LAND IN TRUST:

PRESERVING FARMLAND THROUGH EASEMENT AND FEE SIMPLE OWNERSHIP IN RURAL, SUBURBAN, AND URBAN CONTEXTS

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ABSTRACT

In the face of sprawling development, land trusts and Community Land Trusts (CLTs) have historically proven to be effective models through which to acquire and preserve agricultural landscapes. This research seeks to: identify the most common land acquisition processes used by trusts preserving agricultural land; evaluate the role of a trust's geographic context (whether urban, suburban/peri-urban, or rural) in determining the use of easements versus fee-simple ownership; and discuss the benefits and drawbacks of easements and fee-simple ownership. For the purpose of this study, 207 agricultural land trusts and CLTs responded to a survey regarding their acquisition methods. A combination of 10 trusts and experts in the field participated in follow-up interviews. This study determined that easement is the most-used acquisition technique, although it is more common in rural geographies. Fee-simple acquisition through donation proved to be most popular in urban areas. Interviewees agreed that easements are more appropriate in rural geographies with lower land values, whereas community and governmental relationships facilitate fee-simple acquisitions in urban spaces. In order to better support the work of land trusts and CLTs in conserving agricultural land, it is essential to understand the specific nature of the relationships that trusts are using to support their acquisition processes. Then, comprehensive strategies and city- and county-level policies can be created to foster these relationships and better support the work of trusts.

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Finally, my sincerest thank you to my friends and family, who have supported me

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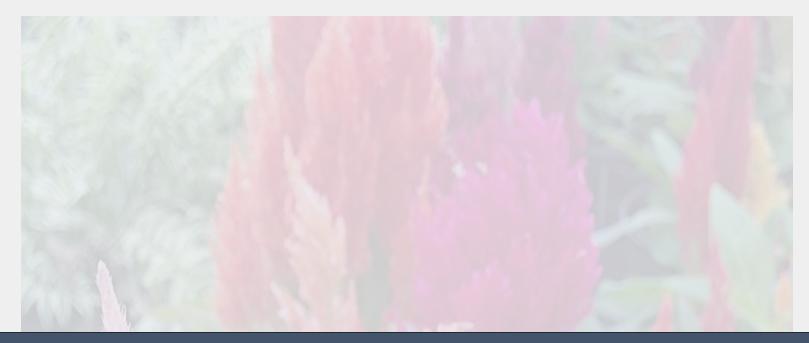
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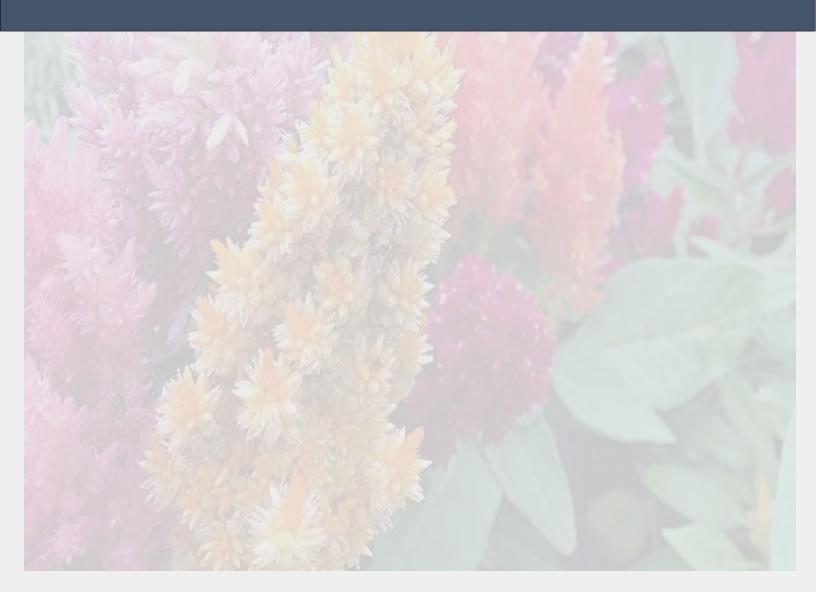
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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS



CHAPTER I | INTRODUCTION

The soil is the great connector of lives, the source and destination of all. It is the healer and restorer and resurrector, by which disease passes into health, age into youth, death into life. Without proper care for it we can have no community, because without proper care for it we can have no life.

-Wendell Berry The Unsettling of Culture and Agriculture

Although cities and agriculture were not always dichotomous, popular perceptions of farmland tend to render bucolic imagery of red barns, acres of cropland and extensive green pastures. This image is far divorced from the honking traffic, towering buildings and bustling sidewalks often associated with city living. While sprawling urban development and expansive transportation systems continue to encroach upon rural farmland, rethinking the way agriculture fits into American communities has become a necessity.

Residents of urban, suburban and rural communities alike recognize the value of farmland preservation. Agriculture in cities increases resilience, provides spaces for cultural and social gatherings, and improves neighborhood livability. Rural communities are often economically tied to farming as a way of life. As urban development continues to sprawl into suburban geographies, peri-urban communities have considered how to balance agriculture with development. Communities in all contexts can agree that agriculture is not only an important economic, social, cultural, and environmental mainstay; it is a fundamental part of human life.

For this reason, it is imperative that the degradation and loss of agricultural spaces be combated. There have been countless efforts to preserve agricultural spaces in the face of rising rents and extensive development. Individuals can grow food

in unconventional and underutilized spaces such as roadside corridors and rooftops. Municipalities and states can incentivize or mandate conservation using regulatory and non-regulatory tools. It can be argued, however, that few of these mechanisms has been as impactful as the non-profit land trust.

Since the 1800s, the land trust has been used in the United States as a tool to remove pristine wetlands, forests, farmlands, historical sites and cultural assets from the destructive path of development. As independent non-profit entities, land trusts are particularly effective because they are not constrained by bureaucracy and can operate under tax-exempt status. The success of land trusts is demonstrated by the volume of acreage these organizations are able to preserve; in 2010, the Land Trust Alliance estimated that the average land trust conserves 39,195 acres of land. Given that there were an estimated 1,723 land trusts operative in the United States in 2010, it is not difficult to appreciate the magnitude of conservation achievement by way of conservation land trusts.

The prevalence and success of the land trust model provided the foundation for the development of the Community Land Trust, also known as a CLT. Similar to the traditional land trust model, a CLT is a non-profit entity that ensures permanent affordability by acquiring land and leasing it to individual farmers, homeowners, and others through long-term, 99-year ground leases. While the lessee owns all structures and other value added, the CLT entity owns the physical land. CLTs reflect the interest of their surrounding communities by employing a tripartite board structure. The board is traditionally comprised of one-third homeowners, renters, or farmers living and working on CLT property, one-third members of the surrounding neighborhood, and one-third representatives of the broader public interest, including policymakers, community activists, and other leaders. Currently, CLTs are primarily used for housing. Such organizations operate under the mission of preserving permanent affordability and lowering barriers to homeownership. However, CLTs are (and have historically been) applied in commercial and agricultural contexts as well.

Land trusts and CLTs, while often similar in essential function, differ in several capacities. First, CLTs are unique in that they utilize a representative board structure, while land trusts are governed by boards of any composition. While a land trust may choose to include public leaders and community members on its board, it is not necessarily a fundamental aspect of the organization. Second, CLTs are traditionally and primarily utilized to promote affordable housing, while land trusts traditionally and primarily serve conservation purposes. In certain initial iterations, CLTs were used primarily to hold rural land for agriculture; today, however, the majority of CLTs secure land for renters and homeowners, often in urban geographies. This is not to say that CLTs are not utilized for agriculture in the modern day, but that they are more commonly associated with housing. While land trusts and CLTs have both been applied in rural, suburban, and urban locations, land trusts are often associated with rural conservation and CLTs with urban and suburban projects.

Despite their differences, the land trust and CLT models are both exceptionally promising mechanisms for preserving agricultural land. By acquiring land or easements on land, these organizations can ensure that farmland is preserved in perpetuity. Using community relationships, outreach, and education, land trusts and CLTs can reach farmers and offer affordable long-term access to land. They can be applied in a variety of geographic contexts, can scale to serve local, regional, national or international areas, and can conserve land for multiple purposes. However, successful use of this model is not without its challenges.

Even with an organized constituency, permissive local policies, and a strong mission, newly-established trusts face significant challenges with regards to acquiring land. In areas with hot real estate markets, the price of vacant parcels is often prohibitively expensive. It is often more lucrative for sellers to partner with private developers rather than to an emergent entity with limited capital. Even in areas with colder real estate markets and for trusts equipped with sufficient funds, other logistical and political considerations can limit a trust's ability to acquire land in a timely and effective manner. For these reasons, newly-formed trust organizations can find themselves stymied about how to fund their initial acquisition.

Yet, the impressive population of successful trusts in existence is a testament to the fact that such organizations can overcome these initial barriers. Trusts work with governments, foundations, independent landowners, and other trusts to facilitate acquisitions. What tools and methods are land trusts and CLTs using to acquire land? Are certain acquisition methods more appropriate in an urban context versus a rural context? Understanding patterns in acquisition methods across geographies can inform emergent land trust and CLT organizations as they attempt to understand utility of the tools at their disposal. This research seeks to develop an understanding of such patterns through surveys and interviews with existing land trusts, CLTs, and experts in the field.

SECTION II | RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This research seeks to compare the benefits and drawbacks of the land

acquisition tools leveraged by land trust organizations and CLT organizations with a

focus on agriculture. How do these acquisition techniques differ across urban,

suburban/peri-urban, and rural geographic contexts? Is there a relationship between

geographic context of land holdings and predominant method of land acquisition? This

research seeks to:

1. Identify the land acquisition tools most commonly used by land trusts and CLTs that conserve agricultural land;

2. Determine whether the geographic context (urban, suburban/peri-urban, and rural location) of a land trust's agricultural land holdings is significantly related to the organization's most-utilized land acquisition methods; and

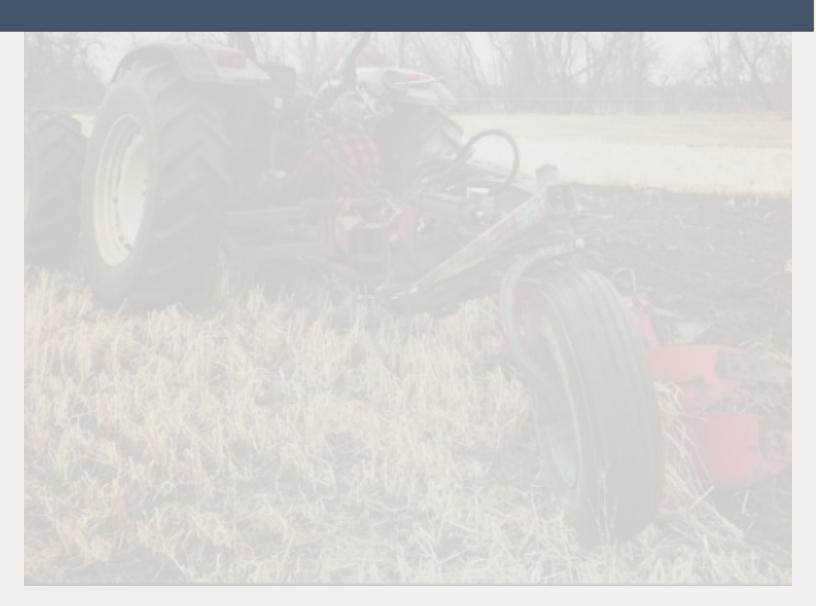
3. Compare the benefits and drawbacks of using easements to the benefits and drawbacks of obtaining fee-title to land through transactions such as outright purchase at full market value, bargain sale, or donation.

The results of this research are intended to serve as a resource for such

emergent organizations seeking property in rural, urban, and peri-urban areas,

respectively.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW



SECTION I | LAND TRUSTS

A land trust is a private, nonprofit entity that strives to protect land through ownership and/or stewardship (Brewer, 2003). The Land Trust Alliance's 2010 Land Trust Census defines a land trust as follows:

> a nonprofit organization that, as all or part of its mission, actively works to conserve land by undertaking or assisting in land or conservation easement acquisitions, or by its stewardship of such land or easements.

> > Land Trust Alliance, 2010, p. 4

Land trusts conserve land for a multitude of purposes. These entities may preserve lands with significant value for wildlife, including migration corridors or habitats (Land Trust Alliance, 2010). Land trusts may preserve wetlands and other water resources, recreational areas, farms and ranchlands, cultural resources or urban open spaces (Land Trust Alliance, 2010). According to the 2010 Land Trust Census, local and state-level land trusts conserve over 16 million acres of land nationwide; on average, a land trust conserves 39,195 acres of land (Land Trust Alliance, 2010).

The first land trust in the United States emerged as a response to the rapid urbanization, population growth and deforestation that characterized the mid- to late-1800s (Brewer, 2003). Charles Eliot, a landscape architect living in Cambridge, Massachusetts identified a need for land "reserved from development," and established the Trustees of Reservations (Brewer, 2003, page 16). It was from Eliot's assemblage of a board of trustees and letter of incorporation that came the defining principles of a land trust: first, a mission explicitly interested in acquiring and preserving land for preservation, and second, a request for tax-exempt status (Brewer, 2003). During its first ten years of existence, the Trustees of Reservations accepted six private donations of conservation land, stewarding 431 acres of land (Brewer, 2003). Influenced by the organization's success, other land trusts began to emerge in the Northeast and on the West coast. By 1940, there existed approximately 19 land trusts nationwide, and many more advocacy groups including the Sierra Club and the Appalachian Mountain Club (Brewer, 2003). However, the progress of the land trust movement was somewhat slow due to a lack of outreach and education by land trust organizations, relatively successful conservation efforts by state and national government departments, and a diversion of national attention from conservation issues toward economic and international issues such as the Great Depression and World War II (Brewer, 2003).

Over time, academic and popular publications increased the visibility of the land trust model (Brewer, 2013). Land trust with national scope, such as the Trust for Public Land and the Nature Conservancy, served as models for emergent land trust organizations; by 1981, there were over 400 land trusts nationwide (Brewer, 2003). Kingsbury Browne, Jr., a lawyer living in Boston, was instrumental in organizing a national conference for land trusts following a cross-country trip to land trusts across the US (Brewer, 2003; Land Trust Alliance, 2016). The Trust for Public Land held a similar conference two years following, increasing the cohesion of the land trust movement nationwide (Land Trust Alliance, 2016).

Today, the National Land Trust Census estimates that there are 1,723 active land trust organizations in the United States (Land Trust Alliance, 2010).

SECTION II | COMMUNITY LAND TRUSTS

Community Land Trusts (CLTs) have been employed in both rural and urban contexts throughout the United States as a mechanism for preserving affordability for renters, homeowners, business owners, and farmers alike. According to the National Community Land Trust Network (2015):

CLTs are nonprofit organizations—governed by a board of CLT residents, community residents and public representatives—that provide lasting community assets and permanently affordable housing opportunities for families and communities. CLTs develop rural and urban agriculture projects, commercial spaces to serve local communities, affordable rental and cooperative housing projects, and conserve land or urban green spaces.

National Community Land Trust Network, 2015

CLTs emerged as a response to the common law application of land tenure in the United States, that is, where land is land is divided into parcels and sold to the highest bidder (Davis, 2014; Swann, 1972). This concept of private ownership has defined the trajectory of American land development throughout history. However, since the nineteenth century, varying iterations of communal land ownership and governance models have existed (Swann, 1972; Davis, 2014). These have included intentional communities intended to model utopian lifestyles, religious communities, and homesteading and/or subsistence projects (Swann, 1972). It should be understood that such ownership structures were preceded and inspired by those originating in nations of the Global South, including India, Israel and Tanzania, and have been shaped by a diversity of thinkers and activists throughout history (Swann, 1972; Davis, 2014).

The theoretical foundation for the CLT model can be attributed in large part to the philosopher, economist, and writer Henry George (Swann, 1972; Davis, 2014). George

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was inspired by John Stuart Mill's theory of the "social increment," which asserted that the value of a property was augmented primarily by the advancements of the society surrounding it, rather than those improvements made by the landowner herself (Davis, 2014; Swann, 1972). Based on this theory, George described landlords as reaping an ever-increasing unearned income drawn from the technological and economic furthering of society rather than by her own labor (Davis, 2014; Swann, 1972). In response, George proposed a flat land tax to capture the value of this unearned income and return the benefits to society (Swann, 1972; Davis, 2014; Daly and Farley, 2008).

George's philosophies regarding the inequity of landlordism encouraged other thinkers to theorize about the implications of private landownership and envision alternatives. In 1898, Ebenezer Howard published what would later be known as "Garden Cities of Tomorrow." Howard envisioned a hybridization of the previously divorced notions of "town" and "country"

through planned communities that integrated the benefits of each (Howard, 1901). These planned communities would be developed on city-owned land and managed by a selected board of trustees (Howard, 1901; Davis, 2014).

These visionary theoretical precursors laid the groundwork for implementation of such communally-managed land ownership structures. In the 1930s and 40s, activist Ralph Borsodi's conceptual definition of "property" versus "trustery" encouraged the development of intentional communities on leased land (Swann, 1972). Bors odi defined "property" as those goods created by humans as a result of their labor; "trustery" was used to describe the natural resources (land, waterways, etc.) from which humans benefit but are *not* responsible for creating (Swann, 1972). Such theories regarding land

ownership and stewardship continued to develop, providing the foundation for the emergence of communal land ownership and stewardship models. Borsodi referred to these projects as "land trusts" (Davis, 2014).

It is important to note the formative role of international political and social action, which served as the foundation and inspiration for the expansion of the CLT movement in the United States. In 1948, the Bhoodan (or 'Land Gift') Movement began to take shape in India (Davis, 2014). Vinoba Bhave, known as the spiritual successor of Mahatma Gandhi, saw the distribution of land rights as inequitable. Bhave responded by walking across the country, asking wealthy landowners for donations of land to be redistributed to the poor (Davis, 2014). The Bhoodan Movement ultimately evolved into a secondary iteration known as the Gramdan Movement. The Gramdan Movement differed from its predecessor; rather than facilitating land donations from the wealthy to poor individuals, the Gramdan Movement encouraged land donations to entire impoverished villages (Davis, 2014). The villages, in turn, assembled councils to oversee the leasing of parcels to local individual farmers (Davis, 2014). Activists in the United States were additionally inspired by a range of international movements including "the Garden City movement in England... and moshav communities in Israel" (Rosenberg and Yuen, 2012, page 2).

The subsequent CLT movement in the United States manifested in three waves, the first of which took place in 1969, the second of which took place in the 1980s, and the third of which is currently underway (Rosenberg and Yuen, 2012). In 1969, American activists Slater King and Robert Swann collaborated to create New Communities, Inc., one of the first iterations of the CLT model in the United States (Davis, 2014; Rosenberg and Yuen, 2012). Located in southern Georgia, New Communities was intended to combat the racialized violence and injustices that either forcibly removed or prevented African Americans from land (Davis 2014; Rosenberg and Yuen, 2012). From this experiment, which resulted in the stewardship of 5,600 acres of land for more than 15 years, came the beginnings of the organizational and ownership structures that today define the CLT model (Rosenberg & Yuen, 2012; Davis, 2014).

During the first wave of the CLT movement, the majority of projects were rural. In the second wave of the CLT movement, however, examples of urban applications began to emerge. Perhaps one of the most notable applications was the Community Land Cooperative, located in Cincinnati, Ohio (Davis, 2014; Rosenberg and Yuen, 2012). Community Land Cooperative of Cincinnati was founded with the intention of protecting an underserved, under-resourced urban community from the rising rents and displacement associated with gentrification (Davis, 2014; Rosenberg and Yuen, 2012). Such urban applications, typically focused on equity and social justice, emphasized the importance of using the ground lease mechanism to ensure permanent affordability as well as a representative voting body (Davis, 2014).

Since the 1990s, the CLT movement in the United States has been primarily focused on preserving permanent housing affordability (Davis, 2014; Rosenberg and Yuen, 2012; Agnotti, 2007). While public policies have been primarily concerned with increasing opportunities for homeownership in cities and less dense areas, CLTs have also been used as a mechanism for increasing multi-family rental options (Agnotti, 2007). While CLTs have largely been applied in a housing context, there have been many documented applications of CLTs focused on agricultural and commercial land uses (Rosenberg and Yuen, 2012). There currently exist over 260 CLTs in 46 states, Puerto Rico and the District of Columbia (Loh, 2014).

SECTION III | DEVELOPMENT AT THE URBAN FRINGE: IMPACTS ON AGRICULTURE

Loss of farmland continues to constitute a major concern: the United States Department of Agriculture's 2012 Census of Agriculture reported a decrease of 7,568,183 acres of farmland between 2007 and 2012. The American Farmland Trust estimates that 40 acres of farm and ranchland are lost every hour (2016). There are numerous motivations for farmland conservation. Many communities, individuals and other entities are dedicated to preserving farmland for aesthetic, ethical, and practical reasons (Brewer, 2003).

Development at the urban fringe has serious implications for the future of agriculture in the US (Heimlich and Anderson, 2001). These fringe areas, often referred to as 'peri-urban' spaces, are defined by their close proximity to metropolitan areas and their adjacency to rural areas (Ives and Kendal, 2013). Urban and peri-urban development can have beneficial and negative consequences on nearby agriculture. Low-density development at the urban fringe is often referred to as urban sprawl, and can compromise soil, air and water quality for nearby farms as a result of increased impervious surfaces, traffic congestion, and construction (Heimlich and Anderson, 2001; Daniels 2000 (Gustanski and Squires, 2000). As the boundary between 'urban' and 'rural' blurs, farmers may find themselves challenged to maintain positive relations with neighbors (who might disapprove of the noise, smell, and chemical application associated with farming) and difficulty remaining in compliance with changing land use and zoning requirements (Heimlich and Anderson, 2001). Affordability can also become an issue, as development of land for non-farm uses may spur an increase in land prices (Heimlich and Anderson, 2001; Gustanski and Squires, 2000).

In a 2013 report, the American Farmland Trust identified key priority areas for farmland conservation. First, agriculture must be built into the comprehensive planning process; only then can development be concentrated in underutilized areas on lowdensity development and channeled away from the most productive, high-quality farmland (American Farmland Trust, 2013). Residential development should be minimized in rural agricultural areas, as it tends to be lower-density and usually requires more acreage than commercial uses (American Farmland Trust 2013). It is also essential to stabilize land at the urban fringe, as it is often most susceptible to development and rising prices (American Farmland Trust, 2013).

However, it is not necessary to separate agriculture and development in all cases. Often, farmers with agricultural operations located in close proximity to dense urban centers may enjoy benefits as well, including more opportunities for off-farm employment, a wider pool of part- and full-time employees, and better access to consumers and marketing outlets (Heimlich and Anderson, 2001; American Farmland Trust, 2013). Increasingly, residents are recognizing the commodity and non-commodity benefits of peri-urban agriculture (Ives and Kendal, 2013).

SECTION IV | URBAN AGRICULTURE

There are a wide variety of activities, geographies, and motivations used to define urban agriculture throughout the academic literature. According to the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), urban agriculture comprises of all food production which takes place in urban and peri-urban locations (FAO, 2000). Tornaghi (2014) adopts a slightly more specific definition, characterizing both plant cultivation and animal husbandry as 'urban agriculture,' given that these activities take place in or around cities. Goldstein, et.al. (2011) define it even more narrowly, assigning a motivation for urban agriculture when they specify that urban agricultural activities include both urban-area crop cultivation and animal husbandry "for the purpose of feeding local populations."

Most activities described as *urban* agriculture represent a departure from the stereotypical, bucolic image of American farms. Rather than invoking images of expansive crop fields and rural farmyards, urban agriculture is more closely associated with small-scale farms and gardens (often at homes or in yards), greenhouses, rooftop gardens and beehives, and food production in public spaces including schools and restaurants (Hou et al., 2009; Mougeot, 2005; Nordahl, 2009; Redwood, 2008; Tornaghi, 2014). Urban agriculture can also take place in informal spaces such as roadsides, vacant lots, and parks (USDA, 2016). Often, urban agriculture is classified by municipalities in terms of its function: examples include community gardening, community-supported agriculture (CSA), market gardens, urban farms, and home gardens (not for commercial purposes) (Goldstein, et.al. 2011).

While urban agriculture has long been a common practice in the Global South, historical urban development in the Global North has created a dichotomy between the concepts of "rural" and "urban," effectively divorcing agriculture from city spaces (Tornaghi, 2014). Recently, however, there has been demonstrated increasing interest in and practicing of agriculture in urban areas (Tornaghi, 2014). Cities across the United States have adopted comprehensive plans and reformed zoning codes to accommodate agriculture in urban neighborhoods (Fletcher, et.al, 2012). As agriculture has become more commonplace in the social and economic context of cities, motivations for participation have expanded beyond commercial production; those participating in urban agriculture cite leisure, environmental benefits and socializing as additional motivations (Zasada, 2011).

Urban agriculture is known to have economic, environmental, and social benefits for communities. Commercial farming enterprises create jobs and generate localized economic activity by strengthening regional food systems and shortening food supply chains (Zasada, 2011). As urban and peri-urban agriculture gains popularity, farmbased tourism can provide additional stimulation to the local economy (Zasada, 2011) Urban farms can increase green space in urban neighborhoods, improve residents' access to healthy, culturally appropriate food, and operate as important social and cultural spaces (Fletcher, et.al, 2012, Zasada, 2011, Sonnino, 2009). Urban agricultural spaces have been known to serve as "third places" in neighborhoods: that is, the venues for informal gathering and socializing outside of the home or workplace (Rosenberg & Yuen, 2012). Localized urban agricultural production can also increase food access and choice for food insecure populations living in urban areas (Mougenot, 2000, Sonnino, 2009). Despite these benefits, there exist economic, political and geographic challenges that may limit the success of urban agriculture. Urban agriculture has not proven exceptionally lucrative: most urban agricultural operations do not make significant revenues, even with the help of subsidies (Kaufman & Bailkey, 2000). Given these economic conditions, it can be exceptionally difficult for emergent urban agricultural organizations to acquire land. In peri-urban and urban areas, agricultural land uses must compete with higher-rent land uses such as commercial space and housing (Robinson, 2004; Zasada, 2011). A shortage of available public funding coupled with typically under-resourced organizational capacities can dissuade entrepreneurs from entering the urban agricultural market (Kaufman & Bailkey, 2000). While many municipalities have made strides in expanding permissive zoning for agriculture, a significant number still maintain zoning codes that restrict plant cultivation and animal husbandry within city limits (Tornaghi, 2014).

SECTION V | LAND ACQUISITION PROCESSES FOR AGRICULTURE AND OPEN SPACE

There are diverging approaches to land conservation which include regulationbased, incentive-based and acquisition-based instruments (Gerber and Rissman, 2012; Bengston, Fletcher, and Nelson, 2004; Nelson, 1977). Acquisitions are generally recognized as "voluntary, private, and landowner-led agreements" (Gerber and Rissman, 2012). These acquisitions mostly follow a common form wherein a parcel of land is identified, appraised, and prices accordingly; following the establishment of escrow, the title of the land is transferred to the new owner (National Research Council, 1993). Entities acquiring land can include nonprofit organizations, the federal government, or a cooperation between the federal government and a nonprofit organization.

Land trusts tend to rely on acquisitions rather than regulations to secure land; often, these entities prefer to engage in voluntary transactions and can perceive land use and environmental laws to be contentious and/or ineffective (Daniels and Lapping, 2005; Gerber and Rissman, 2012). Of these acquisition tools, conservation easements are the mechanism most widely used by the private sector (Gustanksi and Squires, 2000).

SECTION V-A | EASEMENTS

Based on the Uniform Conservation Easement Act, conservation easements are authorized by states to retain land in its "natural state" (National Research Council, 1993, page 158). To ensure that they are used solely for the purposes of preserving land, easements are only able to be held by government or nonprofit entities (National Research Council, 1993). An easement is a "less than fee, nonpossessory interest in a parcel of land created by deeds executed with the same formalities associated with other forms of land conveyance" (Gustanski and Squires, 2000, page 14).While the landowner continues to hold fee-simple title of the property, the right to develop (or not develop) the property is retained by the organization holding the easement; this recipient organization is thus responsible for ensuring that the terms of the easement are not violated by the landowner or any subsequent occupant of the property (Gustanski and Squires, 2000). While easements have been and remain a popular conservation tool, many have identified the logistical complexities of the easement method of land preservation. complexity and frequent lack of specificity in easement drafting language can exacerbate tension between landowners and the government or nonprofit entities securing the easement (National Research Council, 1993; Brewer, 2003). In addition, easements should be used as a land preservation tool only when public access is not necessary, as land conserved through easements is not typically easily accessible (National Research Council, 1993).

SECTION V-B | FEE-SIMPLE OWNERSHIP

Land trusts may buy land outright or at a bargain price in order to acquire feesimple title (Brewer, 2003). Fee-simple ownership is the most common type of land ownership (Brewer, 2003). A landowners with fee-simple title can enjoy the many rights associated with ownership, including the right to develop, sell, donate, or bequeath the parcel (Brewer, 2003). Advantages of outright ownership include a degree of control over the land itself; this level of control is unachievable through any other means (Brewer, 2003). Outright ownership of the land can result in a higher degree of accessibility for the public (Brewer, 2003). Finally, fee-simple ownership by a CLT, land trust, or other conserving body is both easily understood and highly supported by the organization's governing body, donors, and membership constituencies.

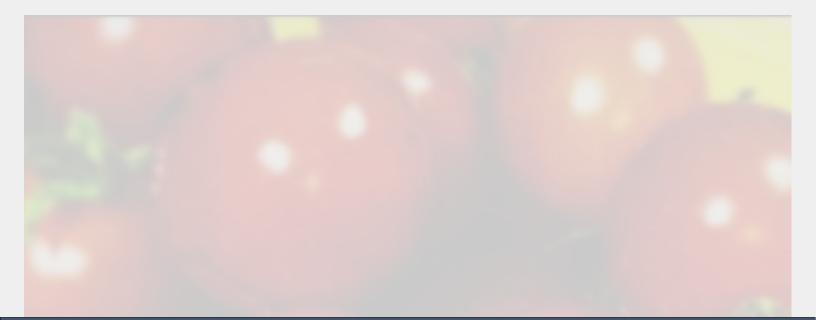
SECTION V-C | DONATION

"Protection and stewardship of land cost money- immediately, next year, and if the promise of protection in perpetuity is to be met- every year after that" (Brewer, 2003, page 131). Although the donation of land itself does not necessarily have associated cost, the land trust is responsible for stewardship and monitoring of the land (Brewer, 2003). Furthermore, beyond transaction costs, capital expenses, and ongoing stewardship, the land trust entity cannot ever receive the appraised value of the land to offset these costs (Brewer, 2003).

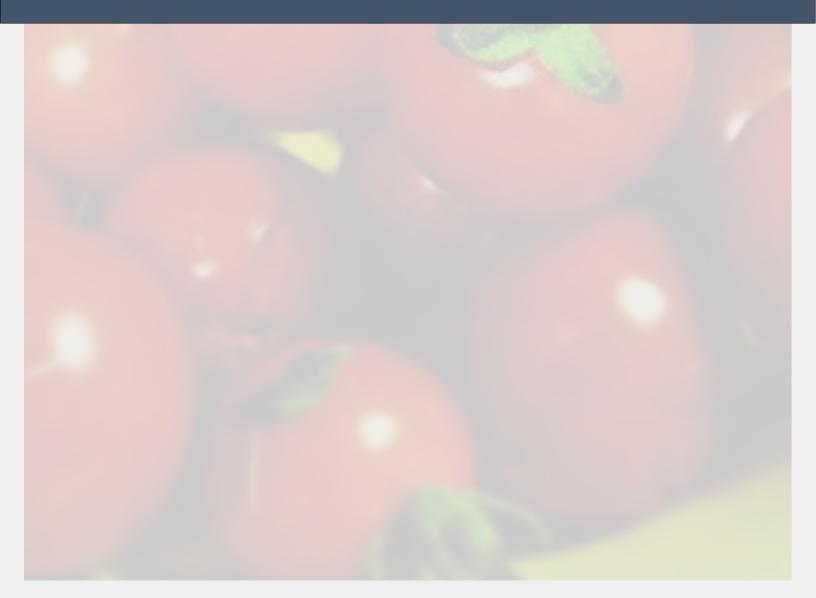
SECTION V-D | REGULATORY AND INCENTIVE APPROACHES TO FARMLAND CONSERVATION

While private non-profit land trusts are most likely to employ acquisition-based methods (Gerber and Rissman, 2012), it is important to recognize that there are also regulatory and incentive public processes that can be used for conservation.

According to Bengston, Fletcher and Nelson (2004), public policy tools that can be used to protect open space for conservation or agricultural purposes can be divided into three mutually-exclusive categories: regulatory, incentive, and public ownership and management. Governments can incentivize conservation using such as Transfer of Development Rights programs, Agricultural Districts, and other mechanisms (National Research Council (NRC), 1993; Bengston, Fletcher and Nelson, 2004). Zoning can be used as a regulatory tool to encourage conservation; for example, cluster zoning, exclusive agricultural zoning, and non-transitional zoning have all been employed at a municipal level to regulate agriculture (Bengston, Fletcher, and Nelson, 2004).



CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY



SECTION I-A | UNIVERSE

For the purposes of this research, it was necessary to obtain information from land trust and CLT organizations involved in land preservation for agriculture. For a CLT or land trust entity to be eligible for this study, some percentage of the organization's current (at the time of contact) land holdings must be used for agricultural purposes. In total, requests for survey participation were sent to 489 land trust and CLT entities. Of those initially contacted, 40 entities were CLTs and the remainder were land trusts.

The universe for this study was determined through a thorough review of the existing literature regarding land trusts and CLT entities. The Land Trust Alliance, a national nonprofit organization, maintains a directory of land trusts located in the United States within an online tool called *Find a Land Trust*. Within this directory is specified information regarding the land trust's location, land holdings (in acres), mission, land protection priorities, and contact information. To obtain an initial database of land trust organizations involved to some degree with agriculture, this directory was carefully examined. All land trusts with land protection priorities including one of the following were added to the database: (1) working farms or ranchlands; or (2) urban parks, gardens or open spaces.

The Land Trust Alliance was deemed an appropriate source for survey and interview respondents for two reasons. First, the organization is national in scope, with over 1,100 member organizations nationwide. Using the Land Trust Alliance's online tool, *Find a Land Trust,* grants access to a broad geographic range of organizations. Second, the Land Trust Alliance is a reputable non-profit organization with a history of supporting land trusts on a national scale. The organization is ranked by independent

organizations for its reputability. The Land Trust Alliance is an accredited charity, as defined by the Better Business Bureau Wise Giving Alliance. The Land Trust Alliance met all standards for accreditation, including transparency, accurate representation to the public, sound governance and fiscal management (Land Trust Alliance, 2016). The Land Trust Alliance was similarly rated a Three-Star Charity by Charity Navigator.

While the Land Trust Alliance's *Find a Land Trust* tool may not be completely comprehensive or accurate in its documentation of land trusts throughout the United States, the organization's scope and reputation deem it an appropriate source for a survey population of land trust organizations.

Because this research differentiates between CLT and land trust entities, it was necessary to obtain an additional survey population of CLT organizations involved to some degree in agriculture. To obtain this survey population, the study "Beyond Housing: Urban Agriculture and Commercial Development by Community Land Trusts" was referenced (Rosenberg and Yuen, 2012). Using a sample derived from the National Community Land Trust Network's database, the researchers circulated a survey to 226 CLTs throughout the US. From this sample, the researchers received 56 responses, approximately a 25% response rate (Rosenberg & Yuen, 2012). Of these 56 responses, approximately 40 CLTs reported involvement to some degree with agriculture.

Rosenberg and Yuen's 2012 study was deemed an appropriate source for survey respondents. The study was published as a working paper by the Lincoln Institute for Land Policy. As an independent, nonpartisan research organization, the Lincoln Institute

has a long and reputable history of multidisciplinary educational programming, research, and publications (Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, 2016).

SECTION I-B | SURVEYS

In total, surveys were distributed to 489 land trusts and CLTs across the United States. The survey was comprised of nine multiple-choice and short answer questions, which inquired about the nature of the respondent's organizational profile; current land holdings; and acquisition strategies. The final question of the survey inquired about the respondent's willingness to be contacted for a follow-up interview. For a complete list of survey questions, please reference Appendix A1

The survey was designed using Tufts Qualtrics software, and was distributed via e-mail to the 489 selected land trust and CLT entities. The survey remained open for two weeks, with an e-mail reminder distributed to unresponsive organizations within seven days of the original survey distribution. In total, the survey yielded 207 valid responses, with a survey dropout rate of 17%. Overall, the survey response rate was 42.33%.

SECTION I-C | SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

Ten semi-structured interviews were conducted with a combination of land trust and CLT organization representatives (identified through survey responses) and experts in the field. The intent of these interviews was to gain a more in-depth, targeted understanding of the rationale behind selected acquisition techniques, barriers to land acquisition, and strategies for success in varying geographic contexts. Following the survey period, the results were sorted to isolate those respondents who were willing to participate in a follow-up interview. A significant number of survey respondents indicated that they were willing to participate in a follow-up interview. Due to time and resource constraints, it was not possible to conduct follow-up interviews with every respondent who indicated an interest in participating. Seven respondents were selected for follow-up interviews; a concerted effort was made to conduct an interview with at least one organization identifying as land trust, a CLT, or 'other.' For each of these entity types, it was also important to interview at least one organization working in an urban, a suburban/peri-urban, or a rural location (or a combination of two or three locations). This criteria, intended to increase the breadth of perspective obtained through follow-up interviews, determined which organizations were contacted.

Follow-up interviews were also conducted with representatives of the Land Trust Alliance, the National Young Farmers Coalition, and the Trust for Public Land. The representatives of said organizations were considered to be experts in the field, and their responses were sought as a means by which to attain a higher-level perspective on acquisition issues, as these organizations operate on a national scale. These organizations were not asked to participate in the survey for one of two reasons: (1) the organization does not engage directly in acquisition, or (2) the organization's acquisitions are made mostly for the purpose of conveyance.

In total, follow-up interviews were conducted with a total of seven survey respondents and three field experts, for a total of 10 follow-up interviews. These semistructured interviews were conducted via telephone and lasted approximately 30 minutes. For a complete list of guiding interview questions, please see Appendix A2.

TABLE 1. INTERVIEWEES				
Land Trust Alliance	Expert			
National Young Farmers Coalition	Expert			
Trust for Public Land	Expert			
Athens Land Trust	Survey Respondent			
Southside Community Land Trust	Survey Respondent			
Neighborspace Baltimore	Survey Respondent			
Otsego Land Trust	Survey Respondent			
Natural Heritage Land Trust	Survey Respondent			
South of the Sound Community Land Trust	Survey Respondent			
Morris Land Trust	Survey Respondent			

SECTION II | METHODOLOGY FOR DATA ANALYSIS

SECTION II-A | SURVEY DATA

Following the conclusion of the data collection process, the survey data was prepared for statistical analysis using IBM SPSS software. To begin, descriptive statistics were obtained for organizational indicators, including service area, organizational entity type, current land holdings (in easement or owned in fee), the percent of current land holdings used for agricultural purposes, and the percent of agricultural land holdings located in urban, suburban/peri-urban and/or rural locations. These descriptive statistics were used as a preliminary indicator of trends and central tendencies.

After deriving these descriptive statistics, a Pearson Chi² test analysis was conducted between the locality variable (percent of land in urban, suburban/peri-urban, and rural locations) and most frequently utilized acquisition techniques (donation,

outright purchase of fee title, bargain sale, easement, etc.). The Pearson Chi² test affirms or denies the significance of a relationship between two variables. It was deemed an appropriate test because both of the variables (geographic context of land holdings and most-used acquisition technique) were nominal variables.

The aforementioned Chi² test was intended to determine where there was a correlative relationship between geographic context (urban, suburban/peri-urban, or rural land holdings) and predominant acquisition method on a high level. To distill the understanding of correlative relationships more specifically, individual Chi² tests were used to quantify the strength of the correlative relationship between geographic context (urban, suburban/peri-urban, or rural location) and each individual acquisition method. The intent of these individualized tests was to determine the significance of each individual acquisition method's relationship to geography, as opposed to quantifying the relationship between geography and acquisition methods overall.

SECTION II-B | SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW DATA

Responses to questions from the semi-structured interviews are intended to provide context to survey results. Because such a small sample population (ten respondents) was interviewed, the results of the interviews are not intended to represent the context or perspective of all survey respondents. The results of the semistructured interviews were analyzed using a coding process, wherein common themes and phrases were identified. Quotes and anecdotes were organized within this framework, and evaluated to determine commonalities and dissimilarities.

SECTION III | LIMITATIONS TO SELECTED METHODOLOGIES

There are a number of limitations associated with the methodologies utilized for data collection and analysis. While they most often resulted from logistical limitations to resources and project scope, it is important to describe these limitations and discuss their potential impacts on the research.

First, the survey respondent selection process was limited in that it relied on two external sources for potential respondents. While the Land Trust Alliance and the selected study by Rosenberg and Yuen (2012) were reliable sources of information, they were not guaranteed to be comprehensive. In addition, Rosenberg and Yuen's 2012 study was conducted four years prior to this research; within those four years, a number of additional agricultural CLT entities could have come into existence. Utilizing these sources for access to respondents may not have reflected the most representative or comprehensive universe of study participants.

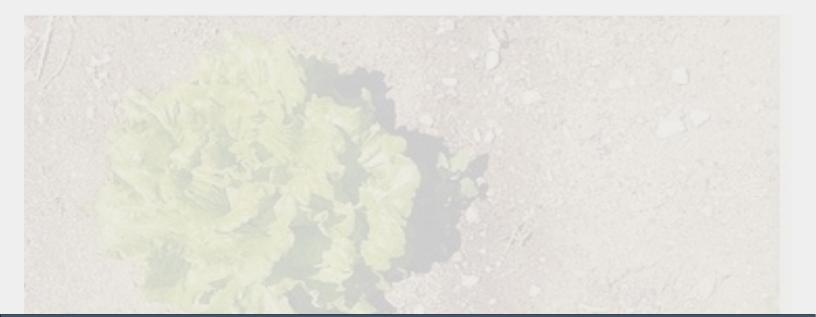
Second, the data is highly skewed towards the land trust population rather than equally distributed between the land trust and CLT populations. Whether due to a smaller gross number of agriculturally-involved CLT organizations or a lack of available information, only 40 CLTs were identified for initial contact in this study. This is in comparison to the 449 land trust entities that were identified as conserving some proportion of agricultural land. The highly skewed population distribution may or may not have impacted the results of this survey.

In addition, the contact procedures for survey respondents may also have impacted response rates. Due to time limitations, potential respondents were only given a two-week window within which to respond to the survey. Immediately preceding and during this time period, potential respondents were only contacted via e-mail. Limited time and resources prevented follow-up calls via telephone, and there is a likely chance that a number of emails to potential recipients failed to send, were sent to the incorrect address, were diverted to a 'spam' folder, or otherwise failed to reach their intended recipient. These failed deliveries may ultimately have played a role in a decreased number of respondents.

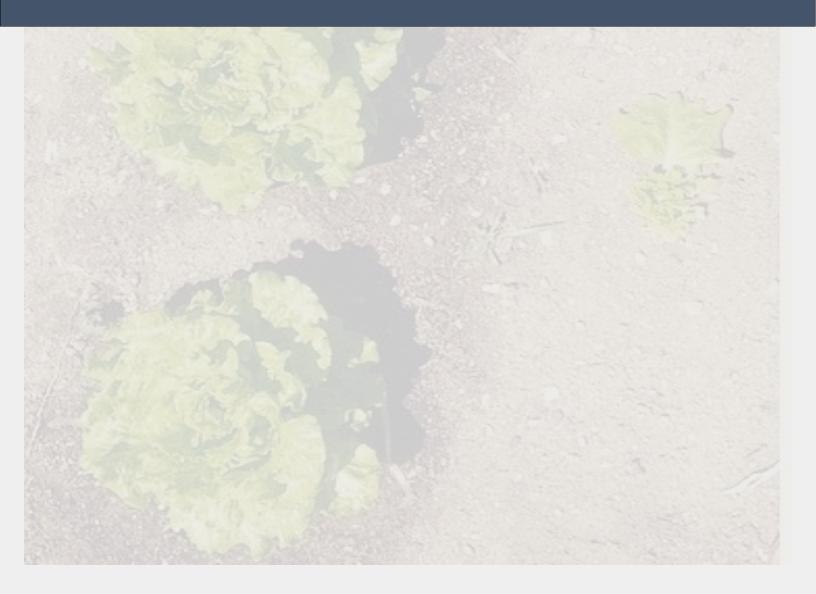
Using a survey as the data collection mechanism for this study may have caused error in responses. Respondents may have been confused about or misunderstanding of the questions as presented. Due to a lack of ability to ask clarifying questions in an interactive manner, participants may have provided inaccurate or irrelevant information. While individual interviews conducted in person or via telephone may have yielded opportunities for clarification and elaboration, the study was limited by time and resources. Interviews employed as the selected methodology for data collection would have yielded far fewer responses.

In addition to misconstruing the purpose of a survey question, respondents might also have been prone to error as a result of self-identification. The survey requested participants to classify the geographic context of the entity's land holdings as rural, suburban/peri-urban, or urban. However, the survey did not provide definitions of these terms. Determination of the location type was left at the discretion of the respondent, which likely resulted in inconsistencies. The rationale behind leaving these terms to individual discretion was for the sole purpose of simplicity. There are a range of definitions applicable to these geographic classifications; adding identifiers such as population density, proximity to urban centers, and other economic indicators might have resulted in complicated and confused responses when a general classification would be sufficient. Therefore, the data presented in Chapter 4 must be reviewed with the understanding that geographic classifications may be generalized and potentially inconsistent.

Finally, data collection and interpretation by a singular researcher is fundamentally prone to error. There is inherent bias associated with the manner in which one interprets responses to surveys and interviews; therefore, any analysis is tainted by the worldview and perspective of the researcher. By working under the supervision of a thesis advisor and reader, it is assumed that these inherent biases may be recognized and addressed.



CHAPTER 4: RESULTS AND DISCUSSION



SECTION I | DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS

To better understand the organizational profile of survey respondents, it was necessary to calculate descriptive statistics as measures of central tendency and frequency. The following tables provide statistical information about survey respondents' service areas, entity self-identification, current gross land holdings, agricultural land holdings, and geographic context of land holdings.

Survey respondents were asked to 'self-identify' (on behalf of their affiliated organization) their entity classification. Only 13% of respondents identified their organization as a CLT, while 83.6% of respondents identified as a traditional land trust. 3.4% of respondents identified as 'other.' The vast majority of respondents identified organizationally as land trusts; this is likely a result of the disproportionate number of land trusts versus CLTs accessed for the study. Of the 489 organizations originally contacted, a mere 40 (8.18%) were CLTs.

SELF-IDENTIFIED ENTITY TYPE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
Nonprofit Land Trust	173	83.6
Nonprofit Community Land Trust	27	13
Other	7	3.4
Total	207	100

TABLE 2.	ORGANIZATIONAL	ENTITY TYPE:	DESCRIPTIVE	STATISTICS

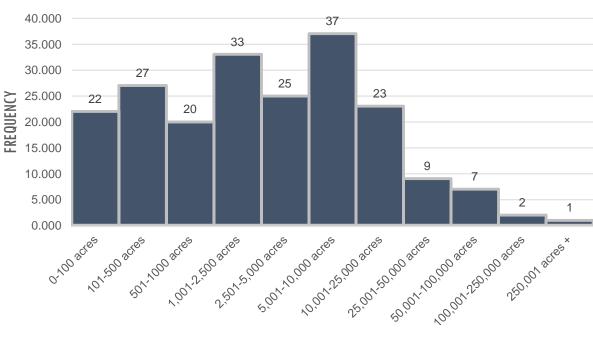
The service area of the land trusts and CLTs surveyed for this research was defined by the following: town-wide, city-wide (municipal), county wide (including up to 3 adjacent counties), regional (including more than 3 adjacent counties, watersheds, or otherwise defined regions), and statewide. Three additional classifications were also

incorporated in order to better represent less conforming service areas, including islandwide, town-wide with 2-3 adjacent towns, and international. The majority of survey respondents (53.7%) indicated a regional organizational service area. 17.4% of respondents indicated a county-wide service area, and 13.5% of respondents described their organization as operating on a town-wide scale.

SERVICE AREA	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
Town	28	13.5
City (Municipal)	15	7.2
County (1-3 County Service Area)	36	17.4
Regional	109	52.7
State	9	4.3
Town, with 2-3 Neighboring Towns	4	1.9
Island	5	2.4
International	1	0.5
Total	207	100

TABLE 3. LAND TRUST SERVICE AREA: DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS

Respondents were queried about the gross acreage of land currently held through fee title or easement. The range of current land holdings was wide; survey respondents reported that their affiliated organizations held anywhere between 0 acres and 465,000 acres. The highest frequency of respondents (37) reported holdings between 5,001 to 10,000 acres.





CURRENT HOLDINGS, IN ACRES

While a land trust or CLT might hold a large number of acres in easement or fee, the land could be held for any number of uses, including agriculture, recreation, open space, wetland or watershed protection, or conservation. As this study is primarily concerned with understanding acquisition processes as they relate to agriculture, it is important to understand the amount of a trust's holdings used for agriculture. Therefore, survey respondents were asked to identify the percentage of their total land holdings used for agriculture. The mean percentage of total holdings used for agriculture was 39.67%; however, the standard deviation reveals a high degree of variance.

TABLE 4. PERCENTAGE OF CURRENT LAND HOLDINGS USED FOR AGRICULTURAL ACTIVITY: DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS

Ν	205
Minimum	0
Maximum	100
Mean	39.6733
Standard Deviation	37.64797

As this study seeks to identify the range of acquisition tools utilized in varying geographic contexts, it was necessary to categorize the percentage of agricultural land holdings in each location type. Therefore, respondents were asked to identify the percentage of their agricultural holdings located in urban, suburban/peri-urban, and rural locations. It should be noted that in many cases, a trust's agricultural land may not be located exclusively in rural locations, for example; rather, many trusts may hold agricultural land in urban, suburban/peri-urban and rural locations in differing amounts.

Of each geographic classification, the mean percentage of rural holdings was highest, at 63.29%. Lowest was urban, with a mean of 7.35% of all agricultural land holdings located in urban areas. It is important to note the standard deviations for each geographic classification, which indicate a wide range of responses.

TABLE 5. PERCENTAGE OF AGRICULTURAL LAND HOLDINGS IN URBAN, SUBURBAN/PERI-URBAN, AND RURAL LOCATIONS: DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS

	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION
Urban	7.3459	24.32396
Suburban/Peri-Urban	17.5738	33.07199
Rural	63.2904	43.75111

SECTION II | STATISTICAL ANALYSIS OF SURVEY RESULTS

Using survey response data regarding trusts' primary method for land acquisition, a cross tabulation was used to determine which of these tools are most commonly used. First, a cross tabulation was used to examine acquisition type (easement versus feesimple) by organizational entity. Of all respondents, only 27 identified as CLTs. Of all CLTs, approximately 37% reported that they primarily acquired land using easements; approximately 63% indicated that they primarily acquire land in fee. Land trusts comprised 174 of the total population; of this, 55% primarily use easements and 44% primarily seek fee-simple ownership.

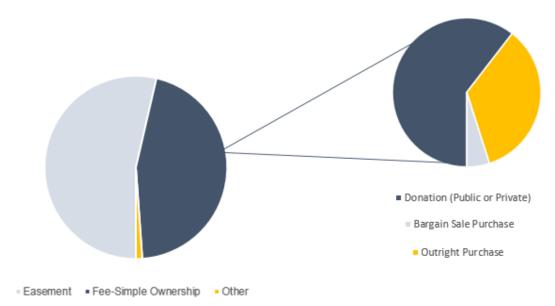
TABLE 6. ACQUISITION STRATEGY AND ENTITY TYPE				
	EASEMENT	FEE-SIMPLE OWNERSHIP (THROUGH DONATION, OUTRIGHT PURCHASE, OR BARGAIN SALE)	OTHER	TOTAL
LAND TRUST	95	76	3	174
COMMUNITY LAND TRUST	10	17	0	27
OTHER	3	4	0	7
TOTAL	108	97	3	208

Next, a cross tabulation was created to evaluate the use of easements and specific methods of acquiring ownership in fee.

TABLE 7. PRIMARY METHOD OF LAND ACQUISITION BASED ON GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION						
	EASEMENT (DONATED OR PURCHASED)	DONATION (PUBLIC OR PRIVATE) OF FEE TITLE	BARGAIN SALE PURCHASE OF FEE TITLE	OUTRIGHT PURCHASE OF FEE TITLE	OTHER	TOTAL
PRIMARILY URBAN LOCATION	1	7	1	5	0	14
PRIMARILY Suburban Location	13	11	1	7	1	33
PRIMARILY RURAL LOCATION	82	31	2	16	1	132
TOTAL	96	49	4	28	2	179

Easement is the most commonly-utilized land acquisition method; of all respondents, 53.63% reported using easements as the primary method of acquisition. The most commonly-utilized process for obtaining fee title is by donation. Of all respondents, 27.37% reported that acquiring fee title through donation (whether by public or private entity) was their primary method of land acquisition. Outright purchase of fee title was the third most popular response; 15.64% of all respondents reported that outright purchase of fee title was their most commonly-used acquisition method.

FIGURE 2. PRIMARY ACQUISITION METHODS



Despite these overall trends, the cross tabulation reveals variations in primary acquisition methods across geographic locations. Of all respondents identifying as primarily rural-located, 62% identified easement as their primary acquisition method. However, only 7% of all urban-located respondents indicated that their primary method of acquisition was easement. Of all urban respondents, 93% reported fee-simple ownership as their primary acquisition method (50% mainly acquire fee-simple ownership through donation; 7% acquire through bargain sale purchase; and 36% acquire through outright purchase). This is a stark contrast to rural-identified respondents. Of all those located in rural areas, 45% reported that their primary land preservation strategy was to acquire fee-simple ownership, whether through donation, bargain or outright purchase. These discrepancies indicate that there are likely relationships between geography and primary acquisition methods.

In order to characterize these relationships, it is necessary to test the significance of such relationships. For this research, the Pearson Chi² test was used to test for statistically significant relationships. Of all the relationships tested, the only ones of statistical significance were for easement and donation from a public entity. It appears that there is a relationship between a trust's location and its use of easements or public donation as an acquisition method.

TABLE 8. SIGNIFICANCE OF RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GEOGRAPHY AND ACQUISITION METHOD

TYPE OF ACQUISITION METHOD	STATISTICAL TEST AND SIGNIFICANCE LEVEL	P-VALUE	SIGNIFICANCE
Easement (Donated or Purchased)	Chi ² Test (p < 0.05)	p = 0.000	Significant
Outright Purchase Of Fee Title	Chi ² Test (p < 0.05)	p = 0.122	Insignificant
Bargain Sale Purchase Of Fee Title	Chi ² Test (p < 0.05)	p = 0.438	Insignificant
Donation From A Private Entity	Chi ² Test (p < 0.05)	p = 0.834	Insignificant
Donation From A Public Entity	Chi ² Test (p < 0.05)	p = 0.000	Significant
Eminent Domain	Chi ² Test (p < 0.05)	p = 0.121	Insignificant
Other	Chi ² Test (p < 0.05)	p = 0.86	Insignificant

SECTION III | DISCUSSION OF INTERVIEW FINDINGS: EASEMENTS

Through semi-structured interviews, respondents were able to provide more indepth comment on their reasons for utilizing (or not utilizing) easements. According to one interviewee, the majority of farmland in the United States is acquired for preservation through easement. This assertion is supported by survey finding, particularly with regard to trusts in rural locations. The relationship between urban trusts and the use of easements is slightly more tenuous.

One interviewee speculated about why easements might be less effective in urban areas. The respondent explained how in his experience, prime easementprotected farmland abutting expensive homes and estates can be purchased by the owners of those estates. Often, the new owners do not use the protected land for farmland; rather, they simply add it to their existing property holdings as open space. The value of the land in question rises, becoming prohibitively expensive for farmers to access. While preservation of open space in urban centers is an important issue, this lack of agricultural activity on easement-protected land may indicate a serious shortcoming of easements as a means by which to preserve urban farmland.

Another interviewee had a slightly different perspective on the drawbacks to utilizing easements in urban areas. An easement requires a landowner to give up their right to develop or otherwise alter their land. A landowner in a rural location might be more inclined to do so because the opportunity cost of developing that land is relatively low (in rural settings, development is often less attractive compared to urban locations). In urban areas, the value of development is relatively higher; therefore, a landowner relinquishing her right to develop her property stands to lose more in a highdevelopment location.

While easements are widely utilized in rural settings, many interviewees reported drawbacks to easements as an acquisition method. Several interviewees indicated that the sophisticated legal language and the permanent nature of easements was a barrier to accessibility, primarily for small, all-volunteer organizations with limited legal capacity. An interviewee from the Land Trust Alliance recommended, "smaller organizations need to consider whether they have the stewardship and legal protection bandwidth to use easements as a tool."

However, umbrella organizations and other partners can provide assistance to small-scale land trusts with limited legal and financial resources. One such organization reported that it overcame the challenge of navigating the legal nuances of an easement by utilizing resources such as "model easement" documents made available by largerscale trusts in the area.

One interviewee also expressed concern about the implications of language used in easements. Usually, easements use restrictive language that bars a farmer or other landowner from performing certain activities or treatments to the land. However, many trusts are experimenting with more affirmative easement action, which raises concerns for one interviewee:

As an organization, we are pretty hesitant about that [use of affirmative language]. It works for some, but there is a potential for it to become too restrictive to a farmer's sustainable practice. For example, a stipulation that says "this land must be kept in agricultural production" could prevent a farmer from fallowing a field or doing something that's appropriate for their land. If a farmer stops farming while under easement for whatever reason, there's a period where that's okay. Then, after a certain period the land trust can step in and lease the land to someone who will farm it.

National Young Farmers Coalition

In this way, easements can actually force farmers to compromise soil health by

inadvertently preventing sustainable practices such as fallowing.

Beyond their complexity as a legal document, an easement requires significant resources for ongoing management and stewardship. Furthermore, holding an easement on a property significantly limits a trust's ability to control the property in its entirety, a point echoed by multiple interviewees.

SECTION IV | DISCUSSION OF INTERVIEW FINDINGS: FEE-SIMPLE OWNERSHIP

Survey findings, which indicate that urban trusts might be more likely to seek feesimple ownership over easement as an acquisition strategy, were further explored through the follow-up interview process. Interviewees provided insights on the benefits and drawbacks of acquiring land through donation, outright purchase, and bargain sale purchase.

One of the benefits of fee-simple ownership, echoed by the majority of interviewees, was that holding land in fee offers trusts a higher degree of control over the use of the land. However, all interviewees independently conceded that acquiring land in fee is usually more expensive upfront. In order to overcome the challenge of initial funding, most trusts leverage deep relationships with their communities, local governments, and independent funders.

Perhaps the most common response to the question of funding an initial acquisition was to develop a strong understanding of the community context. One interviewee mentioned that connections with local organizations and individuals involved with agriculture were imperative to learning about opportunities for partnerships and acquisitions. Several other interviewees described the process of monitoring the local real estate market for affordable offerings.

We really use our community ag connections: we know so and so is ready to sell because we're dialed in with the community. That alone offers a lot of opportunities we wouldn't know about. You have to be opportunistic.

Athens Land Trust

Every interviewee stressed the importance of developing partnerships, whether municipal, community-based, or otherwise. Often, trusts work in close collaboration with the municipal or county government. Neighborspace Baltimore, for example, has a close working relationship described by one interviewee as "tied at the hip." The County of Baltimore passed an ordinance that requires developers to pay a predetermined fee if they are unable to meet the minimum open space requirement. Due to their close working relationship, the County of Baltimore appropriates 20% of the fee toward support of Neighborspace Baltimore's programming.

Beyond municipal and cross-sectoral partnerships, trusts acquiring land in fee repeatedly asserted the importance of community impact. For some, having measurable social and economic impacts on a local scale made their organization's programming more attractive to grantors, foundations and other investors. Maintaining close relationships with the community and reporting impact increases the organization's visibility and aligns closely with the goals of many funding entities. In addition, multiple interviewees described the role of the community in shaping a trust's acquisition processes. One respondent stated: We won't go somewhere we are not wanted. We need to feel solid working in the neighborhoods in which we work. We need to have the right community partners, a strong community base way.

Southside Community Land Trust

In addition to the high cost of initial acquisition, land transactions can often be lengthy and tedious. Therefore, one interviewee emphasized the importance of seeking transactional relationships with savvy sellers who understood the process. Sellers motivated by the trust's mission or by their own conservation values are more likely to weather the long, often trying process of facilitating a change in fee title. One interviewee cautioned:

> Knowing your seller is #1. You need someone on board who understands that it's a long, slow process...if it's someone who just wants to sell and wants the money, that kind of seller can become impatient.

> > South of the Sound Community Farmland Trust

It is clear that building solid relationships and understanding community context are imperative for trusts seeking to acquire land in fee.

SECTION V | DISCUSSION OF INTERVIEW FINDINGS: GEOGRAPHIC CONTEXT

Through the semi-structured interview process, respondents identified benefits and drawbacks to acquiring land in varying geographic contexts. Rural parcels can be appealing for a trust for several reasons. First, rural land is usually less expensive per acre than progressively more urban areas, a sentiment echoed by many of the interviewees. Second, as one interviewee stated, rural land often has associated "conservation values," wherein there is a widespread association with rural lands and threat to land protection. These benefits are reflected in the majority of survey responses, which indicated that of all a trust's agricultural holdings, an average of 63% of land is located in rural areas.

Interviewees also identified drawbacks to conserving rural land. A different interviewee framed the lack of opportunities for public access as a negative, stating that isolating agriculture in faraway rural areas further disconnected urban communities from food production systems. Whether or not public accessibility is a positive or negative feature of rural land is likely tied to an organization's mission. If a trust is concerned with public education and outreach, lack of accessibility would likely be a negative. However, if a trust is primarily concerned with preserving land for productive purposes (not educational or cultural), it is likely that frequent visitors might be perceived as troublesome. One interviewee identified the additional challenge of monitoring and stewarding large parcels of remotely-located rural land. When trusts hold easements or own a parcel outright, it is likely that frequent field visits must be made to ensure compliance with easement terms or to steward the land itself. Remote locations increase the logistical difficulty of monitoring and stewardship processes.

Interviewees provided also insights about conserving suburban or peri-urban land. One organization, which acquired land strictly in suburban settings, indicated a frequent misconception regarding access to vacant arable land. Unlike many inner cities, this interviewee commented that suburban areas tended to have fewer vacant, affordable parcels. In addition, this respondent commented that car-centric infrastructure in these suburban areas can fragment the landscape, decreasing opportunities for acquisition. Another interviewee remarked that one must be cognizant of development patterns; it can be costly and risky to acquire land in the line of sprawling urban development.

Interviewees also reported challenges and opportunities for acquisition in urban spaces. Several interviewees identified proximity to markets as a major benefit for farmers growing on land owned or managed by a trust in an urban area. Growing and selling products in close proximity can reduce or even eliminate significant investments of capital and time. One interviewee described the rewarding nature of working in close proximity to community assets. Urban projects, the interviewee observed, affect people and neighborhoods more directly. In addition, the visibility of community-centric agricultural projects can increase opportunities for program and acquisitions funding. However, urban-located projects often must rethink their evaluative processes:

The metrics of measuring success are different. It's not a matter of acres and bucks [as in rural trusts]. Rather, success is measured by community impact and there are lots of ways you can measure that. *Athens Land Trust*

Despite the benefits of working in close proximity to communities, there are challenges to acquiring and preserving agricultural land in urban areas. Almost all of the interviewees, when asked about urban acquisitions, expressed the sentiment that urban land is almost always more expensive than suburban or rural land. One interviewee described the cost of urban land as "prohibitively expensive"; another interviewee posited that in order for a trust to acquire fee title to urban properties, it is "absolutely essential" to pursue partnerships with municipalities or other funding partners.

Interviewees were also able to provide valuable insights on the process of funding an initial acquisition. Several interviewees recognized that prior to making an initial acquisition, it is important for a trust to understand the environment of the 'market' it is entering:

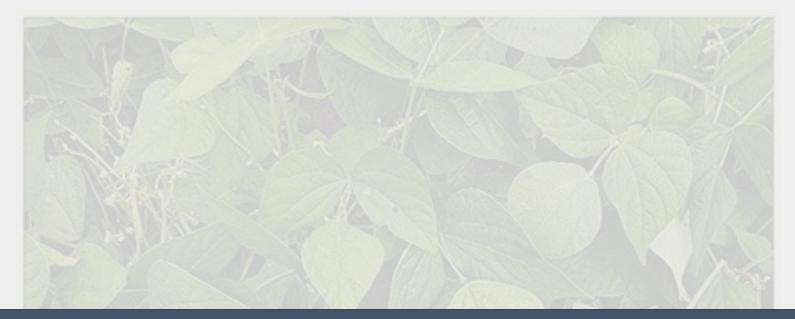
My first reaction to someone starting a new land trust would be to answer the question: who is already doing land conservation within the geography that you're interested in? Are there opportunities to strengthen their work instead of starting a whole new organization? That advice holds whether they're located in an urban or a rural setting.

Land Trust Alliance

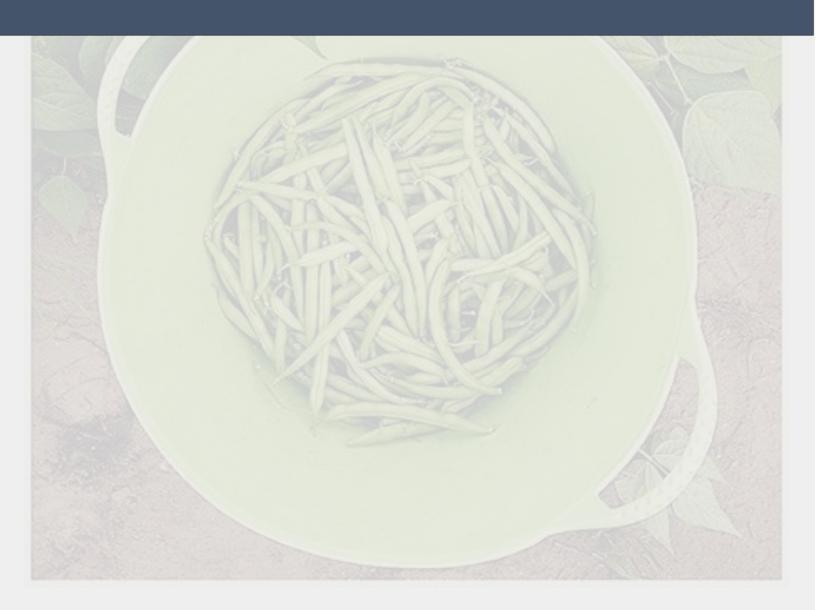
The above sentiment speaks to the wealth of local and regional land trusts and CLTs doing similar work in similar geographies, particularly in the smaller states of the northeastern United States. Several interviewees expressed frustration about lack of coordination between these small entities, particularly when these entities operating in overlapping service areas.

Two other interviewees spoke about the need to pursue acquisitions from a willing seller. One respondent cautioned that the process of transferring title for a piece of land often takes two years; without a patient and understanding landowner, the process can quickly become complicated.

Other interviewees stressed the importance of municipal support for agriculture and conservation. One interviewee described a city-wide policy of support for urban agriculture as an important gateway to partnership. The interviewee described how the trust's work could easily be aligned with these city-specific goals, increasing funding opportunities and general policy-level support.



CHAPTER 5: RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH



CHAPTER 5 | RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

Land acquisition is a complex issue, dependent on countless geographic, political, socioeconomic and environmental factors. Therefore, the results of this study merely provide an introductory framework for a meaningful, comprehensive assessment of current trends in the field. It is highly recommended that further study be pursued, particularly with regard to the nature of the relationship between a land trust's geography and their preferred (and potentially most effective) means of land acquisition.

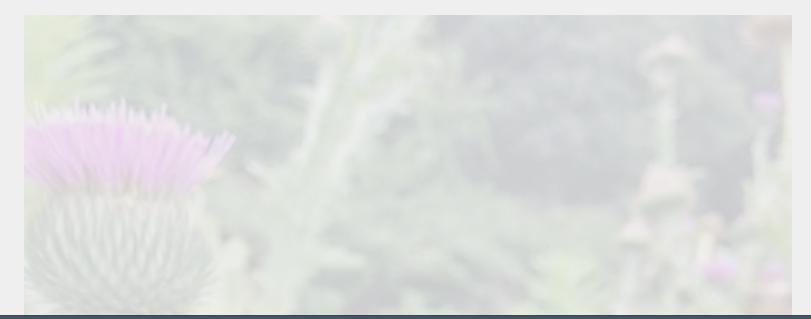
First, the methodology for analysis used in the study was only capable of establishing the *existence* of a statistically significant relationship between variables. The Chi² test statistic has no predictive abilities. It is recommended that for the observed significant relationships (between geographic context and an organization's usage of easement as an acquisition method; and between geographic context and an organization's usage of donation from a public entity as an acquisition method), regressions or some other form of predictive statistical analysis be conducted to determine whether geographic location has any predictive power over the type of acquisition method used. Such tests would provide more in-depth understanding of the type of observed relationship between geographic context and acquisition methods.

Second, it might also be informative to conduct a more in-depth analysis of the varying applications, benefits and drawbacks of easements. As compared to the other methods of acquisition explored, easement was by far the most commonly used acquisition technique as observed by the results of this analysis. Interviewees had a range of opinions on the appropriateness, complexity, and potential of easements as an acquisition tool. To explore the potential of easements not only in varying geographic

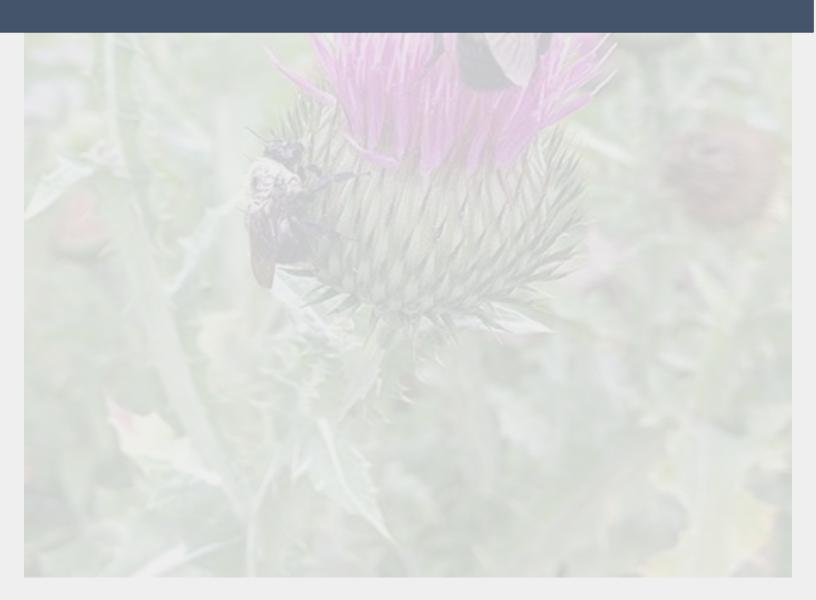
contexts, but also in varying organizational capacities, service areas, and economic conditions, would be highly informative and valuable for nascent conservation entities.

It is recommended that additional study be conducted in order to develop an understanding of what additional factors influence a trust's acquisition methodology. A trust's acquisition of an easement to protect farmland may not be governed by their location in a rural or an urban setting; there could be any number of situational, social, political, environmental or economic factors that dictate which acquisition method is most appropriate. It is important to understand to what degree such variables might inform a trust's ability or likelihood of utilizing the various acquisition methodologies at their disposal.

In order to better support the work of land trusts and CLTs in conserving agricultural land, it is essential to further develop and understanding of the specific nature of relationships. Particularly with regard to acquisitions of fee title, interviewees stressed the importance of relationships, both formal and informal. It is important to formally identify the relationships that trusts are using to support their acquisition processes. Then, comprehensive strategies and city- and county-level policies can be created to foster these relationships and better support the work of trusts.



CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION



CHAPTER 6 | CONCLUSION

Beyond meeting basic human needs, agricultural spaces can enhance quality of life by providing social, environmental, cultural, and economic benefits. Despite the fact that agriculture is a fundamental necessity, sprawling urban development and other factors continue to encroach on existing farmlands. As a result, agriculture has reintegrated into the urban, suburban, and peri-urban landscapes from which it once was divorced. Communities across geographies are exploring the ways in which productive agricultural spaces fit into existing infrastructures and landscapes. Farmland preservation is imperative to maintaining the identities of many rural communities and enhancing the livability of urban and suburban/peri-urban geographies.

Land trusts and CLTs have historically and currently been used as a tool for longterm farmland preservation. While these two entity types often differ in specific mission and board structure, they are similar on a foundational level. Both are non-profit organizations primarily concerned with acquiring land for a mission-based purpose. Both are concerned with maintaining permanent affordability and improving access for homeowners, farmers, business owners and community members alike. Both entities have a strong element of stewardship embedded in their work. Land trusts and CLTs can be effective at different scales and within different geographies.

Supporting the capacity of such organization could be a strategic step towards supporting farmland conservation across geographies. A trust's work, particularly at the onset, is not without challenges. In areas undergoing significant development, highvalue commercial space and housing projects can easily outbid "alternative" uses such as agriculture, open space, and affordable housing. Even the most organized and politically supported organizations can find themselves unable to finance initial acquisitions of high-value land. Beyond funding, logistical and political barriers can impede a trust's ability to acquire land. Many trusts operate on a small scale and are all-volunteer organizations; such limited capacity can prevent trusts from investing time and resources into research and relationship building. The legal language of acquisitions, especially easements, can be highly complex. Without access to legal counsel, trusts may be overwhelmed by the intricacies of such transactions.

The intent of this research is to build a foundational understanding of the methods used by existing land trusts and CLTs to acquire and preserve agricultural land. What methods are such organizations using (easement, or some other strategy to acquire fee title)? Are some methods used more frequently within certain geographic contexts than others? What are the benefits and drawbacks of using easements versus fee-simple ownership as an acquisition method? To answer these questions, a survey was administered to 489 land trust and CLT organizations across the United States, providing a body of information from 207 valid responses. Follow-up interviews were conducted with a small number of trusts and experts in the field. Using the data collected through this process, a mixed-methodology approach (including both qualitative and quantitative elements) was used to analyze the results.

Using survey data, it was possible to build an understanding of the organizational profiles of respondents. The vast majority (83.6%) identified as land trusts rather than CLTs. It is possible that this is due to a combination of factors. It could be that there are simply more traditional land trusts involved with agricultural preservation than CLTs, which tend to preserve land for affordable housing. It could also be a reflection of the

survey population, which was in majority gathered from the Land Trust Alliance's *Find a Land Trust* tool. It could also hint that there are more land trusts in existence than CLTs.

The trusts surveyed for this research encompassed a range of service areas, varying from town-wide to state-wide to island-wide. The majority of respondents (52.7%) operated within a regional service area. Respondents defined "regional" in many ways; the term could refer to an ecological region such as a watershed or a political region of a state or state(s). The second highest percentage of respondents (17.4%) operated within a county-level service area of one to three counties, and 13.5% of respondents operate within a town-wide service area.

Similar to service areas, the average acreage currently held in easement or fee by a trust varied widely. 17.87% of respondents reported current holdings of 5,001-10,000 total acres, the most common response. The second-highest number of respondents reported current holdings of 1,001 to 2,500 acres. However, respondents reported current holdings ranging from under 10 acres to over 250,000 acres. Of these total holdings, it was important to understand how much of a trust's holdings are dedicated to agricultural land. On average, 39.67% of a respondent's total holdings are dedicated to agriculture. However, this average is susceptible to a high degree of variance - responses ranged from 1% to 100% of a trust's total holdings.

The high degree of variance in responses observed through survey data is a reflection of the adaptability of the land trust model. Trusts can hold a small or a large amount of land in varying geographies across a range of service area scales. The diversity of responses speaks to the ability for the land trust/CLT model to be successful in an enormous range of different contexts.

To establish statistically significant relationships between a trust's geographic context and primary acquisition methods, the Chi² statistical test was used. The Chi² test is not predictive; it merely establishes the presence of a statistically significant relationship between two nominal variables. Chi² tests conducted individually between acquisition methods and a trust's geography revealed subtleties in relationships that were not visible in the initial overall test. From these tests, it was determined that there is a statistically significant relationship between the geographic context of a trust's land holdings and their use of easement as an acquisition tool. Similarly, there was a significant relationship between geography and use of fee-simple ownership through donation from a public entity as an acquisition method. It is highly recommended that these relationships continue to be explored in more depth and specificity.

The follow-up interviews with a select few survey respondents and experts in the field proved highly useful for capturing the additional context and commentary unable to be captured through the survey mechanism. Through such conversations, trusts spoke about the associated benefits and hardships of working in urban, suburban/peri-urban, and rural geographies. While acquisition and stewardship in rural spaces is often less expensive and more closely aligned to the public's perception of what rural land use should look like, it also raised challenges for public access and ongoing stewardship due to its higher degree of isolation. In suburban and peri-urban areas, interviewees were frustrated by the misconception of land pricing. Unlike cheaper rural land or available (though potentially more expensive) vacant lots in urban centers, suburban land can be less readily available and more expensive. Interviewees spoke about the highly competitive nature of suburban land use, which must balance high volumes of

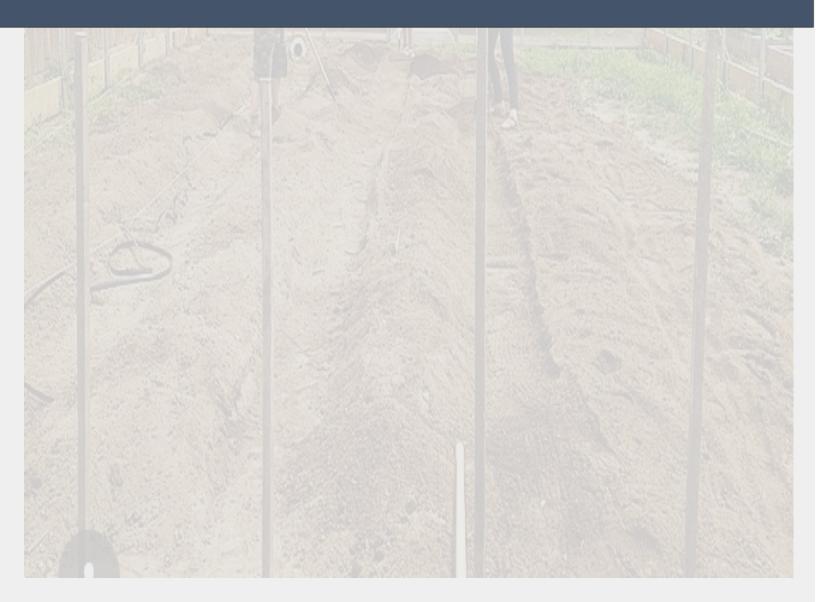
residential with high volumes of commercial, retail and other uses. In urban areas, the major barrier to acquisition is sheer price. Urban land is more susceptible to development (especially in hot real estate markets) and can be prohibitively expensive to acquire in fee. However, there are benefits to farming in urban spaces, including proximity to markets and increased community impact.

Interviewees also reported that they utilize a wide variety of acquisition methods. Due to the aforementioned acquisition challenged in varying geographic contexts, trusts must be opportunistic and community-oriented. They must utilize their relationships within the community to identify acquisition opportunities, collaborate with willing partners, and apply whatever acquisition method is appropriate given the context. That said, easements were the most popular tool for acquisition used by respondents, particularly in rural and suburban geographies. Despite their prevalence, easements can be highly complex legal documents that ultimately yield a lesser degree of control over the land than fee-simple ownership. It is clear that trusts are continuously making strategic choices about what acquisition method is most appropriate given the size and geographic location of a property.

Land trusts and CLTs are a promising, adaptable tool for agricultural preservation. Their efforts should continue to be supported, not only on a policy level, but also by conducting research to better understand the challenges and opportunities for sustaining a land trust or CLT organization. Further research should seek to understand what factors influence a trust's ability to acquire more land for preservation. Only with this understanding can there be a comprehensive strategy for supporting farmland conservation.



CHAPTER 7: WORKS CITED



CHAPTER 7 | WORKS CITED

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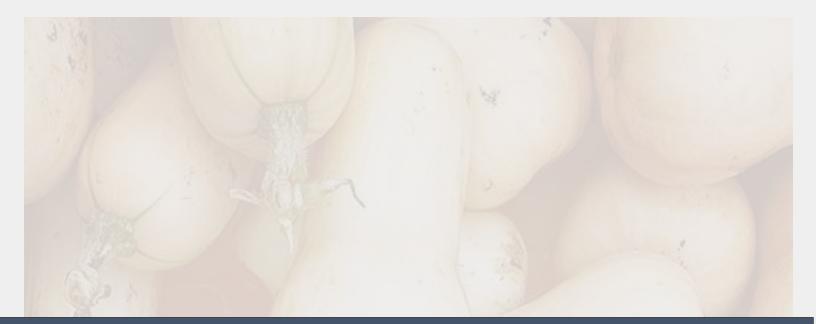
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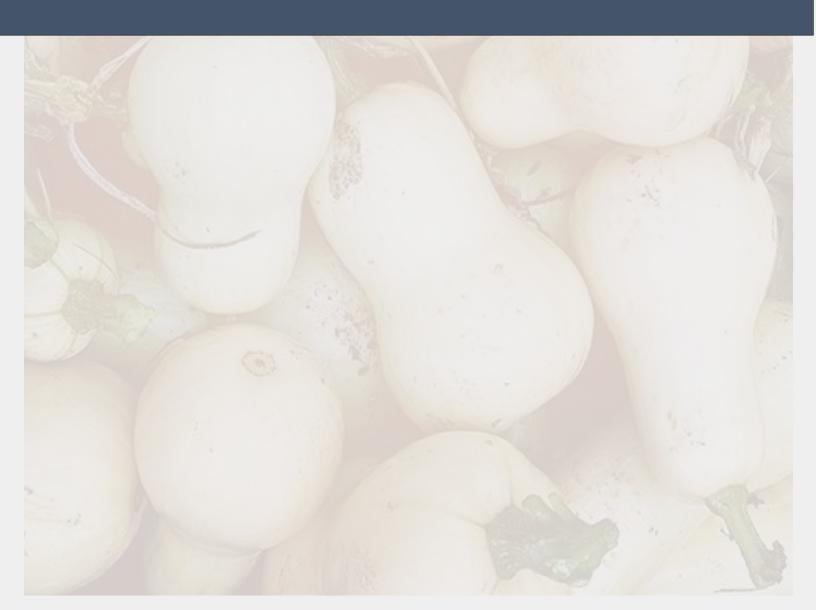
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APPENDIX



A1. SURVEY QUESTIONS

1. Organization Profile

Name:

Location:

Is your organization a

- (a) private non-profit land trust
- (b) public non-profit land trust
- (c) private non-profit community land trust
- (d) public non-profit community land trust
- (e) other (please specify) _____

2. Current Holdings

Approximately how many acres of land is held by your organization? Approximately what percentage of your land is held for agricultural purposes (community gardens, commercial agriculture, urban farming/garden, etc.) Of your agricultural land, approximately what percentage is located in:

- (a) an urban area _____
- (b) a suburban or peri-urban area
- (c) a rural area _____

3. Acquisition Techniques

Please indicate the method by which your organization acquires land (select all that apply)

- (a) outright or fee-simple ownership
- (b) bargain sale
- (c) private donation
- (d) public donation
- (e) conservation or agricultural easement
- (f) eminent domain
- (g) other (please specify) _

Of those listed above, please indicate the primary method by which your organization acquires land.

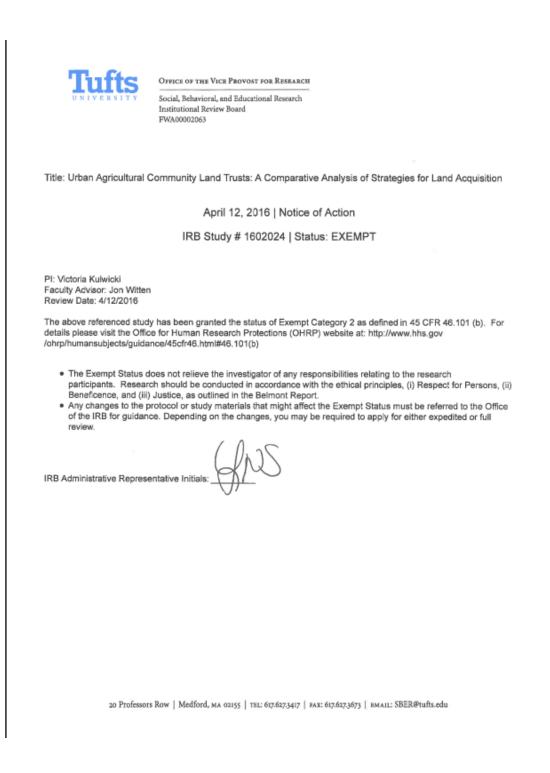
4. Thank you and Follow-Up

Thank you for your participation in this survey. If you are willing to participate in a brief follow-up interview (intended to gain a deeper understanding of the context, benefits and drawbacks of your organization's preferred acquisition technique, please provide your name and contact information below. I will be in touch shortly to schedule a follow-up!

A2. SAMPLE INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

- 1. Please describe your organization's current land holdings.
- 2. How much land does the organization hold in total?
- 3. Is the majority of this land in urban, suburban/peri-urban, or rural locations?
 - a. Can you provide some context about the real estate market in these areas? Is land relatively expensive?
 - b. Can you provide some context about the communities that live and work nearby?
- 4. Please describe the process of acquiring your first parcel of land.
 - a. When did you acquire your first property?
 - b. What was it used for (community garden, small-scale commercial, etc.)?
 - c. What partners were involved?
 - d. What acquisition method did you use?
 - e. What were the major challenges?
 - f. How did you overcome those challenges?
- 5. How have subsequent acquisitions differed from that first acquisition?
 - a. What did you learn?
- 6. What is your primary method for acquisition?
 - a. Why? What are the benefits?
 - b. What are the drawbacks?
 - c. Do you use multiple methods? In what contexts?
- 7. If you could give advice to an emergent land trust/Community Land Trust about accessing and affording land, what would it be?

A3. EXEMPT STATUS



A4. CHI² ANALYSIS TABLES

Cross Tabulation Summary: Geographic Location of Agricultural Land Holdings and Outright Purchase of Fee Title as a Method of Acquisition Outright Purchase of Outright Purchase of Total Fee Title is Not Used Fee Title is Used as as an Acquisition an Acquisition Method Method >51% of the trust's 9 4 13 agricultural land holdings are in urban location >51% of the trust's 4 25 29 agricultural land holdings are in suburban/peri-urban location >51% of the trust's 45 93 138 agricultural land holdings are in rural location 50% of the trust's 0 4 4 agricultural land holdings are in suburban/peri-urban location; 50% of the trust's agricultural land holdings are in rural location Total 53 131 184

Pearson Chi ² Test Results				
Chi ² Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)		
5.803	3	.122		

Cross Tabulation Summary: Geographic Location of Agricultural Land Holdings and Bargain Sale Purchase of Fee Title as a Method of Acquisition			
	Bargain Purchase of Fee Title is Not Used as an Acquisition Method	Bargain Purchase of Fee Title is Used as an Acquisition Method	Total
>51% of the trust's agricultural land holdings are in urban location	8	5	13
>51% of the trust's agricultural land holdings are in suburban/peri- urban location	11	18	29
>51% of the trust's agricultural land holdings are in rural location	54	84	138
50% of the trust's agricultural land holdings are in suburban/peri- urban location; 50% of the trust's agricultural land holdings are in rural location	2	2	4
Total	75	109	184

Pearson Chi ² Test Results				
Chi ² Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)		
2.714	3	.438		

Cross Tabulation Summary: Geographic Location of Agricultural Land Holdings and Donation from a Private Entity as a Method of Acquisition

Donation from a Private	Entity as a Method o	f Acquisition	
	Private Donation is Not Used as an Acquisition	Private Donation is Used as an	Total
	Method	Acquisition Method	
>51% of the trust's agricultural land holdings are in urban location	2	11	13
>51% of the trust's agricultural land holdings are in suburban/peri-urban location	4	25	29
>51% of the trust's agricultural land holdings are in rural location	28	110	138
50% of the trust's agricultural land holdings are in suburban/peri-urban location; 50% of the trust's agricultural land holdings are in rural location	1	3	4
Total	35	149	184

Pearson Chi ² Test Results		
Chi ² Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
.863	3	.834

Cross Tabulation Summary: Geographic Location of Agricultural Land Holdings and Donation from a Public Entity as a Method of Acquisition			
	Public Donation is Not Used as an Acquisition Method	Public Donation is Used as an Acquisition Method	Total
>51% of the trust's agricultural land holdings are in urban location	5	8	13
>51% of the trust's agricultural land holdings are in suburban/peri-urban location	22	7	29
>51% of the trust's agricultural land holdings are in rural location	120	18	138
50% of the trust's agricultural land holdings are in suburban/peri-urban location; 50% of the trust's agricultural land holdings are in rural location	4	0	4
Total	151	33	184

Pearson Chi ² Test Results		
Chi ² Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
20.669	3	.000

Cross Tabulation Summary: Geographic Location of Agricultural Land Holdings and Easement as a Method of Acquisition

Easement as a Method of Acquisition			
	Easement is Not Used as an Acquisition Method	Easement Donation is Used as an Acquisition Method	Total
>51% of the trust's agricultural land holdings are in urban location	8	5	13
>51% of the trust's agricultural land holdings are in suburban/peri-urban location	4	25	29
>51% of the trust's agricultural land holdings are in rural location	10	128	138
50% of the trust's agricultural land holdings are in suburban/peri-urban location; 50% of the trust's agricultural land holdings are in rural location	0	4	4
Total	22	162	184

Pearson Chi ² Test Results:			
Chi ² Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	
33.904	3	.000	

Cross Tabulation Summary: Geographic Location of Agricultural Land Holdings and Eminent Domain as a Method of Acquisition

Eminent Domain as a Method of Acquisition			
	Easement is Not Used as an Acquisition Method	Easement Donation is Used as an Acquisition Method	Total
>51% of the trust's agricultural land holdings are in urban location	12	1	13
>51% of the trust's agricultural land holdings are in suburban/peri-urban location	29	0	29
>51% of the trust's agricultural land holdings are in rural location	137	1	138
50% of the trust's agricultural land holdings are in suburban/peri-urban location; 50% of the trust's agricultural land holdings are in rural location	4	0	4
Total	182	2	184

Pearson Chi ² Test Results		
Chi ² Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
5.807	3	.121

Cross Tabulation Summary: Geographic Location of Agricultural Land Holdings and Some Other Method of Acquisition

	No Other Acquisition Methods Used	Some Other Method Used as for Acquisition	Total
>51% of the trust's agricultural land holdings are in urban location	10	3	13
>51% of the trust's agricultural land holdings are in suburban/peri-urban location	27	2	29
>51% of the trust's agricultural land holdings are in rural location	131	7	138
50% of the trust's agricultural land holdings are in suburban/peri-urban location; 50% of the trust's agricultural land holdings are in rural location	4	0	4
Total	172	12	184

Pearson Chi ² Test Results		
Chi ² Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
6.606	3	.086