

URBAN COMMUNITY LAND TRUSTS
IN BOSTON

BY

Thelma E. Pittman Etheridge

B.A. Queens College
(1975)

SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF
URBAN STUDIES AND PLANNING
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS OF THE
DEGREE OF

MASTERS IN PLANNING

at the

MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY

June 1981

© Thelma E. Pittman Etheridge 1981

The author hereby grants to M.I.T. permission to reproduce
and to distribute copies of this thesis document in whole
or in part.

Signature of Author _____

Department of Urban Planning ^{TE}
May 26, 1981

Certified by _____

Langley C. Keyes, Jr.
Thesis Supervisor

Accepted by _____

Langley C. Keyes, Jr.
Chairman, Department Committee

Rotch
MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE
OF TECHNOLOGY

JUL 27 1981

LIBRARIES

URBAN COMMUNITY LAND TRUSTS
IN BOSTON

by

THELMA E. PITTMAN ETHERIDGE

Submitted to the Department of Urban Studies and Planning
on May 26, 1981 in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the Degree of Masters in Planning

ABSTRACT

Vacant lots, abandoned houses and disinvested commercial districts have changed some of Boston's neighborhoods into innercity wastelands. These wastelands are related to land management decisions. The City is going through a period of neighborhood revitalization, but it is too slow for some of its residents. Therefore, the people have turned to an urban land conservation movement to assist the City in its revitalization plans. Representatives of a national land conservation corporation are teaching people to incorporate non-profit land trust organizations, for the purpose of acquiring the wasteland properties to own and control communally in order to affect future land used policy.

The corporate and land trust legal devices, and a social philosophy are the foundation of the organizational structure of the conservation movement. A brief history of these devices and the origin of the land conservation philosophy are defined to show how these devices and a social belief came together to be developed into a national conservation movement. The operations of a national conservation corporation is described as it creates an innovative urban land trust conservation movement.

The operations of three urban neighborhood land trusts in Boston are studied, and the findings are analyzed to determine how grass-roots organizations can adopt a national corporate land-use model, and use it to affect local land-use policy.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

When we make an outstanding achievement in life, we cannot do it alone. The sincere concern of my Thesis Committee made this achievement possible. I am grateful to Professor Langley C. Keyes, my Supervisor and to my readers, Professor Hassan Minor and Catherine Bachman, Attorney. While involved in current achievements, often memories of those who have helped us along the way pass into clouded corners of our minds. Certainly, those who have contributed to my present achievement at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology are highly important to me, for without them, this story surely would not have occurred.

Before acknowledging my present supporters, I must remove the clouds from a corner of my mind, and thank two dear love ones who gave me the basic human strengths which cause me to challenge the forces of life and society, so that I may live a productive life as long as I live. For those qualities, I thank an ex-slave, my grandfather, Reverend Berry Powell, and his extraordinary daughter, Georgia Anna, who was my mother. I also thank my daughters, Marsha Butler and Pamela Jenoure for their love and support.

For those in Massachusetts who have given impetus to the strengths of my earlier training, I thank my dearest friend, Elliot Harewood, and my special friend, Sellamena Coleman, who empathized with me in my hours of anxiety. Then, there is my "MIT family" of which Professor Hassan Minor is "Numero Uno". I wish to thank Imani Thompson, Sonia Jasso, Karen Fulbright, Benjamin Blakney, Theresa Alford, and Mara English, all of whom I regard as members of my academic family. Their concerns for my success in the Institute were constant.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
Abstract	2
Acknowledgements	3
Table of Content	4
Chart & Figure	5
Introduction	6
Section One:	
Chapter I - The Conservation Movement	10
The Land Trust Concept	
The Corporation Concept	
Chapter II - The Trust For Public Land	21
Chapter III - The National Urban Land Program and Its Model	26
Section Two:	
Chapter IV-A Rationale for a Study of Neighborhood Land Trusts in Boston, The WeCan Neighbor- hood Improvement Association	34
Chapter V-Dorchester Gardenland Preserve and Development Corporation	51
Chapter VI-The Central Roxbury Community Land Trust	63
Chapter VII-The Organizational Analyses	78

CHARTS

<u>Page</u>		
24	Chart 1	The Trust for Public Land Annual Report, 1980, p. 5
26	Chart 2	The Trust for Public Land Annual Report, 1977, p. 8
31	Chart 3	Citizen's Action Manual, United States Department of Interior, 1979, p. 3

FIGURES

35	Figure 1	Urban Land Trust in U.S. Cities
39	Figure 2	Map of Boston Communities and Land Trust Neighborhoods
43	Figure 3	Map - Codman Hill, Codman Square West
44	Figure 4	Map - Codman Hill, WeCan, Codman Square
47	Figure 5	Map - WeCan Neighborhood
73	Figure 6	Map - Sav-Mor Neighborhood
76	Figure 7	Map - North Sav-Mor

INTRODUCTION

This essay is about the people of Boston who live in three neighborhoods which need extensive physical and economic revitalization. They have formed non-profit corporations to create a legal entity empowered with a land use device which permits communal control of land in perpetuity. Thus, the idea of land control appears to be the object of their interest.

Although Boston is in the process of an era of structural and economic revitalization, its efforts appear to be too slow for some of its residents. Therefore, people living in depressed surroundings are seeking alternative approaches to help the City to alleviate immediate neighborhood problems. Primary common concerns for these neighborhoods are abandoned houses, neglected vacant lots, and commercial districts offering inadequate services. Because the problems are related to land management, the people of these neighborhoods are joining a national movement which promises a land-use method to change the conditions for the better. This movement is facilitated by a national conservation corporation.

In 1979, The Trust For Public Land (TPL) introduced to the people of Boston, a method whereby they can actively assist in resolving their neighborhood problems. This national conservation organization created an innovative

urban land program in which it teaches innercity people to become land conservationists, and how to work to reclaim, maintain and protect neglected neighborhood property, as well as control its future use.

The idea of a group of economically deprived people becoming land experts to the point of affecting land-use policies, prompts one to ponder the feasibility of a land acquisition method without financial backing fulfilling such a promise of power.

The purpose of this thesis is to examine the possibility of a non-profit organization run by inner city people, gaining sufficient control of the land to affect local land-use policies.

The essay is framed in two sections. Section one contains research on the history of the legal devices and the social movements which are the foundation of the urban land trust corporations. It further gives an example of how the Trust For Public Land (TPL), a national land trust conservation corporation has developed a method of including urban people in the national land conservation movement. This section includes chapters one through three.

Section two presents case studies on three Boston neighborhoods, and documents how each implements the TPL model. The neighborhoods uses of the model are analyzed and the groups are compared for their implementation qualities and for the amount of land they control.

The information in these cases is gathered from research, interviews and actual involvement in an organization. The two Dorchester cases are told from the outside through interviews and research. The Roxbury case is told from the inside, based on observations, research and notes taken at meetings.

SECTION ONE

When present social systems are observed for the purpose of relating and comparing them to past social systems, it can appear that these systems have changed. But, it can also appear that they have remained the same.

Chapter One

THE CONSERVATION MOVEMENT

The espoused purpose of the conservation movement is to conserve land for the "benefit of the public". The idea of the conservation of open space for the enjoyment of the natural beauty of the land found its beginning in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, emerging in the Romanticists cultural movement of the time. Intellectuals, artists and composers led the movement of man's spiritual involvement with the natural beauty of the earth⁽¹⁾ Artists such as J.M.W. Palmer and Casper David Friedrich⁽²⁾ landscape painters, captured the natural beauty of the land on canvas during the same era in which Beethoven set the "Pastoral" scene to music in his Sixth Symphony.

During this period of consciousness of the beauty of open green space and man's need to involve himself with that beauty, the new Industrial Revolution was causing drastic changes in the natural landscape of England. Continuous inventions of new machines for factory productions brought great wealth to a few and expansion of the urban factory environment.⁽³⁾ Factories that opened in England's cities were followed by "over-crowded hastily built tenements, loss of open space and uncontrolled pollution".⁽⁴⁾ Patrick Geddes, and English planner of that era, warned of the

"depressing conditions that could overtake the cities". His warnings went unheeded, until the factory workers spoke out.

The outcries that caused reform in urban land-use policies in relation to open space in England's cities came from the working people living in the industrial environment. As a result of this movement, several parks were built in England's industrial cities during the 1850's.⁽⁵⁾ Thus, the concept of the modern city park, or conservation as urban open space was initiated in response to an organized grass-roots city park movement.⁽⁶⁾

England's development of communal green space in response to the pressures of the Industrial Revolution was witnessed by Frederick Law Olmstead, who visited England and observed the parks in the industrial cities.⁽⁷⁾ He returned to America to design Central Park in the center of Manhattan, near New York's busy industrial center and its tenement houses.⁽⁸⁾ The city park system which Olmstead began is not a part of the conservation movement, but it is related to this topic in that it was the first effort made to preserve open space in cities in the United States. Presently, the conservation of open space has returned to the city in a reform movement which makes use of two legal devices.

The two devices are the land trust and the non-profit corporation. The concept of the land trust originated in England. It is basically a legal device by which title to land is held by one party, and its interests are protected and utilized by that party for the benefit of another. A corporation is an entity recognized by a state to represent a collective group. A corporation is legally comparable to an individual and responsible to the court. Corporate land trusts come in two forms: profit and non-profit.

THE LAND TRUST CONCEPT

In 1066, King William, the Norman conqueror of Saxons⁽⁹⁾ transferred the feudal system of France to England and established a government based on a socio-economic pyramid structure which delegated total power to the Royal Crown. He confiscated the land and wealth of the powerful Saxons who were a threat to the new monarchy. Then, he redistributed large tracts of land to trustworthy vassals of his army who pledged military allegiance to him.⁽¹⁰⁾ Using this strategy, William built a strong army scattered through the country to put down insurrections and to defeat external attacks. The masses of peasants were permitted to live on the land, farm it, and pay rents to their new lord.⁽¹¹⁾ All lords were required to pay rents which were processed through the hierarchical socio-economic pyramid, with the final payments

rendered to the king from those to whom he had originally assigned the land.⁽¹²⁾ The king's land holders were obligated to military duty as well as to duty of paying rents and fees. This system perpetuated a royal aristocracy and a rigid class system in which position was determined by land holdings. After William's reign, the lords of the land continued to pay rents and fees which eventually reached the king. But the class system of the kingdom required a land holder to maintain a standard of living benefitting his social station. The land did not always produce enough to pay the king's rent and meet the lord's needs. Since the rent was not adjustable to the uncertainties of farming, a land owner could become indebted for rent to the king and debts to his creditors.⁽¹³⁾

Creditors permitted these debts because land was a valuable collateral. Prior to 1540 the English Common Law prevented land owners from dividing the land and selling parts of it; and as long as the land was the property of a single owner, it could not be subdivided. Therefore, a creditor could sue and strip the lord of his land and his social status.⁽¹⁴⁾

Because such great assets were at stake, it became a common practice for a land lord who was unable to pay his

debts to arrange for a trusted tenant to take legal title to his land. During the lord's life time, he received the profits and benefits from the land. Upon his death, it was passed on to his heirs who were not responsible for his debts. As a result of this land transfer, the lord could continue to enjoy the benefits of the land while avoiding his obligations to the Crown and to his creditors.(15)

Under the rigid common law system, land titles encompassed all legal rights to the land. Redress for separation of land title and land value was without legal precedent. Creditors received no satisfaction in the courts. Thus, the land trust mechanism was a legal device for cheating creditors as well as evading rents and fees to the royal coffer. It also served to usurp the king's control of the land. In essence land ownership was redesignated by the lords. Henry VIII was angry because there were no laws to put an end to this fraud which not only cheated the royal crown, but also weakened royal control of the land.

The king took his grievances to Parliament. He convinced them to enact the Statute of Uses which combined the courts. Thus, the English land laws were established to address land title and land equity as defined in the Statute of Uses.(16) They clearly stated the legal ramifications of placing land in trust. Thus, the primary purpose of the statute was to settle the conflict between the king and the land lords over the

distribution of the land and the division of assets rendered from the land. The statute clearly bans legal mechanisms designed:

"to the intent that the kings highness shall in any wise hereafter by any means of invention be deceived, damaged or hurt, by reason or such trusts, or confidence."(17)

The Statutes of Uses put an end to the fraud initiated by landlords and served to control future land trust uses. New attempts to land trust were carefully scrutinized by the courts of England. Its popularity waned due to the constraints of the Statutes of Uses. The feudal land redistribution movement resulted in forcing the King to request that the land trust device be included in the Common Laws to protect the power of the throne.

THE CORPORATION CONCEPT

Historical research has not identified the origin of the collectivity known as a corporation.⁽¹⁸⁾ As it was stated before, a corporation is a form of organization responsible to the law in the same manner as a person. British history indicates that the use of the corporate device in England occurred before laws were adopted to control it. The incorporation of the University of Oxford pre-dates the inclusion of the corporate doctrine in the common laws.⁽¹⁹⁾ The control of these corporation was challenged by the Crown.

The Tudor Kings, and the Stuarts after them, were preoccupied with convincing the courts of the Royal right to control corporate privileges within the Kingdom.⁽²⁰⁾ The reasons the Royal family persisted in seeking control of corporations were similar to those which caused the conflict over the use of the land trust. Without Royal control, corporations were able to become separate power bases which threatened the monarch's total power over the Kingdom, while also escaping taxation. The contest between the Crown and the corporations was lengthy, but the Stuarts eventually convinced the court that the king alone had the power to grant or deny the corporate privilege, because the corporations operated within the Kingdom.⁽²¹⁾

English Common Law with its corporate provisions was brought to America by the early settlers. After the American Revolution, the states assumed the power to grant corporate rights, and as early as 1784 churches and charities existed as non-profit corporations.⁽²²⁾

Charles Eliot, a Massachusetts architect of the late 19th century, is credited with the idea of combining the land trust device and the non-profit corporation.

"The idea of putting land in trust was born in this country at the time when Americans considered land a resource to be tamed, used and exploited. In the expansion years following the Civil War land development was looked upon as a key to progress and prosperity.

Lumber and mining companies stripped the landscape; factories poured raw waste into streams and speculators carved up the open space around cities to create tenement neighborhoods. Even the rural communities were leveled for fields, and fields farmed to exhaustion.⁽²³⁾

Eliot's concerns prompted him to propose the establishment "of an organization empowered to hold small well distributed parcels of land just as the Public Library holds books for use and enjoyment of the public".⁽²⁴⁾

Thus, it was in the Massachusetts General Court in 1891⁽²⁵⁾ that the land trust concept and the conservation movement were incorporated, together. Although, its provisions were made for a particular organization, the Trustees of Reservation Act of 1891 is the legal model for many of the land trust currently operating in the United States today.

The Massachusetts General Court 1891 Chapter 352

states:

"An act to Incorporate the Trustees of Public Reservation

Section 1. Frederick L. Ames, Philip A. Chase, Christopher Clarke, Charles R. Codman, Elisha S. Converse, George F. Hoar, John J. Russel, Leverett Saltonstall, Charles W. Sargent, Nathaniel S. Shaler, George Sheldon, Whilliam S. Shurtleff, George H. Tucket, Frances A. Walker, George Wigglesworth, their associates and successors, are hereby made a corporation by the name of The Trustees of Public Reservation, for the purpose of acquiring, holding, arranging, maintaining, and opening to the public, under suitable regulations, beautiful and historical places, and tracts of land within the Commonwealth; with the powers and privileges and subject to the duties set forth in such other general laws as now are or hereafter maybe in force relating to such corporations; but said corporation shall have no capital stock.

Section 2. Said corporation may acquire and hold by grant, gift, devises or otherwise real estate, such as it may deem worthy or preservation for the enjoyment of the public, but not exceeding one million dollars in value, and such property, both real and personal, as may be necessary or proper to support or promote the objects of the corporation, but not exceeding in the aggregate the further sum of one million dollars.

Section 3. All personal property held by said corporation, and all land which it may cause to be open and kept open to the public, and all lands which it may acquire and hold with this object in view, shall be exempt from taxation, in the same manner and to the same extent as the property of literary, benevolent, charitable, and scientific institutions incorporated within the Commonwealth is now exempt by law; but no lands so acquired and held and not opened to the public shall be so exempt from taxation for a longer period than two years. Said corporation shall never make any division or dividnt of or from its property or income among its members.

Section 4. This act shall take effect upon its passage.

Approved May 21, 1891⁽²⁶⁾

The Trustees of Reservation brought the two legal mechanisms and the Romanticists philosophy together, but there still was no real conservation movement as yet. At the turn of the century, in 1908, the Theodore Roosevelt administration brought national attention to the conservation philosophy. Roosevelt held a White House Conference in an attempt to establish a national conservation policy. While no overall policy was adopted, the conference made the conservation issue a national concern. (27)

It was not until twenty-three years later when Roosevelt's nephew, Franklin D. Roosevelt, became president that conservation

"had its birth as a social movement, With Roosevelt's administration marked by the passage of numerous conservation bills and the creation of a multitude of conservation oriented bureaus and agencies, it suddenly became socially and politically smart to be a conservationist." (28)

Thus, the conservation movement acquired recognition for the land conservation, as well as political and social esteem, and an extensive constituency. The two Roosevelt administrations were instrumental in giving impetus to the national conservation movement.

Today, there are two well known types of conservation organizations. One is a steward of the land such as the Trustees of Reservation working to hold land in its natural state in perpetuity for "the pleasure of the public". The

other is a land acquisition corporation which acquires land on a temporary basis, and then conveys the land to a steward for conservation. The latter type conservation organizations are responsible for transferring over 550 million acres of land to the Federal government for a cost below market value.⁽²⁹⁾ The Trust or Public Land (TPL) is an example of this second type of conservation organization.

NOTES - CHAPTER I

1. Pierre Courthion, translated by Stuart Gilbert: Romanticism, World Publishing Company, Cleveland, Ohio, 1961 p. 11.
2. Ibid., pp.44, 67
3. Jere Stuart French: City Parks of the Western World, Urban Green, Kendall/Hunt Publishing Company DeBuque, Iowa, 1973, p.6.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.,p.7.
8. Ibid.,p.8:
9. Cornelius, J. Moyhihan: Introduction to the Law of Real Property, West Publishing Company, 1962, p. 2.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid., p. 3.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid., p. 174
14. Ibid.
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid., pp. 181, 182
17. Ibid.
18. William L. Carey: Corporation Cases and Materials, The Foundation Press, Mineola, N. Y. , 1969, p. 1.
19. Ibid., p. 2
20. Ibid.
21. Ibid.
22. Ibid.

23. Charles Bonenti: Putting Land In Trust (Magazine Article), The Boston Sunday Globe, April 9, 1978, p. 17.

24. Trustees of Reservation: History of the Trustees of Reservation (Brochure), Milton, MA., 1979.

25. The Massachusetts General Court 1891, An Act To Incorporate The Trustees of Public Reservations - Chapter 352, Boston, MA.

26. Ibid.

27. Charles Zurhorst: The Conservation Fraud, Cowles Books Inc., New York, N. Y. 1970, p. 33.

28. Spenser W. Havlick: The Urban Organism, The City's Natural Resources From An Environmental Perspective, McMillan Publishing Company, New York, N. Y., p. 62.

29. Zurhost, p. 70.

Chapter Two

THE TRUST FOR PUBLIC LAND (TPL)

The purpose of the Trust for Public Land has been stated. Its method for carrying out that purpose is to involve the private and public sectors as well as the general public, in preserving land in its natural state. It is not a land steward, but an organization that acquires and transfer land to stewards.⁽¹⁾

TPL was founded by Huey D. Johnson in 1973.⁽²⁾ By 1980, it was operating seven nationwide offices. Its headquarters are in San Francisco, and field offices in New York City, Newark, Tallahassee, Cleveland, Burton, and Oakland.⁽³⁾ Johnson accredits this rapid growth to the fact that the successful implementation of goals, has allowed time to evaluate achievements.⁽⁴⁾ Johnson referred to the organization's four goals which are stated in a TPL annual report:

1. Acquire and preserve land to ensure open space enjoyment for present and future generations.
2. Operate as a self-sustaining conservation organization.
3. Create a new profession by training non-profit land acquisition specialists whose skills will enable communities to use their own resources in solving their open-space problems.

4. Pioneer new techniques of land preservation and funding that can be used as models nationwide.(5)

Although no records are readily available on unsuccessful ventures, it would be naive to believe that TPL has not encountered them. But, the positive results are apparent in its financial statements along with reports on land acquisition and conveyance. A review of these goals and how they are implemented to move this organization can shed some light on its rapid growth.

Goal 1: Acquire and preserve land to ensure open space enjoyment for present and future generations.

Implementing this primary goal originally focused TPL efforts toward traditional land acquisition for governmental agencies. TPL has interceded with corporations and individual landowners to acquire land at cost-savings, for national agencies involved in conserving land for recreation, parks, forests and wildlife sanctuaries. A partial list of projects TPL has acquired land for are:

CHART 1

Site	Nation Project	State	Additional Acreage
Cuyahoga Valley	Recreation	Ohio	108
Coconino	Forest	Arizona	160
Las Padres	Forest	California	453
Point Reyes Seashore	Park	California	1,049
Key Deer Refuge	Wildlife	Florida	1,128
Hawaii Volcanoes	Park	Hawaii	268
Friendship Hill	Historic Site	Pennsylvania	661

TPL added more than 500 additional acres to this national list while acquiring and conveying 145 acres to the state of California and another 255 to California towns and cities. In all, more than 4,000 acres for open space were transferred through TPL to governmental agencies from April 1979 to March 1980.(6)

Goal 2: Operate as a self-sustaining conservation organization

The operations of TPL have been counseled by retired corporation executives such as Creighton Peet, vice president of the Safeway Corporation.(7) These retired corporation counselors head up workshops to help TPL managers understand corporate views on land gifts or reduced land cost transactions.

TPL acquires land at reduced costs from individuals or corporations to hold for conveyance to a governmental agency. This is helpful to governmental agencies because land owners are not always willing to wait years for governmental decisions to close land deals. This is especially true if developers are offering to make immediate purchases. Using its non-profit status and its knowledge of land acquisition, TPL can acquire the land below market value through a seller donation or bargain sale. The donation becomes a tax write-off for the land owner. TPL holds the land until the governmental

decisions are made. Then it conveys the land to that agency for less than market value, but for more than the actual cost to TPL. The funds accrued from these transactions contribute to the goal of being a self-sustaining organization. The chart below published in the 1977-78 TPL annual report documented a five year self-sustaining effort by TPL.

CHART 2

Summary of Completed Open Space Projects and Support Funds Received (dollars in thousands)						
Year Ended March 31	Projects Completed			Public Agency Acquisition		TPL Support Funds Rec'd
	No.	Acres	Fair Market Value	Acquisition Price	% below Fair Market Value	
1974	6	2,295	\$2,816	\$2,127	28%	\$379
1975	8	1,318	5,537	4,460	19	220
1976	14	1,498	4,097	3,565	13	416
1977	11	5,756	9,228	6,669	28	1,033
1978	21	9,196	6,364	2,520	60	658
Totals	60	20,063	\$28,042	\$19,341	31%	\$2,706

The success of TPL as a self-sustaining organization is evident in its economic growth.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Assets</u>
1976	\$6,674,379
1977	6,768,839 ⁽⁸⁾
1978	not available
1979	8,643,754
1980	10,149,609 ⁽⁹⁾

Goal 3: Create a new profession by training non-profit land acquisition specialists whose skills will enable communities to use their own resources in solving their open-space problems.

TPL trained interns and temporary help at a cost of over \$35,000 in 1979.(10)

Goal 4: Pioneer new techniques of land preservation and funding that can be used as models nationwide.

In implementing this goal, TPL created an urban model for the innercities experiencing economic depression:

"TPL initiated its National Urban Land Program two years ago after Johnson recognized that massive amounts of demolition of older structures were transforming many inner city neighborhoods into urban wastelands. He felt that the vacant lots - usually littered with rubble and covered with weeds - were contributing significantly to the deterioration of the neighborhoods."(11)

NOTES - CHAPTER II.

1. The Trust for Public Land Annual Report 1977-78, San Francisco, California, 1978 p. 1.
2. Ibid., 1977, p. 1.
3. Ibid., 1980, (inside back cover).
4. Ibid., 1977, p. 1.
5. Ibid., 1977-1978, pp. 2,8,10,13.
6. Ibid., 1980, p. 5.
7. Ibid., 1977, p. 9.
8. Ibid., p. 14.
9. Ibid., 1980, p. 14.
10. Ibid.
- 11.. Bob Henry and Lisa Cashdan, WasteLands, Trust for Public Land Annual Report 1976-77, San Francisco, California, 1977, p. 46.

Chapter Three

THE NATIONAL URBAN LAND PROGRAM AND ITS MODEL

The National Urban Land Program (NULP) began its work in Oakland, California in 1975. When TPL initiated its urban land venture, the program was called the Oakland Innercity Land Project.⁽¹⁾ The goal of the project was "to provide a process whereby neighborhoods can convert blight into urban assets".⁽²⁾ A Team of field representatives were sent into Oakland to seek information from the Alameda County Tax Assessors Office concerning available vacant lots.⁽³⁾

The staff compiled a list and surveyed the neighborhood for its stable institutions. These institutions were invited to host meetings for community residents. At these meetings the TPL team explained their plan, and listened to the residents views on how the vacant lots could be used. TPL and the people concluded that the areas should be used for gardens and recreation. The agreement was that TPL must acquire the land and the people would contribute "sweat equity". The team assisted groups to incorporate land trusts to take title to the land, and to gain federal tax exempt status to assure the land donors of a tax donation. With the land recipients in place,

"TPL then began the lot acquisition process.

Savings and Loan Associations were generally amenable to donating their properties or conveying them for back taxes (usually several hundred dollars)."(4)

TPL acquired the lots as trustee and held them until the urban groups were incorporated, and showed themselves capable of assuming the responsibility of owning the land. Transferring the land to small urban groups changed the traditional land trust conservation concept of government and large conservation organizations alone holding the land for the general good, to urban neighborhood groups holding land on a neighborhood level for the betterment of the community. Learning for the team, continued as described in the TPL annual report:

"Not every planned garden or park worked out. In some cases, indications of early citizen interest were over-optimistic and those lots were then traded or sold for a more suitable properties. In other instances, lots were acquired with no planned use identified, only to find tremendous interest as soon as their availability was known."(5)

Ownership of the lots was transferred to the trusts that met TPL expectations. Continued consultations and advice were offered by the field representatives. Today the Oakland Innercity Land Project is the Oakland Land Project.

A NULP process for urban land trusting evolved from the Oakland experiences.

The success of the Oakland trusts resulted in national expansion of the urban land trust. Demand for TPL assistance exceeded the available number of teams to respond. In response to increase demand, the concise 7 step model in Chart 3 was devised and distributed in detailed handbooks on how to organize an urban land trust, and replaced intense team assistance for the new trusts.

CHART 3

THE SEVEN STEPS ARE:

1. Get organized for action.
 2. Identify lots to be acquired.
 3. Acquire the land.
 4. Organize and incorporate your neighborhood Land Trust.
 5. Plan and design the site together.
 6. Prepare and develop the site.
 7. Maintain and preserve the community-owned property.
-

The revised NULP model is designed to promote what TPL describes as the "American tradition: Land ownership and self-help". NULP is in charge of teaching the seven steps of the TPL model.

The prerequisite for self reliance of urban land trust participants is knowledge of the procedures described in the handbooks and distributed by NULP at urban seminars. There

are four handbooks:

Neighborhood Land Trust Handbook
Land Acquisition Summary
Participation, Design, Development, Maintenance
Tax Benefit Analysis

NULP conducts seminars for minimal fees in urban areas. The handbooks are explained and reviewed. Participants of the seminars are also informed of the importance of using established public and private resources for technical assistance, funding, inkind services, etc. One TPL publication refers to using these resources as "scrounging"⁽⁶⁾ from a resource network. Thus, the network, and the information in the handbooks are key elements in information on urban land trust implementation.

A brief statement on the focus of each handbook will serve to familiarize the reader with the procedures involved in implementing the seven step model:

The Neighborhood Land Trust Handbook describes the method of using the non-profit corporate law in the state of Massachusetts. TPL prepares this special information for each state in which it speaks. For example, Chapter 180 of the Massachusetts General Laws relative to charitable corporation are stated. The book advises that the Articles of Organization must comply with non-profit purposes and

powers within regulations of the State laws.(7)

Land Acquisition Handbook describes how to acquire land from government or private owners.

The Handbook on Participation, Design, Development and Maintenance is a methodology on involving people, planning sites, sites usage, implementation, and caring for the land.

The Tax Benefit Analysis Handbook prepares the land trust leaders to utilize the idea of land acquisition through donations of land, by having the knowledge and ability to explain the tax advantages to the donor who makes the gift.

The extensive detail in these handbooks supplies the participant with technical information on implementing an urban land trust.

Although TPL no longer provides local representatives to guide the land trusts to establishment, they are constantly available by telephone and mail. Land trust leaders are encouraged to connect with local organizations offering funding and/or technical assistance. For example, in Boston, the Boston Urban Gardens (BUG) and the Boston Natural Areas Fund (BNAF) are the primary resources for diversified assistance for local land trusts. TPL grants funds to BUG and BNAF in response to proposals to support these local groups.(8)

Prior to designing and implementing the urban land trust model, TPL operated in the traditional conservation movement model. In introducing and perfecting the urban land trust concept, TPL has established a method of having others acquire the land while TPL searches for monies to support land acquisition efforts in cities. TPL expressed recognition of its innovative land conservation movement in an annual report in the following manner:

"TPL now understands that in order to have a national impact on innercity problems, it must move from 'retailing' to 'wholesaling' its accumulated experience and sharing its techniques.....

"With the assistance of several funding agencies, TPL is assembling a kit of tools to be used by innercity leaders nationwide for community improvement.(9)

Wholesaling the conservation and the land trust concepts to assist in resolving urban land problems, has become a nationwide model.

The TPL wholesale approach to promoting urban conservation, organizes urban reclamation resources and channels them through the TPL model to revitalize disinvested land for its conservation. Thus, the NULP project has catapulted TPL into a national leadership role in conservation. It has also given TPL and local groups greater access to funding sources. The urban land trust concept has developed a constituency for the conservation movement, unheard of in

the past, see Figure 1 for growth.

URBAN LAND TRUSTS IN U.S. CITIES 1979

FIGURE 1



<u>City</u>	<u># of Land Trusts</u>
Boston	5
Denver	15
Miami	2
New York	21
Newark	5
San Francisco	4
Daly City	1
East Palo Alto	1
Pescadero	1
Oakland	23
Machanicsville	1
Chicago	1
	<hr/>
	80

In the following pages the urban land trust model and its concept are documented in three case studies of Boston neighborhood land trusts, to determine if this model can indeed bring local land control to affect land use policies.

NOTES - CHAPTER III

1. Lawrence Rosser, Community Trusts As An Instrument of Formation, Owner and Reinvestment, Woodstock Institute, Chicago, IL., p. 8.
2. Ibid.
3. Karen Abarbanel, The National Urban Land Programs: Greening America's Cities, Foundation News (article) Journal of Philanthropy, Vol. 18, No. 6, 1977, p. 12.
4. Trust 1977, p. 11.
5. Ibid.
6. Citizen Action Manual, United States Department of Interior 1979, p. 30.
7. Trust for Public Land Handbook - unpublished p. 6.
8. John Blackwell, Executive Secretary, Boston Natural Areas Fund, Interview 1/22/81.
9. Public Trust 1977-78, p. 12.

SECTION TWO

It is common knowledge that Aristotle concluded that man is a political animal who shares a basic desire to achieve personal happiness. Often that quest for happiness is clouded by the philosophies documented in The Republic, in the classic accounts of human failures in "The Cave" and "Gygy's Ring".

Chapter Four

A RATIONALE FOR A STUDY OF NEIGHBORHOOD LAND TRUSTS IN BOSTON

The goal of this investigation is to present the urban land trust model as it is used in three different neighborhoods in a single city. The purpose is to gain insight into the flexibility of the TPL urban land trust model in its responses to the strategies of the people who have adopted it to gain control of the land and to resolve the diverse problems of their neighborhoods. Although these problems center around abandoned houses, disinvestment in local commercial districts, as well as vacant land, neighborhood organizations have goals and objectives which are particular to their own history and character. Therefore, groups utilize the land trust concept in different ways. A study of three Boston urban neighborhood land trust groups presently using the concept gives a view of how the model is adapted to the particular demands, competencies and vision of groups in individual neighborhoods.

Figure 2 shows the Boston neighborhoods involved in this study which are: WeCan and Fields Corner West in the Dorchester community and the Sav-Mor neighborhood in Roxbury. Prior to the arrival of TPL in Boston, organizations were involved in attempting to find ways to upgrade the two Dorchester communities, while a group in Roxbury was trying to organize. The groups in their respective neighborhoods are:

1. WeCan Neighborhood Improvement Association (WeCan) of the WeCan neighborhood.

2. Dorchester Gardenlands Preserve and Development Corporation (DGP/DC) of Fields Corner West.
3. Central Roxbury Community Land Trust (CRCLT) of the northern section of Sav-Mor in Roxbury.

MAP OF BOSTON COMMUNITIES AND
LAND TRUST NEIGHBORHOODS

FIGURE 2



The case studies are presented to show how each group used the model to:

1. acquire land
2. involve the community
3. affect local land-use policy

THE CONTEXT OF THE THREE ORGANIZATIONS: NEIGHBORHOOD PROBLEMS

Dorchester's problems are to some extent directly tied into the federal government's efforts to hasten the socio-economic forces that have changed past ethnic patterns in these neighborhoods. In 1976 Dorchester banks initiated the federally supported mortgage program known as the Boston Banks Urban Renewal Group (BBURG).⁽¹⁾ BBURG provided Roxbury Blacks who wanted to move into Dorchester with easy mortgage opportunities. This decision was made in response to the Roxbury riots, and it was reported in the Boston Globe that,

"The rationale for the program, coming as it did on the heels of massive urban upheaval, was basically this: If poor urban blacks could somehow become homeowners, they would develop a stake in their own communities and, in turn, would stop burning them down."⁽²⁾

The history of these two communities show their decline to be closely related.

The Roxbury riots and Dorchester's BBURG caused rapid change for both communities. As a result of the low income Blacks replacing the middle income Whites, the disposable income decreased. Commercial districts servicing these communities were unable to sustain this economic change.

These experiences eventually led to the present day problems of vacant lots, abandoned houses, depressed commercial areas, etc. To help alleviate these conditions, WeCan DGP/DC and CRCLT have turned to the TPL land acquisition model.

THE WECAN NEIGHBORHOOD IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION

The WeCan Neighborhood

The WeCan neighborhood came about in 1977. It is a State designated depressed area in Dorchester, which includes sections of the Codman Square West and the Codman Hill neighborhoods (See Figure 3).

A City of Boston neighborhood report stated that Codman Square West,

"...has gone through some of the worst aspects of the BBURG program in Dorchester, and neighborhood conditions are still among the poorest in the district."(4)

Codman Square West borders Codman Hill, and as a result of its decline

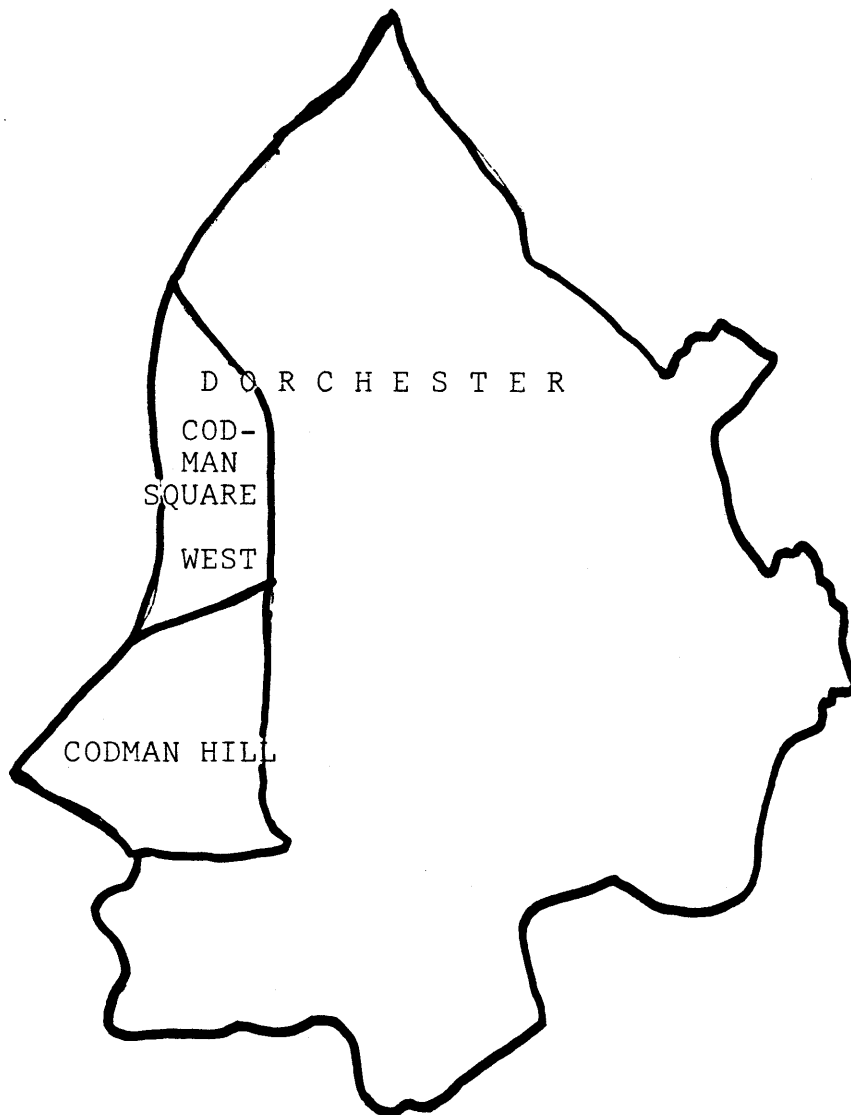
"residents have become increasingly concerned about changes to the north and the threat of the area's decline on their property values and the quality of life."(5)

In response to the neighborhood fears of the spread of urban city decay WeCan* was designated by the Massachusetts Department of Community Affairs as a target neighborhood for revitalization.

*The WeCan neighborhood as shown in Figure 4 was formerly the southern section of Codman Square West and the northern section of Codman Hill.

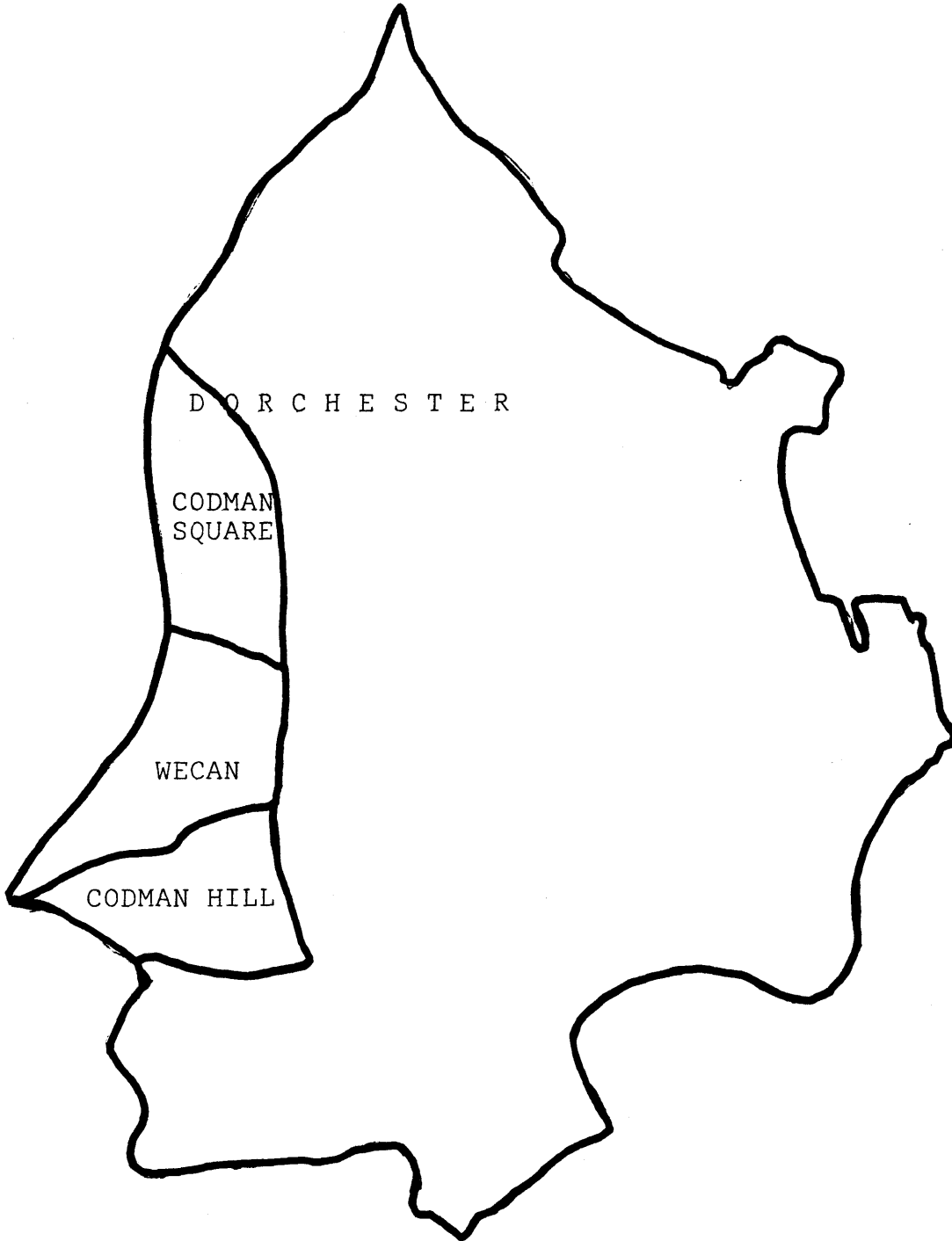
CODMAN SQUARE AND CODMAN HILL BEFORE THE
DESIGNATION OF THE WECAN NEIGHBORHOOD

FIGURE 3



THE THREE NEIGHBORHOODS WHICH RESULTED FROM
THE DESIGNATION OF THE WECAN NEIGHBORHOOD.

FIGURE 4



Characteristics of the WeCan Neighborhood

The WeCan neighborhood is mainly residential. Its housing stock is comprised of one, two and three family structures built early in the nineteen hundreds. (6)

"The history of the WeCan area is similar to many urban neighborhoods. For many years, it was primarily white and middle class...Following the white exodus of the 1960's, the unavailability of mortgage and home improvement money caused the neighborhood to deteriorate; houses were abandoned, vacant lots multiplied, and neighborhood confidence declined." (7)

Over the years, this decline left 130 neglected vacant lots which are often used for dumping. (8)

The 1976 Assessor's tax rolls show that of the 400 livable structures 85% are owner occupied. (9) No count of unhabitable houses was given. A 1979 survey showed that 100 structures in the neighborhood are in disrepair and are uninhabited. (10)

The WeCan neighborhood had a population of approximately 6,000 in 1970. The racial and ethnic breakdown at that time was 79% White, 19% Black and 2% Hispanic. (11) By 1980 the number of residents and their racial composition had

changed radically. The 1980 census* shows a total population of 4,226 and a racial and ethnic mix of 2% White, 88% Black and 10% others.⁽¹²⁾ It was in this rapidly changing situation that the WeCan organization was formed in 1977.

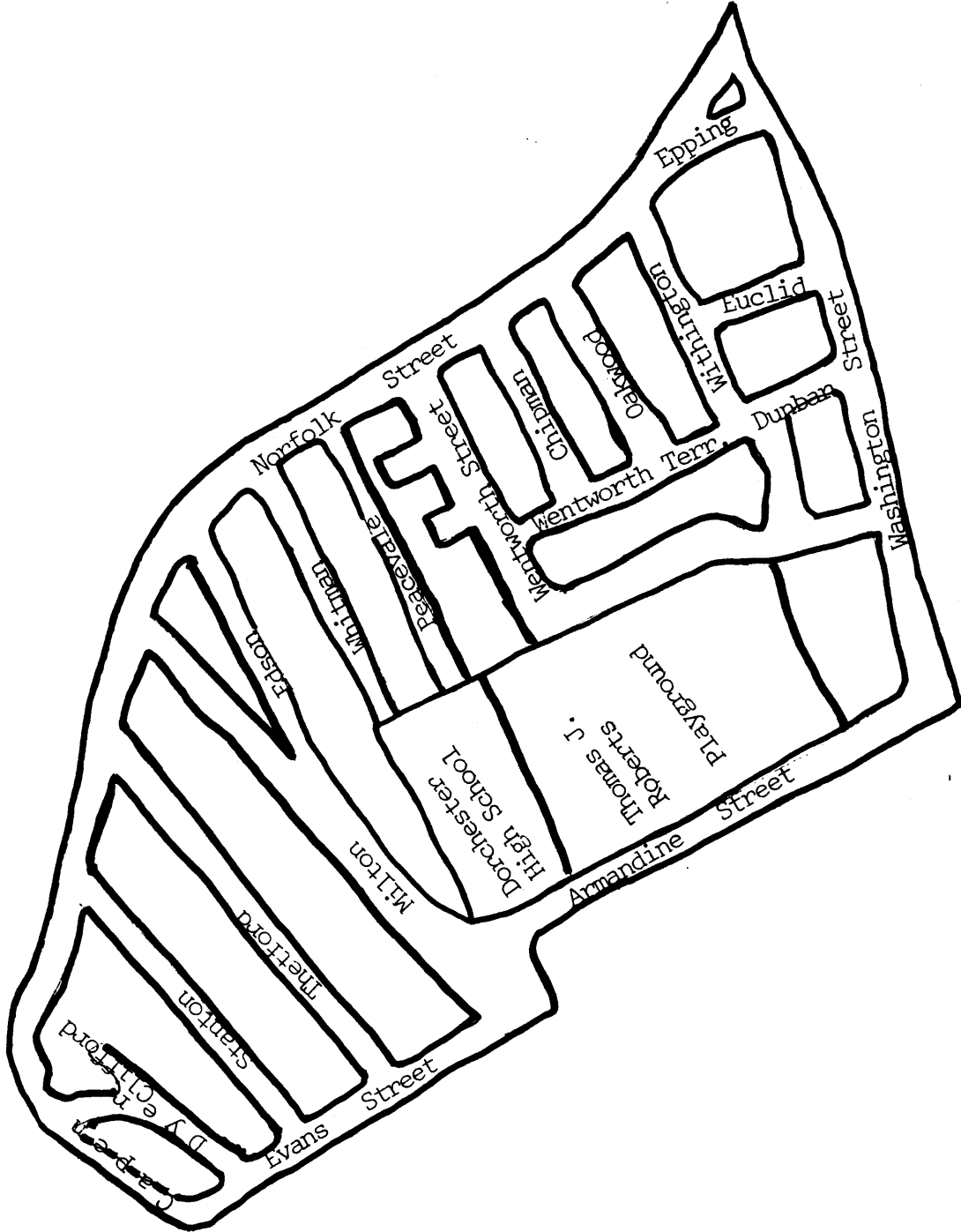
The WeCan Neighborhood Improvement Association

In response to a 1977 State of Massachusetts Department of Community Affairs (DCA) request for a proposal (RFP) from a local grassroots organization to spearhead and guide the revitalization of the designated area, residents requested the Dorchester Area Planning Action Council (APAC) to help them form an organization to comply with the RFP. The APAC agreed to help.⁽¹³⁾ The group decided to adopt a acronym for its name. They took the first alphabets from the names of the area's bordering streets which are: Washington, Evans, Capen, Armandine and Norfolk to form the acronym WeCan, which later became the name of the 22 block neighborhood⁽¹⁴⁾ (Figure 5).

* These are approximate figures in which census tracts may extend beyond or short of exact neighborhood boundaries.

THE WECAN NEIGHBORHOOD

FIGURE 5



On November 25, 1977, WeCan became a non-profit corporation under Chapter 180 of the Massachusetts General Laws.⁽¹⁵⁾ The purposes in its Articles of Organization state that the corporation is formed:

"To improve the quality of life in the Dorchester Target Area through housing rehabilitation and, where necessary, demolition, to improve city services, to increase and improve recreation facilities and open space, to maintain and dispose of vacant lots, to enhance public safety through increased police and fire protection as well as public education, to identify existing health delivery programs and to disseminate information to Target Area residents." (16)

The purposes are numerous, and constitute a total approach to community betterment.

WeCan Before TPL

In January 1978, the WeCan organization hired an executive director, Steve Swanger and a staff of one. (17) They attempted to build a block captain system to involve the people in discussing a resolving neighborhood problems. The response to this effort was poor. (18) An April 1978 newsletter reported plans to clean and use vacant lots. But City reports show that the lots were cleaned by the Boston Redevelopment Authority, Open Space Program. (19) The November 1978 Director's Report stated that:

1. "We are currently talking with the Trust For Public Land, a nation-wide organization about helping is to acquire a number of vacant lots for use as gardens and recreation."
2. "One possibility in this regard is to organize Block Clubs on each street which might incorporate and take ownership of the vacant lots, insuring local control over what happens to these lots." (20)

One year after WeCan was incorporated, it made its first contact with TPL. WeCan heard of TPL and its promotion of neighborhood land control. (21) This led to a series of NULP seminars, which introduced the TPL model to Boston. (22)

Before the TPL contact, WeCan was involved in housing and rent subsidy programs.⁽²³⁾ In its first year, it reported 1.5 million dollars for housing,⁽²⁴⁾ but no mention of funds for open space projects was made.

During a February, 1981 interview, Lester Scott, member of the WeCan Board of Directors, recollected how the organization began its interaction with the Trust for Public Land. He recalled that Carolyn Hernandez a former employee of 1978, shared her job experience by mail with her mother in Pennsylvania. Carolyn's mother was aware of the WeCan neighborhood open space problems. One day Carolyn received a letter from her mother containing a news clipping about the Trust for Public Land and how it helps innercity people to solve open space problems. She showed that news clipping to Steve Swanger and the Trust for Public Land was contacted.⁽²⁵⁾

WeCan After TPL Comes to Boston

After the seminars, where the TPL model was introduced in 1979, Tom Libby the community organizer also became the Land Trust Specialist.⁽²⁶⁾ Due to the 1978 communications with TPL, Libby had formed a block club on his street.⁽²⁷⁾

Upon receiving his new assignment, he visited the twenty-two block neighborhoods regularly, talking to people to convince them to organize block clubs.⁽²⁸⁾ He used his group as a model. Approximately one year later he had organized 10 block clubs. The block captain system is in its beginning stages.

The contacts with local residents gave Libby a rapport with the people which has resulted in his convincing them to buy vacant lots abutting their property. They are using the land for gardening. He sees this as a method of having the lots cared for. To date, 15 lots⁽²⁹⁾ have been purchased by abutting homeowners. Libby acknowledges that this is not the TPL prescribed method of gaining control of the land. He explains that WeCan is a young organization facing many problems with limited funds. Thus, it is preferred that the land is owned by neighborhood residents, if not communally in a land trust, rather than by speculators.

In the meantime, Libby has written a proposal and has received funds to buy land; WeCan has purchased three lots⁽³⁰⁾ and is preparing to accept a gift of a lot from Boston Urban Gardens (BUG). These four lots will be held in trust for the benefit of the community. It has also received a grant of \$5,000 from BUG to create a model garden on the three lots.⁽³¹⁾

While Libby works to gain and encourage neighborhood control of the land, the new Director, Bill Jones, Steve Swanger's successor, is working to acquire abandoned houses to resell and guide through financing and revitalization.⁽³²⁾ WeCan buys the houses from the City at a special auction, then selects the buyers from neighborhood residents through a lottery system, arranges for mortgages in a local bank and engages a contractor to restore the buildings, according to plans the new owner has selected. Jones calls this process the Great House Sale. When these houses have been revitalized, WeCan will have reclaimed 7 abandoned houses in that neighborhood.

Jones first heard of the Great House Sale from another land trust neighborhood improvement organization in Manchester Pennsylvania.⁽³³⁾ The Pennsylvania organization sells its houses only for the life of the buyer. Property may not be passed to the heirs. The house reverts to the trust at the death of the buyer.⁽³⁴⁾ Adopting this system will permit WeCan to hold the land and the house in perpetuity for the use of the WeCan neighborhood people.⁽³⁵⁾

Jones stated that he is confident that the land trust concept of holding land in perpetuity can bring about

neighborhood control to the point where government agencies will solicit advice from the trust, and respect that advice prior to planning new projects for the land trust neighborhood.

A Review of WeCan Before and After TPL

Before the interaction with TPL, WeCan was trying to actively involve one person from each block to help solve neighborhood problems. No efforts were made to buy or control the vacant lots. The City's open space program was used to clean and fence the lots, and no provisions were made for their maintenance.

After the TPL visit to Boston, WeCan began to work to organize its ten block clubs. Fifteen members of the block clubs have been convinced by WeCan to purchase vacant lots abutting their property. The organization has taken over three lots, and is negotiating to acquire the fourth. Four houses are scheduled to be revitalized in its Great House Sale program.

The Outcome of the Influence

The use of the model has redirected the efforts of WeCan from housing to housing and land. There is greater interaction with the residents and the organization. In less than two years of using the TPL model, people in the community own 15 lots. WeCan owns 3 and is in the process of receiving another.

Although WeCan was organized with a specific program around housing, it has been able to utilize the TPL model as a device to implement projects which WeCan was unable to get started: involving the people and resolving the vacant lot problem.

NOTES - CHAPTER IV

1. Ron Rosenbaum: Surviving in Codman Square, (Magazine Article), The Boston Sunday Globe, February, 1981. p. 23
2. Ibid
3. Lester Scott: Member of the WeCan Board of Trustees, Interview, February 1981.
4. Boston Redevelopment Neighborhood Authority Planning Program: Dorchester Fields Corner District Profile and Proposed 1979-1981 Neighborhood Improvements Program p. 4
5. Ibid
6. WeCan Neighborhood Improvement Association Report, p. 1
7. Ibid
8. Thomas Libby, WeCan Land Trust Specialist, Interview January, 1981
9. WeCan Proposal, Part C, Integrated Program, Section II, Project plan, Paragraph 3
10. William Jones, WeCan Director, Interview, February 1981
11. Boston Redevelopment Authority, Dorchester, p. 11
12. United States Census Bureau, Data User Service Center, Boston, MA 1980 Census Report
13. Scott, Interview, February 1981
14. Libby, Interview, January 1980
15. The Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Articles of Organization, WeCan Inc., p. 1
16. Ibid
17. WeCan Flyer (newsletter) April 1978, p. 4
18. Scott, Interview
- 19.
20. WeCan Flyer, November 1978
21. Ibid
22. Scott, Interview

23. WeCan Flyer, April 1978, p. 1.
24. Ibid.
25. Scott, Interview.
26. Libby, Interview
27. WeCan Flyer, November 1979, p. 2.
28. Libby, Interview
29. Ibid.
30. Ibid., May 1981
31. Ibid.
32. Jones, Interview
33. Ibid.
34. Ibid.
35. Ibid.

Chapter Five

THE DORCHESTER GARDENLANDS PRESERVE DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION

The Fields Corner West neighborhood is the center of activity for the Dorchester Gardenlands Preserve and Development Corporation.

As a result of the BBURG program, Fields Corner West has experienced significant racial transition, yet it survived without major problems,⁽¹⁾ and is currently undergoing a period of revitalization and a rebuilding of neighborhood confidence.⁽²⁾ By 1970, BBURG had been in force for two years, and of the Fields Corner West population of 7,300, 95% were White, 3% Black and 2% Hispanic.⁽³⁾ Recent census show a population increase to 8,727 of which 47% is White, 42% Black and 11% others.⁽⁴⁾

The people of Fields Corner West did not run in fear of BBURG. The racial transition was slow and buildings were not burned. Today there are 1,021⁽⁵⁾ houses in this residential area. Most of the structures are one and two family homes with a few multi-unit dwellings.⁽⁶⁾ The housing stock is generally in good condition.⁽⁷⁾ There are

scattered abandoned houses from foreclosures along the neighborhood's borders, and comparatively few vacant lots are evident.⁽⁸⁾ This neighborhood survival occurred because many of the Fields Corner West homeowners refused to sell during the BBURG era.⁽⁹⁾

The holdout against BBURG was exceptionally strong in the Melville Park section of the neighborhood. This section is the center of Fields Corner West. Its wide streets, spacious lawns, off street parking and gracious single family Victorian⁽¹⁰⁾ houses lend a suburban atmosphere to the area. Melville Park is well kept and is basically in good condition. It serves as a center for neighborhood revival and has preserved much of the neighboring system of Fields Corner West. This section has a strong neighborhood association, through which perspective buyers of houses are screened. They favor educated people who are financially able to care for their homes.⁽¹¹⁾

"The Association has established a House Bank through which properties are handled for resale in the neighborhood. This informal institution seems to have been quite effective in increasing residents' confidence in the neighborhood's future."⁽¹²⁾

One perspective buyer stated,⁽¹³⁾ "They took me around to talk with different neighbors." Because the Neighborhood

Association is referred to as an informal institution, the assumption is that these informal visits are a part of a screening process through which the Neighborhood Association decides who shall buy the houses.

Virginia Scharfenberg, a young newcomer to Melville Park and housewife points up that racial prejudice does not enter into concerns for new neighbors.⁽¹⁴⁾ Similarity of life style to established neighbors is a deciding factor.⁽¹⁵⁾ Property values are rising and people of professional and managerial occupations are buying into the area.⁽¹⁶⁾ Therefore, median income is rising.

The new people with their higher incomes are faced with the problem of instability in the commercial areas which once serviced the neighborhood. Although the needs for restoration of abandoned houses and vacant lots are problems, a major problem is the lack of adequate commercial development for the delivery of basic needs such as food.

The Dorchester Gardenlands Preserve and Development Corp.(DGP/DC)

DGP/DC was founded as a land trust in January 1978.⁽¹⁷⁾ under the name of Dorchester Gardenlands Preserve, Inc. (DGP). This grassroots non-profit organization is operated by approximately 15 low to upper middle income white volunteers.⁽¹⁸⁾

The focus of this group is agriculture and food delivery.⁽¹⁹⁾ They share the TPL Romanticist philosophy of the unity of man and the land. This is supported by their interest in promoting multi-cultural activities, and educating people to farm the land.⁽²⁰⁾

The incorporation of DGP/DC was spearheaded by one of its founders, Tom Luce, a social worker and counselor.⁽²¹⁾ Luce believes that innercity people are "going to be forced to be more self reliant".⁽²²⁾ In nurturing this belief, he states in a magazine article that,

"I was very easily convinced that we have nowhere to go but the land, wherever it is"⁽²³⁾

Luce is a long time advocate of the agricultural movement, dating back to his rural land trust experiences in Vermont.⁽²⁴⁾ He is interested in concerns for human survival. With years of agriculture experience behind him, Luce is experimenting with farming techniques in appropriate technology.⁽²⁵⁾

DGP/DC Before TPL

In order to promote urban gardening, the organization received donations totalling \$100 from its members to purchase

its first HUD lot.⁽²⁵⁾ The HUD lot was the beginning of the Fannie Lou Hamer farm on Greenbrier Street in Fields Corner West.⁽²⁶⁾ Naming the garden for the Black civil rights leader who founded the Mississippi Freedom Cooperative to provide food for the Mississippi poor, is in keeping with the purpose of this all white managed organization, to promote multi-cultural heritage in the community. The second neighborhood farm, the Nightengale Gardens, in the Codman Square Neighborhood, is City owned. It is approximately six lots leased by DGP for a small fee.⁽²⁷⁾

In its first year of communal gardening DGP conducted a summer youth employment program funded by Action for Boston Community Development (ABCD). Tom Luce, the DGP land manager, supervised the program and recalls that the low income Black youths hired for the farming came to work daily dressed for office jobs.⁽²⁸⁾ They did very little for fear of ruining their clothes. Luce had hoped to initiate in these youngsters a lasting interest in communal gardening to participate in the movement to control community open space for agriculture.⁽²⁹⁾

The next project of the first year was spearheaded by a full time volunteer, Joe Ureneck. He organized the direct

farmers' market in the Fields Corner commercial district.⁽³⁰⁾ Ureneck joined Greg Watson in visiting rural Massachusetts farmers to encourage them to bring their product to Boston to sell. Watson's job for the Massachusetts Department of Food and Agriculture's Division of Land-use was to establish Direct Farmers Markets in Boston.⁽³¹⁾ The purpose of the effort was to provide a market for local produce. Of course, the Ureneck interest was to get the farmers to sell in Fields Corner.⁽³²⁾ He was successful. A local bank granted \$2,000 to finance the market. The farmer's market proved to be the most successful project implemented for 1978.⁽³³⁾

In September 1978, DGP reviewed its summer activities and its organizational purposes and amended its Articles of Organization which changed its corporate name from 'Dorchester Gardenlands Preserve, Inc.' to 'Dorchester Gardenlands Preserve Development Corporation'.⁽³⁴⁾ In addition, DPG amended its corporate purposes. The purpose to restore the old abandoned houses was deleted and replaced by:

"To plan, promote, encourage, support, organize and coordinate the development of new business and commercial enterprise necessary for urban food production and for the purpose of improving the economic and social conditions of low-income residents of Dorchester; to create jobs to provide and obtain financial assistance for low income residents to build, manage, own, operate, maintain, provide services and do all things necessary to engage in real estate rehabilitation and development, educational and instructional programs and business and management consultation."⁽³⁵⁾

The amendments further states that "no lands held by the corporation shall be sold except under specific conditions stated in the By-laws, and that such lands shall be perpetually used for agriculture, agricultural related and community development purposes."⁽³⁵⁾ Also the corporation proposes to "seek for and experiment with methods to use natural resources in more ecological and efficient ways."⁽³⁶⁾

The amended purposes established DGP/DC as an organization to develop the local economy in food related businesses. The organization also clearly states in these amendments that it shall hold land in perpetuity. Thus, its land trust and preservation objectives are clearly defined and stated.

DGP/DC had experienced a full year of activities before TPL came to Boston. One lot was legally owned and six lots were used. The seven lots were farmed and used for an agriculture training program. At this time, the farmers market had its beginning, and its concept of local food distribution was adopted by DGP/DC in their redefined Articles of Organization's purposes. The new purposes focus on food and

food related economic development. Due to the market experience, DGP/DC also initiated contact with local banks in relation to its food delivery service (farmers market funding), and it has a constituency mailing list of 700 people, most of which have visited the market. (37)

DGP/DC After TPL Comes to Boston

After the TPL seminars of 1979, DGP/DC stepped up its land acquisition effort.

The report on the available land in Dorchester and the organization's plans for it was delineated in a DGP/DC brochure entitled:

SPECTACLE ISLAND

There are 96 acres of unused land which Dorchester Gardenlands would like to use - Boston harbor. Until 1959 Spectacle Island was the city dump and is slated to be sold to the State to become part of the Boston Harbor Islands State Park. Dorchester Gardenlands would like to reclaim the island for food production as it was used historically. Our concern for ecology and natural gardening would enhance the use of this island as well as contribute to the food needs of city residents. We see the formation of a small farm community where experiments in energy production in addition to food production could take place."(38)

The organization lobbied the City Council to obtain the rights to farm Spectacle Island. (39) The island was not acquired, but Councilmen O'Neil and DiCara were helpful in obtaining a long term lease for four acres on Long Island

for the DGP/DC educational farming projects, which will begin in the spring of 1981.⁽⁴⁰⁾ This program will be supervised by Luce who is planning to integrate cultural events such as a series of ethnic harvest festivals in the project.⁽⁴¹⁾

DGP/DC is starting to negotiate for another parcel of land. Boston Natural Areas Funds has granted \$5,000 to DGP/DC to purchase the Codman Square City site, Nightengale Gardens.⁽⁴²⁾ These gardens are now family farming plots which were organized in 1979.⁽⁴³⁾ Scharfenberg states that DGP/DC now owns three former HUD lots.⁽⁴⁴⁾ In February of 1980 BUG was in the process of granting two more HUD lots to DGP/DC.⁽⁴⁵⁾ This Dorchester organization is also willing to serve as an umbrella agency to take title of communal urban gardens for groups providing that the group pays the taxes.⁽⁴⁶⁾

DGP/DC Projections and New Purposes Projects

As described above DGP/DC declared its amended purposes and stated objectives to attain them. The objectives are as follows:

"We are Dorchester residents and friends who want to contribute to community development. We are concerned about city farming, energy conservation, local self-reliance, appropriate technology, and neighborhood

food systems. Concretely we want to increase our ability to grow food, to get vacant lots and gardeners together, using land efficiently and ecologically. We will also promote the development of jobs and self-supporting enterprises connected with farming in the city.

"We want to work for an improved healthier environment where people can experience their connectedness to each other and to the earth. We want the richness that comes when people from varied ethnic and racial backgrounds work together growing the food that sustains them."(47)

In 1980 DGP/DC received a grant for experimental work in appropriate technology for gardeners.⁽⁴⁸⁾ the organization is now seeking funds to locate a canning facility near the farmers market site in the Fields Corner commercial district, "so that bulk buying can happen and people can learn to preserve food".⁽⁴⁹⁾ Ginny Scharfenberg spoke of this plan in relation to possible abandoned sites which may be restored for this project.

The farmers market which received technical assistance from the State Department of Agriculture and Food, Division of Land-use no longer needs that help. The State goal was to have farmers agree to bring their produce to the city, in order to establish a rural-city food system.⁽⁵⁰⁾ DGP/DC has become self-reliant in coordinating the market days, as well as soliciting funds for whatever expenses must be

met.⁽⁵¹⁾ The DGP/DC farmers market is the most active and successful in Boston.⁽⁵²⁾ The food delivery services continued into the winter months. Ureneck was effective in bringing cases of California oranges to families and institutions of Dorchester at a price below the cost of Florida oranges which were scarce due to the winter frost.

The City of Boston and the Gardens

DGP/DC and all urban gardeners have two major problems to resolve with the City. They are real estate tax rates and the cost of City water. Ray Torto, Commissioner of Tax Assessments stated at a January Boston Natural Areas Fund conference that urban gardeners are subject to the going tax rate for property in Boston. Commissioner Gens of the Water Department informed the Urban Garden Coordinators at their April seminar that City water used for gardens must be paid for.

These conditions are looked upon by DGP/DC and all city gardeners as problems to be solved through its local network system. Presently DGP/DC is preparing to farm two of the four city acres this year,⁽⁵⁴⁾ preparations are being made for the farmers market, while fresh fruit is still being delivered in the area.

TPL Influence on DGP/DC

Because DGP/DC began as a land trust and had initiated its food delivery service before TPL came to Boston, it is difficult to say that the national corporation did influence this group. It has been pointed up that Tom Luce is wise in the use of land trusts, and although DGP/DC has come into control of much more land since TPL, it cannot be determined for sure that the model was helpful to this group in acquiring the land.

DGP/DC is operated by well informed middle class and upper middle class Whites who appear to have the better part of their neighborhood in order, and is seeking to establish the types of neighborhood services which are compatible to their White middle values. The acceptance of their projects by the banks and the police department to redirect traffic for market days indicate the cooperation DGP/DC received from the private and the public sectors. The political backing that DGP/DC received in gaining control of the Long Island site is a major step for this group in influencing local land-use policies.

NOTES - CHAPTER V.

1. Boston Redevelopment Authority Neighborhood Planning Program, Dorchester Fields Corner District Profile and Proposed 1979-81 Neighborhood Improvement Program, Boston, Massachusetts, 1979, p. 9.
2. Robert Hollister and Deborah Auger, Adrienne Ruth Walter and Timothy Patteson, Measuring Neighborhood Confidence, City of Boston Contract, Grant No. B. 70-51-25-002, p. 107.
3. Boston Redevelopment Authority, p. 9.
4. United States Census Bureau, Data User Service Center Boston, Mass., 1980 Census Report.
5. Boston Redevelopment Authority, p. 10.
6. Ibid., p. 9.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.
9. Hollister et al, p. 107.
10. Ibid., p. 108.
11. Ibid., p. 114.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid.
14. Virginia Scharfenberg, President DGP/DC, Interview, January 1981
15. Ibid.
16. Hollister, p. 110.
17. The Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Articles of Organization General Laws Chapter 180, Incorporators p. 1.
18. Scharfenberg
19. Ibid.
20. Tom Luce DGP/DC Land Manager, Interview, February 1981.

21. Ibid., p. 62.
22. J. Teyere McFadyen, "Digging In," Horticulture Magazine , May 1980, p. 34.
23. Ibid.
24. Scharfenberg.
25. Luce.
26. Scharfenberg.
27. Luce.
28. Ibid.
29. Ibid.
30. Scharfenberg.
31. Tony Lichen, Administrative Assistant, Massachusetts Department of Food and Agriculture, Division of Land-Use , Interview, April, 1981.
32. Scharfenberg.
33. Ibid.
34. The Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Articles of Amendment General Laws Chapter 180 Section 7.
35. Ibid.
36. Ibid.
37. Scharfenberg.
38. DPG/DC Brochure
39. Luce.
40. Ibid
41. Ibid.
42. Ibid.
43. Scharfenberg.

44. Ibid.
45. Luce.
46. Scharfenberg.
47. DPG/DC Brochure.
48. Scharfenberg.
49. Ibid.
50. Susan Relich, Director, Division of Land-Use, Mass. Department of Food and Agriculture, Interview, December 1980.
51. Scharfenberg.
52. Direct Farmer's Market Conference, Washington, D.C., December 1980.
53. Scharfenberg.
54. Ibid.

Chapter Six

THE CENTRAL ROXBURY COMMUNITY LAND TRUST CRCLT

The Sav-Mor Neighborhood

The Central Roxbury Community Land Trust (CRCLT) is active in the northern tip of Roxbury's Sav-Mor neighborhood. CRCLT calls its area, North Sav-Mor. The greater neighborhood of Sav-Mor is bounded south by Moreland Street, north by Dudley Street, east by Blue Hill Avenue and Warren Street is on its west (see Figure 6). The Warren Gardens on the Warren Street border is a part of the Washington Park urban renewal area which is regarded as having Roxbury's highest property value.⁽¹⁾

Sav-Mor's commercial strips, Blue Hill Avenue and Warren and Dudley Streets were once vital business corridors, which served the community's middle class white population until the fifties.⁽²⁾ During that time, the social character of Roxbury's neighborhoods changed with the migration of low income blacks replacing middle class whites. The rapid decrease in the disposable income, the attraction of the new urban shopping centers of that time, along with a succession of social and economic changes resulted in the present

MAP OF ROXBURY AND THE
SAV-MOR BOUNDARIES

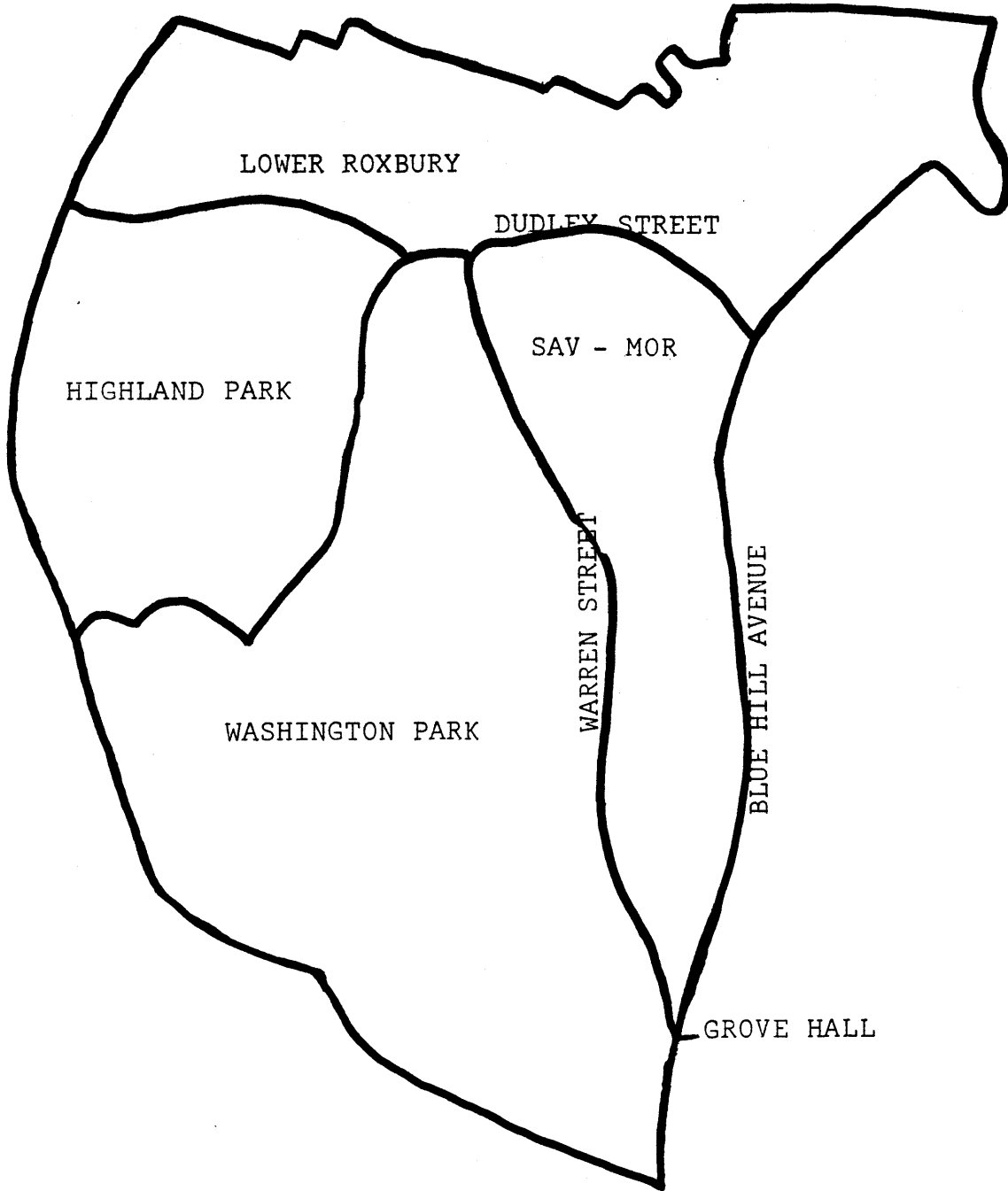


FIGURE 6

day disinvested commercial strips⁽³⁾ of Sav-Mor.

As a result of a HUD request for proposals (RFP) to cities to establish Neighborhood Strategy Areas (NSA)*, the City of Boston selected the Roxbury area which became known as Sav-Mor. Thus, in 1978, Sav-Mor was defined as an area to be revitalized through various development sources, and HUD designated it as an NSA.⁽⁴⁾

At the time of the designation, Sav-Mor housing conditions varied from very good to extremely deteriorated.⁽⁵⁾ A 1979 report on Sav-Mor listed 2,455 housing units in 719 buildings on which 495 are one and two family owner occupied.⁽⁶⁾ On many of the streets, one and two family houses are mixed together with multi-family dwellings.⁽⁷⁾ Several of these houses are two and three hundred years old.⁽⁸⁾ The yards of the better homes have well attended colorful gardens.⁽⁹⁾

*A Neighborhood Strategy Area is a section designated for funds to initiate housing revitalization and is awarded HUD Section 8 rent subsidies in which the designated area is expected to concentrate community development and other housing activities to revitalize the area within a specified period of time.

The present population of Sav-Mor is 6,446 of which 77% is Black, 9% White, and 11% Cape Verdeans, Asians, Indians and West Indians. Of the White and Black populations, 15% is Hispanic.⁽¹⁰⁾ These recent figures show a decrease in total population from 7,300 in 1970 which showed 84% Black, 5% Hispanic, and 11% White.⁽¹¹⁾

NORTH SAV-MOR - THE CRCLT AREA

North Sav-Mor is a small section of a small neighborhood which is bordered on the south by Moreland Street, north by Dudley Street, east by Blue Hill Avenue and Warren Street at its west (see Figure 7). Most of the streets within this residential area have abandoned houses and a few vacant lots, but the two commercial strips, Blue Hill Avenue and Dudley Street have serious vacant wasteland problems.⁽¹²⁾

The quality of the housing stock is in keeping with that of the larger Sav-Mor neighborhood. St. Patrick's Catholic Church is the largest single property holder in the CRCLT area. There are two Catholic schools, the church, a convent and several other large church-owned parcels. The present population does not include a sufficient number of Catholics to utilize the large complex of structures and land. The Cape Verdeans

NORTH SAV-MOR

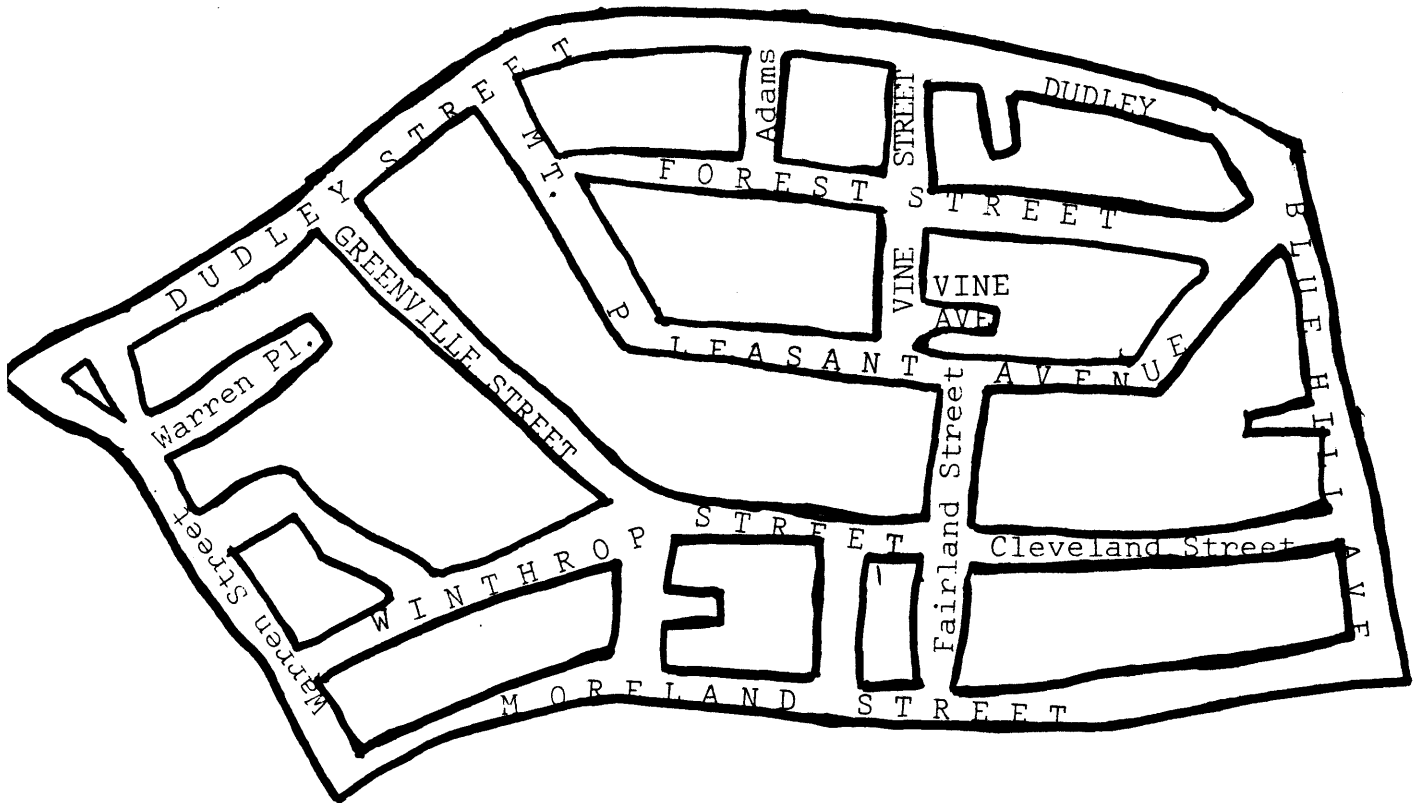


FIGURE 7

constitute the largest number of the new residents who are Catholics, but they are a small percentage of the total neighborhood population. CRCLT is attempting to represent this northern area of Sav-Mor with its mixture of cultural interests, in which the housing stock is mainly owned by the Black population, and a sectarian institute is the largest single property holder.

THE CENTRAL ROXBURY COMMUNITY LAND TRUST

The idea of starting a land trust in the Sav-Mor neighborhood belongs to Mr. David Cox, who runs a landscape business.⁽¹³⁾ While landscaping a garden in Dorchester, he overheard his customer and neighbors talking about their land trust and their aim for community control. Cox is a long time resident of the CRCLT section of Sav-Mor. He had long realized that the neighborhood was deteriorating. Although he constantly maintained his property, its value was declining due to neglect around him. He wanted to try to control the decline.

Cox had no idea of how to run a land trust to control a neighborhood. He asked his neighbors, but no one knew. He finally asked one of the Catholic Sisters who lives in the convent next door to him. She did not know, but promised to ask her brother who is

an investment broker. Thus, Vincent Stanton who lives in Newton came to Roxbury to try to help the people organize a land trust. He involved Father Andrew Sadensky, a Jesuit Priest and Community Developer for the church. The meetings began in the fall of 1978. This group was still trying to organize when TPL came to Boston in January, 1979. Organization members attended the seminars.

Prior to the arrival of TPL in Boston, CRCLT was unable to organize as a land trust. The community, people, the Jesuit community developer and their Newton helper, were trying to define exactly what a land trust does and how it operates. Therefore, CRCLT was going through a period of organizational identification.

Because of the TPL seminars, by March 1979, CRCLT organized and became a non-profit land trust corporation under Chapter 180 of the Massachusetts General Law. Father Andrew is a charter member and Vincent Stanton continues to attend meetings. Approximately 12 people are the nucleus of this organization. Its constituency of about 100 is drawn from the community.

CRCLT - THE ORGANIZATION - ITS DYNAMICS

The name Central Roxbury Community Land Trust, identifies this organization, incorporated in March, 1979, as a trust. Its purposes stated in its Articles

of Organization are shown below.

- "a) To acquire land and/or interest in land; to convey interests in land on such terms and conditions as will conserve the resources of the land, protect the environment of the community and preserve and foster the predominantly owner-occupied residential character of the community; to retain for the community any unearned increment in the market value of the land;
- "b) to provide services by which homeowners and property owners within the community embraced by the corporation may find and obtain the financing necessary to repair, improve and upgrade their properties, and ancillary services designed to maximize the use of said funds and maintain the betterment achieved thereby;
- "c) to provide services designed to assist the residents of the community embraced by the corporation to unite, organize, speak and act upon issues touching their common interests and the social, economic, physical and educational welfare of the said community;
- "d) to do any and all things necessary and/or incidental to the above purposes PROVIDED that nothing shall be done which is inconsistent with the status of a corporation recognized as a charitable, non-profit, tax-exempt organization under section 501 (c) (3) of the Internal Revenue Code of the United States.⁽¹⁴⁾

In order to carry out the organization's land acquisition purpose, the trust needed funds to purchase land. Vincent Stanton was able to solicit substantial contributions for the group.

CRCLT AND THE LAND

In 1979, St. Patricks offered the Trust a donation of a vacant lot,⁽¹⁵⁾ but this transfer has not been completed. In 1980, The Boston Natural Areas Fund (BNAF) purchased a City designated open space lot for CRCLT.⁽¹⁶⁾ This transfer also has not been completed. The Trust is using the BNAF lot and has leases on three other lots which are garden sites. In the past, the Trust has bidden at City auctions, but has been out bidden for lots and abandoned buildings. Thus far, it owns no land.

CRCLT IS RECOGNIZED BY THE CITY OF BOSTON

In the summer of 1980, a City housing publication recognized CRCLT and described the purposes of the group as follows:

".....CRCLT assists homeowners in locating low interest funds for rehabilitation and upgrading of their property. They also prevent the take over of community property by speculators and developers by restricting the use of land in such a way as to allow residents to have a say on how land in their community will be used or developed".¹⁷

In this article, it is acknowledged that CRCLT speaks for land-use policies in North Sav-Mor. What that authority

means in this publication has been a major issue for CRCLT during its short life. The question of who controls development in the neighborhood is demonstrated by the organization's interaction with United Development Corporation (UDC).

CRCLT'S ENCOUNTER WITH UDC

UDC is a City designated NSA developer for the Sav-Mor area. All members of CRCLT were not aware of this designation until the summer of 1980. While trying to investigate the UDC Development, CRCLT's attention was directed toward a different development. Vincent Stanton advised CRCLT that the Archdiocese wanted to talk with the group about helping to formulate a plan for the conversion of some of the St. Patricks' properties to low rent housing.⁽¹⁸⁾ The group was in favor of participating in the plans.⁽¹⁹⁾ The UDC plans were not pursued further at that time. At another meeting Capizzi discussed helping CRCLT to revitalize properties in which the group was interested. As agreed upon, the group submitted a letter to Capizzi

listing properties for revitalization.⁽²⁰⁾ He did not respond to the letter.

As time went on, CRCLT members were unable to garner a clear understanding from Capizzi on exactly what role the group would play in the Archdiocese Urban Planning Department (AUP) development scenario. Commitments were evaded by Capizzi. In September of 1980, Eva Clark, a young attorney, joined CRCLT and became chairperson of the newly formed Land-Use and Development Committee. Through this committee, CRCLT concerns became dominated by questions surrounding UDC and AUP, and the community group's relationship to the two organizations.

In response to homeowners concerns about the UDC Development, Clark launched a full scale campaign to bring the project to the fore. Father Sedensky researched UDC's background at MHFA* and HUD which Clark used to support the CRCLT protests. Clark's correspondence with City, State and Federal officials led to the initial contact by UDC with CRCLT. Larry Smith, President of UDC, agreed to participate in a public meeting with the group.

The October meeting was well attended by neighborhood people as well as interested City representatives.

*Massachusetts Housing Finance Agency, State Agency mandated to finance building or rehabilitation of housing in Massachusetts.

It became known that Smith was the only Black member of his corporation, but he was representing UDC as a minority business. Because of this, some of the members questioned his sincerity in actually intending to improve the neighborhood. No decision was made as to what input CRCLT would have in the UDC project.

Following the meeting CRCLT issued a position paper to the Mayor's Office of Housing and to HUD, in which it indicated disapproval of UDC as a sponsor of housing in North Sav-Mor. Members of CRCLT agreed to meet with Andrew Olins, Director of the Office of Housing in November, 1980. This meeting failed to resolve the issue, and CRCLT was not permitted to participate in the plan. In December, the group retained legal counsel to represent it with UDC. Smith refused to agree to any of the CRCLT terms presented by their Attorney Clarence Dilday.

In the midst of these activities, Mike Capizzi requested a meeting with CRCLT to discuss UDC. At the meeting, Capizzi stated that he had originally approached CRCLT because of AUP's interest in rehabilitating church properties, and that he wanted to do a comprehensive plan for the entire neighborhood. AUP had offered to help CRCLT by sponsoring the organization as developer of the church properties.

He went on to say that AUP could offer all of the technical assistance that CRCLT would ever need.

Then he stated,

"You are fighting a minority developer; and it is hard to get minority developers; you are upsetting the City by planning litigation....."

You tell me what this group is doing with UDC?"

He was told the UDC is not a minority developer; and that Larry Smith is the only minority of a staff of five. Then Harding, the CRCLT Director, informed him that everyone is aware of our stand with UDC.

Capizzi continued,

"The Archdiocese will not become involved with any group impeding the development of low income housing. Explain to me what the problem is with this community."

Mrs. Daniels, a charter member asked, "Will you say exactly what you are doing here?"

Capizzi replied,

"We agreed on housing, and an architect to give a presentation, and for AUP to give all technical assistance."

Stanton inquired of Capizzi,

"What is your business in knowing that this is a general spirit? How will the diocese hold the community in captivity?"

Capizzi responded,

"The City proposed", he hesitated, "I have some very serious problems with UDC in another area. My office cannot be affiliated with a group that is trying to stop low income housing."

He was reminded that CRCLT was not trying to stop the housing, but was merely attempting to exercise the right to be involved in the planning. The extended debate between Capizzi and the CRCLT members resulted in a stalemate.

The meeting ended with Capizzi and CRCLT adamant on their stand with UDC. Capizzi left promising future contact; no contact has been made. Stanton confirmed at an April meeting that he is unable to arrange an appointment with Father Grodin. Neither the Church, UDC nor the City moved to resume talks with the Trust.*

The CRCLT experience is an example of a neighborhood struggle to give input into plans which have been practically finalized without consulting the people of the neighborhood. Although the neighborhood people were unaware of plans for the development, the largest land holder in the area was fully informed, and interacting with the Trust and UDC. In any case, most of CRCLT's energy went into its debate with other potential producers of housing, UDC and AUP. The Land Trust focused more on the politics of control than on communal control of the land.

*Report taken from the writers notes of the February 26, 1981 meeting.

TPL INFLUENCES CRCLT

After the NULP seminars, CRCLT adopted the model and incorporated as a non-profit organization. Although, property was researched and City property auctions were attended, the organization failed to acquire land. It presently has access to four lots it does not own.

NOTES - CHAPTER VI

1. Boston Redevelopment Authority Neighborhood Planning Program: Roxbury District Profile and Proposed 1979-1981 Neighborhood Improvement Program, Boston, MA, 1979, p. 7

2. Harvard-Roxbury Workshop, Department of City and Regional Planning: Urban Planning Policy Analysis and Administration, Land Use and Development Strategy For Greater Roxbury, 1979, Cambridge, Ma p. 3

3. Ibid.

4. Boston Redevelopment Authority: The Blue Hill Avenue Corridor, A Progress Report and Guidelines for the Future, Boston, MA, 1979, p. 9

5. Robert M. Hollister, Deborah Auger, Ruth Adrian Walter, Timothy Patteson.: Measuring Neighborhood Confidence, City of Boston Contract Grant No. B. 70-51-25-002, p. 86.

6. Blue Hill, p. 23

7. Hollister, p. 86

8. Ibid.

9 Ibid.

10. United States Census Bureau, Data User Service Center, Boston, MA, 1980 Census Report.

11. Boston Redevelopment, p. 6.

12. Ibid.

13. David Cox, A Charter Member of CRCLT, Interview, October, 1980.

14. The Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Articles of Organization, Chapter 180, CRCLT.

15. CRCLT Minutes, March 18, 1979

16. Ibid.

17. Bernard Cohen, "Open Space Protected in Hub Land Auction" (article) Boston Globe, August 28, 1980, p. 28

18. Mayor's Office of Fair Housing, "Central Roxbury Community Land Trust, Inc., Housing Opportunities, Vol. 1, Issue VII, July/Sugust p. (back).

19. CRCLT Minutes, May 21, 1980

20. Ibid.

Chapter Seven

THE ORGANIZATIONAL ANALYSES

THE THREE NEIGHBORHOODS

We have documented the urban land trust cases of three Boston Neighborhoods. The neighborhood characteristics and their problems have been described. The three are residential areas with a high percentage of homeowners. Two of the three WeCan and Sav-More are low income neighborhoods and mainly populated by Blacks. The third, Fields Corner West, is an integrated area in which the majority of the population are upper middle class Whites who are gentrifying this formerly depressed area.

The problems that these neighborhoods share are abandoned houses, vacant lots and depressed shopping centers. These conditions are most prevalent in WeCan and Sav-Mor. Fields Corner West is concerned with a food economic development program to bring services to this growing white upper income neighborhood. It has been stated that the organizations in these neighborhoods, have adopted the urban land trust model to acquire and control land, to help solve their problems and affect land-use policies. Each of these groups have received information on how to implement the TPL land trust model.

Although they received the information at the same time, DGP/DC had operated as a land trust for a year

ORGANIZATIONAL INPUTS

<u>LEADERSHIP</u>	<u>WeCan</u>	<u>DGP/DC</u>	<u>CRCLT</u>
+2 years experience with land trust	no	yes	no
College Education	yes	yes	yes
+1 year organization	yes	yes	yes
Accessibility to public sector	yes	yes	no
Employed for pay	yes	no	yes
Elected	no	yes	no
Experimenting in farming (scientific)	no	yes	no
White	no	yes	no
Planned the model into present program	yes	yes	no
Access to private sector	yes	yes	no
Practice land trust ideology	no	yes	no

In comparing the inputs of the qualities of the leaders of the land trusts, it shows DGP/DC and WeCan to have access to the public and private sectors for the benefits of their organizations. This accessibility is necessary for producing the desired outcome for the

before TPL arrived in Boston. WeCan was organized for two years with a program focused on housing. It adopted the model. CRCLT is the only group to incorporate as a land trust after the TPL seminars. CRCLT has no specific program in which to ground the model. The differences and similarities of the neighborhood have been delineated, and although the model that each group used is the same, the cases show differing results. This analysis will compare the characteristics of these organizations to determine why each experienced a different outcome.

COMPARING INPUTS OF THE ORGANIZATIONS

The goals and objectives of these groups are shown in their purposes stated in their Articles of Organization. The inputs for the realization of these purposes have certain qualities which each group have brought to the programs in their leaders, accessibility to funds, their constituency, and their staffs. We shall compare these qualities and then analyze how they affect the processing of the programs of each group. (See Chart on following page).

programs. CRCLT has made no inroads in this area, and has failed in its effort to affect the use of abandoned buildings in its neighborhood. The DGP/DC leader is unpaid and brings the best qualities to his organization. He also practices the ideology of TPL, which relates to the historical background of this whole organization and European Romanticism. WeCan and CRCLT are not involved in this ideology.

These leaders are instrumental in obtaining funds to operate their organizations. Although no dollar figure is available on this item, the cases show that funds have been made available through the following sources:

Sources of Financial Assistance

<u>Technical Assistance and/or Funding Sources</u>	<u>WeCan</u>	<u>DGP/DC</u>	<u>CRCLT</u>
State	yes	yes	no
City	yes	yes	no
Banks	yes	yes	no
Gifts (donners)	?	?	yes
Funding Agencies	yes	yes	yes

This comparison is made from the information available in the cases. It is possible that other funding sources are available to these gorups. WeCan and DGP/DC

have accessibility to the same types of funding sources, but the amount of money made available through these sources are the true indication as to which group benefits most from these contracts, CRCLT is lacking totally in its contact with the public sector and the banks.

PROCESSING LAND ACQUISITION

All groups are seeking land control, but the two groups with specific programs have made the greatest strides in their acquisitions.

LAND ACQUISITION

<u>METHODS</u>	<u>WeCan</u>	<u>DGP/DC</u>	<u>CRCLT</u>
Purchase	yes	yes	no
Have abutters purchase	yes	no	no
Lease	no	yes	yes
Using	no	no	yes

WeCan is buying the land and encouraging residents to buy also. It wants the neighborhood to own as much of the land as possible. DGP/DC is buying as well as leasing. It needs a great deal of land for its program. CRCLT is

leasing the land. It has not been unable to purchase land in its neighborhood.

DELIVERING THE SERVICES

The services these groups deliver to their neighborhoods are a part of their operational process. The chart below shows these program services.

IMPLEMENTING THE PROGRAM PROCESS

<u>Delivering Services</u>	<u>WeCan</u>	<u>DGP/DC</u>	<u>CRCLT</u>
Food	no	yes	no
Housing	yes	no	no
Garden Space	yes	yes	yes

In implementing their programs, all groups offer garden space, in keeping with the TPL models.

THE OUTCOME

The groups are run by a small number of people. These people shall be referred to as the members of the organization and their supporters shall be called their constituency. This comparison of the constituency is shown in the outcome because their support is the results of the implementation of the projects of these groups.

CONSTITUENCY

	<u>WeCan</u>	<u>DGP/DC</u>	<u>CRCLT</u>
Members	22	15	12
Supporters	100	700	100

DGP/DC has the greatest contact with the people. This is due to its farmer's market, where it comes in contact with many people, and Scharfenberg is developing a mailing list of the customers. WeCan and CRCLT are attracting about the same number of people. WeCan builds its continuity from its Block Clubs, and the CRCLT constituency is from the community at large.

In processing their programs, the leaders use their knowledge and contacts in the public and private sectors to implement their projects. This knowledge is also used in their land acquisition ventures. As we study the chart below, we can see that land is owned and leased, used, or is being negotiated for, by the groups involved.

LAND CONTROL

	<u>Abutters Encouraged to buy</u>	<u>owned</u>	<u>Using not owned</u>	<u>leased</u>	<u>Negotiating</u>
WeCan	15 lots	3 lots	0	0	1 lot
DGP/DC	0	3 lots	10 lots	2 acres	8 lots (using 6)
CRCLT	0	0	2 lots	2 lots	2 lots (using 2)

Most of the land is purchased from HUD and leased from the City. WeCan purchased from a private owner, and CRCLT is involved in four lots. As we can see DGP/DC controls the most land. Because of its food oriented economic development program which requires land for farming, large tracts of land is needed. Therefore, in order to process its program, DGP/DC is willing to lease land. This does not permit the trust to hold land in perpetuity, which is the goal of the TPL model.

WeCan is concerned with controlling the land and has convinced abutters to purchase in order to own the land in lieu of speculators.

SUMMARY

In summarizing, we must look at the manner in which the three groups have made use of the model for land control as a part of the organization's programs. It has shown that WeCan has been able to utilize the model to organize a constituency, and begin to control the land. While doing this it continues in its main focus to restore abandoned houses in the neighborhood. Although, WeCan has changed the land acquisition model that dictates communal instead of individual ownership, the fact remains that owning the land is more important to WeCan than owning it communally. In light of this conclusion, it is obvious that WeCan is using the model to assist in developing a traditional power based community organization.

CRCLT depends wholly on the TPL model for its activities. In using the model in this manner; it has no program in which to anchor the model. Therefore, CRCLT has been vulnerable to manipulation by outside forces.

DGP/DC, a White middle class group is lead by a man who is wise in the ways of land trust acitivities. Considering the fact that his group was able to lease four acres of land from the City, has shown him capable of working within the system to promote the DGP/DC program. We have not established that this organization is using the TPL model, but because the group is most involved in cultivating the land and espouses the TPL philosophy, as well as working best within the system to acquire land, it is the most functional of the three trusts and in using the model as prescribed by TPL.

Although this group espouses the unity of man with the land, and multi-cultural interaction, it is the product of a white middle class neighborhood which is being gentrified. And one of the leading members of the trust has stated that those preferred in the neighborhood are educated people with upper incomes. Setting these criteria, certainly implies that the White middle class is preferred. This is supported by the fact that the most well-educated people with upper incomes are White. This statement of preference should alert us to

the fact that no matter what romanticist philosophy DGP/DC DC espouses in relation to multi-cultural interaction, its theory in use is one of the White middle class practicing White middle class values.

Now that we have compared and analyzed the three groups in their several phases of operation, we can determine why they have had differing results in using the TPL model. We shall see how neighborhood characteristics, race and leadership knowledge impacts the use of the model.

DGP/DC is of a neighborhood which has basically fewer decline buildings and vacant lots, and with a population oriented to self-reliance in neighborhood maintenance. It has a leader able to interact with the system who brings expertise in farming the land. This group, with a full year of experience over the others, is mainly focused on a single purpose, to stimulate economic activity in the commercial areas through farming and food delivery. Another consideration here is that this group is White middle class who finds it easier to gain entry into the private and public system which is run by its own kind. With knowledge of the systems and accessibility to their resources, it follows that of the three, this group should have the greatest amount of land under its control, by leasing or buying it.

Because it is backed by the State, WeCan also has access to the systems. But it must be kept in mind that this is with the sanction of a government agency. WeCan also owns less land because its focus is on its overall neighborhood. It is working to bring its people to the point of neighboring, that is occurring in Fields Corner West. We must also keep in mind that WeCan does not need large tracts of land anywhere in the City, it is interested in the City lots, in its area. Besides WeCan only wants to purchase the land in the neighborhood, it is not interested in leasing it.

CRCLT has a marked difference in its results. Its attempt to control development in North Sav-Mor caused the group to exert a great deal of energy in a futile experience. Months were spent in these activities while no positive efforts toward any projects were being exerted by the group to acquire and control land.

CONCLUSION

In observing the above data, it becomes clear that the TPL land trust model is not a perfect model for controlling or owning the land in urban areas under all conditions. This study is being made while the organizations are still in their formative stages. In order to determine if innercity people can control land communally by working within the system, will require more time for these organizations to operate, and a future study will be more

revealing as to just what they can do to affect land-use policy. The future will also reveal why the model has been put into action at this time, and who will benefit from it in the long run.