



Spring 2016

The Case for Community Land Trusts



Sharon Cho | Koko Li | Hana Migliorato | Lylee Rauch-Kacenski | Tessa Salzman



2016 Field Projects Team Members

Sharon Cho
Koko Li
Hana Migliorato
Lylee Rauch-Kacenski
Tessa Salzman



In partnership with
Greater Boston Community Land Trust Network Members:

Alternatives for Community and Environment
Boston Tenant Coalition
Chinatown Community Land Trust
City Life/Vida Urbana
Coalition of Occupied Homes in Foreclosure
Greater Bowdoin/Geneva Neighborhood Association
Dudley Neighbors, Inc.
Mattapan United
New England United for Justice
Right to the City Boston
Urban Farming Institute

Cover photo: 2016 Field Project team and Penn Loh at the April 27th, 2016 Greater Boston Community Land Trust public launch event

Title page photo: Lylee and Hana at the 2016 Greater Boston Community Land Trust public launch event with Lincoln Larmond from Mattapan United

Table of Contents

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	1
BUILDING A LIVABLE BOSTON: THE CASE FOR COMMUNITY LAND TRUSTS	1- 12
MATTAPAN: A STUDY OF COMMUNITY AND GENTRIFICATION	1- 39
A CASE FOR COMMUNITY LAND TRUSTS IN MATTAPAN	1-2

Executive Summary

The Greater Boston Community Land Trust Network (GBCLTN) was formed in 2015 in response to escalating cost of housing, gentrification, and displacement threatening Boston's low and moderate income communities. GBCLTN is a coalition of community organizations that facilitates the exchange of best practices and peer support among members and advocates for policy that aids in the creation and maintenance of community land trusts (CLTs). The member organizations intend to implement the CLT model in Boston in order to preserve affordable housing and diverse neighborhoods, to prevent eviction and speculation in areas at risk of gentrification and displacement, and to create local jobs, economic development and productive public spaces.

Although there are 270 community land trusts nation-wide and CLTs have been active in Boston for more than 25 years, the general public is largely unfamiliar with the CLT model and its benefits. Proliferation of the CLT model will rely on community education and the formation of strategic partnerships between all stakeholders including municipalities, financial institutions, nonprofits and residents. The GBCLTN has been garnering support for CLTs in the Greater Boston area over the past year, and the 2016 Field Project team worked with the nascent coalition during the 2016 Spring semester to build both external and internal capacity.

Building public support and raising political clout for CLTs was accomplished by producing a report titled *Building a Livable Boston: A Case for Community Land Trusts*, which focuses on how CLTs can help Boston achieve its affordable housing goals. The report was released in conjunction with the official launch of GBCLTN on April 27, 2016.

Support for the development of Network member Mattapan United was provided by creating a report titled *Mattapan: A Study of Community and Gentrification*, which assesses Mattapan's vulnerability to gentrification and an educational handout for Mattapan United to share the benefits of CLTs to community members.

The 2016 GBCLTN Field Project team's findings affirm what others have claimed: community land trusts are an effective tool to prevent gentrification, stabilize communities and preserve permanent affordability. CLTs are a proven model of land ownership that removes land from the speculative market and places it within the stewardship of the very community it serves. Momentum around CLTs is growing in Greater Boston, and the GBCLTN is taking advantage of this opportunity. By using the following reports as advocacy tools, the GBCLTN and its members can advance community education efforts, policy advocacy and research on community land trusts in Greater Boston.

Building a Livable Boston:

The Case for Community Land Trusts

Sharon Cho | Koko Li | Tessa Salzman
April 2016



Purpose

This report outlines current challenges and opportunities in Greater Boston to support permanently affordable housing and community controlled development through community land trusts and provide policy recommendations for the City of Boston.

Table of Contents

Inequality Threatens Boston	3
Community Land Trusts: A Proven Solution	4
How Do CLTs Work?	5
Working Models: CLTs In Action	6
The CLT Movement is Growing	7
Recommendations for Boston	8
City-CLT Partnership Examples	10
The Time to Act is Now	11

Preface

This report was authored by members of the 2016 Tufts Field Project team in partnership with the Greater Boston Community Land Trust Network. It extends on the work of the 2015 Field Project report, [*Development Without Displacement: The Case for Community Land Trusts*](#), authored by Ben Baldwin, Marie Gay, Rachel Nagin, Victoria Kulwicki, and Joel Wool.

The [Tufts Urban and Environmental Policy and Planning Field Projects](#) is a semester long course that provides graduate students the opportunity to work on challenges in their areas of interest with real-world partners.

The Greater Boston Community Land Trust Network

The Network convenes community organizations that have existing CLTs, are building capacity for CLTs, or exploring CLT implementation as part of broader strategies to prevent eviction and displacement. The Network facilitates cooperation and resource sharing among members and jointly advocates for supportive policies.

Current Member Organizations

Alternatives for Community and Environment
Boston Tenant Coalition
Chinatown Community Land Trust
City Life/Vida Urbana
Coalition of Occupied Homes in Foreclosure
Greater Bowdoin/Geneva Neighborhood
Association
Dudley Neighbors, Inc.
Mattapan United
New England United for Justice
Right to the City Boston

Tufts University Urban and Environmental Policy and Planning (UEP)

April 2016

Cover photo: July 2014 Groundbreaking of the Garrison-Trotter Farm in Dorchester, the first urban farm under the new "Right to Farm" ordinance in Boston. The project is a partnership between The Trust for Public Land, the City of Boston, the Urban Farming Institute of Boston, and Dudley Neighbors Inc. Photo credit: Travis Watson

Inequality Threatens Boston

With soaring housing costs, Boston is becoming unaffordable for all but the most wealthy. A recent study by the Brookings Institute found that **Boston has the highest income inequality of any major city in the country**, due in part to the lack of affordable housing.¹ There are 40,000 households on the Boston Housing Authority's waitlist for 15,000 subsidized units and according to the Metropolitan Boston Housing Partnership, the Section 8 waitlist is currently 11 years long.² The demand for affordable housing in Boston far exceeds the city's supply.

Meanwhile, **Boston's hot real estate market is only getting more expensive**, driven by a 40% increase in land prices since 2000.³ In 2016, the luxury condo market reached a record high with an average unit sale of \$2.3 million in Boston's central, upscale neighborhoods. The resulting gentrification is not only impacting downtown character, but also increasing housing costs for low and moderate income populations who have historically been the heart of Boston's neighborhoods.



Michelle Rubiera and daughter, Athena. Michelle is a Dudley Neighbors Inc. (DNI) homeowner and Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative (DSNI) board member. Photo credit: DSNI

Real median household income has remained stagnant for over a decade up only 1.4 percent since 2000. The combined effects of stagnant income and rising cost of housing has led to an increase in families that are housing cost burdened. According to the *The Greater Boston Housing Report Card* for 2014-2015, more than half of renters spend greater than 30% of their income on housing, and 25% of this group spends more than 50% of their income on housing. Meanwhile 38% of homeowners are paying greater than 30% of their income in mortgages and taxes, up from 27% in 2000.

Increasing Housing Unaffordability

- 40,000 households waitlisted for 15,000 affordable units
- 40% increase in land prices since 2000
- 50% renters, 38% homeowners cost burdened with rent, mortgage

Although neighborhood revitalization can bring improvement and economic growth to a neighborhood, **the lack of suitable affordable housing options leads to displacement** of low and moderate income residents. Displacement tears the social fabric of communities whose residents may no longer be able to afford to stay in their homes. Neighborhoods become destabilized as more people become priced out and vulnerable to evictions.

Community Land Trusts: A Proven Solution

What is a Community Land Trust?

“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. However, the heart of their work is the creation of homes that remain permanently affordable, providing successful homeownership opportunities for generations of lower income families.”⁴



*Members of the Chinatown Community Land Trust board.
Photo credit: DSNi*

This crisis of unaffordable housing and inequality is spurring community residents and City leaders to look for effective solutions and take action. Mayor Walsh’s [*Housing A Changing City: Boston 2030*](#) report sets out ambitious goals to meet a wide range of housing needs. The report recommends exploring community land trusts (CLTs) as an innovative approach to building strong neighborhoods and addressing gentrification and foreclosures. Most recently, the City’s Housing Innovation Lab (I-Lab) has announced its intention to support CLTs as one of four priorities for meeting the Mayor’s housing goals. At the state level, the Special Senate Commission on Housing’s March 2016 report, *Facing Massachusetts’ Housing Crisis*, also points to CLTs as a proven but underutilized tool for addressing gentrification.

CLTs have been in existence for more than 45 years. There are over 270 across the country today from Albuquerque, New Mexico and San Francisco, California to Minneapolis, Minnesota and Burlington, Vermont.

Boston does not need to search far for an exemplary model. Roxbury’s very own community land trust, Dudley Neighbors, Inc. (DNI), is one of the nation’s oldest and most acclaimed urban CLT. Created in 1988 by the Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative during a period of devastating disinvestment, DNI now owns more than 30 acres of land with 226 units of affordable housing, an urban farm, a greenhouse, a charter school, several parks, and a town common.

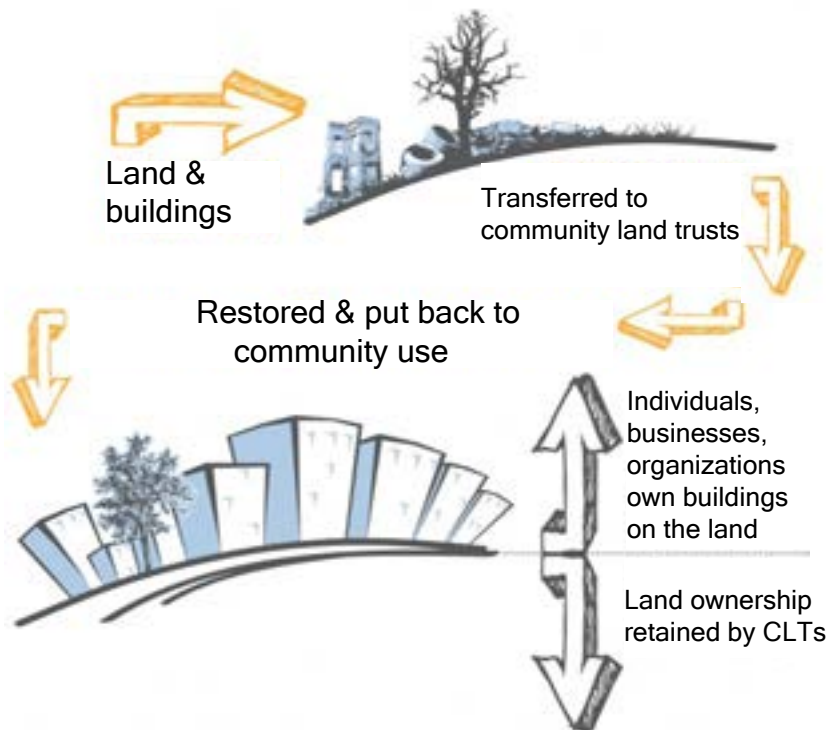
CLTs successfully

- Create and preserve permanent affordable housing
- Prevent gentrification
- Stabilize communities from foreclosure
- Create jobs and support local business



Residents celebrating the 25th anniversary of DNI on Dennis Park on DNI with a day of activities organized by residents. Photo credit: Travis Watson

How Do CLTs Work?



CLTs own and steward land to support a range of community uses including homeownership, local business and agriculture. CLTs maintain long-term stewardship over the land by issuing long-term (99 year) leases with affordability requirements to the homeowners, business people or farmers. Deed restrictions and other long-term affordability mechanisms can also be used by CLTs for additional flexibility. Because the land is not owned by the homeowner and is under a long-term lease, the land cannot be “flipped” by speculators who buy undervalued land with the intention of selling it for profit. In essence, the CLT keeps the value generated by public and collective investments in the hands of the community.

Working Models:

CLTs In Action

In 2005 the **San Francisco Community Land Trust** aided low income senior residents who were faced with an immediate building-wide eviction to successfully stabilize a 21-unit property in San Francisco's Chinatown, and convert it to permanently affordable housing.

The **Coalition for Occupied Homes in Foreclosure (COHIF)** offers an alternative to eviction by keeping residents who are in, or at risk, of foreclosure in their homes. COHIF plans to transfer their properties in the Greater Four Corners area to a CLT to enhance community control and permanent affordability. They are considering expanding their model to other parts of Boston in the future.

DSNI's CLT, **Dudley Neighbors, Inc. (DNI)**, was created to address racial disparities around access to land, homeownership and wealth creation and now hosts 226 units of affordable housing on its land. DNI helps families build wealth by taking land in the neighborhood out of the speculative market and selling homes to income-qualified homeowners at affordable prices.



DSNI and DNI using public art to engage residents in planning on one of the last vacant parcels transferred to the DNI land trust in the Dudley Triangle.

The **Urban Farming Institute (UFI)** is a resident-led organization working to secure long-term access to land for urban farmers in Roxbury, Dorchester and Mattapan. UFI provides a vocational training program for beginning urban farmers and is working with the City to develop three urban farms in Boston that will be owned by DNI. The CLT model can help UFI secure long-term access to affordable land for urban farmers, create community green spaces, and provide opportunities for life and job enhancement.

The **Chinatown Community Land Trust (CCLT)** was formed in 2015 by a group of residents, business owners, and activists in response to growing gentrification and displacement in Chinatown. CCLT aims to stabilize Chinatown as a neighborhood for working class families and a regional hub for the Greater Boston Chinese community by preserving historic row houses, increasing affordable commercial space, and buffering the impacts of gentrification. The CLT model is being leveraged in Chinatown to preserve an invaluable cultural corridor and to help the community to remain in place.

The CLT Movement is Growing

Momentum for CLTs is building in Boston.

Government agencies and community-based organizations alike are harnessing the growing interest in, and demand for, this particular affordable housing strategy.



Seven farmers who graduated from Urban Farming Institute's training program last year. Photo credit: Paul Dunn

The Greater Boston Community Land Trust Network and its member organizations are collectively working to increase affordable housing and strengthen community resilience. In addition to the working models described on page 6, Mattapan United (MU) is developing a gentrification mitigation strategy and acquiring community-owned land before the market becomes unaffordable.

Currently, the impact of these organizations is limited by staff capacity, land availability and other technical resources that the City may be able to provide.

If provided with ample support, these organizations and others can accelerate and secure the equitable development of Boston neighborhoods.

Partnerships between CLTs, community development corporations (CDCs), and financial institutions are key to building a strong CLT network in Boston. CDCs and CLTs can work to complement one another. For example, CLTs can provide preservation and stewardship services to the properties that CDCs help to develop. Moreover, CLTs can find homebuyers and renters for CDC-developed homes, while ensuring long term affordability and longevity of public subsidies. Dudley Neighbors, Inc. has done just that by partnering with Dorchester Bay EDC and Nuestra Comunidad Development Corp. to develop affordable homes on their land using the development expertise of each CDC.

CLTs in Boston are also actively building relationships with financiers to diversify and bolster their sources of funding. Through partnerships with social investors, financial institutions and city agencies, CLTs can become a key player in the development of affordable housing resources for Boston residents.

Synergy between shared public goals and community capacity can be achieved by acknowledging the unique and important assets each partner contributes. The extensive political and community-based engagement on CLTs positions Boston well to take action now and address the affordable housing crisis head on.

Recommendations for Boston

1. Prioritize public land and homes for CLT stewardship
2. Provide sufficient and flexible financing
3. Support CLT infrastructure



Giselle Flowers, a business on land owned by DNI. DNI is building another commercial property space to provide affordable rent for local small businesses.

As momentum around CLTs build, there are key challenges that can be addressed by City policy and resources. These include:

- Acquiring land and homes for stewardship
- Accessing sufficient and flexible financing
- Building CLT organizational infrastructure

The following recommendations can help the City of Boston advance CLTs as a significant strategy towards meeting its 2030 housing goals:

1. Prioritize public land and homes for CLT stewardship

The City of Boston can establish a transparent and inclusive land disposition process of city-owned parcels so CLTs and other relevant organizations are solicited to submit a request for proposal. Points can be awarded for applications that provide the longest term affordability and the highest level of resident and community ownership, stewardship, and support.

When developing new affordable homes through the Mayor's Neighborhood Homes Initiative, the City can provide the opportunity for CLTs to incorporate these affordable and middle-income homes as part of their land base. The City can transfer ownership to the CLT to ensure long term affordability and longevity of the City's subsidies.

The City's Inclusionary Development Policy (IDP) funds can be prioritized for CLTs. When developers elect to build IDP required units off-site, CLTs could be offered the opportunity to work with the developer to build or preserve affordable units on their land trusts.

2. Provide sufficient and flexible financing

The City of Boston can establish a loan fund for CLTs to acquire, develop, preserve and rehabilitate affordable housing. The new loan fund or line of credit should be interest free or low interest, and should include a higher subsidy per unit than the current

\$70,000 offered by the Acquisition Opportunity Program. These attributes will allow CLTs and low-budget borrowers to effectively take advantage of these funds and acquire land or homes without needing additional outside resources.

The availability of funds can also be expanded to support the post-development, post-purchase stewardship of publicly subsidized, privately owned housing with long-term affordability controls. Funding can again be prioritized for projects that ensure the longest term affordability and provide the highest level of resident and community ownership, stewardship, and support.

3. Support CLT infrastructure

The City of Boston can establish an emerging community land trust pilot program to cultivate the success of organizations as they develop new CLTs. The pilot program would support CLT staff time as well as provide funds to pay for legal services and business planning, which are currently outside the scope of many non-profit budgets. CLT staff members in a pilot program would be able to expand their outreach and education efforts and gain technical assistance as they incorporate as a 501c3, set up ground leases, and plan for future economic sustainability.



Students learning carpentry skills at Madison Park Technical Vocational High School and building a home on DNI. The project is in partnership with YouthBuild and Boston Carpenters Training Apprentice.

The City can provide funding and technical assistance to explore establishing a citywide CLT “central server”. A central server would act as a resource hub for, and connection between, CLTs and municipal agencies. A central server streamlines and standardizes routine tasks of maintenance, marketing, education and acquisition of financial resources. Such a model would increase efficiency and effectiveness of each individual CLT through time and financial savings, otherwise spent on creating and discovering this information independently. The central server could provide specific functions such as those provided by the BACCLT.

The Bay Area Consortium of CLTs (BACCLT) includes CLTs in 5 counties in the Bay Area. BACCLT provides a means for established and emerging CLTs to collectively share efforts, technical support and resources to efficiently facilitate marketing, resale listings, and access to additional mortgage financing. BACCLT supports the development of new local CLTs, provides tenant and homeowner support, education and community building. The Consortium works on shared policy advocacy. After a \$50,000 grant from the Federal Home Loan Bank AHEAD Program, the Consortium hired a shared stewardship coordinator. The Consortium has a revolving loan fund for member CLTs, and over \$100,000,000 in total community assets among all member CLTs.

These recommendations have been successfully implemented in cities across the country. The following page details examples of a range of successful City-CLT partnerships.

City-CLT Partnerships

Examples

Public land disposition

In Delray Beach, the Community Redevelopment Agency conveys its vacant parcels to the Delray Beach CLT and conveys other parcels at a discounted price. Cleveland conveys tax-foreclosed parcels to their local CLTs.

Irvine and Petaluma, CA and Burlington, VT have incorporated CLTs into inclusionary zoning policies. Irvine's redevelopment agency donates land and provides funding for the local CLT and places inclusionary housing units into the CLT's portfolio. Petaluma has offered developers the option to convey homes to the Housing Land Trust of Sonoma County to meet its city-mandated inclusionary requirements. In Burlington, the Champlain Housing Trust stewards over 100 units of inclusionary zoning units, and the City of Chapel Hill pays the local CLT to steward inclusionary units.

Municipal financing for CLTs

Bellingham, WA committed \$10 million in public funds to help subsidize the first 1,000 units of housing developed by a district-wide CLT. And, Minneapolis, MN and Lawrence, KS have established interest-free deferred loans with 30 year term municipal loans to local CLTs. In Minneapolis, the loans are forgiven at maturity as long as the CLT consistently meets the city's performance standards.

Highland Park, IL, Burlington, VT and San Francisco, CA have all established local housing trust funds that contribute to CLTs. San Francisco established a Small Site Acquisition Fund for acquisition of units between 5-25 units in 2009, with the recent annual budget at \$18 million and expected increase to \$20 million.

CLT infrastructure

The City of Chicago covers the cost of staffing the city's CLT, pays for overhead and administrative costs during the CLT's first few years, and provides legal services from a city attorney.

Sarasota, FL, Albuquerque, NM, and Delray Beach, FL are a few examples of cities that have provided funding for CLTs to contract consultants for a wide range of capacity building and technical services. Sarasota pledged annual operating grants of \$250,000 for the first four years to enable the Community Housing Trust to build organizational capacity, develop a homeownership program, and launch its first projects. Albuquerque provides Sawmill CLT with annual grants of \$200,000 from Community Development Block Grant money that is used for staff salaries, predevelopment work, and building organizational capacity.

The Time to Act is Now

The City of Boston has ample political support and civic capacity to address its housing challenges. With growing interest in and development of CLTs, this model is an important, proven and compelling component of the solution. **CLTs promise a variety of social and economic benefits:** permanent affordable housing, stable and supported communities, and economic opportunity for Boston residents. Land trust projects take time to plan and build, and there is urgency to act now if the City's housing goals are to be met by 2030. City agencies can prepare for a successful future for Boston's neighborhoods by taking decisive and committed action to support community-driven development and the creation of sustainable, secure, affordable housing.

References

1. Berube, A., & Holmes, N. (2016). *City and Metropolitan Inequality on the Rise, Driven by Declining Incomes*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institute.
2. Johnston, K. (2014, November 28). Demand soars for affordable housing in Boston area. *Boston Globe*. Retrieved from <https://www.bostonglobe.com/business/2014/11/28/demand-for-affordable-housing-soars/hCb4RSkLTbpqdMJR1>
3. Bluestone, B., Huessy, J., White, E., Eisenberg, C., & Davis, T. (2015). *The Greater Boston Housing Report Card 2015*. Boston: The Boston Foundation.
4. FAQ - Community Land Trust. (n.d.). Retrieved April 20, 2016, from <http://cltnetwork.org/faq/>
5. Thaden, Emily. 2011. "Stable Home Ownership in a Turbulent Economy: Delinquencies and Foreclosures Remain Low in Community Land Trusts." Cambridge, MA: Lincoln Institute of Land Policy.



Youth residents of Roxbury develop empty lots in community gardens through the Roxbury Environmental Empowerment Project of Alternatives for Community and Environment. They are in the process of planning to transfer these gardens to a community land trust to preserve them permanently and provide access to healthy, fresh, food.

Benefits of Community Land Trusts

Buffer Against Gentrification

When a community owns the land through a CLT, that land cannot be sold or “flipped” to the highest bidder. This means that CLTs preserve and create affordable housing while alleviating pressure from development that results in higher housing costs.

Preserve Permanent Affordability

The resale price of CLT homes is capped and sales are restricted to income-eligible buyers so that homeowners earn equity on their homes while also ensuring that affordability is extended to future families.

Ensure Strong and Stable Neighborhoods

CLTs increase the civic engagement by organizing residents to develop and implement a collective vision for community land. CLT boards include leaseholders, community members, and elected officials. This model strengthens the civic capacity of neighborhoods, and facilitates collaboration between municipalities and other partners.

Help Families Build Wealth

With lower housing costs, CLT residents are able to save and invest in their future such as for a college education or to start a small business. Families living in a CLT home build wealth by paying off a mortgage and building equity.

Reduce Foreclosures

During the recent recession, CLTs locally and nationally showed a foreclosure rate of less than 1%.⁵ Of the 95 homes on the DNI land trust at the time, there were no foreclosures during the foreclosure crisis despite severe impacts in the surrounding neighborhood.

Support Economic and Community Development Goals

CLTs provide access to diverse economic opportunities such as low-cost commercial space, farming, green space, and schools, which allow residents and communities to enjoy continued economic growth without displacement. CLTs can be especially effective for urban agriculture where the guarantee of long-term access and investment is key. Urban farmers also transform blighted or vacant land into productive space for community

Support Successful Homeownership

CLTs provide a built-in network of support for homeowners by helping to secure home financing and providing pre and post-purchase education. Additionally, CLT stewardship programs offer a range of support including home repair and maintenance, refinancing and credit counseling, and energy-saving programs.



For More Information, please contact

Eliza Parad, Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative: eparad@dsni.org

Penn Loh, Tufts Department of Urban and Environmental Policy and Planning: penn.loh@tufts.edu

97 Talbot Ave
Medford, MA 02155
Tel: 617.627.3394
Fax: 617.627.3377

Mattapan:

A Study of Community and Gentrification

Hana Migliorato | Lylee Rauch-Kacenski
May 2016



Inside:

Purpose and Acknowledgments.....	3
Executive Summary.....	4
The Concern.....	4
Mattapan.....	7
Graphs and Maps.....	8
Looking at Gentrification.....	18
Has Gentrification Already Started in Mattapan?.....	27
Discussion.....	29
End Notes.....	30
Appendix A: Continued Mattapan in Context Maps.....	31
Appendix B: Gentrification Vulnerability Indicator.....	36
Appendix C: Change over Time calculations in Mattapan..	37



Mattapan United
www.mymattapan.org



Graduate School
of Arts and Sciences

97 Talbot Ave
Medford, MA 02155
Tel: 617.627.3394
Fax: 617.627.3377
E: uep@tufts.edu

Preface and Purpose:

This report is a product of the Tufts Field Projects course in the Department of Urban and Environmental Policy and Planning. Our Field Project team partnered with the Greater Boston Community Land Trust Network (GBCLTN) to provide support for its members. GBCLTN convenes community organizations with existing community land trusts (CLTs) as part of broader strategies to prevent eviction and displacement. The Network facilitates cooperation and resource sharing among Network members and jointly advocates for policy that aids the growth of CLTs.

This report was developed with member organization, Mattapan United (MU), which engages with Mattapan community members and organizations to address problems facing the neighborhood. MU has asked the Tufts Field Projects team to support them in their gentrification mitigation efforts.

The purpose of this document is to visually represent key demographic information about Mattapan and assess the extent to which the neighborhood is vulnerable to gentrification.

Acknowledgements:

We thank Penn Loh and Danielle Ngo at Tufts University for their support, as well as the rest of our Field Project team: Sharon Cho, Koko Li, and Tessa Salzman. We also thank the GIS experts at Tufts University and the Tufts Data Lab, especially Barbara Parmenter, Jessie Norris, Maddy Warble and Ash Venkat for their support. We also would like to acknowledge the neighborhood demographic work the Boston Redevelopment Authority has done and the City of Portland for creating the model for our gentrification vulnerability indicators.

About us:

Hana Migliorato
Lylee Rauch-Kacenski

We are two MA Candidates in Urban and Environmental Policy and Planning at Tufts University.

For more information about this project and an electronic version of this document please visit: <http://ase.tufts.edu/uep/Degrees/FieldProjects.aspx>

Cover Photo Credit: Lylee Rauch-Kacenski

Executive Summary

Mattapan is one of the last affordable neighborhoods of Boston. The median household income is \$17,000 lower than Boston as a whole and median home values are \$104,499 lower than the city overall. It also has the amenities - such as access to public transportation and open space - that many value.

This report studies how vulnerable Mattapan is to gentrification by creating a Gentrification Vulnerability Index for Boston. Five indicators are considered and then added up for each block group into a cumulative score between 5 and 25, with 25 indicating the highest vulnerability. Mattapan scores high compared to most neighborhoods of Boston.

However, looking at how household income, home values, percentage of renters, and the racial composition of Mattapan has changed between 2000 and 2014, it is inconclusive as to whether gentrification is already happening.

We hope that the maps, models, and analysis found in this report will be helpful to Mattapan United and other community organizations in Boston advocating for gentrification mitigation strategies focused on allowing residents to stay in place and avoid displacement.

The Concern

People are worried that Boston is becoming unaffordable for many families.

The greater Boston area has grown into one of the strongest economies in the region. Supported by anchor industries like education, healthcare, and research, and energized by thriving innovation and technology sectors, Massachusetts' economy has surpassed the national economy and the state is currently poised for its fastest economic growth

since the early 2000s.¹

The strong economy has led to population growth in the area. Although Greater Boston saw an increase of 67,000 households between 2010 and 2014, the housing stock only increased by 15,000 housing units.² Housing prices have soared considerably. Median condominium prices rose by 70% between 2000 and 2005 in the Greater Boston area.³

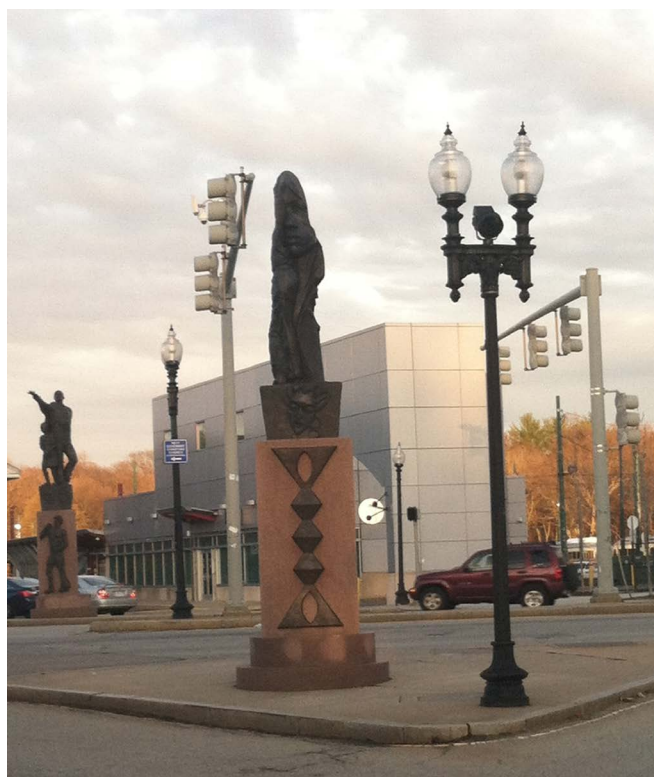
Despite the City's relative economic strength, wealth is not distributed equitably amongst the population. In a recent study by the Brookings Institute, Boston is reported to have the highest income inequality of 100 major U.S. cities.⁴

In the city of Boston, it takes an income of \$100,000 to comfortably afford Boston's median rent, but median household income in the city is just \$58,000.⁵ On average, a resident of Massachusetts needs to make \$24.64/hour to afford a two-bedroom rental unit in the Commonwealth at Fair Market Rent as determined by the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD).⁶ The minimum wage in Massachusetts is \$10.00/hour. One would have to work 110 hours a week at minimum wage or have 2.7 full time jobs to afford market rate rent.

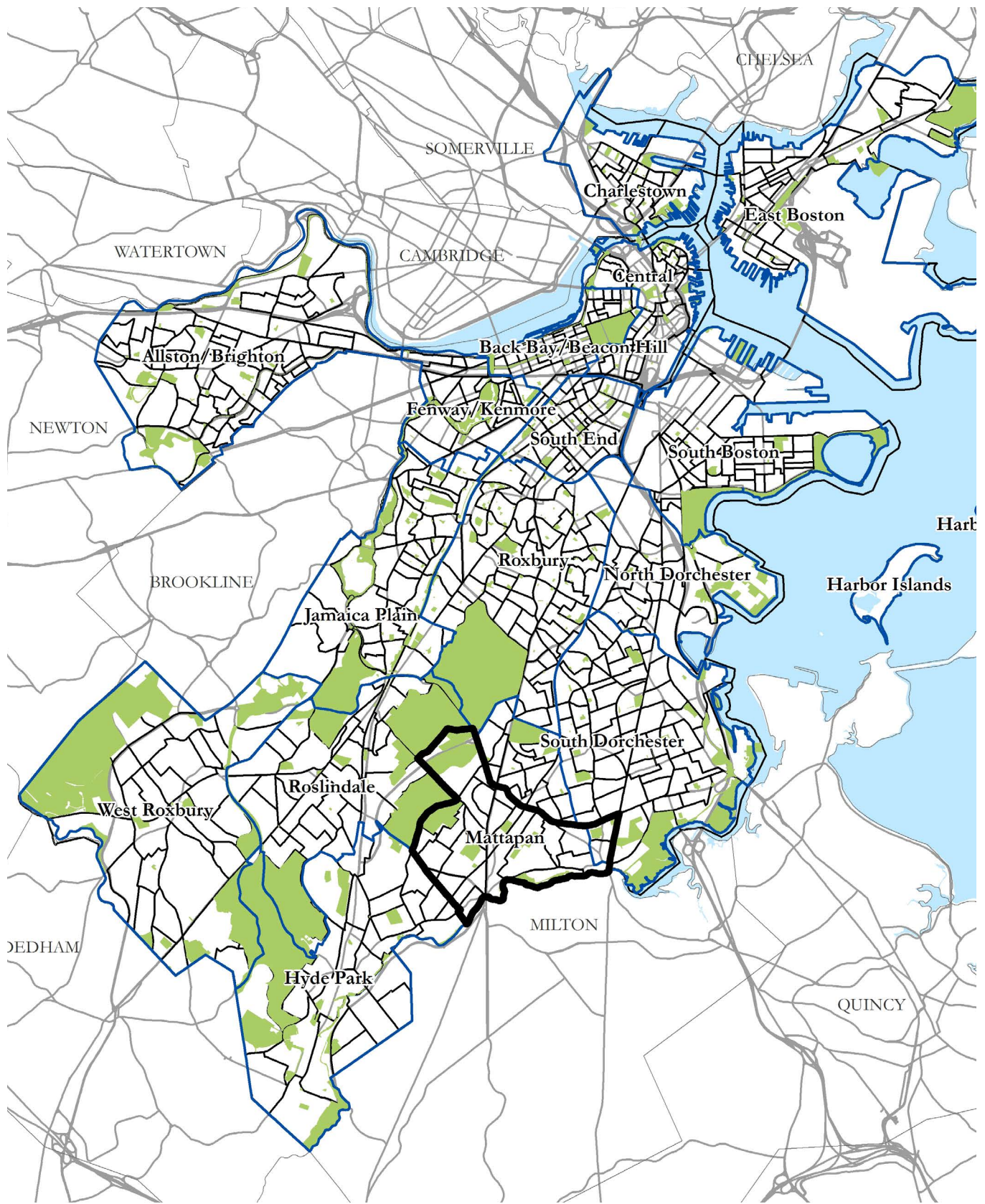
The effect of such income disparity is acutely evident in Boston's housing market. The shortage of rental housing has contributed to increased rents, causing many households to become rent burdened, where more than 30% of household income is spent on rent. This rent burden is projected to continue to grow as a problem. The number of low-income renter households in Boston facing severe rent burden (spending more than 50% of household income on rent) increased by 6% between 2006 and 2013; 60% of low-income renters were severely rent burdened by 2013.⁷ Housing costs that take up a large portion of a family's income have

immediate and long-term impacts on health, wellness, education, and financial stability, as less can be spent on other essentials such as transportation and healthcare.

As a result, people are seeking to live in more affordable neighborhoods of Boston. Certain neighborhoods, like East Boston and Chinatown, are seeing their resident demographics change drastically over a short period of time. Drastic increases in housing prices and stagnant wages make residents with lower incomes vulnerable to displacement because their incomes cannot keep up with rising housing costs.



Mattapan Square
Photo Credit: Lylee Rauch-Kacenski



Map of Boston with Mattapan outlined in black

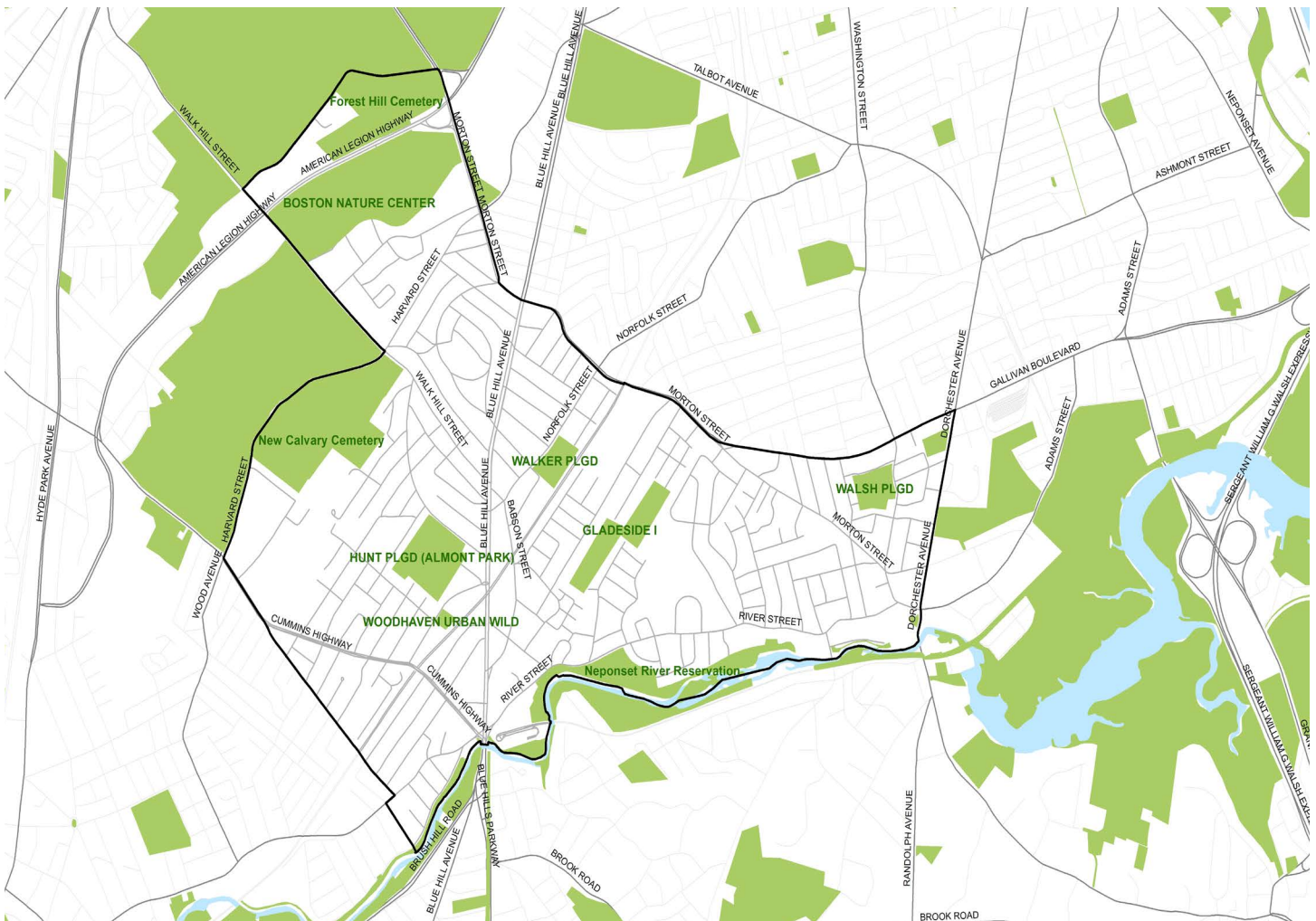
Mattapan

Situated along the Neponset River, Mattapan is a Boston neighborhood located in the south of the City. Mattapan is bordered by Boston neighborhoods Dorchester, Roxbury, Roslindale and Hyde Park.

The area was initially inhabited by the Native American Mattahunt tribe, and its name means “a good place to be” or a “good place to sit.”⁸ Mattapan was originally part of Dorchester and became included as part of the City of Boston when Dorchester was annexed in 1870.

Until the 1960s, Mattapan was largely a Jewish, Irish and European immigrant community. Similar to other urban areas, Mattapan experienced a demographic transformation beginning in the 1960s when African Americans began moving in and White residents moved out to the suburbs.⁹

Today it is a predominantly Black community. Mattapan saw a large influx of Haitian immigrants during the 1980s, and today it is considered the social and cultural heart of the Haitian community in Massachusetts.



Graphs and Maps

The following pages map demographic and housing information for Mattapan and Boston in 2014. For more demographic information, including resident tenure, percent unoccupied housing, median age, and median household size by census block group for 2014, please see Appendix A.

An Aside: Explaining the Data

For this assessment, we use data from the 2014 American Communities Survey (ACS) five-year estimates and data from the 2000 Decennial Census, both of which are conducted by the U.S. Census Bureau.

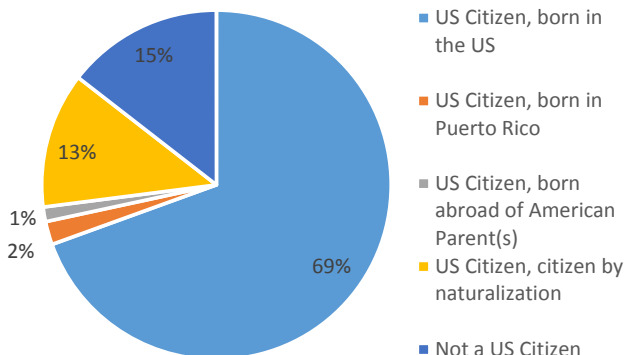
Until 2000, all questions on topics such as income, ancestry, disability, and housing were asked in a long-form version of the decennial process. The ACS was implemented in 2005 to replace the long-form census due to decreasing response rates. The ACS is sent out to about 295,000 addresses a month to gather information. Because it is self-reported, ACS data is seen as more inaccurate than, for example, getting information about household income from tax returns. It is also a sample of the population, and is not a head count.

We conduct our analysis at the block group level. A block group is a grouping of households used by the Census that is smaller than a census tract and tends to be made up of under 3,000 people. There are 549 block groups that make up the City of Boston.

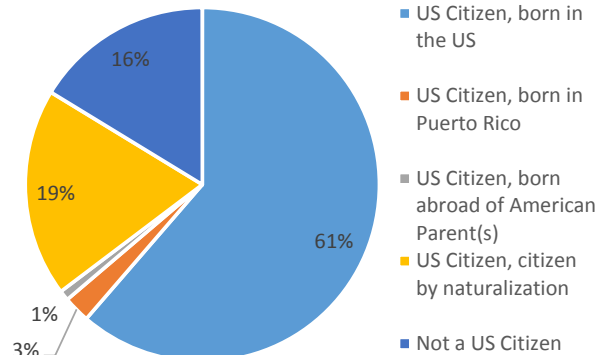
In 2014, 74.14% of Mattapan residents identified as Black, a large number compared to Boston's Black American population of only 22.69%.¹⁰ Mattapan is less affluent and more affordable than the rest of Boston. The median household income is \$17,000 lower than Boston as a whole and median home values are \$104,499 lower than the city overall. While 14.79% of Mattapan residents have a Bachelor's degree or higher, 44.59% of total Boston residents do.

Nativity

Boston



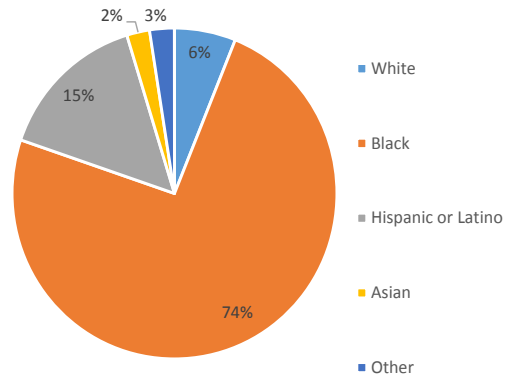
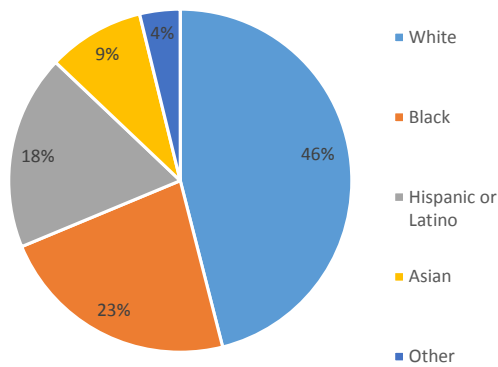
Mattapan



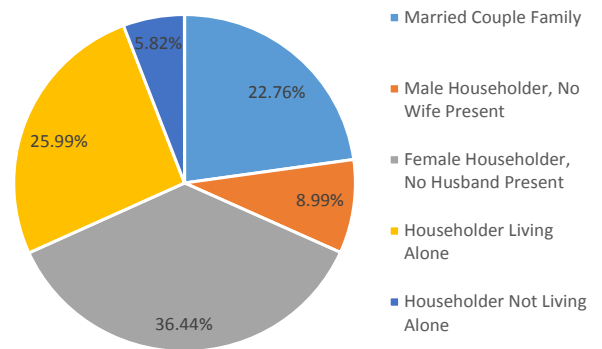
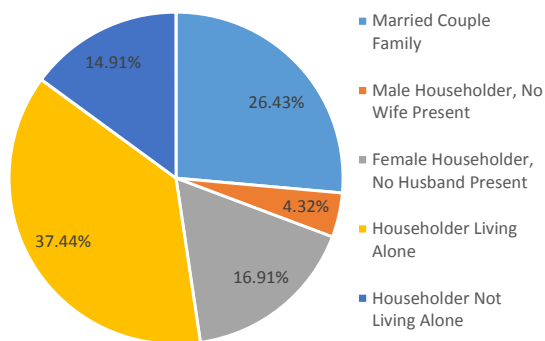
Boston

Mattapan

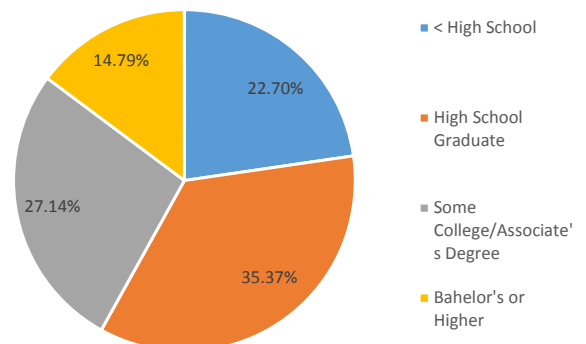
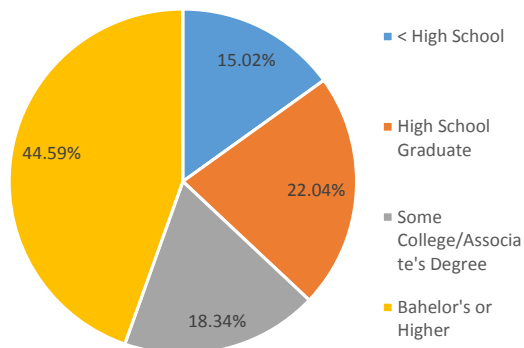
Race and Ethnicity



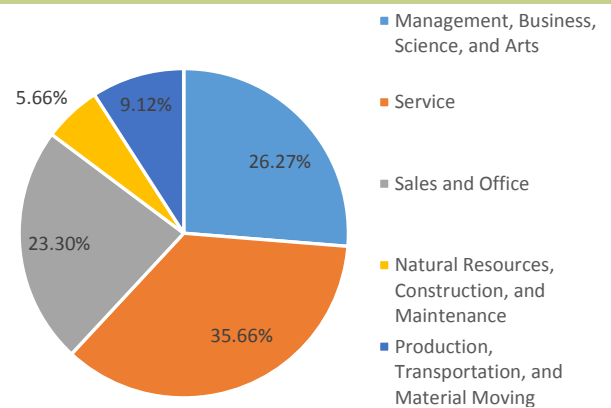
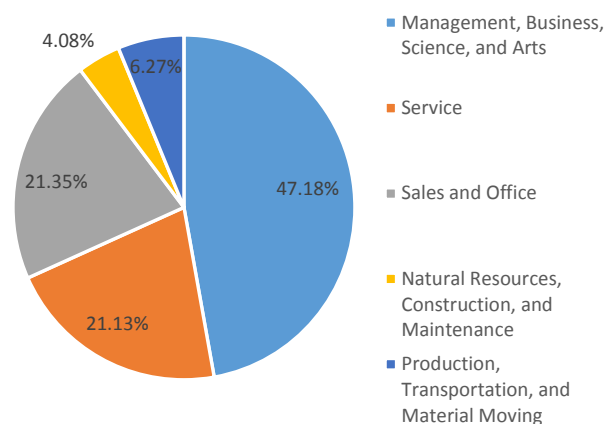
Household Type



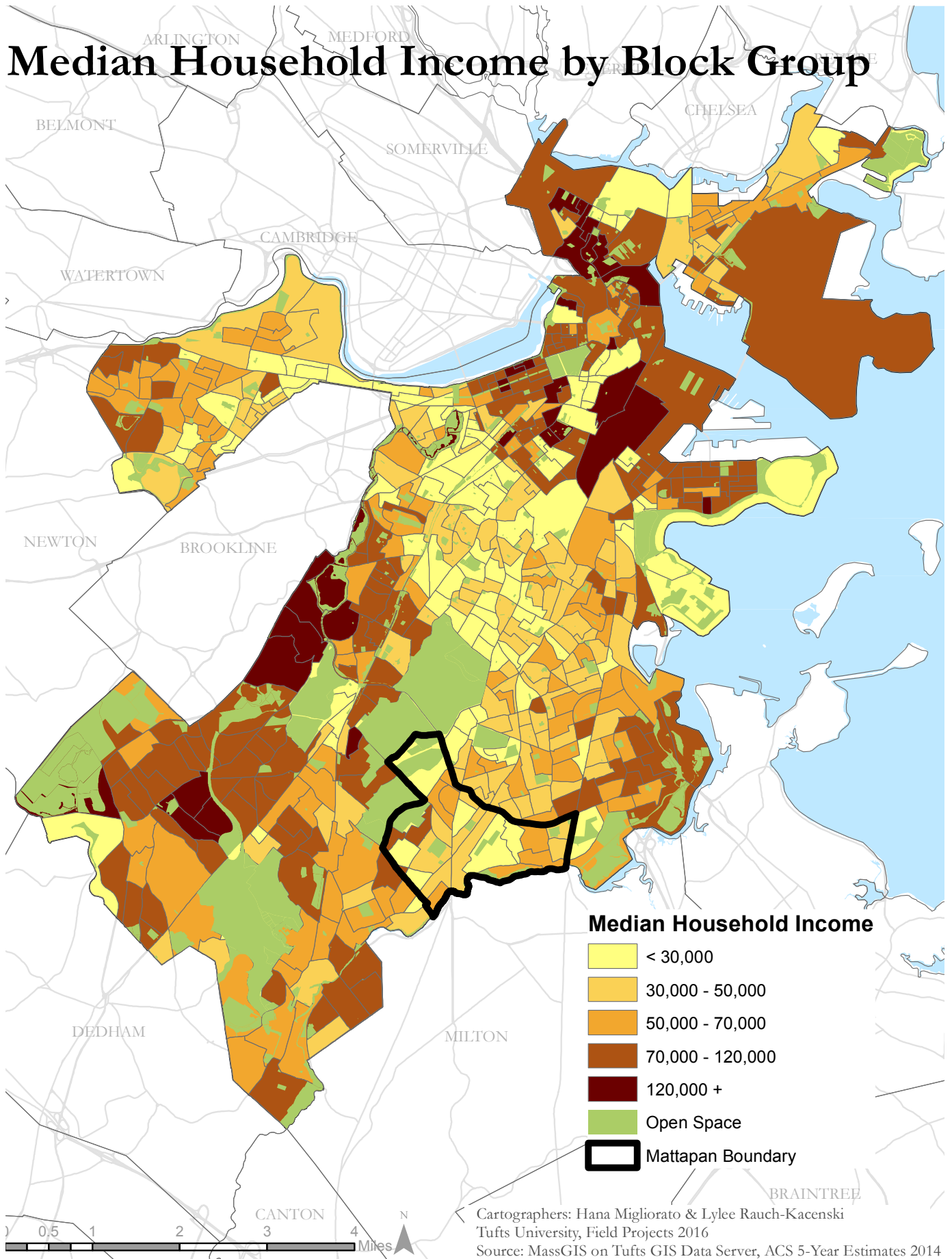
Educational Attainment

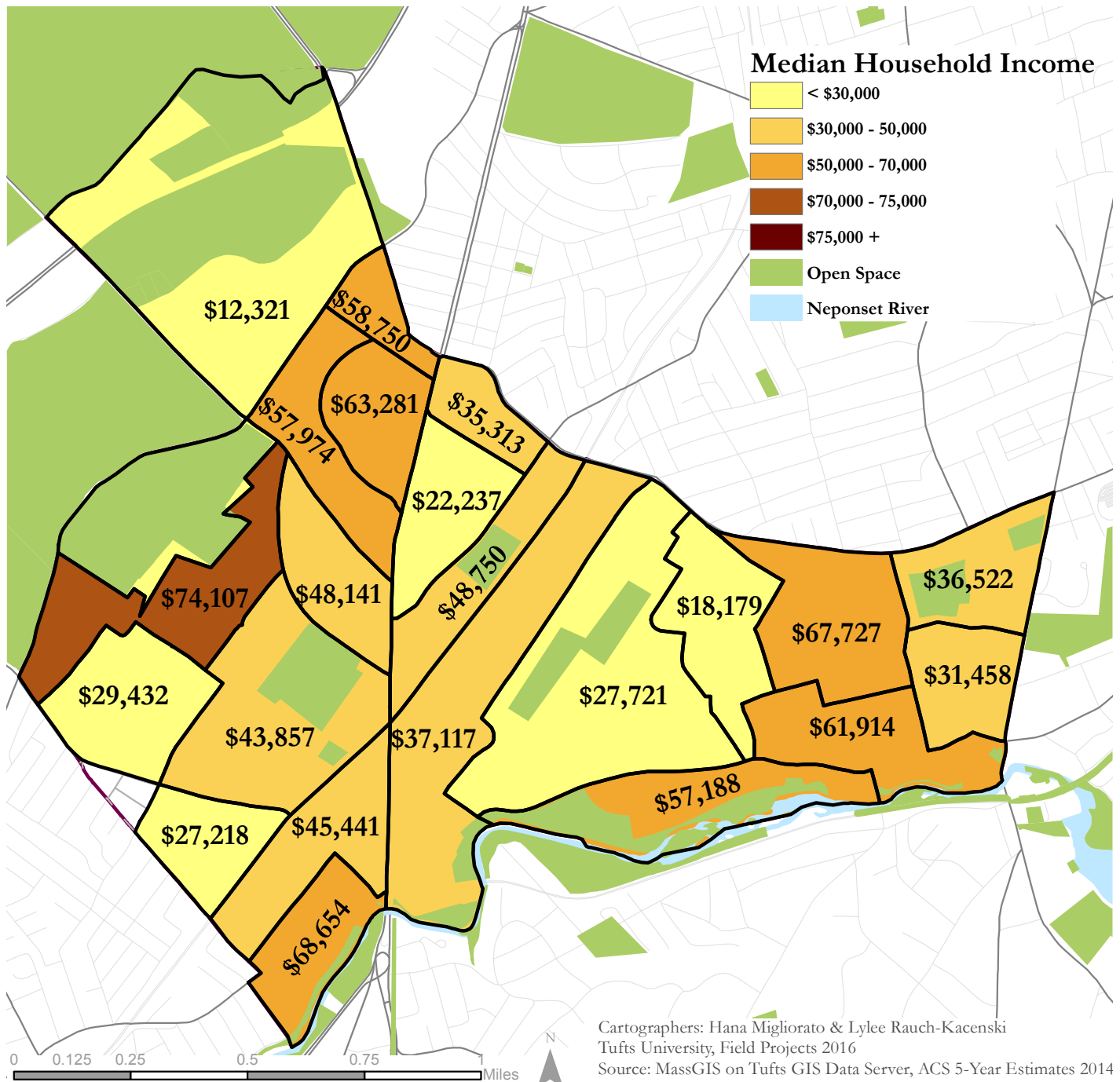


Occupation



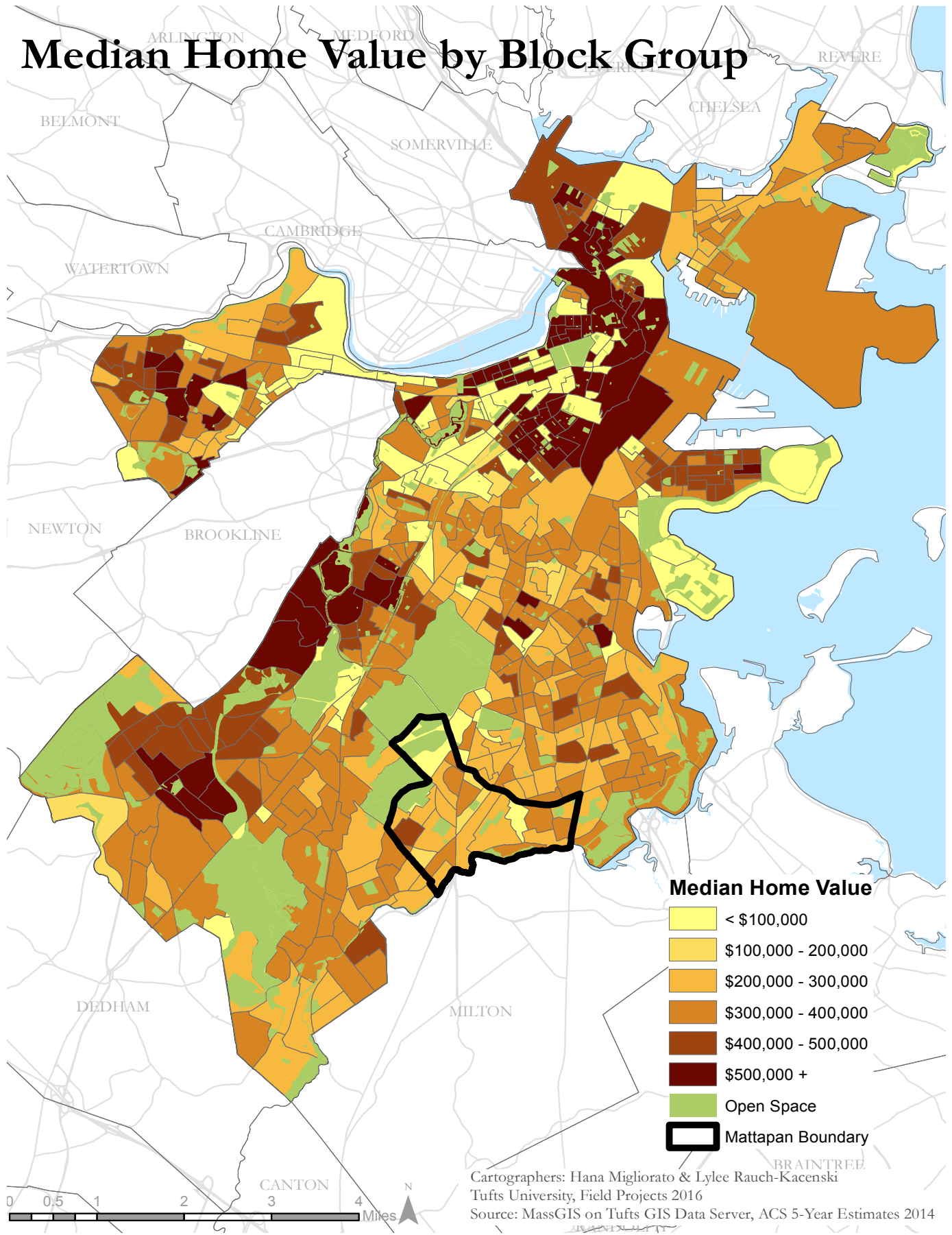
Median Household Income by Block Group

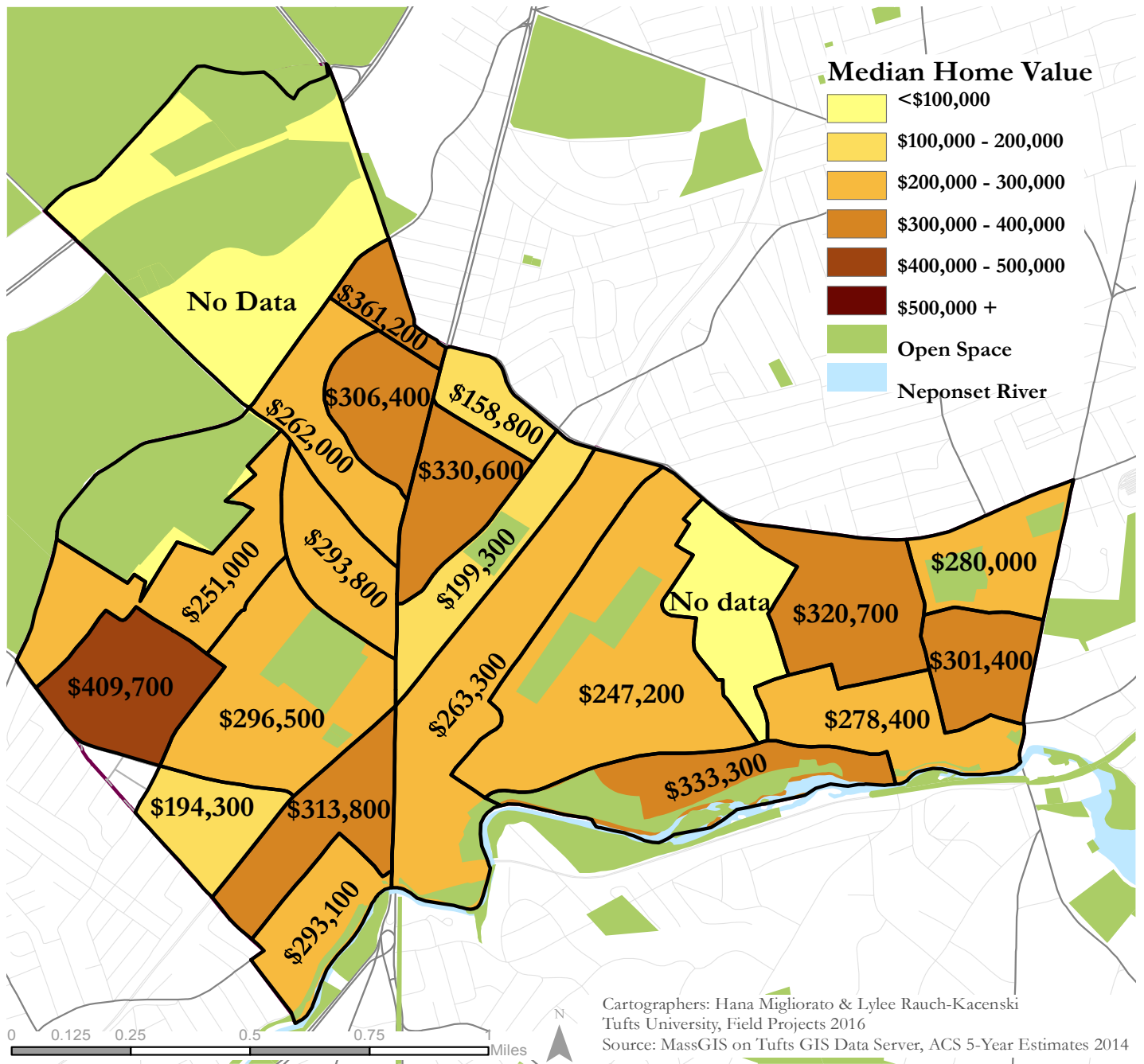




Only one block group in Mattapan has a median household income over \$70,000. While the median income for the block groups that make up Boston is \$61,281.25, the median income for the block groups in Mattapan is \$44,241.

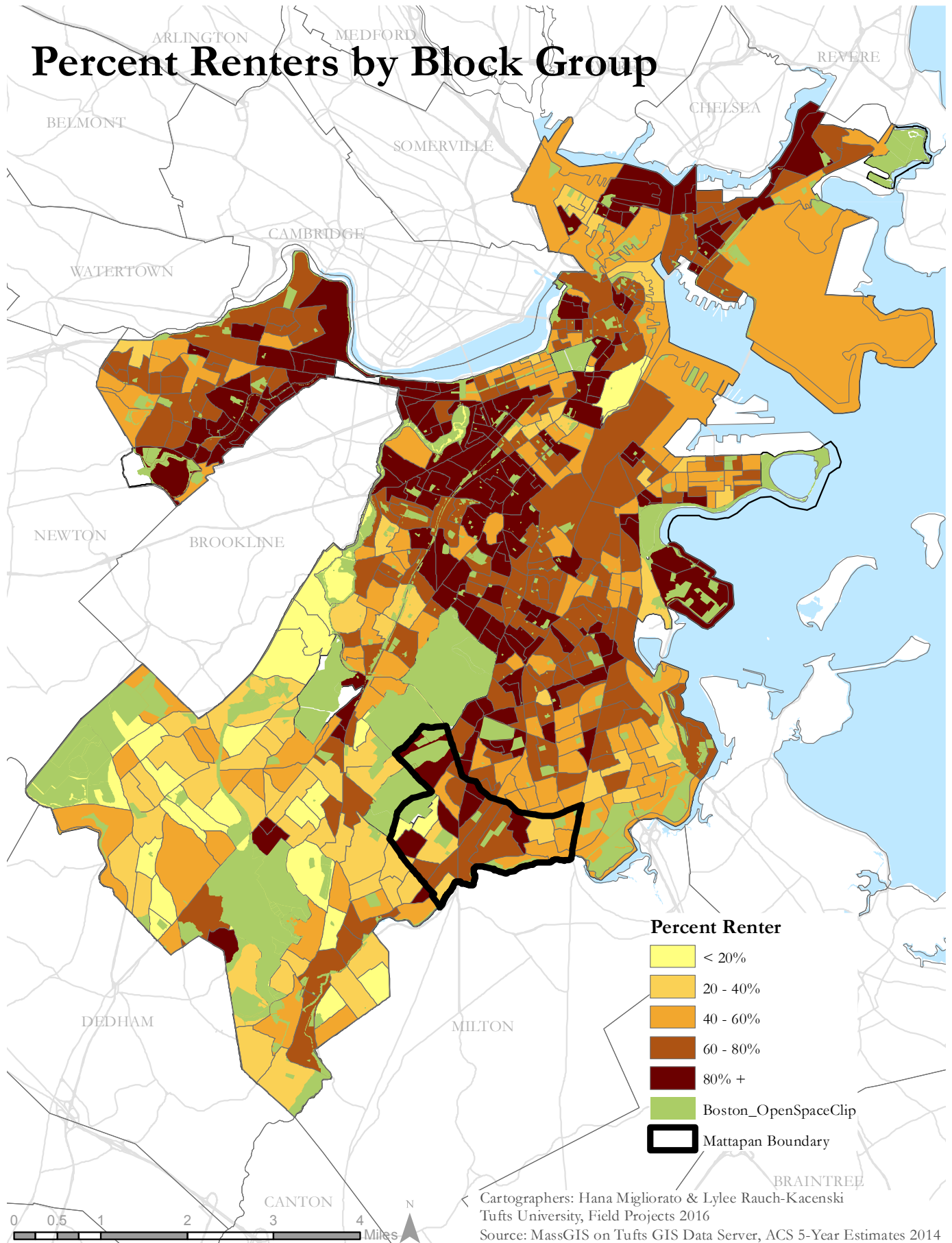
Median Home Value by Block Group



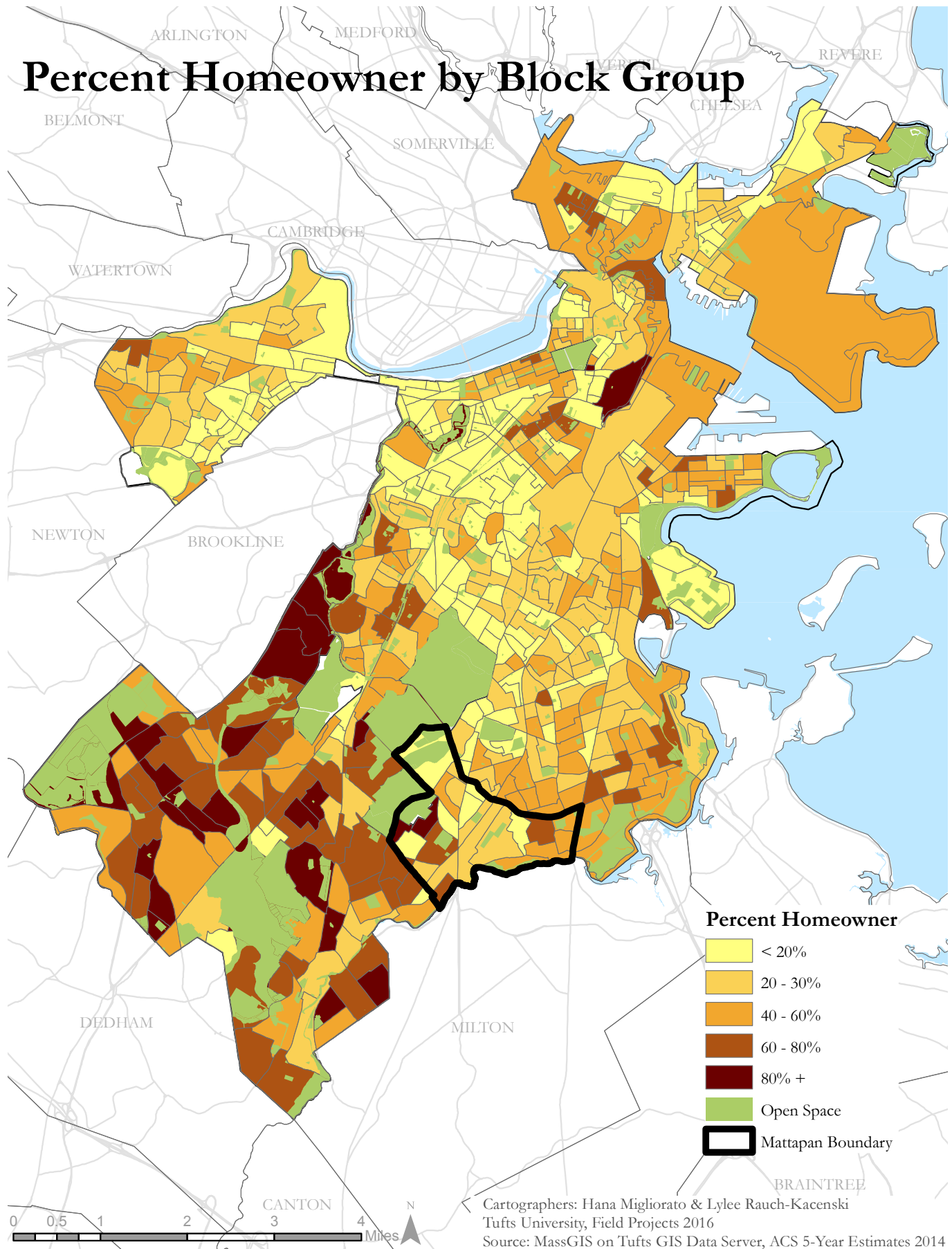


The median home value for Boston is \$389,239. The median value for homes in Mattapan is \$284,740.

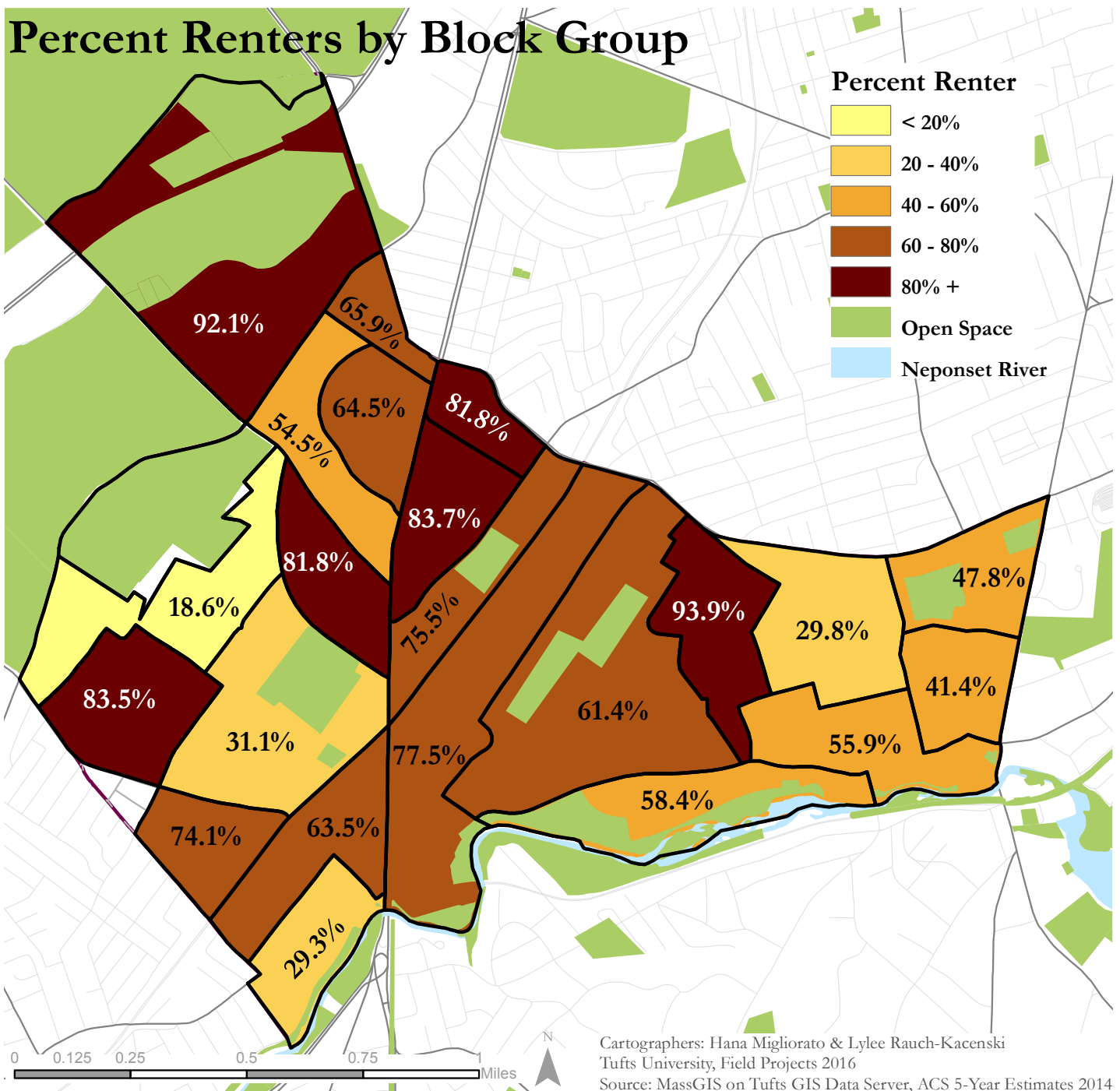
Percent Renters by Block Group



Percent Homeowner by Block Group



Percent Renters by Block Group

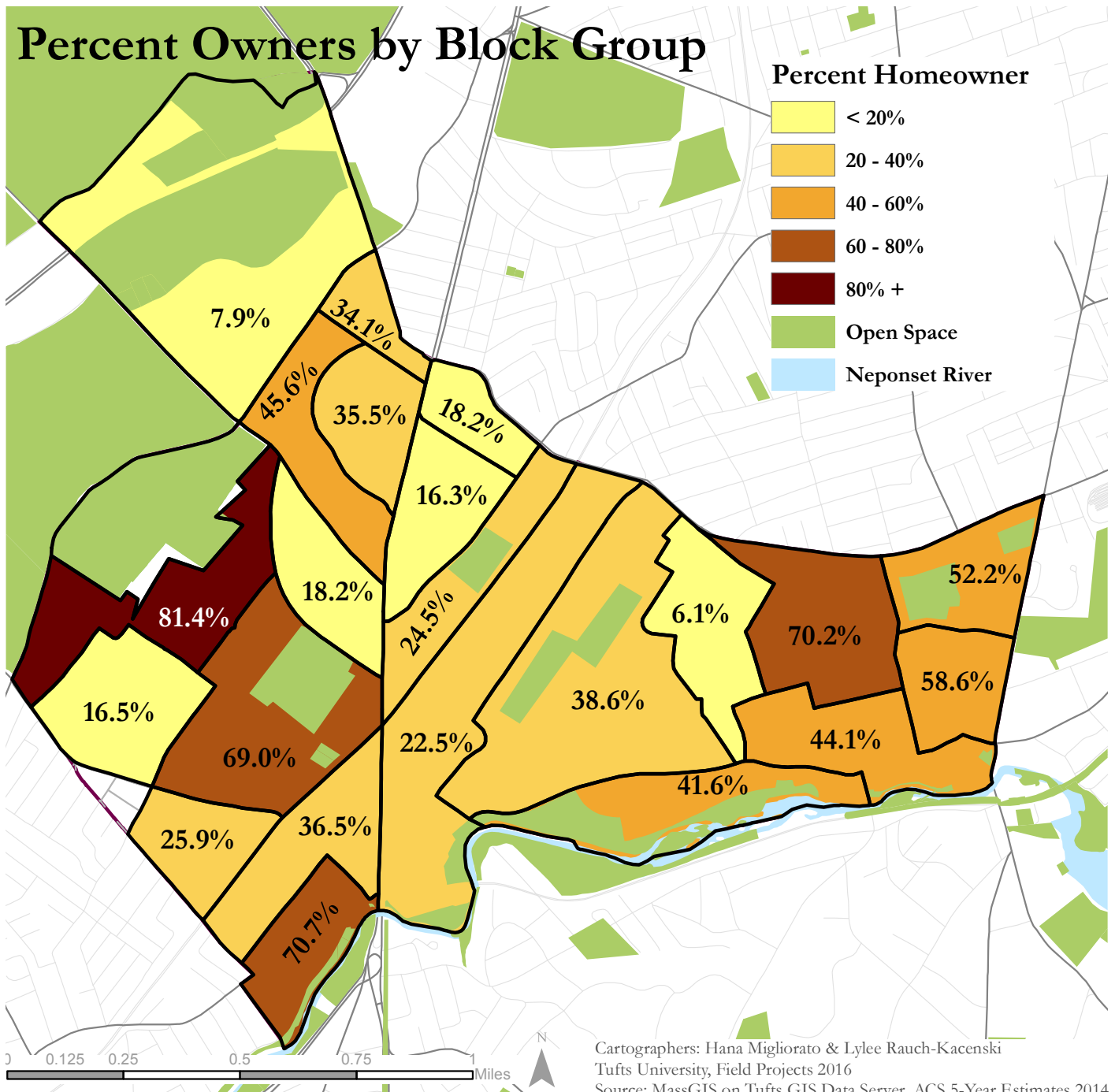
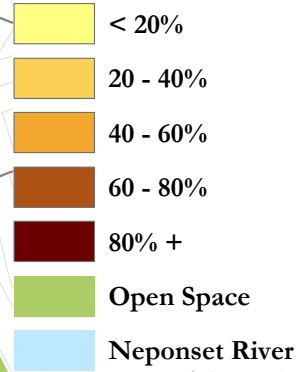


The percentages of renters and owners vary greatly within Mattapan by block group. A block group in which 81.4% are homeowners is bordered by a block group where only 16.5% of households are homeowners.

Compared to the rest of Boston, renters make up a higher proportion of Mattapan.

Percent Owners by Block Group

Percent Homeowner



Looking at Gentrification

There is no single definition of gentrification that is agreed upon. Similarly, there are no universal indicators of gentrification.

For the purposes of this report, gentrification is defined as the process in which increases in housing costs result in the influx of new residents (usually wealthier and White) and the displacement of current residents who are priced out.

In neighborhoods experiencing gentrification, one would expect to find an increase in median household income, home prices, and the proportion of White population and a decrease in percentage of renters. This is based on the logic that gentrification increases the number of wealthy White people moving in and buying up property, resulting in an increase in average household income. Reinvestment in properties then causes home prices to rise resulting in direct or indirect displacement of lower-income residents.

We find that Mattapan is one of the most vulnerable neighborhoods in Boston along with South End and Roxbury.

A Gentrification Vulnerability Indicator is created for this report adding together five vulnerability indicators for each block group into a cumulative score between 5 and 25, with 25 indicating the highest vulnerability. The majority of block groups in Mattapan score in the 20s. It is evident that many characteristics of Mattapan – including its more affordable home and land prices and access to the T – make it more susceptible to gentrifying forces. Different groups within a community are impacted differently by gentrification, with the lower-income and politically isolated groups being more vulnerable to displacement.

Indicators:

Five indicators were chosen to analyze the degree of vulnerability to gentrification. These are based on the indicators developed by the City of Portland, Oregon. Please see Appendix B for more details on our model and the Portland model.

1. Percentage of renters: Renters may be more vulnerable because landlords can raise rents or evict renters to redevelop or sell the property.
2. Percentage of non-White residents: Race and ethnicity are a proxy for wealth. People of color may be more vulnerable because they may not have sufficient income and savings to afford increases in rent and housing costs.
3. Population over 25 without a Bachelor's degree: Education is a proxy for income and ability for income to grow. Those with less than a college degree may be more vulnerable because they may not be able to earn sufficient income to keep pace with rising housing costs and rents.
4. Household income: Households with lower incomes may be more vulnerable because their incomes may not be sufficient to keep up with rising costs and rents.
5. Proximity to T stations: Locations close to transit are becoming increasingly desirable, thus leading to higher rents and housing costs.

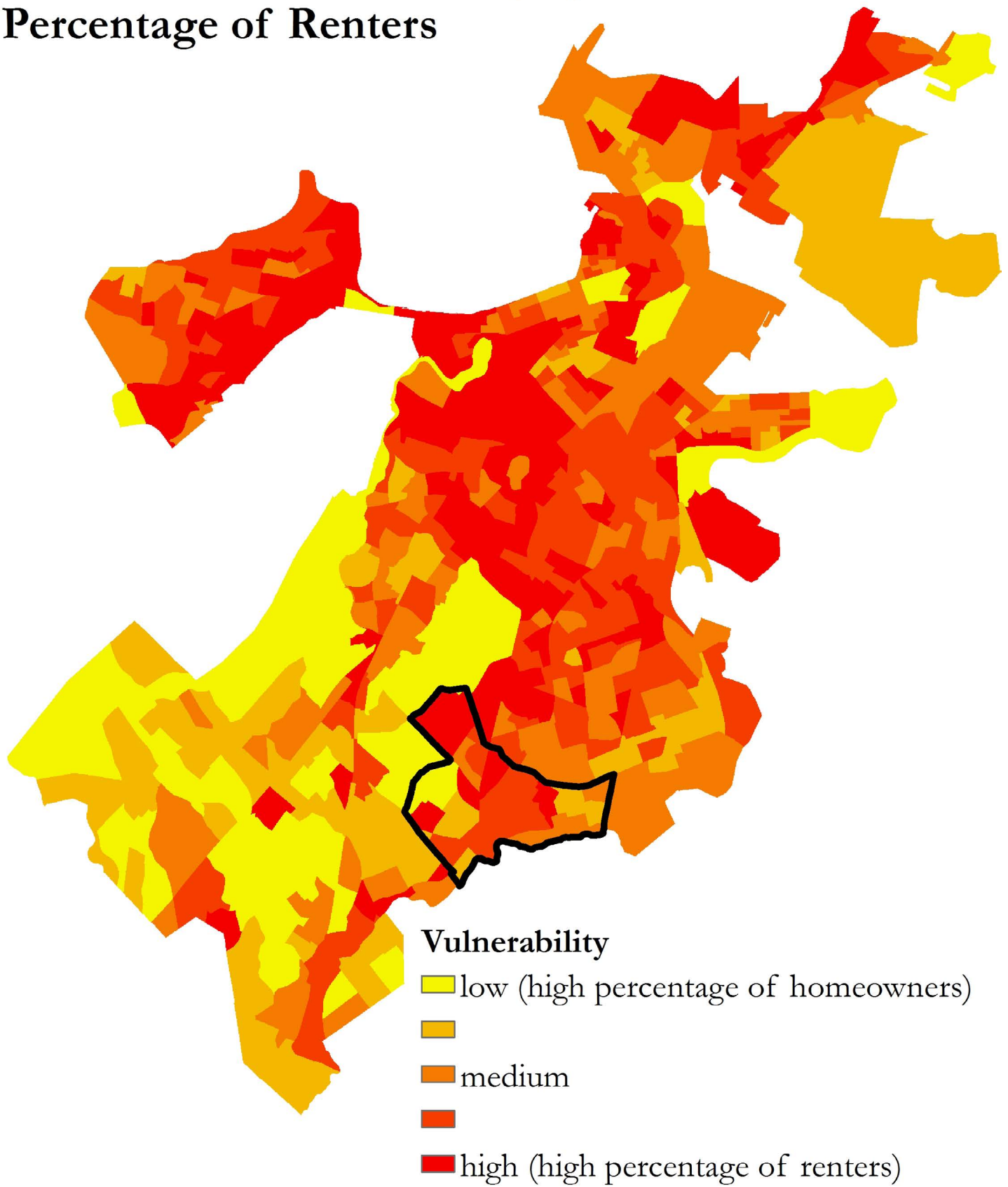


A community celebration in Mattapan
Photo Credit: Mattapan United

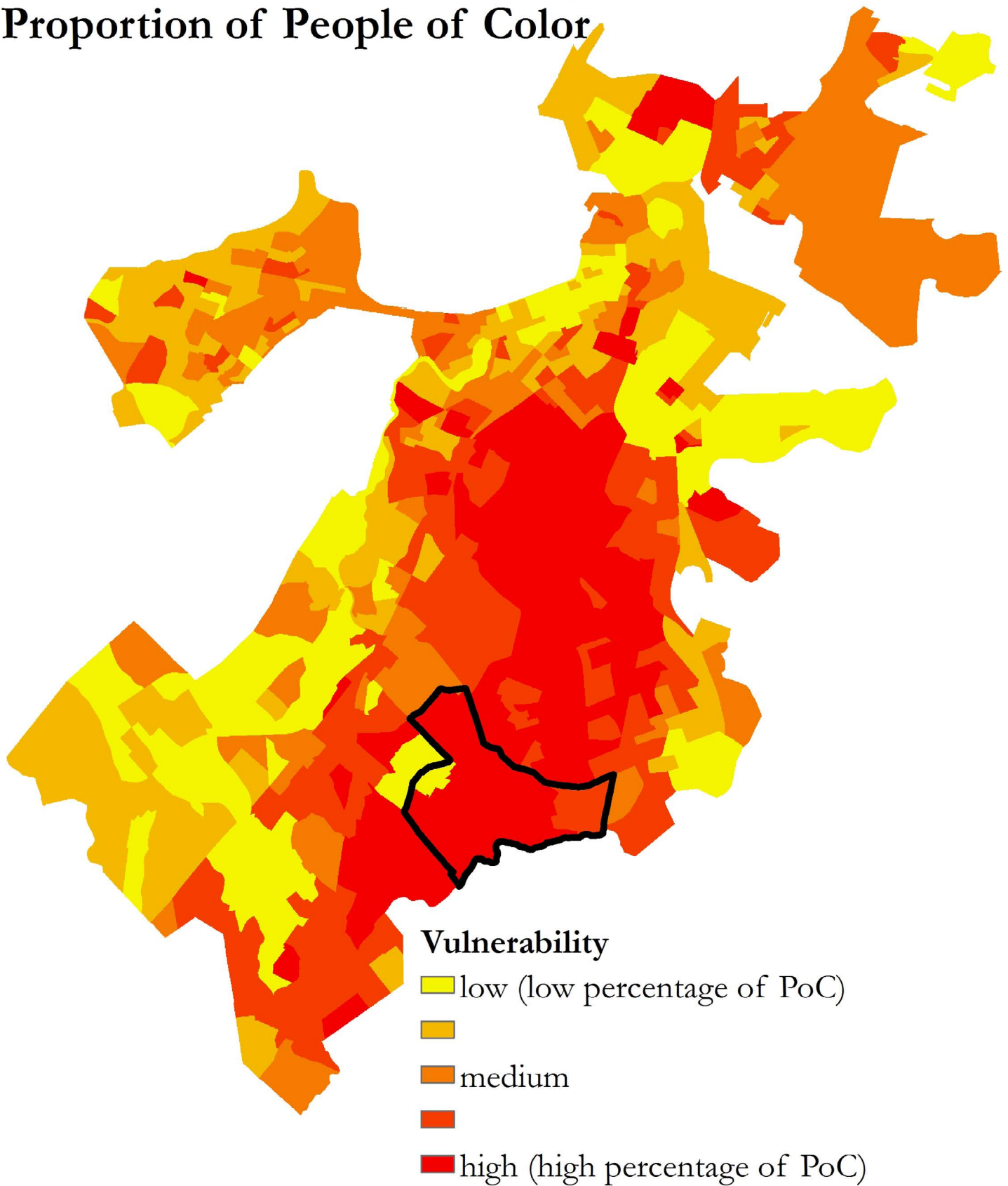
Assessment Criteria:

Each block group was scored based on these five indicators. Each indicator was scored from 1 through 5, with 5 representing the highest vulnerability to gentrification. In the following maps, the darker the shade of red, the higher the gentrification vulnerability score.

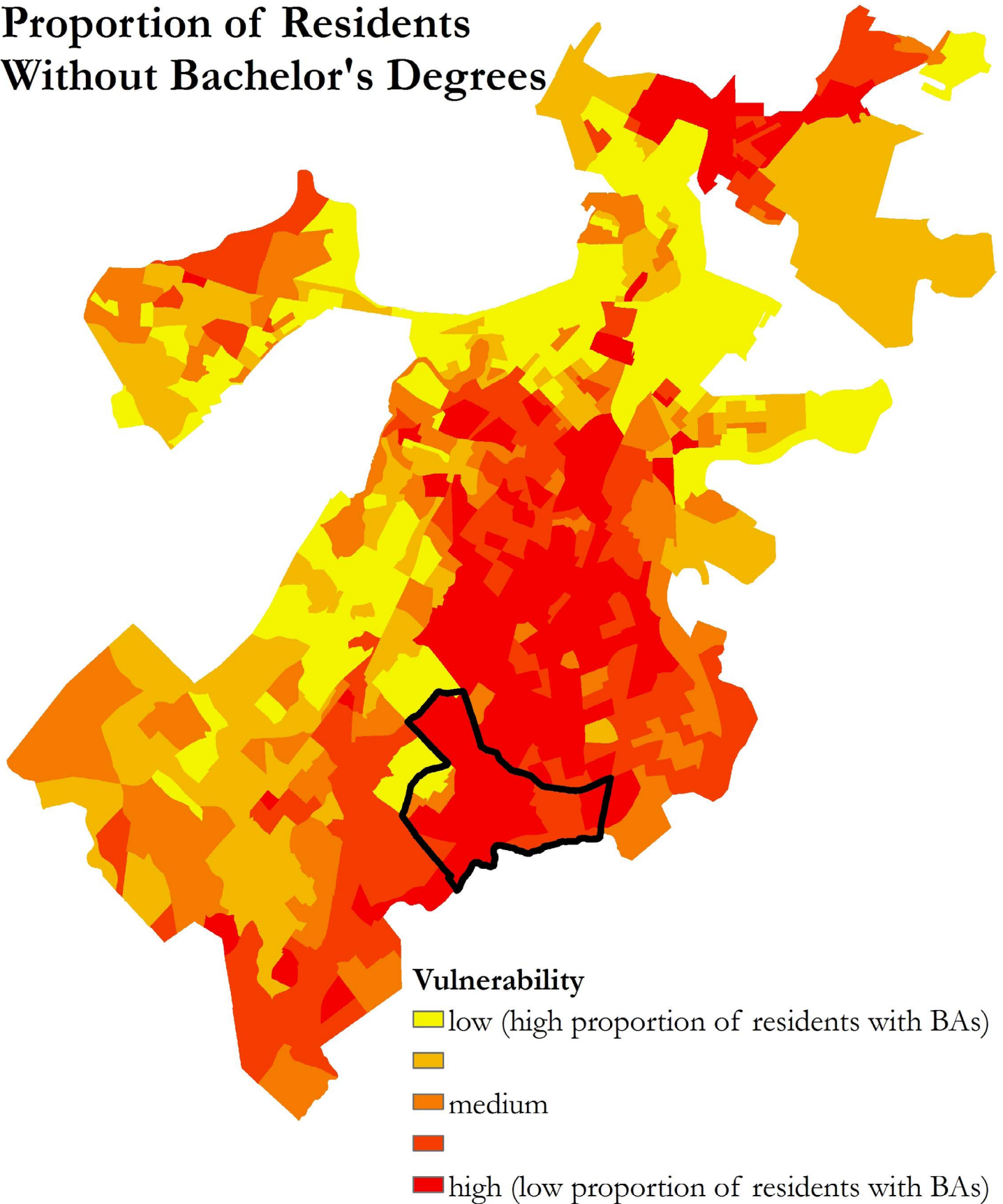
Gentrification Vulnerability by Percentage of Renters



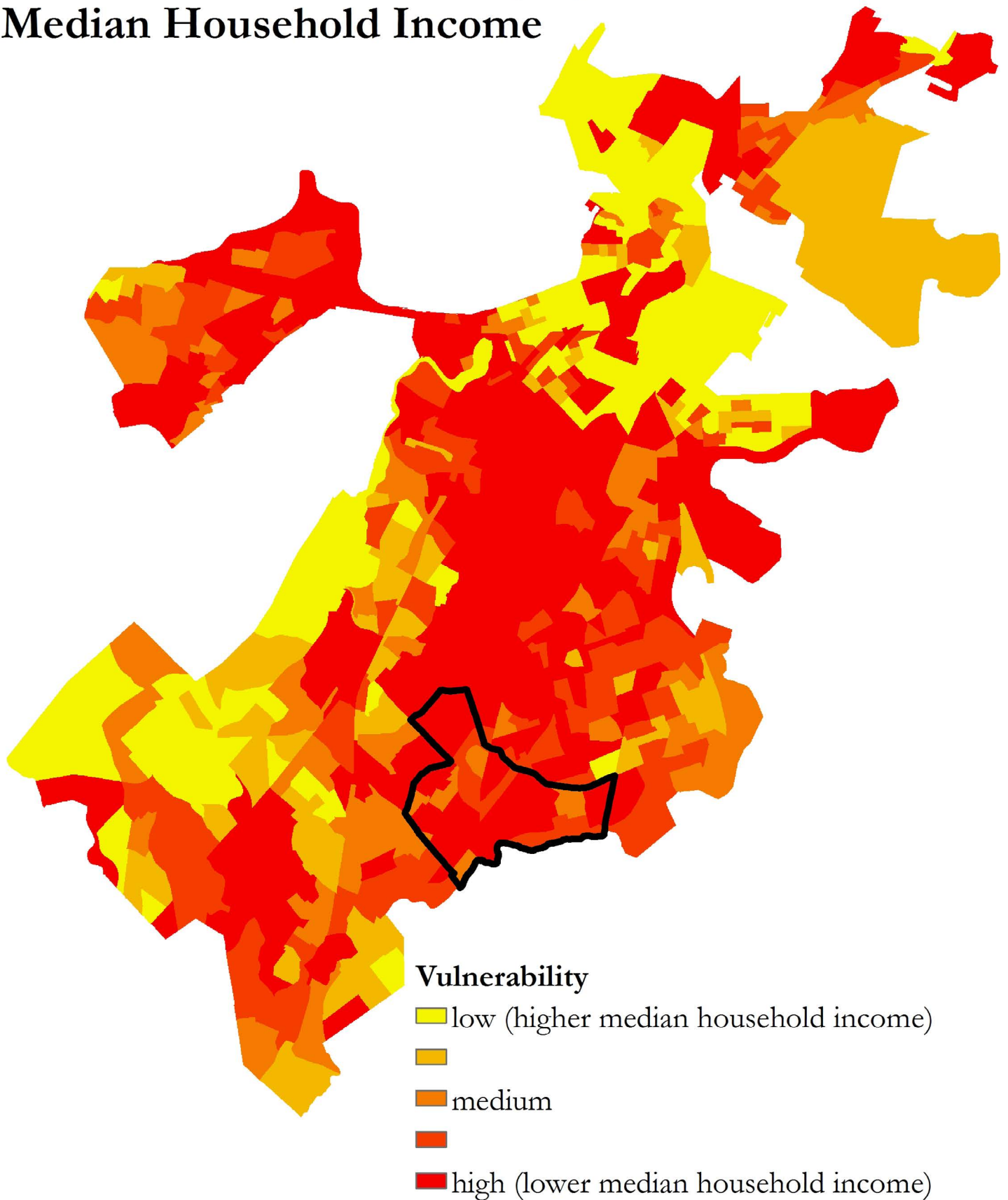
Gentrification Vulnerability by Proportion of People of Color



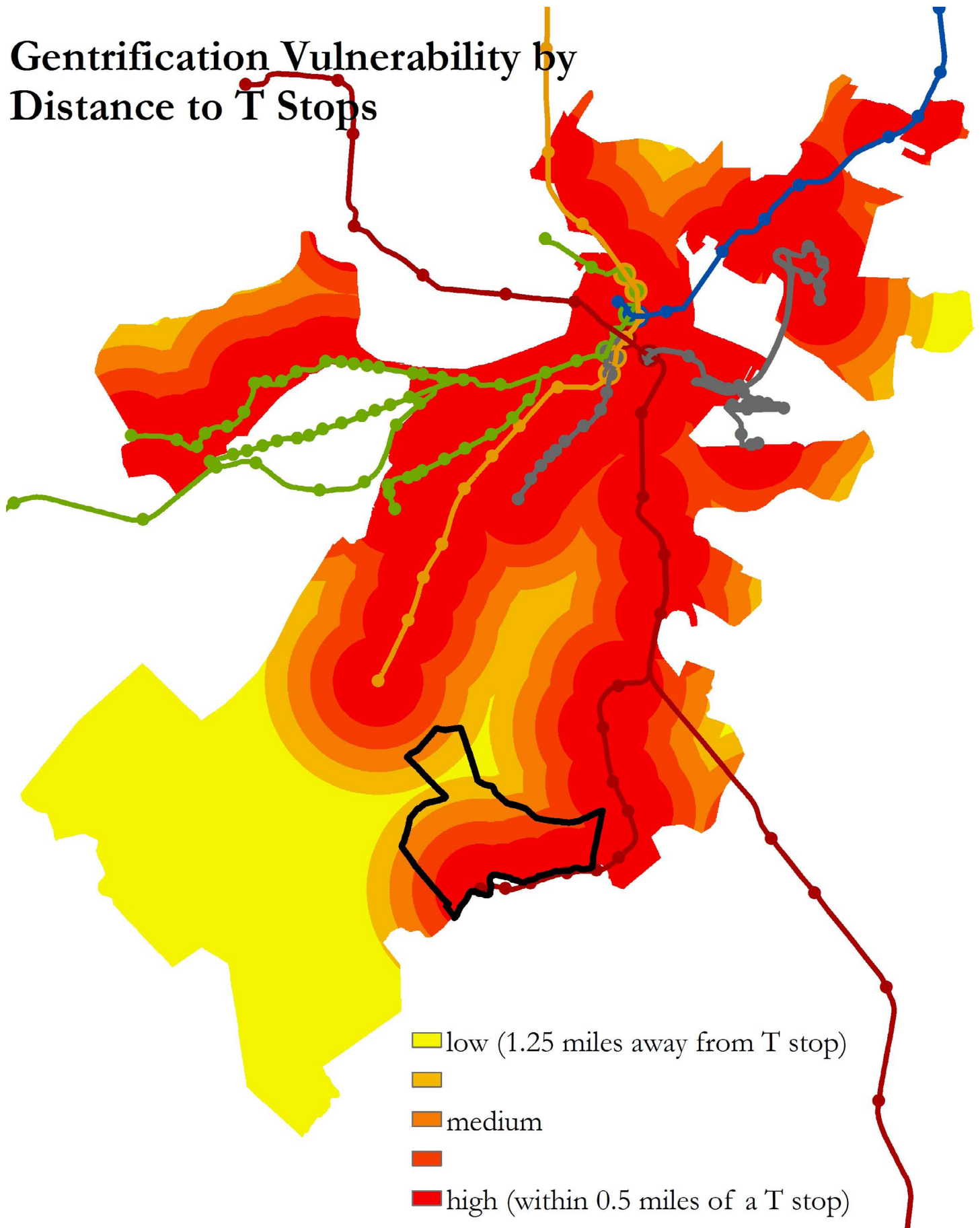
Gentrification Vulnerability by Proportion of Residents Without Bachelor's Degrees



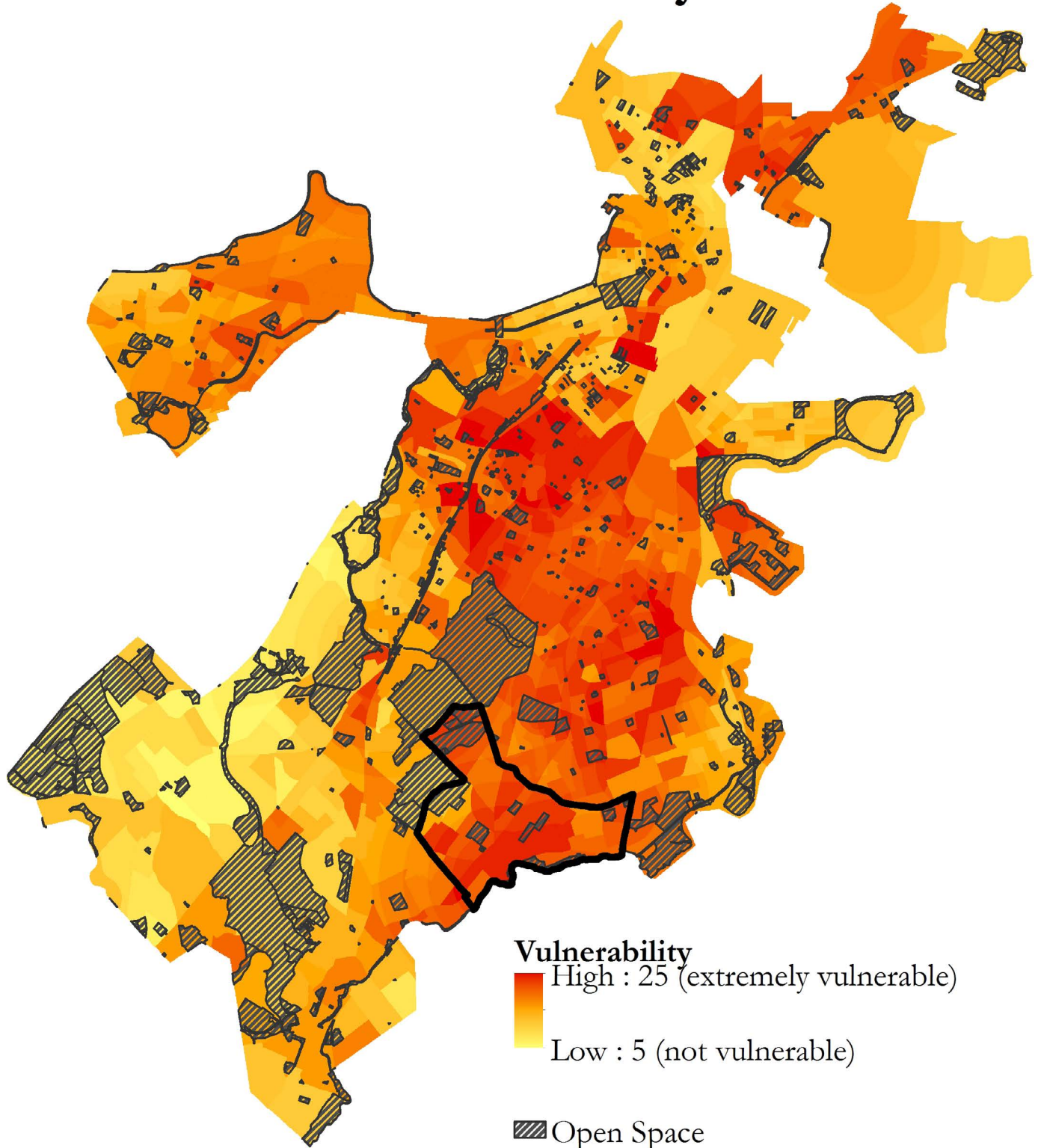
Gentrification Vulnerability by Median Household Income



Gentrification Vulnerability by Distance to T Stops

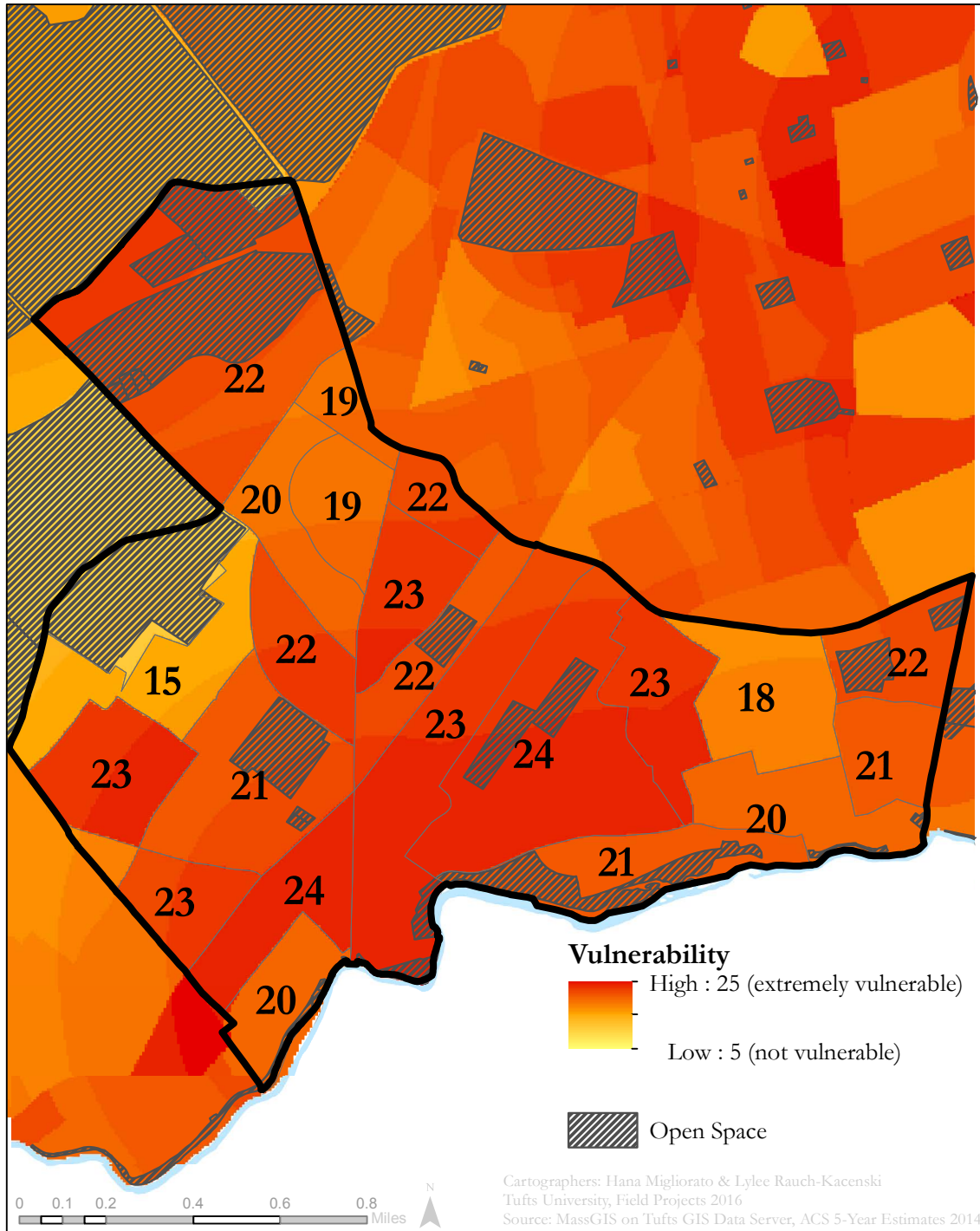


Gentrification Vulnerability Scores



As the five maps show, the central corridor of Boston through Roxbury and Dorchester to Mattapan scores high on all five indicator maps.

Gentrification Vulnerability Scores in Mattapan



This map shows the gentrification vulnerability index for each block group on the map. All five indicators are added together for an index score between 5 and 25. It is evident that the central corridor has scored higher on the vulnerability scale.

The vulnerability scores in Mattapan for each block group are very high. Most groups score in the twenties and there are two block groups that scored 24.

Has Gentrification Already Started In Mattapan?

This report looks at how four factors have changed between 2000 and 2014 to assess whether gentrification has already started in Mattapan.

These factors are:

- Median household income
- Median home value
- Percent renters
- Racial composition of Mattapan

Please see Appendix C for the logic of these indicators as well as the methodology.

If gentrification has already started, one would expect to see an increase in median household income and median home values. If rentals are more easily bought up by homeowners and developers, it would also be expected that the percent of renters would go down. An increase in the number of White residents would also be expected.

Tracking these four factors in Mattapan and how they change from 2000 to 2014 shows that incomes decreased and housing values rose, although not as rapidly as other locations in the City of Boston. The percent of White residents increased by 3.96%, but Mattapan retains its very strong African and Black population, especially compared to the rest of the city. The percentage of renters has increased.

From this data, it is inconclusive whether gentrification is already happening in Mattapan. Instead, these factors, combined with the previous vulnerability assessment, help illustrate that Mattapan is ripe for gentrification. Thus, now is the time to put policies in place to keep housing affordable and enable the current community to stay where they are and build resilience to pressures of gentrification.



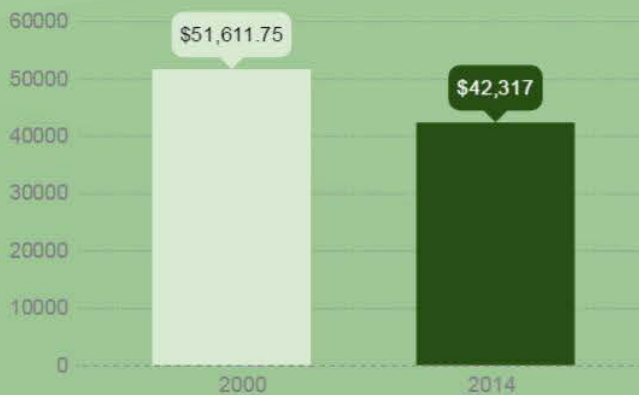
A community celebration in Mattapan
Photo Credit: Mattapan United



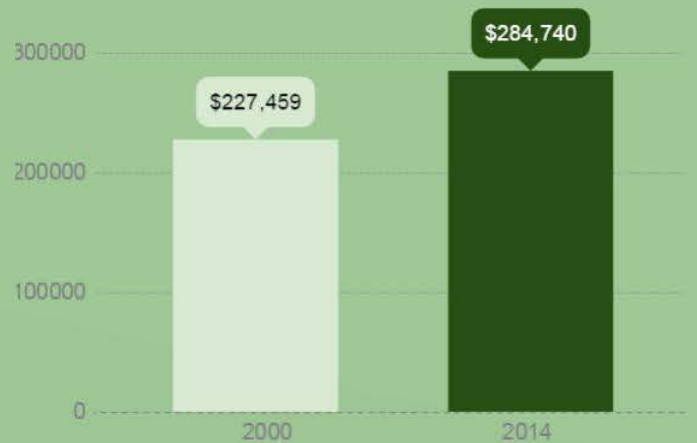
Mattapan: In Numbers

2000 vs. 2014

Income



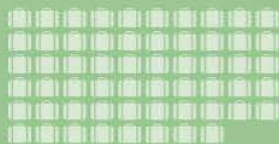
Home Prices



8.22 %

White Residents

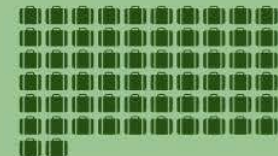
12.18 %



58.59 %

Renters

62.08 %



2000

2014

powered by

Discussion

Mattapan is one of the last affordable neighborhoods of Boston, and has amenities - such as access to public transportation and open space - that many value. The Gentrification Vulnerability Index suggests that Mattapan is prime for gentrification, although it is inconclusive as to whether it has already started to happen.

The timing of gentrification mitigation is critical. Once speculative land buys of undervalued land in the neighborhood occurs, property values can increase drastically and few actions make it possible to curb the trend. Because gentrification is not yet happening rapidly, there is an opportunity to act now rather than waiting until it is too late.

We hope that this packet will aid Mattapan United and other community organizations in Boston to create gentrification mitigation strategies focused on allowing residents to stay in place and avoid displacement.

Some opportunities for action:

Expand stock of affordable housing

Strengthen protections for tenants to prevent displacement

Keep land off the speculative market

Preserve existing affordable housing options



Mattapan Trolley
Photo Credit: Hana Migliorato

End Notes

¹ Barry Bluestone and others, *The Greater Boston Housing Report Card 2015: The Housing Cost Conundrum* (Boston: Northeastern University, November 2015)

<http://www.tbf.org/~media/TBFOrg/Files/Reports/GB%20HousingReportCard%20111315.pdf>.

² Bluestone and others. Pg. 6

³ Bluestone and others. Pg. 35

⁴ Alan Berube and Natalie Holmes, *City and Metropolitan Inequality on the Rise, Driven by Declining Incomes* | (Brookings Institute, 14 January 2016)

<<http://www.brookings.edu/research/papers/2016/01/14-income-inequality-cities-update-berube-holmes>> [accessed 28 February 2016].

⁵ Bluestone and others.

⁶ 'Massachusetts', *National Low Income Housing Coalition*

<<http://nlihc.org/oor/massachusetts>> [accessed 1 March 2016].

⁷ Sean Capperis, Ingrid Gould Ellen and Brian Karfunkel, *Renting in America's Largest Cities, National Affordable Rental Housing Landscape* (New York: NYU Furman Center/Capital One, 28 May 2015). Pg. 25

⁸ 'Mattapan At a Glance'

<<http://www.bostonredevelopmentauthority.org/neighborhoods/mattapan/at-a-glance>> [accessed 1 March 2016].

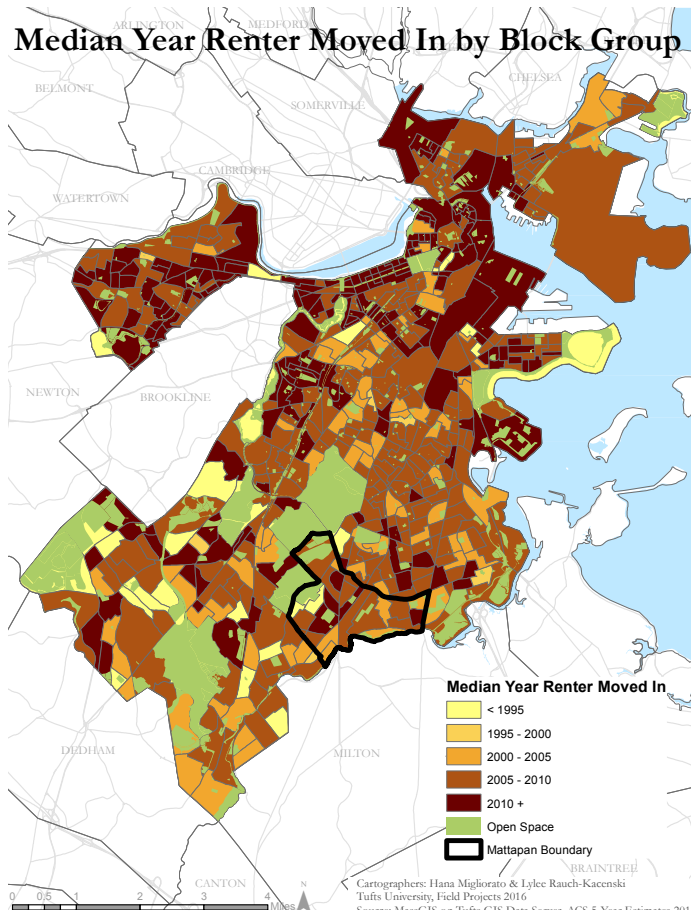
⁹ 'Mattapan Facts' <<http://mymattapan.org/MattapanFacts>> [accessed 1 March 2016].

¹⁰ Alvaro Lima and others, *Boston in Context: Neighborhoods* (Boston: Boston Redevelopment Authority, March 2016)

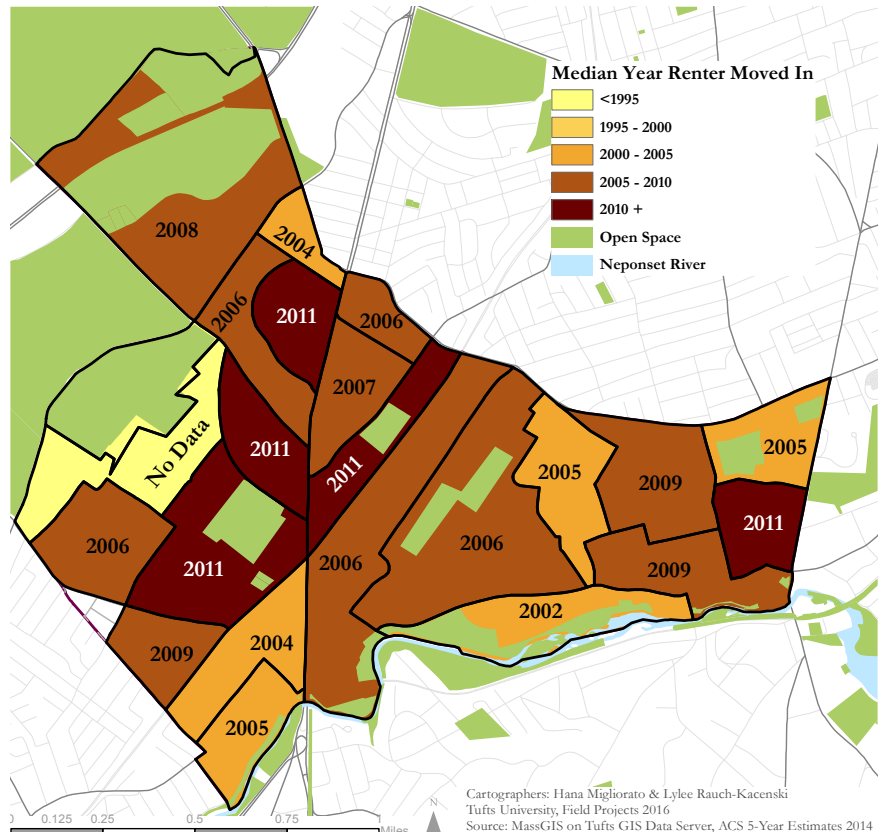
<<http://www.bostonredevelopmentauthority.org/getattachment/7b9b1201-8b4f-4fa9-b0f2-4acb8e083198>>.

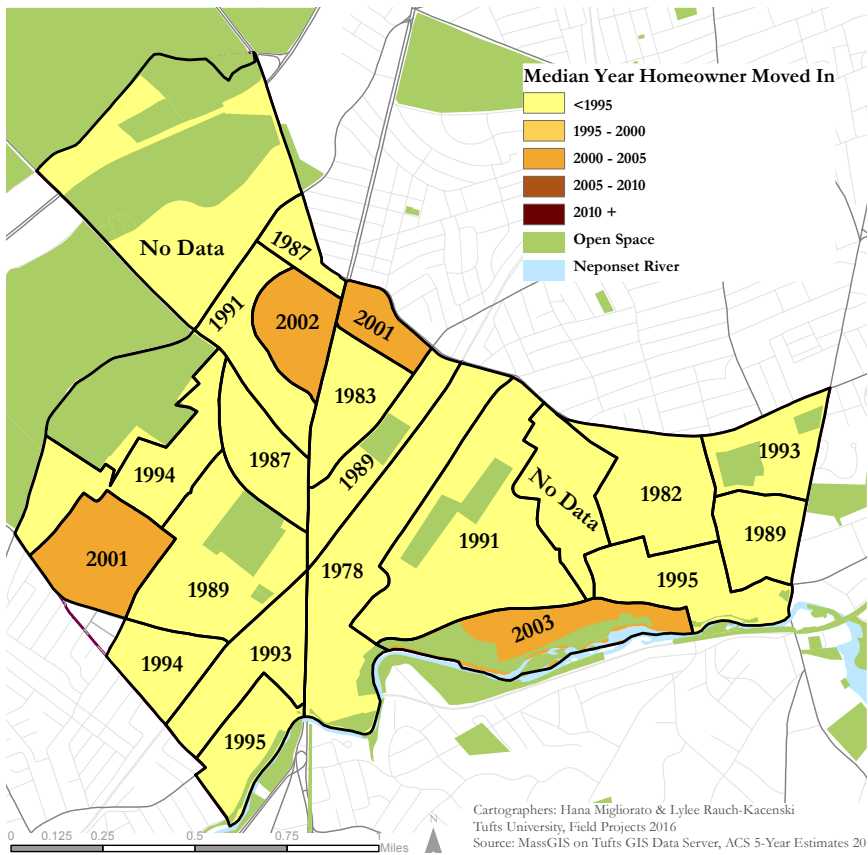
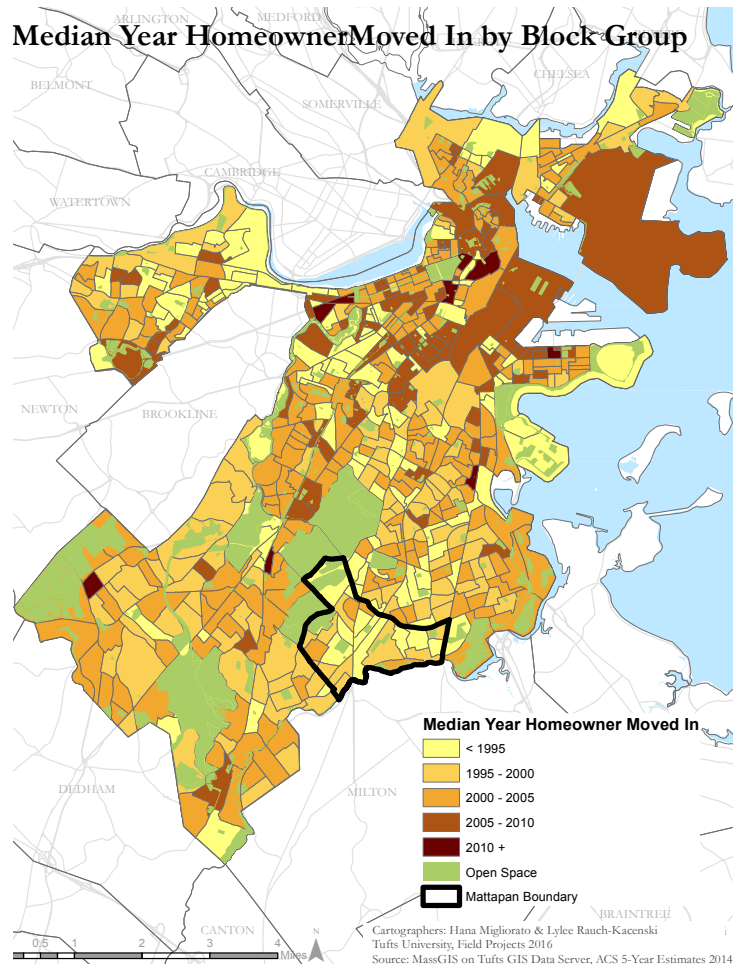
Appendix A: More Mattapan in Context Maps

Median Year Renter Moved In by Block Group

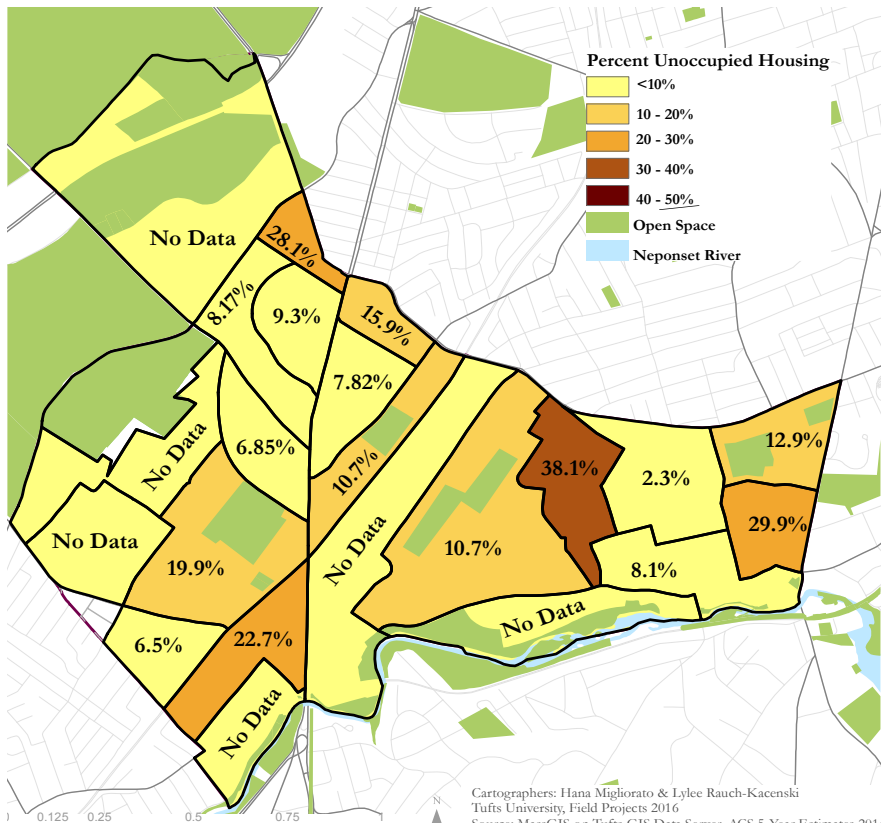
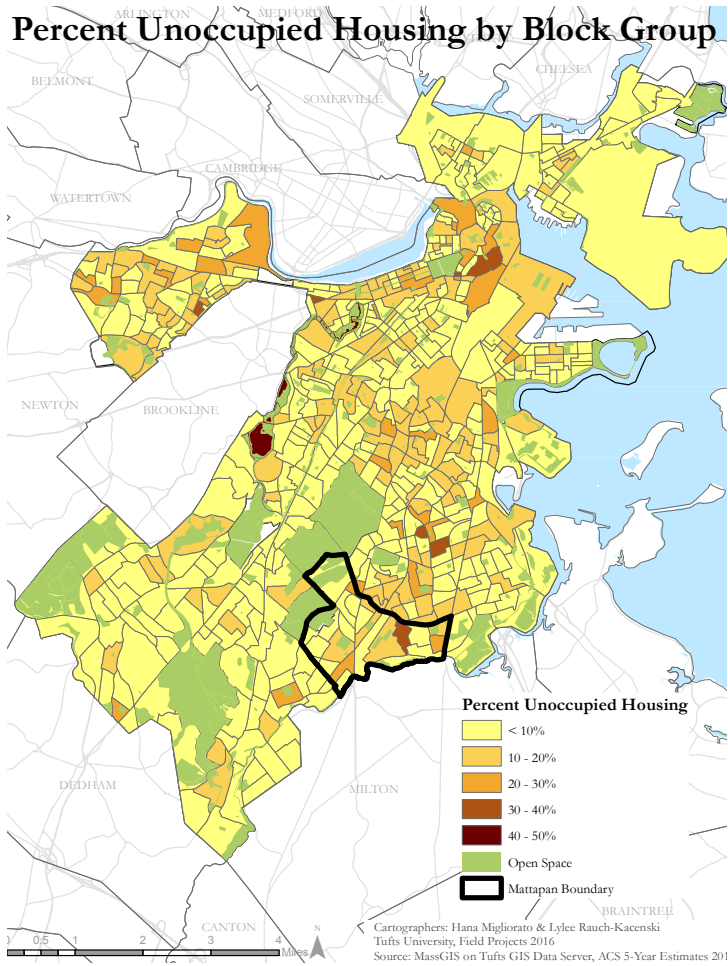


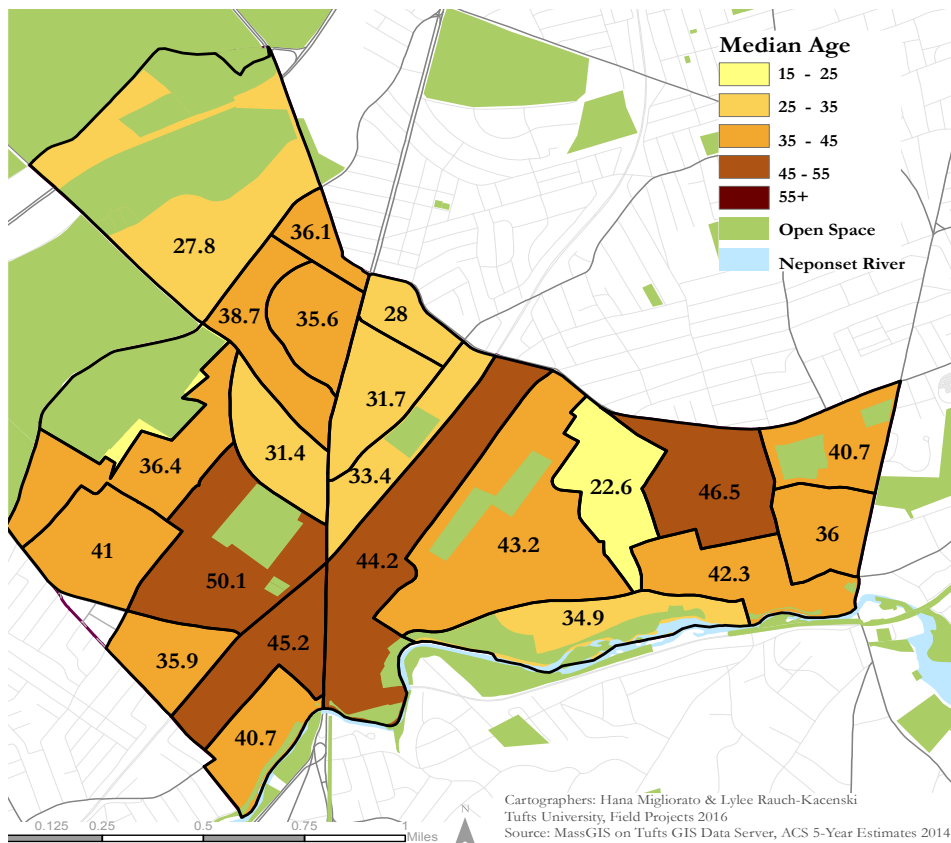
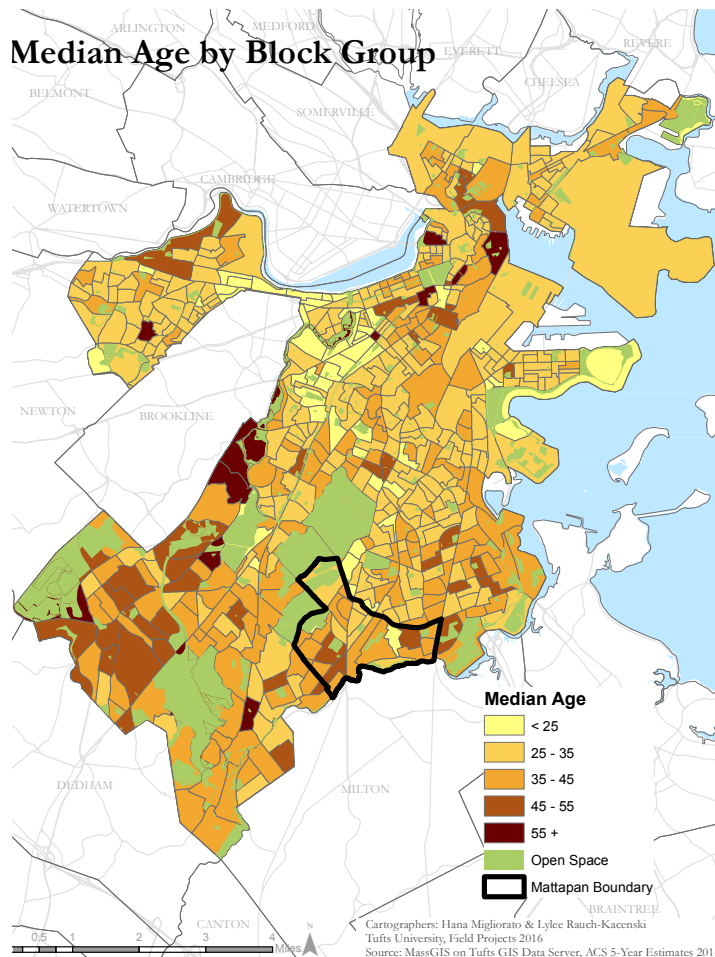
This appendix features other context maps - demographic maps of Boston and a pull out of Mattapan - for resident tenure, percent unoccupied housing, median age, and median household size.



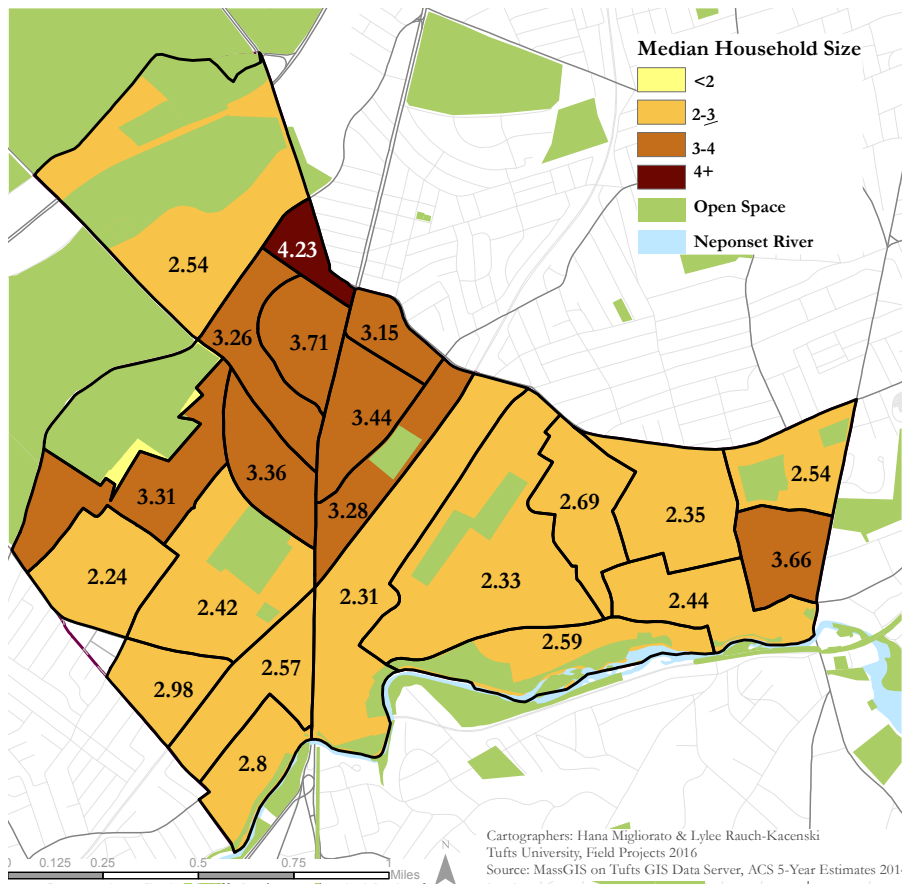
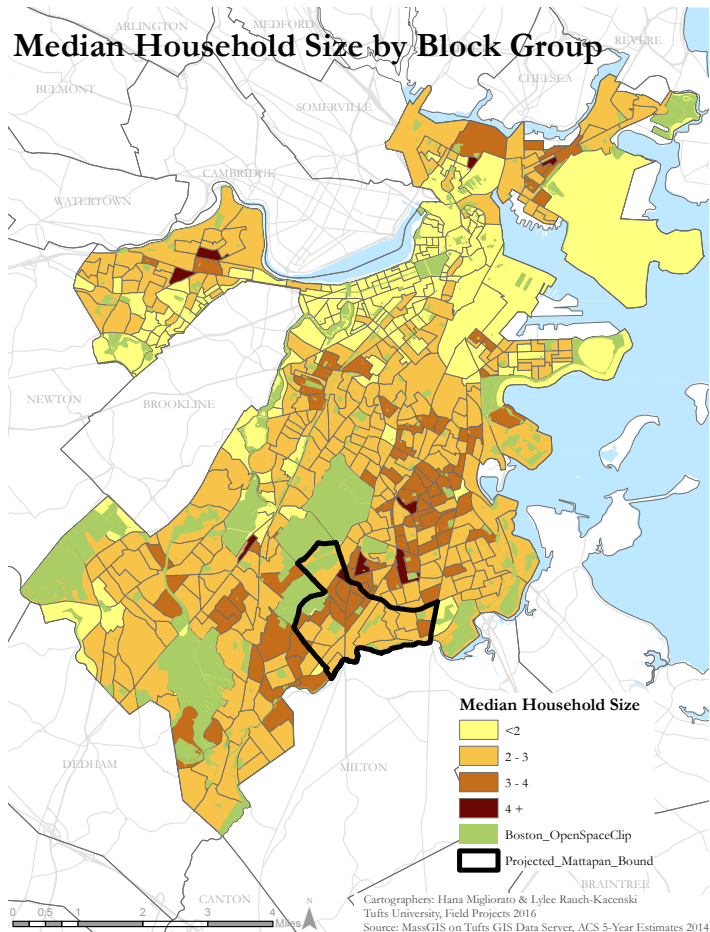


Percent Unoccupied Housing by Block Group





Median Household Size by Block Group



Appendix B: Gentrification Vulnerability Indicator

We used 2014 American Community Survey (ACS) 5-year estimates and data from MassGIS to analyze our five indicators at the block group level in an attempt to show the variation across the city of Boston. There are 23 block groups that make up the Mattapan boundary as defined by the BRA.

The data regarding percentage of renters, median household income, educational attainment, and race came from ACS. After downloading the information for all of Suffolk County, we selected only the block groups within the city of Boston. We then mapped and analyzed each of these four characteristics at the block group level, calculating percentages as necessary. We found information about the T on MassGIS accessed through the Tufts Data Server and created a distance buffer from each T stop.

Our logic is as follows. The higher the percentage of renters, the more opportunities there are for landowners to kick out renters so to either redevelop the land themselves or to sell to the highest bidder; as such, higher percentages of renters means more vulnerability of gentrification. Many seek to live by public transportation, especially as people desire walkable neighborhoods and carless lives. The closer one is to a T stop, the more favorable that is, and therefore more incentive to gentrify. Median household income also comes into play. Neighborhoods are often segregated by income - wealthy households live in wealthier neighborhoods, and poorer families live in less affluent areas of the city. The lower the median household income of an area, the cheaper the area most likely is, and therefore easier to be bought up and redeveloped. Educational attainment is used as a proxy for wages and the ability for wages to increase to keep up with increased housing prices. Those who have less than a Bachelor's degree are more likely working jobs with limited growth opportunities, and are therefore more vulnerable to being priced out of neighborhoods. Therefore, neighborhoods with high percentages of those with less than a BA are more in danger of displacement as prices increase. Similarly, race is used as a proxy for wealth. Due to the long racial history of the United States, there have been institutional barriers for people of color in the country to accumulate wealth in the same way White Americans have been able to. With less wealth and savings, it may not be possible for people to dip into their savings in order to stay in their neighborhood.

We then created five categories for each indicator to represent low to high vulnerability. After mapping the ACS data at the block group level, we created a raster and classified it 1 through 5. For information regarding the T, we created a buffer to signify distance from the T and created 5 classes.

A score between 1 and 5 (5 being high vulnerability, given the indicator) is given to each point on the map. The indicator is created by adding up all of the points for each point on the map, so the scores can range from 5 to 25, with 25 being the most vulnerable for gentrification.

This Indicator is based on the Gentrification and Displacement Study conducted by the City of Portland OR. The city developed a vulnerability indicator in 2012 where they studied four risk factors for gentrification: the percent of renters, communities of color, population over 25 without a Bachelor's degree, and households with income below 80% MFI. They then create evaluation criteria for these risk factors and make scores accordingly.

The study can be found here: <https://www.portlandoregon.gov/bps/62635>
City of Portland. "2012 Vulnerability Analysis." Planning and Sustainability, 2016.
<https://www.portlandoregon.gov/bps/66107>.

We thank Portland for creating such a robust model.

Appendix C: Change over Time calculations in Mattapan

For this section many different documents were referenced to see what other studies and papers use to define gentrification. We liked the parameters set by the document "For Dudley, By Dudley: An analysis of gentrification risk in the Dudley Square Area of Roxbury, Boston" written in 2009 by a team of students in the Urban and Environmental Policy and Planning program at Tufts University. The four indicators used to evaluate if Mattapan is experiencing gentrification are: Median household income, median home prices, percentage of white residents and the percentage of renters. We used the method of calculating change over time to see if there have been large shifts in these indicators between 2000 and 2014. If gentrification were happening, we would expect to see an increase in median household income, home values and percentage of population that is white and a decrease in the overall percentage of renters in the area. Traditionally those trends would indicate that there is an influx of new residents who are often white, make a higher income than past residents and that they can afford to pay more for housing, pushing higher home prices. Homes that were once rented would instead be owner occupied, resulting in a lower percentage of renters.

After downloading the data from the census, they were put in to the Graphic Information Systems (GIS) program ArcMap. In ArcMap we created maps of the data to then be able to compare the 2000 data to the 2014 data. We calculated the indicator for each block group, then took the mean of all the block groups combined for our final number. For the two indicators that dealt with money, median household

income and median home value, we calculated percent change. After getting the values for each year, we calculated the inflation for the 2010 data with an online government CPI inflation calculator. With the 2000 data now calculated in to 2014 dollars, we calculated the percent change of the data using the formula $(2014 \text{ Data} - 2010 \text{ Data} / 2010 \text{ Data}) \times 100$ to get our results. For the two indicators that dealt with population, we simply showed the change in the percentage by using the formula $2014 - 2000$ to see the change. Since we are dealing with population, percent change was not an accurate way to calculate this data. For example, the population went from 8.22% white in 2000 to 12.18% white in 2014, a 3.96% increase. However when expressed as the 48.18 percent change it is, it feels like a very different statistic, and isn't an accurate way to express the data.

2000 Mean of median household incomes for Mattapan block groups	2000 Mean of median household income in 2014 dollars (Adjusted for inflation)	2014 Mean of median household income	% change	Trend we would expect	Trend we see
\$37,542	\$51,611.75	\$42,317	-18.01%	↑	↓

2000 Mean of median home value for Mattapan block groups	2000 Mean of median home value in 2014 dollars (Adjusted for inflation)	2014 Mean of median home value for Mattapan block groups	% change	Trend we would expect	Trend we see
\$165,452	\$227,459.03	\$284,740	+25.18%	↑	↑

2000 Percentage of White residents in Mattapan block groups	2014 Percentage of White residents in Mattapan block groups	Change between 2000 and 2014	Trend we would expect	Trend we see
8.22%	12.18%	+3.96%	↑	↑

2000 Percentage of renters in Mattapan block groups	2014 Percentage of renters in Mattapan block groups	Change between 2000 and 2014	Trend we would expect	Trend we see
58.59%	62.08%	+5.96%	↓	↑



Mattapan United
www.mymattapan.org



Graduate School
of Arts and Sciences

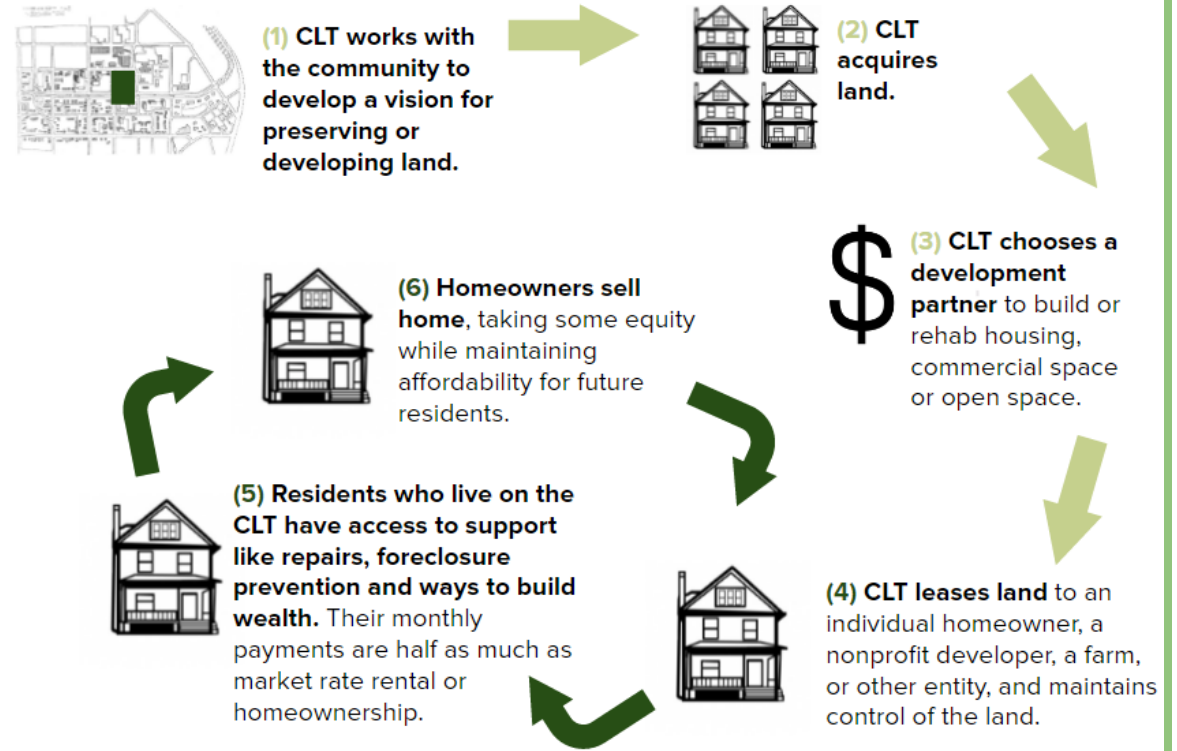
97 Talbot Ave
Medford, MA 02155
Tel: 617.627.3394
Fax: 617.627.3377
E: uep@tufts.edu

What is a Community Land Trust (CLT)?

Community Land Trusts (CLTs) are nonprofit organizations governed by a board of CLT residents, community residents, and public representatives.

They provide lasting community assets by treating land as a public good and creating opportunities such as affordable housing, commercial spaces, and green areas.

How do CLTs Work?



What Can CLTs do for a Community?

1. Prevent gentrification.

When a community owns the land through a CLT, **that land cannot be sold or "flipped" to the highest bidder.** This means that CLTs preserve and create affordable housing while alleviating pressure from development that results in higher housing costs.

2. Create and preserve permanent affordable housing.

The **resale price of CLT homes is capped and sales are restricted to income-eligible buyers** so that homeowners earn equity on their homes while also ensuring that affordability is extended to future families.

3. Help families build wealth.

With lower housing costs, CLT residents are able to save and invest in their future such as for a college education or to start a small business. Families living in a CLT home **build wealth by paying off a mortgage and building equity.**

4. Reduce foreclosures.

During the recent recession, CLTs locally and nationally showed a **foreclosure rate of less than 1.5%.** Of the 95 homes on the Dudley Neighbors, Inc. land trust in Roxbury, there were no foreclosures during the foreclosure crisis despite severe impacts in the surrounding neighborhood.

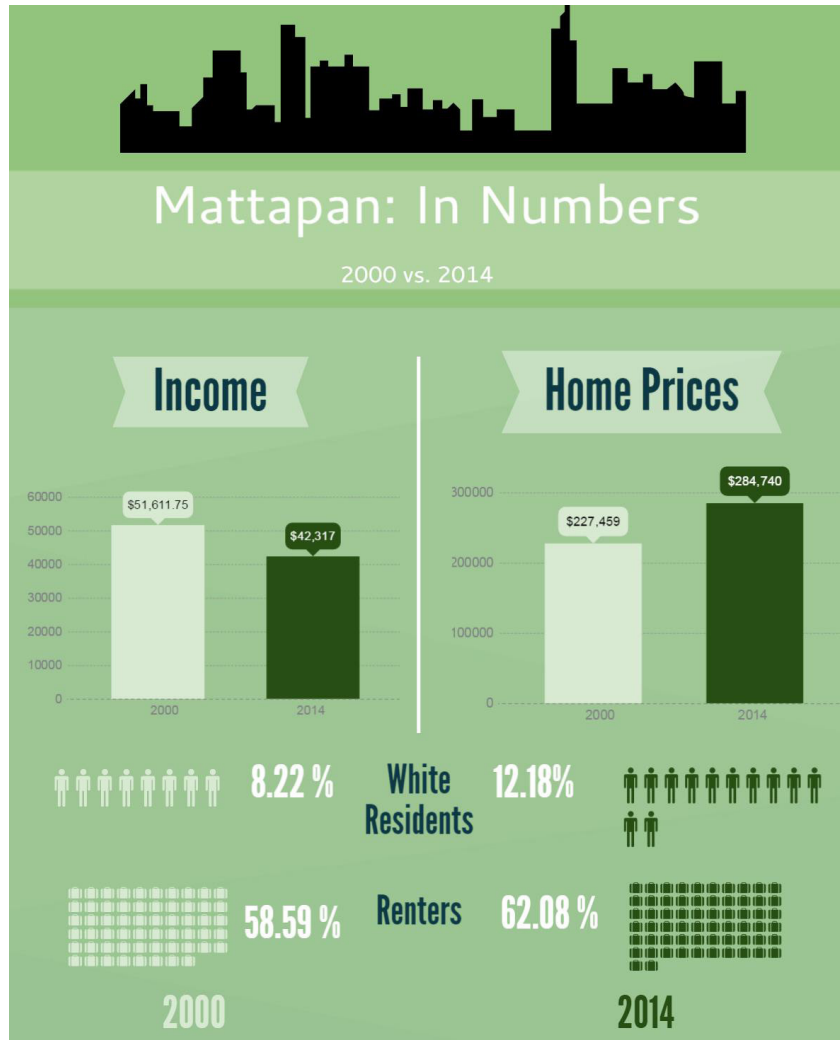
5. Support economic and community development goals.

CLTs provide access to diverse economic opportunities such as low-cost commercial space, farming, green space, and schools, which allow residents and communities to enjoy **continued economic growth without displacement.**

CLTs Combatting Gentrification

Between 2000 and 2014 in Mattapan, **while median household income decreased by 18.01%, median home values have increased by 25.18%** by block group adjusted for inflation. This makes Mattapan vulnerable to gentrification.

Mayor Marty Walsh's [Housing A Changing City: Boston 2030](#) report recommends exploring CLTs as an innovative approach to building strong neighborhoods and addressing gentrification and foreclosures.



CLTs in Boston

Dudley Neighbors, Inc. (DNI) has been preserving affordable housing in Roxbury since 1988

The Urban Farming Institute (UFI) is a resident-led organization working to secure long-term access to land for urban farmers in Roxbury, Dorchester and Mattapan.

The Chinatown Community Land Trust (CCLT) was formed in 2015 by a group of residents, business owners, and activists in response to growing gentrification and displacement in Chinatown.

Coalition for Occupied Homes in Foreclosure (COHIF) offers an alternative to eviction by keeping residents who are in, or at risk, of foreclosure in their homes and will be focusing in the Greater Four Corners area.

CLTs in the United States

There are over 270 CLTs in the United States with more forming every year. Government agencies and community-based organizations alike are harnessing the growing interest in, and demand for, this particular affordable housing strategy.

One of the oldest and most acclaimed CLTs is in Roxbury; Dudley Neighbors, Inc. now owns more than 30 acres of land with 226 units of affordable housing, three urban farms, a greenhouse, several parks, and commercial buildings for Roxbury residents.



What is the GBLTN?

The **Greater Boston Community Land Trust Network** convenes community organizations with existing CLTs, building capacity for CLTs, or exploring CLT implementation as part of broader strategies to prevent eviction and displacement. The Network facilitates cooperation and resource sharing among Network members and jointly advocate for policy that aids the growth of CLTs.

For more information about CLTs and the Greater Boston Community Land Trust Network, please contact:

Eliza Parad (Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative) at eparad@dsni.org

Questions about CLTs in Mattapan? Please contact:

Lincoln Larmond (Mattapan United) at lincoln.mu@gmail.com