of the target group to secure them.

An overall rent analysis<sup>31</sup> for rent controlled apartments was obtained from the rent control office. It also included unit totals for building size ranges. This rent analysis indicates that 62% of the rents for rent controlled units are below \$300, further, 85% fall below \$400, and 95% below \$500. This analysis does not include apartment size, condition, location, or if utilities are included in the rent. However, such variables as location and size tend to alter the rents on the open market, more so than the controlled.

Regardless, considering market rents in the City of Cambridge, the rents for controlled units are very low. For example, an analysis of the apartment listings of the Boston Globe demonstrate that an average two bedroom apartment rents for \$550 and upwards.

TABLE THREE

## OBVIOUS ABUSES OF RENT CONTROL DRAWN FROM THE RANDOM SAMPLE

	NUMBER OF ROOMS		RENT
Professor	5	heat/hot water	278.
Lawyer	5	none	293.
Teacher	4	heat/hot water	181.
Economist	3	heat/hot water	262.
Assistant Professor	4	none	61.
2 Landscape Architects	9	none	187.
Architect	5	none	155.
Consultant	5	heat/hot water	340.
Student	5	none	95.
Consultant	3	heat/hot water/electricity	172.
Doctor	4	heat/hot water	268.
Teacher	6	heat/hot water	252.
2 Nurses	6	parking	268.
Computer Programmer	1	heat/hotwater/electricity/furniture	62.
Consultant	4	heat/hot water	218.
Student	5	heat/hot water	262.
Physician	5	hot water/furniture	382.
Nurse	5	none	95.
Psychologist	6	heat	197.
Therapist	5	none	157.

## CHAPTER 3

### CURRENT RENT CONTROL ISSUES

Hindsight is a valuable judgment tool. Rent control enacted in 1970 as a temporary measure to alleviate a housing crisis, is in its fourteenth year of existence. At this point it has become clear that rent control is not effectively protecting those groups for which it was originally intended.

Recent interviews were conducted with two city councillors who supported the enactment of rent control in 1970. Councillor Al Vellucci, who was Mayor when rent control was enacted stated that he didn't know that "rent control would embrace people making \$50-\$60,000 a year;"<sup>32</sup> that he just didn't think that it would happen. He cited a current example of a family of four living in a rent controlled apartment in Cambridge. Their combined income is in excess of \$100,000, their rent is \$120 a month. Councillor Vellucci stated that now he realizes that "he's contributing to putting money in some peoples pockets." He further commented on how the young adults, who were born and raised in Cambridge, are being forced to move out of the city because they cannot find apartments, or they cannot afford to purchase a home in the inflated housing market in Cambridge. Many of the Cambridge natives really want to remain in Cambridge to raise their families, but they cannot.

Councillor Vellucci reminised about the days when he was fighting to enact rent control. He said his concern was for the working class families that lived in the city, as many were employed by the local factories. He concluded with the fact that he "has questioned the system many times, but cannot see another system," and that he doesn't

have the training to design a more efficient system. He also stated that in the fourteen years of rent control, the property owners, as an organized group, have never proposed a plan, they have only criticized the existing system.

Daniel Clinton, also a city councillor who voted for rent control, echoes the same feelings as Councillor Vellucci; it was the working-class Cambridge families and the elderly that were intended to be protected by rent control. He said then when he voted for rent control, he thought it would last maybe five-seven years. He also knows of abuses of the system such as an individual who pays \$200 a month rent while renting out a home that he owns for \$700 a month.<sup>33</sup>

Both Vellucci and Clinton mentioned the political aspect of rent control. Over 75% of the population in Cambridge are renters. It would be foolish for people benefiting from rent control to vote for a politician against rent control. Any attempt to modify the existing rent control system is difficult. Tenants groups strive to strengthen rent control; while the landlords, a much smaller, less organized group, tend to criticize the groups proposals and favor a less regulated environment.

After only one month, residents of Cambridge have the privilege to vote in local elections, if they desire to exercise this right. Furthermore, anyone who can secure a rent controlled unit may occupy the unit, regardless of need. Therefore, a situation has been created whereby many middle and upper income residents benefit from a policy intended to protect those of low or moderate income and the elderly. Not only do these residents receive the benefits, but they've organized and have fought to retain and strengthen the rent control policy. Since

Cambridge is comprised of over 75% tenants, this represents considerable political clout. The situation induces a kind of political patronage in that the beneficiaries of the policy will, in most cases, support the candidates that in turn support the issue. This indirect form of patronage translates into a subsidy to the tenant for non-housing related consumption. As long as rents in the controlled market remain below that of the uncontrolled market, this subsidy will hold true.

Furthermore, some rent control advocates view housing as a right. Specifically, city councillor David Sullivan, who has been a vocal advocate for rent control, stated in November 1982 article that "rent control is not just for poor people,"<sup>34</sup> it's intended to help everyone. However, this view does not coincide with the objectives of the rent control legislation. As it states quite clearly that low and moderate income families and the elderly are the groups intended to be protected. He went even further to characterize rent control as a "consumer protection agency like the Department of Public Utilities." This view is somewhat misleading since a public utility usually has a monopoly over the services it provides, which justifies the state's regulation of rates. Clearly, housing in Cambridge is owned and operated by many diverse individuals and groups and cannot be considered a monopoly. Under public regulation, the rates rise to incorporate all expenses withstood by the utility including a return on investment. Therefore, it might even be advantageous to the property owner if housing were to be considered a public utility, as a set return would be received. Under the current rent control system, a "fair net operating income" is supposed to be included. "Fair" has never been determined.

A new political force has emerged in Cambridge, they are the condominium owners. Their main concerns include: assessed values of condominiums and the local ordinances affecting condominium conversion and ownership. Conversion of rent controlled units to condominiums is regulated by the rent control board, as they require that a removal permit be issued before a unit can be converted. Obtaining a removal permit is very difficult. The only exception to the removal permit is if the tenant who is currently occupying the unit, has been continuously occupying it since August of 1979 and they desire to purchase. Therefore, the growth of this new group of property owners has been effectively curtailed.

Some people argue that condominium conversion was beneficial because it was a way for first time home buyers to enter the market. This was true since as many of the units that were converted sold at reasonable prices. This housing option not only afforded the chance for people to enter the market, but it also gave them the future opportunity to trade up on the housing ladder. This was possible through equity buildup and favorable tax policy for owners. However, other people argue that the majority of units were purchased by people from outside the city, thus, not directly benefiting the Cambridge residents. Regardless, people have benefitted by purchasing condominiums and the current ordinances are unfair to those who prefer this form of ownership.

Deferred maintenance of rent controlled properties is another problem that has caused many units to fall below the acceptable standards of the state's building code. For many years these codes had been loosely enforced. Furthermore, city officials have estimated that

over 75% of existing residential structures were built before 1900.<sup>35</sup> There are other reasons, in addition to the antiquated stock, why these substandard conditions exist. One reason is that some tenants do not generally report violations, since correction of the violations will mean a rent increase. As a result, many tenants tolerate substandard conditions to ensure stable rents. However, other tenants use the violations as a means to withhold rent, which is within their rights under the law. Further, if a landlord applies for a rent increase, a form, listing potential code violations is sent to the tenant; they then have the option to report existing violations. This effectively postpones any rent increase until the violations are corrected. But, reporting the violations forces the landlord to make the necessary repairs, which will eventually lead to a rent increase.

As long as tenants do not report code violations, and the city inspectors are not aware that they exist, there is little incentive for the landlord to ensure compliance. This happens because the gross income will remain the same. And it will increase only if a general rent adjustment is granted for increased operating costs or if the landlord applies for a capital improvement adjustment. Therefore, the gross income is maintained without a further investment in the property. If a landlord chooses to invest money into the property for improvements, the rent formula used to determine the increase stretches the payback over a useful life of the improvement(s) and this increase is subtracted after the useful life has expired. As it now stands, the return on the landlords investment is minimal, but could be maximized if he/she invested the money elsewhere. This fact, along with the administrative burden of filing for an increase, and a filing fee,



leaves little incentive for the landlords. There are benefits to the landlord for maintaining the property, they are: a higher gross income which would yield a higher sales price in the future and lessen overall future maintenance problems.

Enforcement of the state's building code is the direct responsibility of the city's Inspectional Services Department. Further, according to amendments to the states building code, passed in 1975, all residential structures must be inspected annually. For a variety of reasons the city has not complied. Recently, however, the City's Inspectional Services Department announced that a city wide housing inspection would be conducted. However, problems arose when in one of the first buildings inspected serious violations were identified, and the inspector proceeded with tenant eviction. This led to a six month delay of the inspection, during which a specially appointed group by the city manager is attempting to design an inspection process that will avoid excessive evictions.

The issue of deferred maintenance has also resulted in the creation of a distressed housing policy. This is specifically designed for buildings that are in such a state of disrepair, that allowable rent controlled rents do not support the necessary improvements. This policy allows a certain number of units to be decontrolled as long as some are set aside for low and moderate income people, and if necessary section 8 certificates could be utilized to reduce the overall increase paid by the tenant.

Another agency, Cambridge Neighborhood Apartment Housing Services, Inc., was created to deal with the deferred maintenance issue. This agency brings property owners, bankers and city officials together to

devise a way to improve the condition of the rent controlled stock. The emphasis is on correcting building and health code violations, improving energy efficiency and restoring the buildings structure, and plumbing, heating and electrical systems. A major obstacle that they are attempting to overcome is convincing banks of the economic viability of such projects. Traditionally, banks have shied away from granting loans and mortgages on rent controlled property because of the questionable economic viability.

The Cambridge Neighborhood Apartment Housing Services Agency has encountered many problems. The work needed to bring the building up to code and other necessary improvements often results in a sizeable rent increase. For eligible tenants, Section 8 certificates<sup>36</sup> can be granted, and in some instances the rent can actually be lowered even after the improvements have been made, because of the rent subsidy. However, for tenants that are not eligible, the rent could more than double. This usually occurs when very little maintenance or capital improvements have been done to the building. Therefore, the base rent is very low. Although the new rent may more than double, on the applications that have been considered, the proposed rents still tend to be below market levels. Regardless, any large rent increase forces the tenant to alter consumption levels of other goods to absorb the increase. Overall, the need for this agency is obvious, but in their two years of existence, although applications have been received, they have yet to complete one building.

Rent control substantially reduces the city's tax revenue because assessed values on rent controlled properties are lower as their gross incomes streams are less. In fact, under the city's current revaluation

efforts, some rent controlled properties received reduced tax bills. In addition, the administrative budget for the rent control office has increased annually, thus further draining the city's overall budget.

Rent control has had a negative impact on investment, as developers will shy away from a controlled marketplace. Overall, multi-unit rental construction has become less feasible due to increase construction and financing costs. Development, in Cambridge, has centered around condominium construction. This development should be encouraged as it has many positive effects. For one, it increases the tax base. It also increases housing options, as it provides ownership opportunities for some and it also filters some occupants out of the rental market thus creating vacancies for others.

In addition, rent control hurts small property owners. These are people who occupy multi-unit controlled buildings, or who own a small number of units. They are not in the same league as large scale investors. Small landlords have traditionally not raised rents at the same pace as the larger landlords. When the controls were imposed, the small landlords were left with a lower base year rent, which through the rent adjustment formula, adversely affects future increases. This is unfortunate since small property owners know their tenants on a more personal basis and tend to maintain their property. However, they are less sophisticated in packaging rent adjustment applications. Therefore, they tend to get fewer and lower rent increases than the more sophisticated landlords who have more experience in filing rent adjustments or can hire someone to file their applications.

Rent control does not increase the supply of housing nor does it decrease the demand. In fact, it increases the demand. A basic

economic principle is that when a commodity is artificially underpriced, the demand for that commodity will increase more so than if a market price was charged. The overall rent analysis provided by the rent control office, and discussed in chapter two, clearly indicates that rent controlled rents are well below market levels. This supports the increased demand concept. Further, rent control negatively affects expanding housing choices insofar as it restricts tenant mobility, it, in fact, discourages voluntary mobility.

## CHAPTER 4

### ALTERNATIVES

The purpose of this chapter is to suggest modifications to the current rent control system in general, and not to propose concrete policy. The intended focus is on how to target the benefits to the intended beneficiaries of rent control, because clearly, they are not effectively protected under the current system.

The basis of the targeting problem is "that rent regulations are directed at housing units rather than at households."<sup>37</sup> Therefore, any individuals or family, regardless of need, can benefit from the controls by merely occupying a rent controlled unit. It is clear that the political support for rent control exists in Cambridge. But, it's also clear, that it's in need of modification.

A direct subsidy program would be the most efficient way to target the households that were originally intended to be protected by rent control. This could work somewhat like a Section 8 rent subsidy in that it could be the difference between 30% of the tenants income and the actual rent. The income eligibility guidelines could be increased to allow protection for those Cambridge residents who would not qualify under actual Section 8 guidelines, but who would still have difficulty affording market rents. Length of residency in Cambridge could be a further emphasis for this groups eligibility.

This subsidy could be funded in a variety of ways. One potential funding method would be a tax on new construction in the city, which could be directed into the subsidy fund. This tax is on the same idea as the inclusionary zoning plan. However, the plan for inclusionary

zoning is intended to construct new units. Considering the high construction and financing costs, very few units would actually be built, thus not making a significant impact on the housing availability situation. In addition, the building process takes time and therefore, is not an immediate enough solution. Therefore, it would appear that funding a subsidy program through this tax would be a more efficient solution to the housing problem. Additional funding for the subsidy program could be obtained by allowing a set number of condominium conversions per year. The tax increase created by the conversion could be directed into the subsidy fund. Also, a conversion tax could be implemented to increase the revenue of the fund. A further method to fund the program could be through de-controlling some part of the controlled stock. It could start with either de-controlling the high rent end or the stock that is in most need of repair. Therefore, by de-controlling the most distressed stock, it would increase the taxes of the building because landlords would be forced to improve the overall condition to receive market rent, and the additional tax revenue could also be directed into the subsidy fund.

An occupant means test has been discussed as a method to screen tenants for rent controlled apartments. This stems from the fact that many middle and upper income people are benefiting from rent control. Councillor Vellucci mentioned the fact that public housing residents pay a percentage of their income for rent. This isn't the way it would happen in the privately owned market, because obviously landlords would only rent to high income tenants. Rather, the way it could work would be in order to be eligible to rent a rent controlled unit the tenants income could not exceed a certain level. Some other restrictions have

to be applied as well. For example, a student's income may fall within the proposed guidelines, however, this group is not intended to be protected by rent control.

In an October 1983 article in the Cambridge Chronicle, city councilor candidate Alice Wolf suggested a city "housing exchange, to allow rent controlled apartments and low and moderate income people who need apartments to find each other." Wolf suggested that such an exchange could "move the greater portion of rent controlled units into the class where it is protecting people who need protecting."<sup>38</sup>

There are other alternatives to modify rent control; they are decontrol/recontrol and vacancy decontrol. However, these alternatives do not target those for whom rent control was intended to benefit. Although these options do not directly target, there are other potential benefits, such as, increasing tax revenues and improving the condition of the housing stock. An increase in tax revenue would occur as a result of a higher gross income for a building and a percent this increase could be directed to the subsidy fund. The incentive for the landlord to improve building conditions would be higher rents.

Decontrol/recontrol is one method to modify the current rent control system. Under this system, when a rent controlled unit becomes vacant, landlord and tenant would negotiate a rent free of controls. This negotiated rent would most likely reflect a rent level similar to non-controlled rents for comparable units. Once the initial rent was established, future rent adjustments would be regulated. This system would allow a landlord a more equitable return on investment than currently received under rent control. It would also protect long-term residents by regulating increases. Thus, placing most of the market pressures on the transient tenant.

Vacancy decontrol is one gradual method of eliminating rent control. Under this system units remain controlled as long as the tenants occupying them upon enactment of decontrol remain in them. This system is currently being used to phase out rent control in Boston. However, this system restricts tenant mobility as households are reluctant to vacate controlled units. Considering the political environment in Cambridge, this is the least viable option.

Cambridge has begun to think somewhat creatively about housing options. For example, a limited equity cooperative program has begun. One hundred units are immediately scheduled to be converted. This program allows lower income groups to become homeowners, which ensures stability and also allows them to benefit from favorable tax policies. However, under this form of ownership no equity may be accumulated as no profit can be made at the time of sale. An overall benefit is that the units are updated upon conversion, which is at least a step in improving the overall housing stock.

The goal of any option is to ensure that needy Cambridge residents can find suitable housing arrangements. There are benefits in reducing the rental stock if it means that some residents would become homeowners. Any option would have to be gradually implemented and carefully monitored.



## CONCLUSION

This thesis is not advocating the termination of rent control. Rather, it is demonstrating the lack of suitable housing arrangements for low and moderate income families and elderly residents of Cambridge.

Chapter One clearly indicates that rent control was enacted as a response to a housing emergency in which low and moderate income families and elderly residents were being forced out of the rental market.

Chapter Two details the results of an analysis of a recent random sample drawn to determine the characteristics of the occupants of rent controlled dwellings. The sample indicated that the majority, (55.2%) of the occupants are professionals (39.8%) and students (15.4%). Further, only 8.8% of the sampled occupants are elderly, thus demonstrating the inefficiency of rent control to protect the target groups. The rents for the sampled units were obtained and further substantiated the failure of the rent control legislation to achieve its stated goals. Further, an overall rent analysis for controlled units was obtained from Rent Control Office. This analysis indicated that 62% of rent controlled units are below \$300 a month, 85% below \$400, and 95% below \$500. Proof that these rents are well below market levels, was documented in Chapter Two.

Chapter Three highlights problems that have resulted from the fourteen year existence of rent control. The most obvious problem is that rent control is not effectively protecting the intended groups. Other issues discussed were: the political strength of Cambridge tenants, rent control as a form of political patronage, the view of

housing as a right, the emergence of a new political group of condominiums owners and the effects of rent control on property maintenance, tax revenues and rental housing construction.

Chapter Four suggests possible alternatives to modify the existing rent control system. The basis of the problem is that rent control is directed to housing units and not households. Therefore, anyone, regardless of need, can occupy a rent controlled unit and receive the benefit of the lower than market rent. The focus of chapter four was to devise a way to target the benefits to the household as opposed to the housing unit. The targeting alternatives discussed were; a direct subsidy program and an occupant means tests. Other alternatives to rent control included, decontrol/recontrol and vacancy decontrol.

The stated objectives of rent control are clear: to protect low and moderate income families and elderly residents of Cambridge. Since no attempts have been made to change the legislation, the assumption can be made that these objectives still hold true. However, this thesis demonstrates the inefficiency of rent control to effectively protect the intended groups. Therefore, the need to modify the current system is clear.

The most effective approach in attempting to meet these objectives would be through a blend of the alternatives discussed in Chapter Four. For example, the limited equity cooperative program should be evaluated, improved, if necessary, and expanded. The direct subsidy alternative should be studied and implemented. These two alternatives are the best way to target the intended groups. The other alternatives, decontrol/recontrol and vacancy decontrol are less likely to be enacted due to the political climate in the City of Cambridge.

There are potential dangers directly related to the inaction of creative alternatives. What will the characteristics of residents be in future years? It appears that fewer and fewer of the low and moderate income families and elderly residents are able to secure adequate housing arrangements in the city. In order to avoid the continuation of this situation, a thorough evaluation of the city's housing goals must occur. Reasonable housing goals for the City of Cambridge should:

- allow homeownership opportunities for those residents who prefer this form of tenure. The benefits include, individual satisfaction and financial benefits, neighborhood stability, overall maintenance of the housing stock and a stronger tax base;
- promote improved maintenance of the housing stock;
- ensure a diverse resident make-up in the future.

## FOOTNOTES

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APPENDIX A

**Occupational Classification System**

Equivalent numeric codes follow the alphabetic code. Either code may be used, depending on the processing method. Numbers in parentheses following the occupation categories are the 1980 Standard Occupational Classification code equivalents. The abbreviation "pt" means "part" and "n.e.c." means "not elsewhere classified."

Occupation code	Occupation category	Occupation code	Occupation category
	<b>MANAGERIAL AND PROFESSIONAL SPECIALTY OCCUPATIONS</b>		<b>MANAGERIAL AND PROFESSIONAL SPECIALTY OCCUPATIONS—Con.</b>
	<b>Executive, Administrative, and Managerial Occupations</b>		<b>Professional Specialty Occupations—Con.</b>
			<b>Engineers, architects, and surveyors—Con.</b>
			<b>Engineers—Con.</b>
003	Legislators (111)	048	Chemical engineers (1626)
004	Chief executives and general administrators, public administration (112)	049	Nuclear engineers (1627)
005	Administrators and officials, public administration (1132-1139)	053	Civil engineers (1628)
006	Administrators, protective services (1131)	054	Agricultural engineers (1632)
007	Financial managers (122)	055	Electrical and electronic engineers (1633, 1636)
008	Personnel and labor relations managers (123)	056	Industrial engineers (1634)
009	Purchasing managers (124)	057	Mechanical engineers (1635)
013	Managers, marketing, advertising, and public relations (125)	058	Marine engineers and naval architects (1637)
014	Administrators, education and related fields (128)	059	Engineers, n.e.c. (1639)
015	Managers, medicine and health (131)	063	Surveyors and mapping scientists (164)
016	Managers, properties and real estate (1353)		<b>Mathematical and computer scientists</b>
017	Postmasters and mail superintendents (1344)	064	Computer systems analysts and scientists (171)
018	Funeral directors (pt 1359)	065	Operations and systems researchers and analysts (172)
019	Managers and administrators, n.e.c. (121, 126, 127, 132-139, except 1344, 1353, pt 1359)	066	Actuaries (1732)
	<b>Management related occupations</b>	067	Statisticians (1733)
023	Accountants and auditors (1412)	068	Mathematical scientists, n.e.c. (1739)
024	Underwriters (1414)		<b>Natural scientists</b>
025	Other financial officers (1415, 1419)	069	Physicists and astronomers (1842, 1843)
026	Management analysts (142)	073	Chemists, except biochemists (1845)
027	Personnel, training, and labor relations specialists (143)	074	Atmospheric and space scientists (1846)
028	Purchasing agents and buyers, farm products (1443)	075	Geologists and geodesists (1847)
029	Buyers, wholesale and retail trade, except farm products (1442)	076	Physical scientists, n.e.c. (1849)
033	Purchasing agents and buyers, n.e.c. (1449)	077	Agricultural and food scientists (1853)
034	Business and promotion agents (145)	078	Biological and life scientists (1854)
035	Construction inspectors (1472)	079	Forestry and conservation scientists (1852)
036	Inspectors and compliance officers, exc. construction (1473)	083	Medical scientists (1855)
037	Management related occupations, n.e.c. (149)		<b>Health diagnosing occupations</b>
	<b>Professional Specialty Occupations</b>	084	Physicians (261)
	<b>Engineers, architects, and surveyors</b>	085	Dentists (262)
043	Architects (161)	086	Veterinarians (27)
	<b>Engineers</b>	087	Optometrists (281)
044	Aerospace engineers (1622)	088	Podiatrists (283)
045	Metallurgical and materials engineers (1623)	089	Health diagnosing practitioners, n.e.c. (289)
046	Mining engineers (1624)		<b>Health assessment and treating occupations</b>
047	Petroleum engineers (1625)	095	Registered nurses (29)
		096	Pharmacists (301)
		097	Dietitians (302)
			<b>Therapists</b>
		098	Inhalation therapists (3031)
		099	Occupational therapists (3032)
		103	Physical therapists (3033)
		104	Speech therapists (3034)
		105	Therapists, n.e.c. (3039)

Occupational Classification System

Occupation code	Occupation category	Occupation code	Occupation category
<b>MANAGERIAL AND PROFESSIONAL SPECIALTY OCCUPATIONS—Con.</b>		<b>MANAGERIAL AND PROFESSIONAL SPECIALTY OCCUPATIONS—Con.</b>	
<b>Professional Specialty Occupations—Con.</b>		<b>Professional Specialty Occupations—Con.</b>	
<b>Health assessment and treating occupations—Con.</b>		<b>Social, recreation, and religious workers</b>	
106	Physicians' assistants (304)	174	Social workers (2032)
<b>Teachers, postsecondary</b>		175	Recreation workers (2033)
113	Earth, environmental, and marine science teachers (2212)	176	Clergy (2042)
114	Biological science teachers (2213)	177	Religious workers, n.e.c. (2049)
115	Chemistry teachers (2214)	178	Lawyers and judges
116	Physics teachers (2215)	179	Lawyers (211)
117	Natural science teachers, n.e.c. (2216)		Judges (212)
118	Psychology teachers (2217)	183	<b>Writers, artists, entertainers, and athletes</b>
119	Economics teachers (2218)	184	Authors (321)
123	History teachers (2222)	185	Technical writers (398)
124	Political science teachers (2223)	186	Designers (322)
125	Sociology teachers (2224)	187	Musicians and composers (323)
126	Social science teachers, n.e.c. (2225)	188	Actors and directors (324)
127	Engineering teachers (2226)	189	Painters, sculptors, craft-artists, and artist printmakers (325)
128	Mathematical science teachers (2227)	193	Photographers (326)
129	Computer science teachers (2228)	194	Dancers (327)
133	Medical science teachers (2231)	195	Artists, performers, and related workers, n.e.c. (328, 329)
134	Health specialties teachers (2232)	197	Editors and reporters (331)
135	Business, commerce, and marketing teachers (2233)	198	Public relations specialists (332)
136	Agriculture and forestry teachers (2234)	199	Announcers (333)
137	Art, drama, and music teachers (2235)		Athletes (34)
138	Physical education teachers (2236)		
139	Education teachers (2237)		
143	English teachers (2238)		
144	Foreign language teachers (2242)		
145	Law teachers (2243)		
146	Social work teachers (2244)		
147	Theology teachers (2245)		
148	Trade and industrial teachers (2246)		
149	Home economics teachers (2247)		
153	Teachers, postsecondary, n.e.c. (2249)	203	<b>TECHNICAL, SALES, AND ADMINISTRATIVE SUPPORT OCCUPATIONS</b>
154	Postsecondary teachers, subject not specified		
<b>Teachers, except postsecondary</b>			
155	Teachers, prekindergarten and kindergarten (231)	204	<b>Technicians and Related Support Occupations</b>
N (156)	Teachers, elementary school (232)	205	Health technologists and technicians
P (157)	Teachers, secondary school (233)	206	Clinical laboratory technologists and technicians (362)
158	Teachers, special education (235)	207	Dental hygienists (363)
159	Teachers, n.e.c. (236, 239)	208	Health record technologists and technicians (364)
163	Counselors, educational and vocational (24)		Radiologic technicians (365)
<b>Librarians, archivists, and curators</b>			Licensed practical nurses (366)
164	Librarians (251)	213	Health technologists and technicians, n.e.c. (369)
165	Archivists and curators (252)	214	Technologists and technicians, except health
<b>Social scientists and urban planners</b>		215	Engineering and related technologists and technicians
166	Economists (1912)	216	Electrical and electronic technicians (3711)
167	Psychologists (1915)	217	Industrial engineering technicians (3712)
168	Sociologists (1916)	218	Mechanical engineering technicians (3713)
169	Social scientists, n.e.c. (1913, 1914, 1919)	223	Engineering technicians, n.e.c. (3719)
173	Urban planners (192)	224	Drafting occupations (372)
		225	Surveying and mapping technicians (373)
			Science technicians
			Biological technicians (382)
			Chemical technicians (3831)
			Science technicians, n.e.c. (3832, 3833, 384, 389)

Occupational Classification System

Occupation code	Occupation category	Occupation code	Occupation category
<b>TECHNICAL, SALES, AND ADMINISTRATIVE SUPPORT OCCUPATIONS—Con.</b>		<b>TECHNICAL, SALES, AND ADMINISTRATIVE SUPPORT OCCUPATIONS—Con.</b>	
<b>Technicians and Related Support Occupations—Con.</b>		<b>Administrative Support Occupations, Including Clerical—Con.</b>	
	Technicians, except health, engineering, and science		Supervisors, administrative support occupations—Con.
226	Airplane pilots and navigators (825)		Supervisors: distribution, scheduling, and adjusting clerks (4522, 4524-4528)
227	Air traffic controllers (392)	307	Computer equipment operators
228	Broadcast equipment operators (393)		Computer operators (4612)
229	Computer programmers (3971, 3972)		Peripheral equipment operators (4613)
233	Tool programmers, numerical control (3974)		Secretaries, stenographers, and typists
234	Legal assistants (396)	308	Secretaries (4622)
235	Technicians, n.e.c. (399)	309	Stenographers (4623)
			Typists (4624)
		R (313)	Information clerks
	<b>Sales Occupations</b>	314	Interviewers (4642)
		315	Hotel clerks (4643)
243	Supervisors and proprietors, sales occupations (40)	316	Transportation ticket and reservation agents (4644)
	Sales representatives, finance and business services	317	Receptionists (4645)
253	Insurance sales occupations (4122)	318	Information clerks, n.e.c. (4649)
254	Real estate sales occupations (4123)	319	Records processing occupations, except financial
255	Securities and financial services sales occupations (4124)	323	Classified-ad clerks (4662)
256	Advertising and related sales occupations (4153)		Correspondence clerks (4663)
257	Sales occupations, other business services (4152)	325	Order clerks (4664)
	Sales representatives, commodities except retail	326	Personnel clerks, except payroll and timekeeping (4692)
258	Sales engineers (421)	327	Library clerks (4694)
259	Sales representatives, mining, manufacturing, and wholesale (423, 424)	328	File clerks (4696)
	Sales workers, retail and personal services		Records clerks (4699)
263	Sales workers, motor vehicles and boats (4342, 4344)	329	Financial records processing occupations
264	Sales workers, apparel (4346)	335	Bookkeepers, accounting, and auditing clerks (4712)
265	Sales workers, shoes (4351)	336	Payroll and timekeeping clerks (4713)
266	Sales workers, furniture and home furnishings (4348)		Billing clerks (4715)
267	Sales workers; radio, television, hi-fi, and appliances (4343, 4352)	S (337)	Cost and rate clerks (4716)
268	Sales workers, hardware and building supplies (4353)	338	Billing, posting, and calculating machine operators (4718)
269	Sales workers, parts (4367)	339	Duplicating, mail and other office machine operators
274	Sales workers, other commodities (4345, 4347, 4354, 4356, 4359, 4362, 4369)	343	Duplicating machine operators (4722)
275	Sales counter clerks (4363)	344	Mail preparing and paper handling machine operators (4723)
Q (276)	Cashiers (4364)		Office machine operators, n.e.c. (4729)
277	Street and door-to-door sales workers (4366)	345	Communications equipment operators
278	News vendors (4365)	346	Telephone operators (4732)
	Sales related occupations		Telegraphers (4733)
283	Demonstrators, promoters and models, sales (445)	347	Communications equipment operators, n.e.c. (4739)
284	Auctioneers (447)		Mail and message distributing occupations
285	Sales support occupations, n.e.c. (444, 446, 449)	348	Postal clerks, exc. mail carriers (4742)
		349	Mail carriers, postal service (4743)
	<b>Administrative Support Occupations, Including Clerical</b>	353	Mail clerks, exc. postal service (4744)
			Messengers (4745)
	Supervisors, administrative support occupations	354	Material recording, scheduling, and distributing clerks, n.e.c.
303	Supervisors, general office (4511, 4513-4519, 4529)	355	Dispatchers (4751)
304	Supervisors, computer equipment operators (4512)	356	Production coordinators (4752)
305	Supervisors, financial records processing (4521)	357	
306	Chief communications operators (4523)	359	
		363	



Occupational Classification System

Occupation code	Occupation category	Occupation code	Occupation category
	<b>TECHNICAL, SALES, AND ADMINISTRATIVE SUPPORT OCCUPATIONS—Con.</b>		<b>SERVICE OCCUPATIONS—Con.</b>
	<b>Administrative Support Occupations, Including Clerical—Con.</b>		<b>Protective Service Occupations—Con.</b>
	Material recording, scheduling, and distributing clerks, n.e.c.—Con.	425	<b>Guards</b>
364	Traffic, shipping, and receiving clerks (4753)	426	Crossing guards (5142)
365	Stock and inventory clerks (4754)	427	Guards and police, exc. public service (5144)
366	Meter readers (4755)		Protective service occupations, n.e.c. (5149)
368	Weighers, measurers, and checkers (4756)		<b>Service Occupations, Except Protective and Household</b>
369	Samplers (4757)	433	<b>Food preparation and service occupations</b>
373	Expediteurs (4758)		Supervisors, food preparation and service occupations (5211)
374	Material recording, scheduling, and distributing clerks, n.e.c. (4759)	434	Bartenders (5212)
	Adjusters and investigators	U (435)	Waiters and waitresses (5213)
375	Insurance adjusters, examiners, and investigators (4782)	436	Cooks, except short order (5214)
376	Investigators and adjusters, except insurance (4783)	437	Short-order cooks (5215)
377	Eligibility clerks, social welfare (4784)	438	Food counter, fountain and related occupations (5216)
378	Bill and account collectors (4786)	439	Kitchen workers, food preparation (5217)
	Miscellaneous administrative support occupations	443	Waiters/waitresses' assistants (5218)
379	General office clerks (463)	444	Miscellaneous food preparation occupations (5219)
383	Bank tellers (4791)		<b>Health service occupations</b>
384	Proofreaders (4792)	445	Dental assistants (5232)
385	Data-entry keyers (4793)	446	Health aides, except nursing (5233)
386	Statistical clerks (4794)	447	Nursing aides, orderlies, and attendants (5236)
387	Teachers' aides (4795)		<b>Cleaning and building service occupations, except household</b>
389	Administrative support occupations, n.e.c. (4787, 4799)	448	Supervisors, cleaning and building service workers (5241)
	<b>SERVICE OCCUPATIONS</b>		Maids and housemen (5242, 5249)
	<b>Private Household Occupations</b>	449	Janitors and cleaners (5244)
403	Launderers and ironers (503)	V (453)	Elevator operators (5245)
404	Cooks, private household (504)	454	Pest control occupations (5246)
405	Housekeepers and butlers (505)	455	<b>Personal service occupations</b>
406	Child care workers, private household (506)	456	Supervisors, personal service occupations (5251)
T (407)	Private household cleaners and servants (502, 507, 509)	457	Barbers (5252)
	<b>Protective Service Occupations</b>	458	Hairdressers and cosmetologists (5253)
	Supervisors, protective service occupations	459	Attendants, amusement and recreation facilities (5254)
413	Supervisors, firefighting and fire prevention occupations (5111)	463	Guides (5255)
414	Supervisors, police and detectives (5112)	464	Ushers (5256)
415	Supervisors, guards (5113)	465	Public transportation attendants (5257)
	Firefighting and fire prevention occupations	466	Baggage porters and bellhops (5262)
416	Fire inspection and fire prevention occupations (5122)	467	Welfare service aides (5263)
417	Firefighting occupations (5123)	468	Child care workers, except private household (5264)
	Police and detectives	469	Personal service occupations, n.e.c. (5258, 5269)
418	Police and detectives, public service (5132)		<b>FARMING, FORESTRY, AND FISHING OCCUPATIONS</b>
423	Sheriffs, bailiffs, and other law enforcement officers (5134)	W (473)	<b>Farm operators and managers</b>
424	Correctional institution officers (5133)	474	Farmers, except horticultural (5512-5514)
		475	Horticultural specialty farmers (5515)
		476	Managers, farms, except horticultural (5522-5524)
			Managers, horticultural specialty farms (5525)

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Occupational Classification System

Occupation code	Occupation category	Occupation code	Occupation category
<b>FARMING, FORESTRY, AND FISHING OCCUPATIONS—Con.</b>		<b>PRECISION PRODUCTION, CRAFT, AND REPAIR OCCUPATIONS—Con.</b>	
Other agricultural and related occupations		Mechanics and repairers—Con.	
Farm occupations, except managerial		Mechanics and repairers, except supervisors—Con.	
477	Supervisors, farm workers (5611)		Miscellaneous mechanics and repairers
479	Farm workers (5612-5617)		Camera, watch, and musical instrument repairers (6171, 6172)
483	Marine life cultivation workers (5618)	535	Locksmiths and safe repairers (6173)
484	Nursery workers (5619)		Office machine repairers (6174)
	Related agricultural occupations	536	Mechanical controls and valve repairers (6175)
485	Supervisors, related agricultural occupations (5621)	538	Elevator installers and repairers (6176)
486	Groundskeepers and gardeners, except farm (5622)	539	Millwrights (6178)
487	Animal caretakers, except farm (5624)	543	Specified mechanics and repairers, n.e.c. (6177, 6179)
488	Graders and sorters, agricultural products (5625)	544	Not specified mechanics and repairers
489	Inspectors, agricultural products (5627)	547	
	Forestry and logging occupations	549	
494	Supervisors, forestry and logging workers (571)		Construction trades
495	Forestry workers, except logging (572)		Supervisors, construction occupations
496	Timber cutting and logging occupations (573, 579)		Supervisors; brickmasons, stonemasons, and tile setters (6312)
	Fishers, hunters, and trappers	553	Supervisors, carpenters and related workers (6313)
497	Captains and other officers, fishing vessels (pt 8241)	554	Supervisors, electricians and power transmission installers (6314)
498	Fishers (583)	555	Supervisors; painters, paperhangers, and plasterers (6315)
499	Hunters and trappers (584)	557	Supervisors; plumbers, pipefitters, and steamfitters (6316)
		558	Supervisors, n.e.c. (6311, 6318)
<b>PRECISION PRODUCTION, CRAFT, AND REPAIR OCCUPATIONS</b>			Construction trades, except supervisors
Mechanics and repairers		563	Brickmasons and stonemasons (pt 6412, pt 6413)
503	Supervisors, mechanics and repairers (60)	564	Brickmason and stonemason apprentices (pt 6412, pt 6413)
	Mechanics and repairers, except supervisors	565	Tile setters, hard and soft (6414, pt 6462)
	Vehicle and mobile equipment mechanics and repairers	566	Carpet installers (pt 6462)
X (505)	Automobile mechanics (pt 6111)	Y (567)	Carpenters (pt 6422)
506	Automobile mechanic apprentices (pt 6111)	569	Carpenter apprentices (pt 6422)
507	Bus, truck, and stationary engine mechanics (6112)	573	Drywall installers (6424)
508	Aircraft engine mechanics (6113)	575	Electricians (pt 6432)
509	Small engine repairers (6114)	576	Electrician apprentices (pt 6432)
514	Automobile body and related repairers (6115)	577	Electrical power installers and repairers (6433)
515	Aircraft mechanics, exp. engine (6116)	579	Painters, construction and maintenance (6442)
516	Heavy equipment mechanics (6117)	583	Paperhangers (6443)
517	Farm equipment mechanics (6118)	584	Plasterers (6444)
518	Industrial machinery repairers (613)	585	Plumbers, pipefitters, and steamfitters (pt 645)
519	Machinery maintenance occupations (614)	587	Plumber, pipefitter, and steamfitter apprentices (pt 645)
	Electrical and electronic equipment repairers	588	Concrete and terrazzo finishers (6463)
523	Electronic repairers, communications and industrial equipment (6151, 6153, 6155)	589	Glaziers (6464)
525	Data processing equipment repairers (6154)	593	Insulation workers (6465)
526	Household appliance and power tool repairers (6156)	594	Paving, surfacing, and tamping equipment operators (6466)
527	Telephone line installers and repairers (6157)	595	Roofers (6468)
529	Telephone installers and repairers (6158)	596	Sheetmetal duct installers (6472)
533	Miscellaneous electrical and electronic equipment repairers (6152, 6159)	597	Structural metal workers (6473)
534	Heating, air conditioning, and refrigeration mechanics (616)	598	Drillers, earth (6474)

## Occupational Classification System

Occupation code	Occupation category	Occupation code	Occupation category
	<b>PRECISION PRODUCTION, CRAFT, AND REPAIR OCCUPATIONS—Con.</b>		<b>PRECISION PRODUCTION, CRAFT, AND REPAIR OCCUPATIONS—Con.</b>
	Construction trades—Con.		Precision production occupations—Con.
	Construction trades, except supervisors—Con.		Precision workers, assorted materials—Con.
599	Construction trades, n.e.c. (6467, 6475, 6476, 6479)	684	Miscellaneous precision workers, n.e.c. (6869)
	Extractive occupations	686	Precision food production occupations
613	Supervisors, extractive occupations (632)	687	Butchers and meat cutters (6871)
614	Drillers, oil well (652)	688	Bakers (6872)
615	Explosives workers (653)		Food batchmakers (6873, 6879)
616	Mining machine operators (654)	689	Precision inspectors, testers, and related workers
617	Mining occupations, n.e.c. (656)	693	Inspectors, testers, and graders (6881, 828)
	Precision production occupations		Adjusters and calibrators (6882)
633	Supervisors, production occupations (67, 71)	694	Plant and system operators
	Precision metal working occupations	695	Water and sewage treatment plant operators (691)
634	Tool and die makers (pt 6811)	696	Power plant operators (pt 693)
635	Tool and die maker apprentices (pt 6811)	699	Stationary engineers (pt 693, 7668)
636	Precision assemblers, metal (6812)		Miscellaneous plant and system operators (692, 694, 695, 696)
637	Machinists (pt 6813)		
639	Machinist apprentices (pt 6813)		
643	Boilermakers (6814)		
644	Precision grinders, fitters, and tool sharpeners (6816)		
645	Patternmakers and model makers, metal (6817)		
646	Lay-out workers (6821)		
647	Precious stones and metals workers (jewelers) (6822, 6866)	703	
649	Engravers, metal (6823)	704	
653	Sheet metal workers (pt 6824)	705	
654	Sheet metal worker apprentices (pt 6824)		
655	Miscellaneous precision metal workers (6829)	706	
	Precision woodworking occupations	707	
656	Patternmakers and model makers, wood (6831)	708	
657	Cabinet makers and bench carpenters (6832)	709	
658	Furniture and wood finishers (6835)	713	
659	Miscellaneous precision woodworkers (6839)	714	
	Precision textile, apparel, and furnishings machine workers	715	
666	Dressmakers (pt 6852, pt 7752)	717	
667	Tailors (pt 6852)		
668	Upholsterers (6853) *	719	
669	Shoe repairers (6854)	723	
673	Apparel and fabric patternmakers (6856)	724	
674	Miscellaneous precision apparel and fabric workers (6859, pt 7752)	725	
	Precision workers, assorted materials	726	
675	Hand molders and shapers, except jewelers (6861)	727	
676	Patternmakers, lay-out workers, and cutters (6862)	728	
677	Optical goods workers (6864, pt 7477, pt 7677)		
678	Dental laboratory and medical appliance technicians (6865)		
679	Bookbinders (6844)		
683	Electrical and electronic equipment assemblers (6867)		
			<b>OPERATORS, FABRICATORS, AND LABORERS</b>
			<b>Machine Operators, Assemblers, and Inspectors</b>
			Machine operators and tenders, except precision
			Metalworking and plastic working machine operators
			Lathe and turning machine set-up operators (7312)
			Lathe and turning machine operators (7512)
			Milling and planing machine operators (7313, 7513)
			Punching and stamping press machine operators (7314, 7317, 7514, 7517)
			Rolling machine operators (7316, 7516)
			Drilling and boring machine operators (7318, 7518)
			Grinding, abrading, buffing, and polishing machine operators (7322, 7324, 7522)
			Forging machine operators (7319, 7519)
			Numerical control machine operators (7326)
			Miscellaneous metal, plastic, stone, and glass working machine operators (7329, 7529)
			Fabricating machine operators, n.e.c. (7339, 7539)
			Metal and plastic processing machine operators
			Molding and casting machine operators (7315, 7342, 7515, 7542)
			Metal plating machine operators (7343, 7543)
			Heat treating equipment operators (7344, 7544)
			Miscellaneous metal and plastic processing machine operators (7349, 7549)
			Woodworking machine operators
			Wood lathe, routing, and planing machine operators (7431, 7432, 7631, 7632)
			Sawing machine operators (7433, 7633)
			Shaping and joining machine operators (7435, 7635)

Occupational Classification System

Occupation code	Occupation category	Occupation code	Occupation category
	<b>OPERATORS, FABRICATORS, AND LABORERS—Con.</b>		<b>OPERATORS, FABRICATORS, AND LABORERS—Con.</b>
	<b>Machine Operators, Assemblers, and Inspectors—Con.</b>		<b>Machine operators, Assemblers, and Inspectors—Con.</b>
	<b>Machine operators and tenders, except precision—Con.</b>		<b>Machine operators and tenders, except precision—Con.</b>
	<b>Woodworking machine operators—Con.</b>		<b>Machine operators, assorted materials—Con.</b>
729	Nailing and tacking machine operators (7636)	777	Miscellaneous machine operators, n.e.c. (pt 7479, 7665, 7679)
733	Miscellaneous woodworking machine operators (7434, 7439, 7634, 7639)	779	Machine operators, not specified
	<b>Printing machine operators</b>		<b>Fabricators, assemblers, and hand working occupations</b>
734	Printing machine operators (7443, 7643)	783	Welders and cutters (7332, 7532, 7714)
735	Photoengravers and lithographers (6842, 7444, 7644)	784	Solderers and brazers (7333, 7533, 7717)
736	Typesetters and compositors (6841, 7642)	785	Assemblers (772, 774)
737	Miscellaneous printing machine operators (6849, 7449, 7649)	786	Hand cutting and trimming occupations (7753)
	<b>Textile, apparel, and furnishings machine operators</b>	787	Hand molding, casting, and forming occupations (7754, 7755)
738	Winding and twisting machine operators (7451, 7651)	789	Hand painting, coating, and decorating occupations (7756)
739	Knitting, looping, taping, and weaving machine operators (7452, 7652)	793	Hand engraving and printing occupations (7757)
743	Textile cutting machine operators (7654)	794	Hand grinding and polishing occupations (7758)
744	Textile sewing machine operators (7655)	795	Miscellaneous hand working occupations (7759)
745	Shoe machine operators (7656)	796	Production inspectors, testers, samplers, and weighers
747	Pressing machine operators (7657)	797	Production inspectors, checkers, and examiners (782, 787)
748	Laundering and dry cleaning machine operators (6855, 7658)	798	Production testers (783)
749	Miscellaneous textile machine operators (7459, 7659)	799	Production samplers and weighers (784)
	<b>Machine operators, assorted materials</b>		Graders and sorters, except agricultural (785)
753	Cementing and gluing machine operators (7661)		
754	Packaging and filling machine operators (7462, 7662)		<b>Transportation and Material Moving Occupations</b>
755	Extruding and forming machine operators (7463, 7663)		<b>Motor vehicle operators</b>
756	Mixing and blending machine operators (7664)	803	Supervisors, motor vehicle operators (8111)
757	Separating, filtering, and clarifying machine operators (7476, 7666, 7676)	Z (804)	Truck drivers, heavy (8212, 8213)
758	Compressing and compacting machine operators (7467, 7667)	805	Truck drivers, light (8214)
759	Painting and paint spraying machine operators (7669)	806	Driver-sales workers (8218)
763	Roasting and baking machine operators, food (7472, 7672)	808	Bus drivers (8215)
764	Washing, cleaning, and pickling machine operators (7673)	809	Taxicab drivers and chauffeurs (8216)
765	Folding machine operators (7474, 7674)	813	Parking lot attendants (874)
766	Furnace, kiln, and oven operators, exc. food (7675)	814	Motor transportation occupations, n.e.c. (8219)
768	Crushing and grinding machine operators (pt 7477, pt 7677)		<b>Transportation occupations, except motor vehicles</b>
769	Slicing and cutting machine operators (7478, 7678)		<b>Rail transportation occupations</b>
773	Motion picture projectionists (pt 7479)	823	Railroad conductors and yardmasters (8113)
774	Photographic process machine operators (6863, 6868, 7671)	824	Locomotive operating occupations (8232)
		825	Railroad brake, signal, and switch operators (8233)
		826	Rail vehicle operators, n.e.c. (8239)
			<b>Water transportation occupations</b>
		828	Ship captains and mates, except fishing boats (pt 8241, 8242)
		829	Sailors and deckhands (8243)
		833	Marine engineers (8244)
		834	Bridge, lock, and lighthouse tenders (8245)
			<b>Material moving equipment operators</b>
		843	Supervisors, material moving equipment operators (812)
		844	Operating engineers (8312)

Occupational Classification System

Occupation code	Occupation category	Occupation code	Occupation category
	<b>OPERATORS, FABRICATORS, AND LABORERS—Con.</b>		<b>OPERATORS, FABRICATORS, AND LABORERS—Con.</b>
	<b>Transportation and Material Moving Occupations—Con.</b>		<b>Handlers, Equipment Cleaners, Helpers, and Laborers—Con.</b>
	Material moving equipment operators—Con.	869	Construction laborers (871)
845	Longshore equipment operators (8313)	873	Production helpers (861, 862)
848	Hoist and winch operators (8314)		Freight, stock, and material handlers
849	Crane and tower operators (8315)	875	Garbage collectors (8722)
853	Excavating and loading machine operators (8316)	876	Stevedores (8723)
855	Grader, dozer, and scraper operators (8317)	877	Stock handlers and baggers (8724)
856	Industrial truck and tractor equipment operators (8318)	878	Machine feeders and offbearers (8725)
859	Miscellaneous material moving equipment operators (8319)	883	Freight, stock, and material handlers, n.e.c. (8726)
	<b>Handlers, Equipment Cleaners, Helpers, and Laborers</b>	885	Garage and service station related occupations (873)
863	Supervisors; handlers, equipment cleaners, and laborers, n.e.c. (85)	887	Vehicle washers and equipment cleaners (875)
864	Helpers, mechanics and repairers (863)	888	Hand packers and packagers (8761)
	Helpers, construction and extractive occupations	889	Laborers, except construction (8769)
865	Helpers, construction trades (8641-8645, 8648)		
866	Helpers, surveyor (8646)	999	<b>OCCUPATION NOT REPORTED<sup>1</sup></b>
867	Helpers, extractive occupations (865)		

<sup>1</sup> Code used when not-reported cases are not allocated.

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